

Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives
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Lecture 13
Production of Localities - Arjun Appadurai

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Appadurai: Production of
Localities



Welcome back to the class, we are continuing our discussion about Arjun Appadurai, Arjun Appadurai's arguments about globalization, and in the previous class we had previous sessions in fact, we had two sessions or two classes rather, in which we discussed one of his most important essays on the disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. And I mentioned that it is one of the most celebrated essays, one of the most popular often quoted essays by an anthropologist on globalization ever and it is also a matter of pride that Appadurai is from India, and he is widely known as an Indian anthropologist living in the West.

So, we are now continuing with his discussion, we will have two more classes including this one, trying to understand certain other arguments of Appadurai towards his conceptualization of globalization. So, this essay titled, "The Production of Localities" is also taken from his book, *Modernity at large*. I mentioned in the previous class that the essay disjuncture and difference it was first written as an independent essay in 1990s. And later, it was incorporated in his book *modernity at large* a very popular book written by Appadurai.

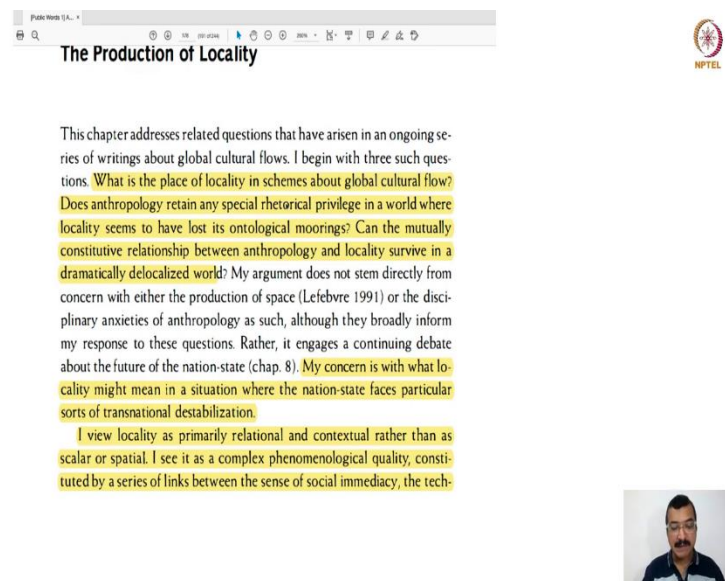
So, this is the final chapter of that particular book, I had shown you this, the table of contents of that book, we did not go into each and every chapter of that book, due to the lack of time but I thought that it is important that we discuss the first and the last essay. So, in this essay, Appadurai is talking about the whole notion of locality, locality in a globalized world. And this is a very interesting examination or a very interesting take because he provides entirely new arguments and ideas about this very term, locality and neighbourhood.

Because we know that we use these terms very interchangeably, we use this term quite often in our everyday conversations, we talk about locality to denote a particular place, a housing residency, we use the term neighbourhood as our immediate place where all our neighbours live. But Appadurai argues that these conventional terms must be rethought, they have to be reimagined in a globalized world.

So, it is extremely important and more so because, because Appadurai is an anthropologist. And anthropology has been centrally concerned with the question of locality because anthropologists have travelled across the globe to understand different primitive tribes, different sections of people living in different far-off places. So, anthropology has this preoccupation with the question of localities, different localities, far-off localities, localities in some of the very remotest parts of the world.

So, these localities, which are so remote from the mainstream society, from the urban centers, were always a point of interest for anthropologists. But now, in a globalized world, what does this locality mean? What does quality of neighbourhood mean? is a very important point of inquiry. So, that is what we are going to discuss, and I am again going to show you the essay, so we go through that essay, rather than depending upon the PowerPoint.

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide titled "The Production of Locality". The slide content is as follows:

This chapter addresses related questions that have arisen in an ongoing series of writings about global cultural flows. I begin with three such questions. What is the place of locality in schemes about global cultural flow? Does anthropology retain any special rhetorical privilege in a world where locality seems to have lost its ontological moorings? Can the mutually constitutive relationship between anthropology and locality survive in a dramatically delocalized world? My argument does not stem directly from concern with either the production of space (Lefebvre 1991) or the disciplinary anxieties of anthropology as such, although they broadly inform my response to these questions. Rather, it engages a continuing debate about the future of the nation-state (chap. 8). My concern is with what locality might mean in a situation where the nation-state faces particular sorts of transnational destabilization.

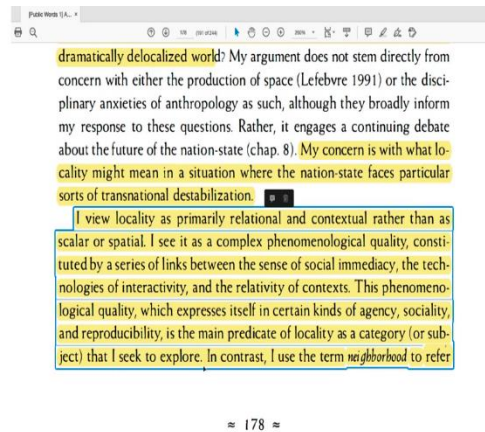
I view locality as primarily relational and contextual rather than as scalar or spatial. I see it as a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the tech-

In the top right corner of the slide is the NPTEL logo. In the bottom right corner, there is a small video inset showing a man with a mustache, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

So, this is chapter 9, the last chapter in his book 'Modernity at Large', 'The Production of Locality'. So, this chapter addresses related questions that have arisen in an ongoing series of writings about global cultural flows. I begin with three such questions, what is the place of locality in schemes about global cultural flow? Does anthropology retain any specific rhetorical privilege in a world where locality seems to have lost its ontological moorings?

So, this is what I was mentioning about. So, what is the meaning of locality in a globalized world, and does anthropology have any stake over such kind of a claim because the very ontology of locality has changed? This is the most important argument. So, the very, what is locality? What constitutes a locality? The ontology of locality itself has seen change. Can the mutually constitutive relationship between anthropology and locality survive in a dramatically delocalized world?

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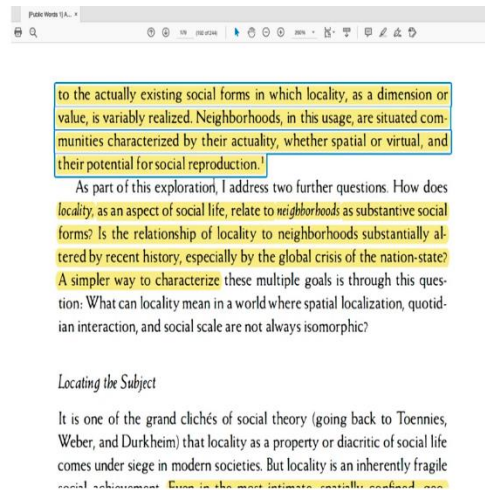
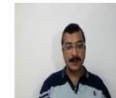


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dramatically delocalized world: My argument does not stem directly from concern with either the production of space (Lefebvre 1991) or the disciplinary anxieties of anthropology as such, although they broadly inform my response to these questions. Rather, it engages a continuing debate about the future of the nation-state (chap. 8). My concern is with what locality might mean in a situation where the nation-state faces particular sorts of transnational destabilization.

I view locality as primarily relational and contextual rather than as scalar or spatial. I see it as a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts. This phenomenological quality, which expresses itself in certain kinds of agency, sociality, and reproducibility, is the main predicate of locality as a category (or subject) that I seek to explore. In contrast, I use the term neighborhood to refer

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide with a title bar at the top that reads "Pablo Perez (U.S.)". The slide content is as follows:

to the actually existing social forms in which locality, as a dimension or value, is variably realized. Neighborhoods, in this usage, are situated communities characterized by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual, and their potential for social reproduction.¹

As part of this exploration, I address two further questions. How does locality, as an aspect of social life, relate to neighborhoods as substantive social forms? Is the relationship of locality to neighborhoods substantially altered by recent history, especially by the global crisis of the nation-state? A simpler way to characterize these multiple goals is through this question: What can locality mean in a world where spatial localization, quotidian interaction, and social scale are not always isomorphic?

Locating the Subject

It is one of the grand clichés of social theory (going back to Toennies, Weber, and Durkheim) that locality as a property or diacritic of social life comes under siege in modern societies. But locality is an inherently fragile social achievement. Even in the most intimate, partially sealed, and



So, my concern is with what locality might mean in a situation where the nation-state faces particular sorts of transnational destabilization. So, he wants to bring in the kind of crisis that nation-states face in the wake of globalization due to large-scale movement of people, ideas, technologies, finance, everything that we discussed in the previous class. So, in such a scenario, what happens is all idea of locality and neighbourhood.

I view, so now, this is the most important part of this particular chapter's paragraph that we are going to discuss, this particular paragraph because here he offers a very new definition, a completely, entirely normal definition or a reinterpretation to this idea of locality and neighbourhood. And it is extremely important that you follow this particular new meaning or new interpretation. Otherwise, it might appear very strange or contradictory as we proceed.

So, I view locality as primarily relational and contextual, rather than as scalar or spatial. I see it as a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social

immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts. The phenomenological quality, which expresses itself in kinds of agency, sociality, and reproducibility is a main predicate of locality as a category or subject that I seek to explore.

So, he is making a contrast between locality and neighbourhood. So, again, I want to invite your attention to our conventional understanding of locality. So, when you say that it is a poor locality in the city of Mumbai or it is a poor locality in the city of Chennai, what does it indicate?

It indicates a particular geographic area, a particular place. But Appadurai is completely giving different meaning. And he is saying that it should not be connected with the scalar or spatial aspects, it is not something that is connected with the space.

Rather, he is talking about locality as a phenomenological quality, a kind of a particular process of meaning-making, a particular kind of emotional character, particular kind of ideas that are associated with that. "I see it as a complex phenomenological quality constituted by a series of links between a sense of social immediacy." So, it says, it is constituted by a series of links between a sense of social immediacy, again, please keep in mind, it is social immediacy, you feel that given a locality, you feel socially close.

Social closeness need not be physical closeness. You may not have any social relationship with maybe your immediate neighbour but you may have a very close social relationship with your relative or friend who is on the other continent. So, he is talking about the sense of social immediacy, that technologies of interactivity, how the technologies have enabled you to have a very thick set of interaction and relativity of contexts.

The kind of changing meanings, and changing contexts of different situations, this phenomenological quality, which expresses itself in certain kinds of agency, sociality, and reproducibility is the main predicate of locality as a category. So, he is saying that this phenomenological quality, this sense of ideas and this sense of emotions and this sense of relativity which expresses itself in certain kind of agency, it is this locality, it expresses through certain kinds of agency, sociality, and reproducibility because this particular sense of phenomenological character, quality has the ability to reproduce it.

And it is the predicate of locality as a category that I seek to explore. In contrast, I use the term neighbourhood to refer to the actually existing social forms in which locality as a dimension or value is variably realized. The neighbourhood, in this usage, are situated communities characterized by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual and the potential for social reproduction.

So, neighbourhood, he is talking about the social form. If locality is the phenomenological character, or phenomenological quality, with select kind of a set of quality of which has the ability of reproducibility of sociality of agency. He here is talking about the neighbourhood as the social form through which the phenomenological quality of locality is expressed. So, it is a form of existing social forms in which locality as a dimension or value is variably realized.

So, he is saying that neighbourhood is the social form through which various manifestations of locality is manifested. Neighbourhoods in this usage are situated communities, a group of people who have a sense of we feeling. Usually, one of the very important sociological, conventional definition of community is that a group of people who live in a given area and people who have a sense of we feeling, a sense of identity, a sense of belongingness.

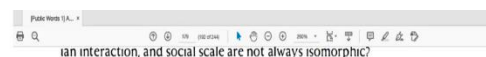
So, here he is saying that this usage as situated communities is characterized by their actuality. So, it is concrete set of communities, whether spatial or virtual. So, he is not talking about the actual group of people situated in a given place, it could be even virtual and this is the most important one and their potential for social reproduction.

So, here communities, so you know that we hear a lot about virtual communities, you can be a part of, you can be completely isolated from your actual neighbours or people who live in your locality, you are not a part of that, but then still you can be a very active member of a virtual community in the internet, through a host of different communities. You could be maybe some avid gamer, you could be a member of a group which is working for an environment protection or human rights or animal protection, number of online internet communities are there and many of us are active participants in that.

So, here, he is talking about neighbourhood as such a kind of community. So, these communities need not be the kind of a conventional community which can be seen in a physical city. So, this could include both physical as well as virtual, their actual as well as virtual, the spatial as well as virtual and their potential for social reproduction. So, this distinction is extremely important to understand the remaining part of his argument.

So, as I mentioned, he gives a very different kind of interpretation to these two words, locality and neighbourhood. As part of this exploration, I add these two further questions, how does locality as an aspect of social life relate to neighbourhood as substantive social forms? Is the relationship of locality to neighbourhoods substantially altered by recent history, especially by the global crisis of nation-state? So, these are the two major questions that he wants to engage with.

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Locating the Subject

It is one of the grand clichés of social theory (going back to Toennies, Weber, and Durkheim) that locality as a property or diacritic of social life comes under siege in modern societies. But locality is an inherently fragile social achievement. Even in the most intimate, spatially confined, geographically isolated situations, locality must be maintained carefully against various kinds of odds. These odds have at various times and places been conceptualized differently. In many societies, boundaries are zones of danger requiring special ritual maintenance; in other sorts of societies, social relations are inherently fissive, creating a persistent tendency for some neighborhoods to disintegrate. In other situations, ecology and technology dictate that houses and inhabited spaces are forever shifting, thus contributing an endemic sense of anxiety and instability to social life.

Much of what we call the ethnographic record can be rewritten and reread from this point of view. In the first instance, a great deal of what have been termed rites of passage is concerned with the production of what we might call local subjects, subjects who properly belong to a situated com-

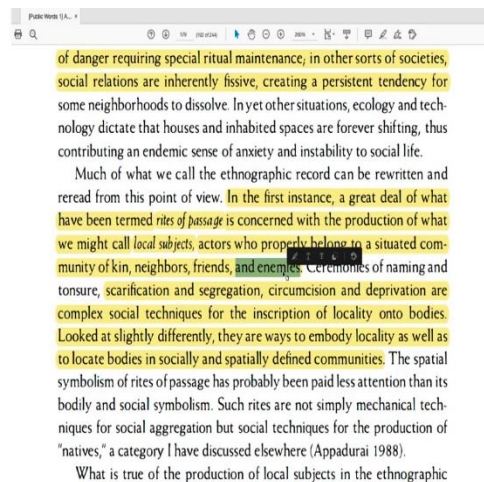


Now, in this section 'Locating the Subject', he ventures into an analysis of the anthropological literature to try to see the emergence of an individual, emergence of his subject, how different contexts produce different kinds of subjectivities. So, this is something very important because he argues that a subject gets its salience, or a subject gets its meaning only from the kind of a particular locality.

So, even in the most intimate, especially confined, geographically isolated situations, locality must be maintained carefully against various kinds of odds. These odds have various times and places to be conceptually differentiated. In many societies, boundaries are zones of danger requiring special ritual maintenance, in other sorts of societies, social relations are inherently fissive, creating a persistent tendency for some neighbourhoods to dissolve.

So, he is talking about how, say in different societies especially in traditional societies, how these notions of neighbourhood is created. We have this idea of very concrete set of boundaries. So, this concrete set of boundaries are erected mostly in physical sense or also through rituals sense, there are ritual boundaries for every region, if you are familiar with the rural scenario, or the tribal scenario, every tribal habitat will have a set of understanding about what constitutes their neighbourhood, their place of life, beyond which lies the area of danger, of unknown, of the strange, and everything.

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of danger requiring special ritual maintenance, in other sorts of societies, social relations are inherently fissive, creating a persistent tendency for some neighborhoods to dissolve. In yet other situations, ecology and technology dictate that houses and inhabited spaces are forever shifting, thus contributing an endemic sense of anxiety and instability to social life.

Much of what we call the ethnographic record can be rewritten and reread from this point of view. In the first instance, a great deal of what have been termed *rites of passage* is concerned with the production of what we might call *local subjects*, actors who properly belong to a situated community of kin, neighbors, friends, and enemies. Ceremonies of naming and tonsure, scarification and segregation, circumcision and deprivation are complex social techniques for the inscription of locality onto bodies. Looked at slightly differently, they are ways to embody locality as well as to locate bodies in socially and spatially defined communities. The spatial symbolism of rites of passage has probably been paid less attention than its bodily and social symbolism. Such rites are not simply mechanical techniques for social aggregation but social techniques for the production of "natives," a category I have discussed elsewhere (Appadurai 1988).

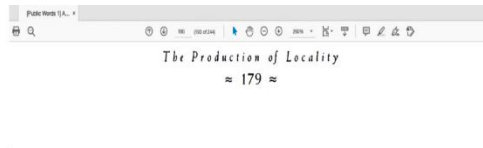
What is true of the production of local subjects in the ethnographic



So, much of what we call the ethnographic record can be rewritten and reread from this point of view. In the first instance, a great deal of what have been termed as the rites of passage is concerned with the production of what we might call the local subjects, actors who properly belong to a situated community of kin, neighbourhood, friends, and enemies.

So, here, he is talking about a vast literature in anthropology, that has looked into this whole process called as the rites of passage, for example, is initiation techniques, how a small child is initiated into the community, how a boy is made to undergo this process of Rites of Passage so that he emerges as a full-grown adult in that particular community. So, each of these transformations, though might look very ritualistic are the products of the particular locality.

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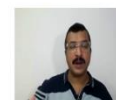
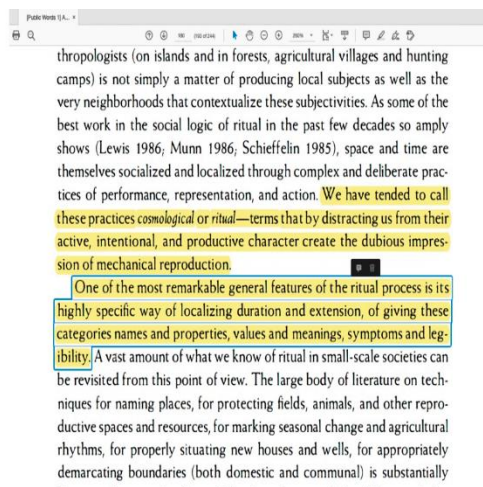
record is as true of the processes by which locality is materially produced. The building of houses, the organization of paths and passages, the making and remaking of fields and gardens, the mapping and negotiation of transhuman spaces and hunter-gatherer terrains is the incessant, often humdrum preoccupation of many small communities studied by anthropologists. These techniques for the spatial production of locality have been copiously documented. But they have not usually been viewed as instances of the production of locality, both as a general property of social life and as a particular valuation of that property. Broken down descriptively into technologies for house building, garden cultivation, and the like, these material outcomes have been taken as ends in themselves rather than as moments in a general technology (and teleology) of localization.



The building of houses, organization of paths and passages, the marking and remaking of fields and gardens, the mapping and negotiation of transhuman spaces and hunter-gatherer terrains in the nascent, often hundreds of preoccupations of many small communities studied by anthropologists. So, these are all, as he mentioned, the staple of anthropologists because every tribal society, every primitive communities have this very concrete idea of their immediate boundaries.

And these boundaries are against the nature, boundaries against other people, boundaries against the aliens, boundaries against the spirits. So, every community you are living in is kind of a bounded space.

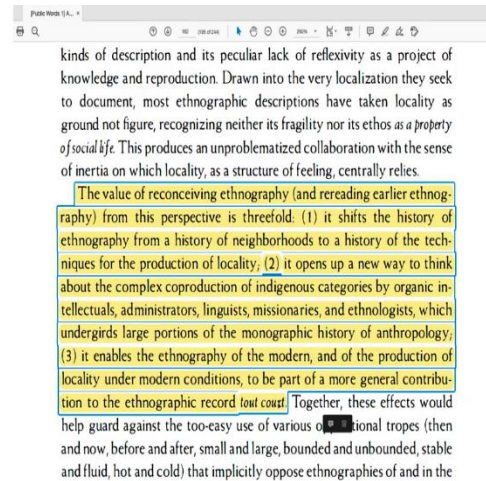
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So, he continues with that discussion about how we tend to call these practices such as cosmological or ritual, terms that by distracting us from their active, intentional, and productive character create the dubious impressions of mechanical reproduction. So, he is calling for a

reassessment of anthropological preoccupation with this whole idea of ritual. So, one of the most remarkable general features of this ritual process is highly specific ways of localizing durations and extensions of giving these categories names and properties, values and meanings, symptoms, and legitimacy. So, he is calling for a re-appropriation or re-appraisal of this ritual processes.

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Now, I think let us skip quite a lot of this writings because it is a kind of detour into anthropological work on locality and neighbourhood. The value of reconceiving ethnography and rereading earlier anthropology from the perspective is threefold. One, it shifts the history of ethnography from a history of neighbourhood to a history of the techniques of production of locality.

So, he is saying that in a globalized society, in a contemporary society, you need to reconceive, reimagine the potentials of ethnography, ethnography is the anthropological method of going amidst the people, living in a community and studying, that particular kind of methodology is what is known as ethnography. So, he says that, in the globalized world, ethnography is not becoming irrelevant, or it is not losing its significance, rather you need to reconceptualize. So, once you reconceptualize, it has three important implications.

One is that it shifts the history of ethnography from a history of neighbourhood to history of the techniques of production of locality. So, now, ethnography must be preoccupied with understanding the production of locality through technical innovations, technical involvement, it opens up new ways of thinking about the complex coproduction of indigenous categories by organic intellectuals, administrators, linguists, missionaries, and ethnologists, which undergirded large portions of the monographic history of anthropology.

So, it opens up new ways of thinking about the coproduction of indigenous category. So, it allows you to understand different kind of productions of different kinds of categories of these places, produced by a host of people, including the organic individuals of the community, by missionaries, by administrators, and a host of others. It enables the ethnography of the modern and of the production of locality under modern conditions, to be part of a more general contribution to the

ethnographic record tout court. So, these are the three important takeaways that he talks about when you talk about the role of ethnography in a globalized world.

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Public Note (1.4.1.1) -
help guard against the too-easy use of various oppositional tropes (then and now, before and after, small and large, bounded and unbounded, stable and fluid, hot and cold) that implicitly oppose ethnographies of and in the present to ethnographies of and in the past.



The Contexts of Locality

I have so far focused on locality as a phenomenological property of social life, a structure of feeling that is produced by particular forms of intentional activity and that yields particular sorts of material effects. Yet this dimensional aspect of locality cannot be separated from the actual settings in and through which social life is reproduced. To make the link between locality as a property of social life and neighborhoods as social forms requires a more careful exposition of the problem of context. The production of neighborhoods is always historically grounded and thus contextual. That

The Production of Locality
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Public Note (1.4.1.1) -
is, neighborhoods are inherently what they are because they are opposed to something else and derive from other, already produced neighborhoods. In the practical consciousness of many human communities, this something else is often conceptualized ecologically as forest or wasteland, ocean or desert, swamp or river. Such ecological signs often mark boundaries that simultaneously signal the beginnings of nonhuman forces and categories or recognizably human but barbarian or demonic forces. Frequently, these contexts, against which neighborhoods are produced and figured, are at once seen as ecological, social, and cosmological terrains.

It may be useful here to note that the social part of the context of neighborhoods—the fact, that is, of other neighborhoods—recalls the idea of *ethnoscape* (chap. 3), a term I used to get away from the idea that group identities necessarily imply that cultures need to be seen as spatially bounded, historically *unselfconscious*, or *ethnically homogeneous forms*. In this earlier usage, I implied that the idea of ethnoscape might be salient especially to the late twentieth century, when human motion, the volatil-



Then the next section, he is talking about the context of locality. Talking about why when you understand locality as a phenomenological quality, it is so important that every locality must be seen in a kind of a given context? I have so far focused on locality as a phenomenological property of social life, a structure of feeling that is produced by a particular form of international activity and that yields particular sort of material effects.

This is again a very important definition of locality, something that we discussed, a structure of feeling that is produced by a particular form of international activity that yields a particular sort of material effect, that is why he calls it as a phenomenological quality. Yet this dimensional aspect of locality cannot be separated from the actual setting through which social life is reproduced.

So, this phenomenological quality has to be produced in an actual setting and this actual setting, again, I am reminding you, it could be both physical or it could be virtual. So, he is only talking about the quality that emerges out of a particular setting, and this setting, when we come to this whole idea of neighbourhood could be either virtual or it could be physical.

To make the link between locality as a property of social life and neighbourhoods as a social form requires a more careful exposition of the problem of context. That is, neighbourhoods are inherently what they are because they are opposed to something else and derive from other, already produced neighbourhoods. So, this is a very important argument.

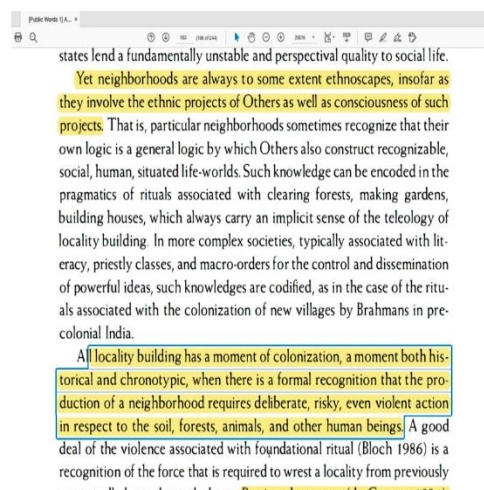
So, when you look at neighbourhood as forms of social intimacy, a neighbourhood is always created against some other because neighbourhood is always created on the basis of certain boundaries, and these boundaries are something so important that it demarcates us from the other.

And this other could be anybody, it could be the nature, it could be some spirits, it could be some other set of human beings, or it could be some other community, other tribe, other alien people, it could be other racial people whatever be that, but as a form of neighbourhood is always formed on the basis of very clear boundaries, either physical or imagined boundaries, and that is something very important.

In the practical consciousness of many human communities, this sometimes else is often conceptualized ecologically as forest or wasteland, ocean or desert, swamp or river, it could be physical things. It may be useful here to note that the social part of context of neighbourhood.

In fact, that is, other neighbourhoods recall the idea of ethnoscape, a term I used to get away from the idea that groups identities necessarily imply that cultures need to be seen as spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, ethnically homogenous forms. So, this form of neighbourhood could also be seen as separated by this whole idea of ethnoscape, a term that he mentioned in the previous class or previous article.

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states lend a fundamentally unstable and perspectival quality to social life.

Yet neighborhoods are always to some extent ethnoscares, insofar as they involve the ethnic projects of Others as well as consciousness of such projects. That is, particular neighborhoods sometimes recognize that their own logic is a general logic by which Others also construct recognizable, social, human, situated life-worlds. Such knowledge can be encoded in the pragmatics of rituals associated with clearing forests, making gardens, building houses, which always carry an implicit sense of the teleology of locality building. In more complex societies, typically associated with literacy, priestly classes, and macro-orders for the control and dissemination of powerful ideas, such knowledges are codified, as in the case of the rituals associated with the colonization of new villages by Brahmans in pre-colonial India.

All locality building has a moment of colonization, a moment both historical and chronotypic, when there is a formal recognition that the production of a neighborhood requires deliberate, risky, even violent action in respect to the soil, forests, animals, and other human beings. A good deal of the violence associated with foundational ritual (Bloch 1986) is a recognition of the force that is required to wrest a locality from previously uncontrolled and alienated forces.



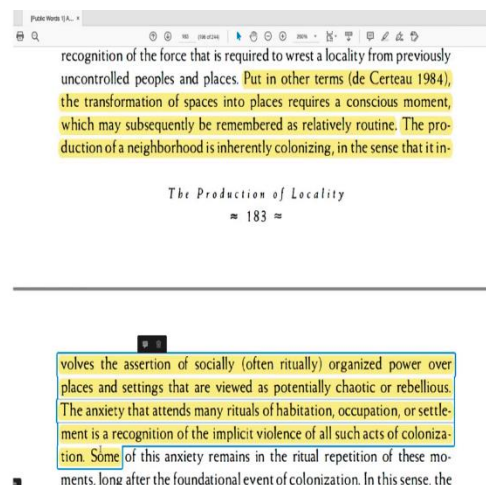
Yet neighbourhoods are always to some extent ethnoscape, insofar as they invoke the ethnic projects of others as well as consciousness of such projects. So, as I mentioned, this whole notion of we, who we are is always constituted by a contradistinction with the other. So, that is a very, very fundamental process of identity formation, we are always seen as the people who are different from, they. So, there is always this process of othering.

All locality buildings have a moment of colonization, a moment both historical and chronotypic, when there is a formal recognition that the production of neighbourhood requires deliberate, risky, even violent actions in respect to soil, forest, animals, and other human beings, a very, very important argument.

So, formation of every locality building, a locality building has a moment of colonization, when you talk about it as a locality, as a set of neurological quality, as a set of things, it always involves his very active process of colonization, he is using colonization in a very figurative manner that you exert your influence over a set of spheres.

And thereby making it only as yours, without allowing or refusing to allow others to easily come in. And this includes that with respect to soil, with respect to forest, animals, or other human beings that is why because it is possible that you create a set of, a bounded set of cells and that is possible only by keeping others outside and these others as I mentioned, it could include individuals or everything, individuals or forest or animals or other.

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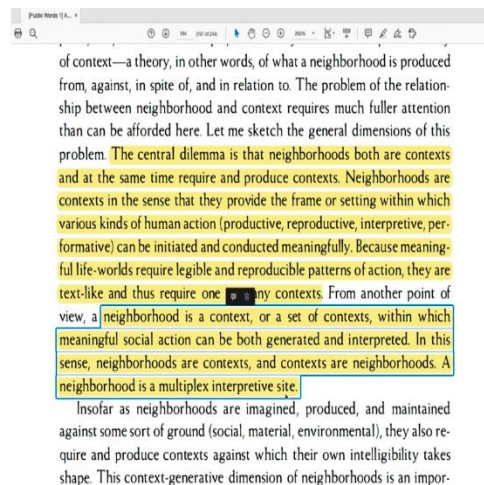
Put in other terms, the transformation space into places requires a conscious moment, which may subsequently be remembered as relatively routine. So, this transformation of spaces into places, the transformation of spaces into places requires a conscious moment which may subsequently be remembered as a relatively routine. The production of neighbourhood is inherently colonizing, in the sense that involves the assertion of socially often ritually organized power over places and settings that are viewed as potentially chaotic and rebellious.

The anxiety is that attend many ritual habitations, occupations, or settlement is a recognition of the implicit violence of all such acts of colonization. So, he is saying that this transformation of

space into place for example, imagine that a tribal group is wandering from one place to another and they want to settle down in a particular place. So, then they will have to transform that particular physical place into their own space and their own space involves organization of that geographical area, maybe setting up physical boundaries and setting up ritual boundaries.

So, that they have a very clear idea about how that particular space must be maintained, and how the space outside constitutes a completely different risky often dangerous situation. So, they will not allow any other animals or human beings or snakes or other things to come inside the space if they would be attacked or killed. So, any such kind of neighbourhoods are formed through a process of colonization, which is often violent.

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of context—a theory, in other words, of what a neighborhood is produced from, against, in spite of, and in relation to. The problem of the relationship between neighborhood and context requires much fuller attention than can be afforded here. Let me sketch the general dimensions of this problem. The central dilemma is that neighborhoods both are contexts and at the same time require and produce contexts. Neighborhoods are contexts in the sense that they provide the frame or setting within which various kinds of human action (productive, reproductive, interpretive, performative) can be initiated and conducted meaningfully. Because meaningful life-worlds require legible and reproducible patterns of action, they are text-like and thus require one or many contexts. From another point of view, a neighborhood is a context, or a set of contexts, within which meaningful social action can be both generated and interpreted. In this sense, neighborhoods are contexts, and contexts are neighborhoods. A neighborhood is a multiplex interpretive site.

Insofar as neighborhoods are imagined, produced, and maintained against some sort of ground (social, material, environmental), they also require and produce contexts against which their own intelligibility takes shape. This context-generative dimension of neighborhoods is an impor-



The central dilemma is that neighbourhoods both are context and at the same time require and produce contexts. So that is a very important point that he is talking about, every neighbourhood, every form of coexistence requires a context, you cannot have a context without that and this context could be physical, it could be ritual, and it also produces a context. So, it is not always that it receives the context and then exist as such, but it has the ability to produce, reproduce a context.

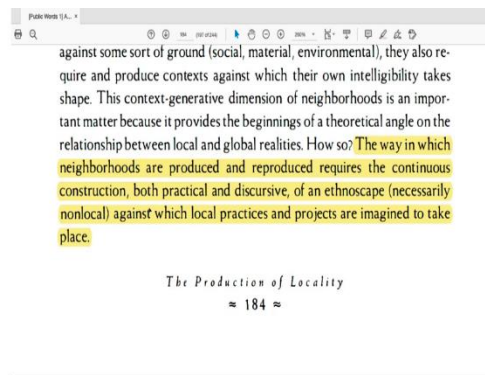
Neighbourhoods are context in the sense that they provide the frame of setting within which various kinds of human actions— productive, reproductive interpretive, performative can be initiated and conducted meaningfully. So, that is why we say that it produces, it requires a kind of context because meaningful life will request legible and reproduceable forms of patterns of actions, they are texts like and thus requires one or more many contexts.

So, what comes out of this particular neighbourhood very much depends upon the kind of context in which these neighbourhoods are located. From another point of view, a neighbourhood is a context or a set of contexts within which meaningful social action can both be generated and interpreted.

So, it is not only that a particular action can be generated, but that particular action gains a particular definitive interpretation only within that context. In this sense, neighbourhoods are

contexts, and contexts are neighbourhoods. A neighbourhood is a multiplex interpretative site. So, that is an important point that he talks about it.

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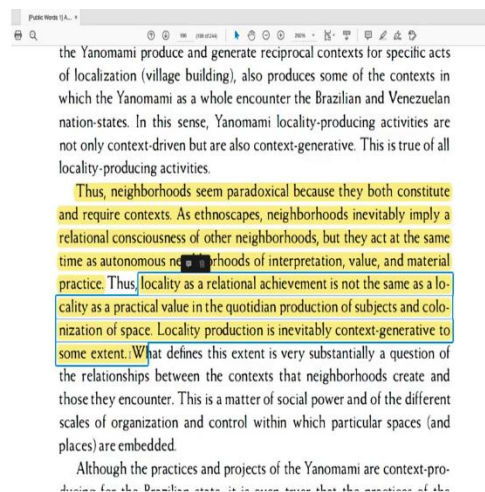


against some sort of ground (social, material, environmental), they also require and produce contexts against which their own intelligibility takes shape. This context-generative dimension of neighborhoods is an important matter because it provides the beginnings of a theoretical angle on the relationship between local and global realities. How so? The way in which neighborhoods are produced and reproduced requires the continuous construction, both practical and discursive, of an ethnoscape (necessarily nonlocal) against which local practices and projects are imagined to take place.

The Production of Locality
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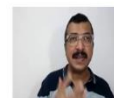
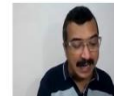
In one dimension, at one moment, and from one perspective, neighborhoods as existing contexts are prerequisites for the production of local



the Yanomami produce and generate reciprocal contexts for specific acts of localization (village building), also produces some of the contexts in which the Yanomami as a whole encounter the Brazilian and Venezuelan nation-states. In this sense, Yanomami locality-producing activities are not only context-driven but are also context-generative. This is true of all locality-producing activities.

Thus, neighborhoods seem paradoxical because they both constitute and require contexts. As ethnosapes, neighborhoods inevitably imply a relational consciousness of other neighborhoods, but they act at the same time as autonomous neighborhoods of interpretation, value, and material practice. Thus, locality as a relational achievement is not the same as a locality as a practical value in the quotidian production of subjects and colonization of space. Locality production is inevitably context-generative to some extent. What defines this extent is very substantially a question of the relationships between the contexts that neighborhoods create and those they encounter. This is a matter of social power and of the different scales of organization and control within which particular spaces (and places) are embedded.

Although the practices and projects of the Yanomami are context-pro-

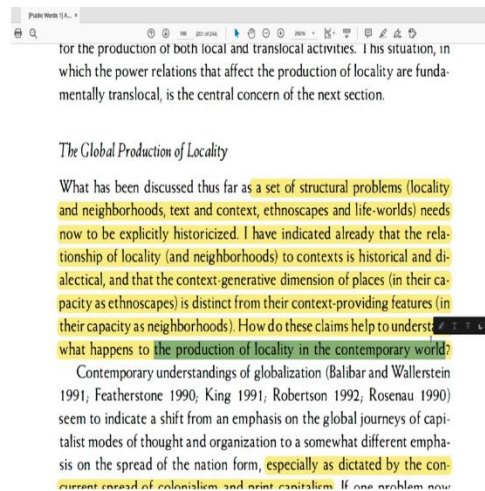


The way in which neighbourhoods are produced and reproduced requires the continuous construction, both practical and discursive of an ethnoscape necessarily nonlocal against which local practices and projects are imagined totake place. Let us skip some of these points because he elaborates the same point.

Thus, neighbourhoods seem paradoxical because they both constitute and require context. As ethnosapes, Neighbourhoods inevitably imply a relational consciousness of other neighbourhoods. As I mentioned that you being a neighbourhood always invokes the idea that there are other neighbourhoods around them, around you. But they act at the same time as autonomous neighbourhoods have interpretation, values, and material practices.

This locality as a relational achievement is not the same as locality as a practical value in the quotidian production of subjects and colonialization of spaces. Locality production is inevitably contexts generative to some extent. So, he is arguing the same point that locality production inevitably is contexts generative and to some extent. So, he is bringing in this whole relational aspect of locality and context in the analysis of neighbourhood and there are quite a lot of illustrations and examples that follow.

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for the production of both local and translocal activities. I his situation, in which the power relations that affect the production of locality are fundamentally translocal, is the central concern of the next section.

The Global Production of Locality

What has been discussed thus far as a set of structural problems (locality and neighborhoods, text and context, ethnoscapas and life-worlds) needs now to be explicitly historicized. I have indicated already that the relationship of locality (and neighborhoods) to contexts is historical and dialectical, and that the context-generative dimension of places (in their capacity as ethnoscapas) is distinct from their context-providing features (in their capacity as neighborhoods). How do these claims help to understand what happens to the production of locality in the contemporary world?

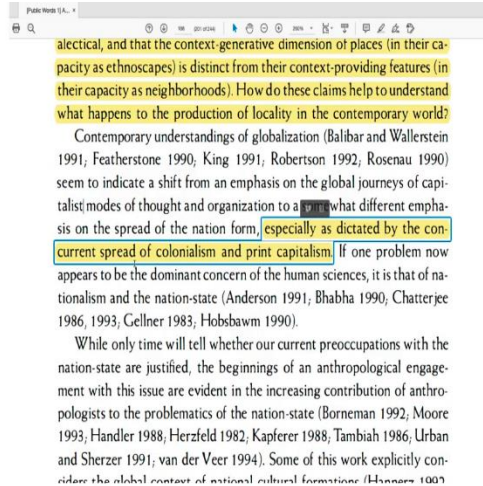
Contemporary understandings of globalization (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Featherstone 1990; King 1991; Robertson 1992; Rosenau 1990) seem to indicate a shift from an emphasis on the global journeys of capitalist modes of thought and organization to a somewhat different emphasis on the spread of the nation form, especially as dictated by the current spread of colonialism and urban capitalism. If one problem now



Now, let us come back to the central theme of the point — global production of locality. So, what happens in this production of locality in a globalized world? What has been discussed thus far, as a set of structural problems, that is locality and neighbourhood, text and context, ethnoscape, and life-worlds needs to be now explicitly historicized. I have indicated already that the relationship of locality and neighbourhood to context is historical and dialectical, and that the context generative dimensions of places in their capacity as ethnoscapas is distinct from the context providing features in the capacity as neighbourhood.

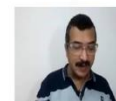
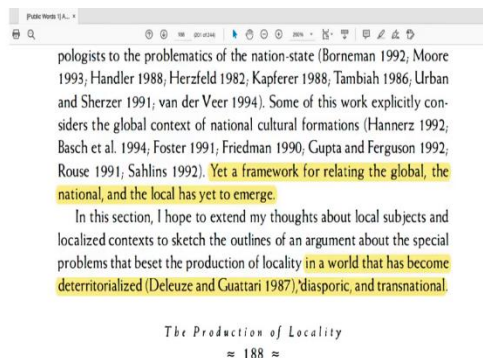
So, how does these claims help to understand what happens in the production of locality in the contemporary world? So, this relationship between context, neighbourhood and locality which has been historical, and which never use a kind of aesthetic one, how that unfolds in the era of globalization is what he is trying to look at.

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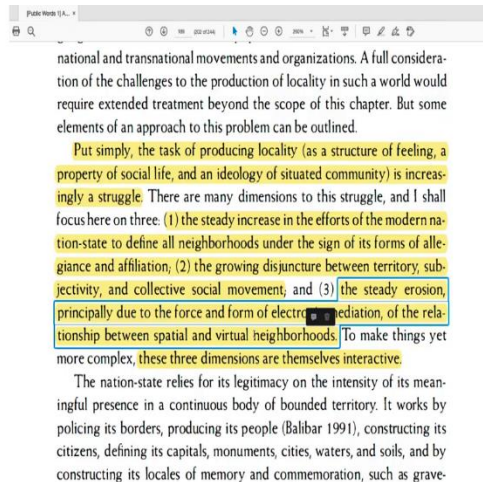
A contemporary understanding of globalization seems to indicate a shift from an emphasis on the global journey of capitalist mode of thought and organization is somewhat different emphasis on the spread of nation form, especially, as indicated by the concurrent spread of colonialism and print capitalism. So, remember, the previous discussion we had about the rise of nationalism and the idea of imagined communities.

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In this section, I hope to extend my thought about local subjects and localized context, to sketch the outline of an argument about the special problems that beset the production of locality in a world that has become deterritorialized (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). We will discuss, we will come back to this point again. What does it mean to be deterritorialized, diasporic, and transnational? So, he is specifically coming to the central theme.

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This is the core argument of this chapter. Put simply, the task of producing locality as a structure of feeling, a property of social life, and an ideology of situated communities is increasingly becoming a struggle. So, the production of locality, see earlier, Appadurai would argue that earlier the locality and neighbourhood coexisted, because, imagine a tribal society or an agrarian society or a feudal society where people live in the same area, and that area constitutes its neighbourhood, there is nothing virtual about it, it is only physical interaction and that constitutes the kind of a neighbourhood and that also constitutes the idea of a locality.

It creates a kind of a particular notion of who they are, what are their common interests, or what are their sense of identity and whom do they consider as the other, who are the others? How do they make a kind of boundary for the physical and social existence? All these things are co-evil, they exist together. But now, that is no longer the case. As a structured feeling, a property of social life and an ideology of situated communities is increasingly struggle.

There are many dimensions to be struggled, and I shall focus here on three, the steady increase in the efforts of the modern nation-state to define all neighbourhood under the sign of its form of allegiance and affiliation. The growing disjuncture between territory, subjectivity, and collective social movements, the steady erosion principally due to the forces and forms of electronic mediation, of the relationship between spatial and virtual neighbourhood.

So, these are the three important arguments that Appadurai brings forward about the creation of a locality in a globalized world. And the rest of the article is its elucidation, is its elaboration, let us spend some time trying to understand that. The first one is a steady increase in the efforts of the modern nation-state to define all neighbourhood under the sign of its form of allegiance and affiliation.

So, he would argue that modern nation-states want to convert every form of neighbourhood as sites of declaring allegiance to itself. What does it mean? You know that the nation-state is the paramount overarching political authority over a given population, over a given geographic area, and is given geographic area and given set of people have so many different forms of neighbourhood.

There are different communities, different associations, different clubs, different gatherings, different set of ideas, different set of affiliations and nation state is very suspicious about each of these things because we know that nation-state, especially modern nation-state is very apprehensive, it is very skeptical, it is very suspicious about people joining together with certain kinds of ideas.

So, it always tried to have a surveillance over these people. So, he says that increasingly we are seeing in a society which can be seen as a surveillance state, where the state is exerting so much or it is implementing or it is using quite a lot of surveillance mechanisms to evaluate, to surveil different forms of neighbourhoods in the society because it is very suspicious about people coming together, people developing different kinds of imaginations, different kinds of ideas, different kinds of ideologies because it always thinks that these forms can become a threat to its own monopoly of power. So, he elaborates that very beautifully.

Second is the disjuncture between territory, subjectivity, and collective social movement. So, this is yet another very important point, there is increasing difference or there is increasing disjuncture between territory, a geographical area, and subjectivity, and collective social movement.

So, earlier, we could very safely say that the people in a given territory would think in a similar manner and the kind of movements that happen there be of a similar character because it is only people of that particular area come together, they think alike and they act in a particular manner.

But now, it is completely different because people in a given territory are highly exposed to the kind of global flow of ideas. So, the whole idea of subjectivity, who are you, or what is your social identity, is open to so much of diverse explanations. So, there is no guarantee that the person whom you see in the next street will think like you or he or she will think like you, or act like you, or will have an idea about the world which is shared by you, he or she could be completely different person, different person having a completely different set of ideas about individuality, about freedom, about sexuality, about marriage, about nation, about religion, it could be completely different person.

So, that person and then the relation with social movements, so what are the kinds of and, what are the things that can inspire you to collectively get into something kind of movement, so these things are increasingly becoming diverse. And thirdly, the steady erosion, principally due to the force and form of electronic mediation of the relationship between spatial and virtual neighbourhoods, this is another point that I mentioned earlier.

The division between the spatial and virtual neighbourhoods, the very fact that you live in an apartment or you live in a housing colony does not mean anything, does not automatically mean that you are a member of that particular neighbourhood, or you share a sense of community with that particular group of people, and nothing can be taken for granted in that sense because you could be completely isolated from that community, you may not share anything with that community.

But you could be an active member of a virtual community, you could be an active member of a Facebook group, or a WhatsApp group, or a member of a particular group who often meets through online means and their ideas, your ideas could be completely different or opposite to the ideas of the people who reside next to you. So, there is an increasing divergence between the spatial and virtual neighbourhood.

Rest of the article, he gives quite a lot of, I am not going into the details, but he elaborates these three important points. So, he gives a very elaborate description about how nation-state is increasingly interfering in the spaces of neighborhood. And this is how these ideas of virtual and physical neighbourhoods are becoming increasingly different and he is also talking elaborately about the second point about how you cannot take for granted the kind of subjectivity that can emerge in a given locality.

And so, there is increasing disjuncture between a territory, subjectivity and the kind of social movements that can inspire people into collective action. So, that is why this particular essay has been identified, being commented as a very important and insightful one because Appadurai is able to take this notion of locality and neighbourhood away from the more conventional anthropological understanding of locality as always being territorial.

So, I hope you would have understood by now, he is not talking about both locality as well as neighbourhood as territorial, they have been lifted out of territory, it does not mean that they have nothing to do with territory, they have nothing to do with the geographic place aspect.

Of course, they have but it is not placeness alone. The place alone does not define a territory or a neighbourhood they have moved beyond that. So, we are seeing increasing dynamics between the virtual and the spatial, the virtual and the physical and that is what the particular argument, particular chapter talks about. Let us stop here and we will meet for the next class. Thank you.