

**Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives**  
**Professor R Santhosh**  
**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences**  
**Indian Institute of Technology, Madras**

**Lecture 14**  
**Appadurai on Violence**

(Refer Slide Time: 00:14)



## Appadurai on violence



Welcome back to the class and in this session, we are examining Appadurai's later writings, especially his writings that focused on the consequences of globalization and especially on the violence, the forms of violence that has become a part of this whole globalization story. So, remember that I mentioned in the previous class that Appadurai is one of the foremost and maybe one of the earliest scholars who theorized cultural globalization in a very, very significant manner.

His essay, disjuncture and difference in the cultural global economy was published in 1990s. In the 1990s, it is almost exactly 3 decades ago, 30 years back. So, that was in a nascent period of globalization where globalization was seen as a very important face in the world, and scholars were beginning to make sense of this whole scenario.

So, Appadurai's theorization on the cultural globalization became extremely influential and his working book, especially modernity at large was discussed extensively and also there were quite lot of criticisms that Appadurai was focusing more on the positive aspects of globalization, and he was not paying sufficient attention to the negative consequences of globalization.

So, he later devoted a lot of his time to understand the kind of emerging negative consequences or negative repercussions of globalization process. So, we are going to examine two of his works. One is an edited volume, which was published in 2000, titled "The globalization" and the other one is a small book titled "The fear of small numbers", in which he provides a very fascinating account of this whole idea of globalization and violence, or a particular type of violence that we see in contemporary world against the minorities, minority, it could be racial minority, it could be linguistic minority, it could be religious minority.

So, there is an agreement that the world has seen an increasing kind of violence against those who are numerically in smaller groups, there is increasing intolerance in this world, the kind of optimism that people shared about a global village about everybody coming together and then acting together, people are able to have a cosmopolitan virtue, cosmopolitan field that we are going to discuss, that seems to have kind of disappeared.

Now, it assumes that people in general are not too welcoming the others to be a part of their immediate neighbourhood and immediate cultural context. So, there are arguments that globalization has gone too far, at least among different sections, and then argue that we inherently, or people inherently are not really welcoming of the others. And that has given rise to a dramatic increase in the number of violence or hate crimes against the numerically smaller number of people.

So, that poses a very important question, why should the majority community be safe, afraid of the smaller community? Why should they unleash so much of violence against the numerically smaller communities? Where does this aggression come from? Where does this kind of insecurity come from?

Why this small number of people, minorities have to be so feared? What is the kind of underlying political and cultural dynamics that define this kind of hatred and violence? So, it is a very fascinating book, I would urge you to read the whole book, it is a small book. So, reading that should not be difficult.

(Refer Slide Time: 04:30)

- Appadurai and interest in the consequences of and violence in a globalizing world

*Globalization (2000)*

- Consequences of grassroots globalization
- "Globalization needs to be democratized"; Three issues
  1. Growing disjuncture between globalization of knowledge and knowledge of globalization
  2. "Inherent time lag between the processes of globalization and our efforts to contain them conceptually"
  3. "creates a fragmented and uneven distribution of those resources for teaching, learning and cultural criticism" that are vital for the formation of democratic research communities that could produce a global view of globalization"



So, let us go to his first one, that Appadurai and his interest in the consequences and the violence in a globalizing world as I mentioned earlier, consequences are very difficult to understand, very difficult to gauge, very difficult to measure. Because on the one hand, we talk about digital divide, the digital divide as a divide between the people who have access to digital devices and digital information and infrastructure and other things, and on the other people who simply do not have this.

So, it divides this whole world population into two sections. But things are more complicated than that. We know that even among the people who have relative access to digital information and digital infrastructure, again, it is not a very rosy picture. Again, it is not story of a singular situation, it is a very complicated story, to what extent even people with access to digital information are able to influence, are able to make use of this evolving global economy is a very, very difficult set of questions.

So, what are the specific consequences of globalization on different sections of population is? Again, we do not have adequate data on that, we do not have adequate data on for example, how globalization is affecting the peasantry, how globalization is affecting the informal workers, say for example, garment workers, or workers who are into this putting out systems.

So, traditional artisans, lower caste, lower class people, women for example. So, there are so many individual studies that are emerging, but still, it is too premature to have a very conclusive idea about the implications of globalization on different substantive sections. And, as I mentioned, the emergence of violence. So, this book, Globalization is an edited one, published in 2000.

He is trying to understand the consequences of grassroots globalization. So, he is more focused on the kind of a consequences of grassroots globalization in the sense what is happening to globalization at the grassroots. For example, the life of a farmer, how does his life gets altered through the process of globalization?

So, what happens to his productive processes, what happens to his products, whom he is dependent upon to sell his product, what happens when multinational companies enter into a market like India and then, when they enter into the process of farming, large scale farming, when they enter into marketing, buying this farm products, what happens to that?

So, these scenarios are extremely diverse and an extremely complicated, so he devotes this particular book Globalization, published in 2000 and edited work to discuss that. So, he says that globalization needs to be democratized, democratized in the sense, there is a sense of empowerment, it is not that everybody has the right to vote, everybody has the right to raise their voice, but democracy has a very important element of empowerment, that is the ideal of democracy, you empower everybody.

So, he argues that globalization needs to be democratized because in the current scenario, globalization is hugely skewed towards or hugely shifted towards very powerful entities like say multinational companies, or huge financial corporations, or huge multinational companies, they have enormous, huge disproportionate form of power against ordinary people, against vulnerable sections, against small nation states.

So, this imbalance in power needs to be addressed, that is what he said. So, there are three issues in this actual democratization of globalization according to Appadurai, why there are three important impediments, three important obstacles in the actual democratization of globalization. So, first, he says is the growing disjuncture between globalization of knowledge and knowledge of globalization.

So, this increasing disjuncture, that this word dissenter is a very favorite term for Appadurai because he uses this term quite often, quite extensively to provide his analysis or to explain his analysis of globalization. So, it is a growing disincentive between globalization of knowledge and

knowledge of globalization. So, there is a different kind of knowledge that is being globalized, different mechanisms ensure that different forms of knowledge get circulated across the globe.

The knowledge that was hitherto kept as a secret to small communities and small traditional groups are turned into global but at the same time, it is again not done in a democratic manner. We are in the world of intellectual property rights and patenting and then such kind of corporate practices and the knowledge of globalization. So, he says there is an increasing disjuncture between these two things on the one side, the spread of knowledge and secondly, the knowledge of globalization.

What does globalization entail? What is happening across the globe? This knowledge is not adequately distributed among different sections of population, especially the vulnerable sections, and especially the more disempowered groups are not able to make sense of what is happening around them. It seems that they are more well-off groups, more educationally and economically adverse groups are better equipped to make sense of, at least try to have some rudimentary understanding of what is happening around the globe, in terms of technology, in terms of commerce, in terms of economy, a host of other things.

But that seems to be not the case among less privileged, and inherent time lag between the process of globalization and our efforts to contain them conceptually. Again, exactly the same point because we are always running behind the globalization. It is not that globalization is not taking shape as per our wishes and as per our designs, it is not that we designed the path of globalization and globalization is taking place in that sense, we have absolutely no clue.

That is the most frightening thing, we will discuss that when we discuss Giddens and others. Giddens calls it as a runaway world, a world which is running on its own and we are only trying to make sense of the whole thing. So, there is a time lag between the actual process of globalization that is going in some particular direction, and the way we are conceptually containing, the way we conceptually tried to make sense of it happens after some time, by the time globalization would have reached somewhere else, and it creates a fragmented and uneven distribution of those resources for teaching learning and cultural criticism that are vital for the formation of democratic research communities that could produce a global view of globalization.

So, these three things, there is a growing disjuncture between globalization of knowledge and knowledge globalization and this inherent time lag, this creates a fragmentation and uneven distribution of these resources for teaching learning and cultural criticism. So, he says that for every community to be resilient in this era of globalization, it is important that you need to develop in depth understanding of the process of globalization.

You must be able to understand it, you must be able to culturally critique it, you must be able to see through its political design, you must be able to evolve political and cultural strategies to fight it, all these things are not happening because there is an uneven distribution of these resources for teaching learning and cultural criticism that are vital for the formation of a democratic research communities; that could produce a global view of globalization because if you do not really understand what is happening at the global scenario, it is very difficult for it, but it is almost impossible for you to evolve an adequate response system with respect to your own community. What is happening to your own community?

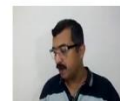
We are heavily dependent upon what is happening at a global level. So, Appadurai is very emphatically arguing for a democratization of knowledge regarding globalization and to equip

every community, every weaker group so that they are better equipped conceptually and politically and in terms of resources as well to fight this, to understand them and engage with this whole idea of globalization.

(Refer Slide Time: 14:00)



- Anti-globalization movements fail to conceptually capture what globalization is and then articulate it for the vulnerable sections.
- This prevents these organizations to develop a social imaginary to counter the power of global capital and to offer an alternative



So, he says anti-globalization movements fail to conceptually capture what globalization is and then articulate it for vulnerable sections. So, this precisely leads to this question of anti-globalization movements because they are unable to understand what is happening. And I hope you remember there were very strong anti-globalization movements during 2000 period, where there was World Social forums and then there were very strong anti-globalization arguments, saying that it is all going towards a kind of a cultural imperialism, a new imperialism, American imperialism kind of argument, but now that seems to have fizzled out.

This prevents these organizations to develop a social imaginary and to counter the power of global capital and to offer an alternative because many a times they do not even understand, how these whole things work. So, that really undermines the ability of this anti-globalization movements to put up an effective fight.

(Refer Slide Time: 15:02)

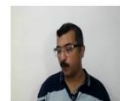


Now, let us turn to his other book that is Appadurai's, fear of small numbers, and essays on the geography of anger. So, there is a very interesting title on the geography of anger. He is not talking about violence as such. But, of course, violence is an inherent part of that. But more fundamentally, this book is about geography of anger, geography of sentiment, about suspicion, about intolerance, and of course, about violence and this is the book.

(Refer Slide Time: 15:31)

#### *Globalization: Key thinkers*

First, he argues that 'there is a fundamental, and dangerous, idea behind the modern nation-state, the idea of a "national ethos"' (ibid.: 3). National sovereignty is always built upon 'some form of 'national genius' which is never a 'natural outgrowth of this or that soil' but rather has been 'produced and naturalized at great cost, through rhetorics of war and sacrifice, through punishing disciplines of educational and linguistic uniformity', as well as 'through the subordination of myriad local and regional traditions' (ibid.: 4). The problem is that in the contemporary era of globalization 'some essential principles and procedures of the modern nation-state' have 'come unglued'. Above all, he suggests, 'the certainty that distinctive and singular peoples grow out of and control well-defined national territories has been decisively unsettled by the global fluidity of wealth, arms, people and images' (ibid.: 7).



And for some couple of slides, I am using the excerpts on globalization using this, I hope you have that copy of the book. So, he has summarized this particular book, and I am using that for a couple of slides and after that, I will go into the original book by Appadurai. So, first Appadurai argues that there is a fundamental and dangerous idea behind the modern nation state, the idea of a national ethos.

So, he argues that there is a fundamental and dangerous idea behind the modern state, the idea of a national ethos, and this national ethos as a very exclusive, very rigid set of ideas behind every nation state. National sovereignty is always built upon some form of national genius, which is never a natural outgrowth of this or that soil, but rather, has been produced and naturalized at great cost through rhetoric of war and sacrifice through punishing disciplines of educational and linguistic uniformity, as well as through the subordination of myriad local and regional traditions.

The problem is that, in the contemporary era of globalization, some essential principles and procedures of the modern nation states have come unglued. Above all, he suggests the certainty that distinctive and singular peoples grow out of uncontrolled, well defined national territories has been decisively unsettled by the global fluidity of wealth, arms, people and images. So, what is he talking about? He is talking about the kind of inner dynamics that is happening within the modern global nation state. So, a global nation state by its very definition is supposed to have a very coherent, very rigid set of national ethos, which it wants to impose upon its population. I hope you remember his discussion about the relationship between nation and state in the modern era in his work on disjuncture and difference.

He says that in the contemporary times, both the nation and the state are cannibalizing each other, they are at each other's throat. And then we had some discussion about that, where the state wants to have a very definitive understanding, definitive kind of loyalty from its nation, whereas the nation might harbor alternative understandings of statehood. We were talking about different examples of secessionist movements and other things.

So, here as well, he is saying that there is a fundamental dangerous idea behind the modern nation state, the idea of a national ethos as a very concrete set of ideas, which are implemented often violently or decisively executed on the minds of people. National sovereignty is always built upon some form of national genius, which is never a natural outgrowth of this or that soil, but rather, has been produced and naturalized at great cost.

So, this whole idea of nationalism, for example, India, in spite of its bewildering diversity has a sense of nationalism, has a sense of who the Indians are. And this is again, not a very natural outgrowth of all the natural qualities, but it is very carefully constructed, very carefully orchestrated, not a natural outgrowth of this or that soil, but rather has been produced and naturalized at great cost through rhetoric's of war and sacrifice, through punishing disciplines of educational and linguistic uniformity.

That is the reason why nationalism and military, nationalism and war are very closely connected. When a nation goes against the war with another country. What emerges to the fore is a sense of a fervour of patriotism, fervour of nationalism and other things. And, of course, our educational institutions play very important through which we instill this sense of nationalism among the children as well as through the subordination of media, local and regional traditions.

We know that in India, when we talk about unity in diversity, these diversities are never allowed to become very dominant, diversities are always allowed to be restrained into certain spaces. The problem is that, in the contemporary era of globalization, some essential principles and procedures of the modern nation states have come unglued. It is a very interesting argument.

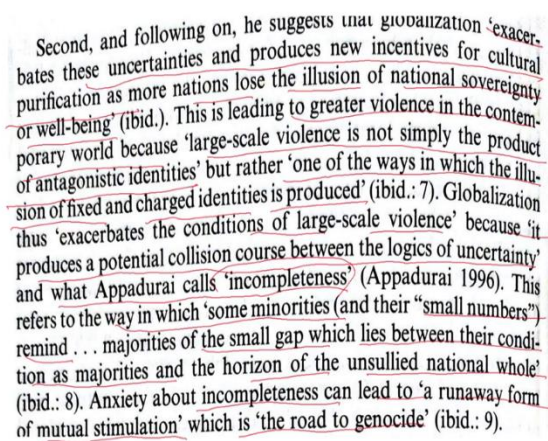
So, the conventional ways through which you enforce your nationalism by the nation state has now become more unglued, it is coming apart, it is coming out differently. Above all, he suggests the

centrality that distinctive and singular peoples grow out of uncontrolled well defined national territories has been decisively unsettled by the global fluidity of wealth, arms, people, and images.

So, that conventional understanding that a nation is composed of people who are thinking alike, people who have similar kind of idea, people who occupy a given national given territory, they act decisively, they act uniformly, that particular imagination is seriously threatened in the global era by a global fluidity of wealth, arms, people, and images. So, that is why there is a very interesting argument about the national boundaries. So, these national boundaries are becoming fluid, national boundaries are becoming porous.

So, there is a huge flow of people, flow of ideas, flow of arms, flow for images, ideologies, so, that no society is able to put forward a very uniformly thinking and acting set of population.

(Refer Slide Time: 22:01)



Second, and following on, he suggests that globalization 'exacerbates these uncertainties and produces new incentives for cultural purification as more nations lose the illusion of national sovereignty or well-being' (ibid.). This is leading to greater violence in the contemporary world because 'large-scale violence is not simply the product of antagonistic identities' but rather 'one of the ways in which the illusion of fixed and charged identities is produced' (ibid.: 7). Globalization thus 'exacerbates the conditions of large-scale violence' because 'it produces a potential collision course between the logics of uncertainty' and what Appadurai calls 'incompleteness' (Appadurai 1996). This refers to the way in which 'some minorities (and their "small numbers") remind . . . majorities of the small gap which lies between their condition as majorities and the horizon of the unsullied national whole' (ibid.: 8). Anxiety about incompleteness can lead to 'a runaway form of mutual stimulation' which is 'the road to genocide' (ibid.: 9).



Second, he suggests that globalization exacerbates these uncertainties and produces new incentives for cultural purification, as more nations lose the illusion of national sovereignty or well-being. This is a very important argument, there is a global turn towards the cultural or religious ideas of purification. What he says is that globalization exacerbates these uncertainties and produce new incentives for cultural purification as more nations lowers the illusion of national sovereignty or well-being.

So, when it is very evident among religious traditions, when a religion loses its political power, there is often an introspection into its own thing and then there is an argument that we lost political power mainly because we have moved away from our actual religious ethos, we have aberrated, we have become corrupted, and that is the reason why we are losing all our fortunes, we are losing our political power our economic well-being.

So, in order to get back we need to go back to the origins of our religious tradition. So, that is why there are quite a lot of religious reformist and religious revivalism among Hindu and Islamic societies emerged during the early and during the middle of 19th and 20th centuries. So similarly, something happens here, this is leading to greater violence on the contemporary world because



large scale violence is not simply the product of an antagonistic identities, but rather, one of the ways in which illusions of fixed and charged identities is produced.

So, he is talking about how this contemporary era which has quite a lot of anxieties, a sense of disillusionment, especially as exacerbated by the poverty and lack of job opportunities, economic insecurity, ontological security for a host of these things, then there is a natural tendency towards to turn to the kind of the whole mechanism of cultural purification. And then also large-scale violence is not simply the product of antagonistic identity, this is a very important point.

So, he is saying that the violence is not product of antagonistic identities. Often, that is how we we think that violence happens because two groups do not get along. So, whenever they meet there is a kind of violence, but rather, one of the ways in which illusions are fixed and charged identities produced. Rather, he says that by engaging in violence, you create these kinds of antagonistic identities.

So, violence is not a product rather, violence is a means through which these antagonistic identities are created. Globalization thus exacerbates the conditions of large-scale violence because it produces a potential collision course between logics of uncertainty and what Appadurai calls the incompleteness. And this is a very important point, what does he means by this term incompleteness.

On the one hand, there are quite a lot of scholarly arguments that people are increasingly facing this whole notion of uncertainty, uncertainty about livelihood, uncertainty about cultural moorings, uncertainty about their own tradition, people are feeling more and more insecure because more and more people are coming, strongly held value systems are becoming problematic, they are becoming irrelevant.

So, population enmasse are facing the sense of uncertainty, and what he calls it as incompleteness. This refers to the ways in which some minorities and their small numbers remained majorities of the small gap, which lies between their conditions as majorities and the horizons of the unsullied National Court. Anxieties about incompleteness can lead to a runaway form of mutual simulations, which is a road to genocide.

So, he says that this refers to the condition where some minorities and their small numbers remind majorities of the small gap which lies between the conditions as majorities and the horizon of the unsullied national whole. So, these minorities often remained as the extra, the unwanted extra. And it is an imagination that if these minorities were not there, then we could have claimed the complete hold of this whole nation, minorities how much ever insignificant they are, this whole fear about minorities taking over the population of a majority are always statistically insignificant in most of the cases, impossible, that the birth rate of some minorities are so high that after some 30 years or 40 years of 50 years, minorities will become majority and majority will become minority.

If you look at the empirical cases, that scenario is highly improbable in most of the scenarios. But still, these minorities, this image of a minority, because it is seen as an unwanted extra, it reminds them the small gap which lies between their conditions as majorities and the horizon of an unsullied national whole, because it reminds them that they can never have this absolute claim, absolute majority or a complete sense of purity and completeness without any of this extra that is compromised, that comprises of the minorities.

Anxiety about incompleteness can lead to a runaway form of mutual simulation, which is the road to genocide. So, this anxiety about incompleteness it could be in terms of population number, it could be in the form of a cultural construct, that you want to have a rigid form of cultural ethos which is not compromised or polluted by others. So, all these things can lead to heightened form of genocide and then violence.

(Refer Slide Time: 28:27)



A third idea relates to how globalization has brought about what he calls 'the narcissism of minor difference'. In the fourth chapter of the book, he argues that the 'growing rage against minorities' is articulated through a narcissistic process in nationalism whereby 'majorities can be mobilized to think they are in danger of becoming *minor*' and 'to fear that minorities, conversely, can become *major*' (ibid.: 83). Contemporary globalization intensifies 'the possibility of this volatile morphing' so that 'the naturalness that all group identities seek and assume' is perennially threatened 'by the abstract affinity of the very categories of majority and minority' (ibid.). Minorities in a globalizing world 'are a constant reminder of the incompleteness of national purity' (ibid.: 84).



A third idea relates to how globalization has brought about what he calls the narcissism of the minor difference. In the fourth chapter of the book, he argues that the growing rage against minorities is articulated through a narcissistic process in the nationalism whereby majorities can be mobilized to think they are in danger of being becoming minor and to fear that minorities conversely can become major.

So, a sense of excessive preoccupation with oneself. That is what you usually understand by the term narcissism. So, there is an excessive preoccupation with oneself that you always have this kind of a paranoia, you always have this kind of a fear that you are going to lose your privileges, you are going to be outnumbered, you are going to be made second class citizens of this whole country because there is somebody, this minority, they are assuming significance.

And as I told, if you take the actual population growth and census in many societies, this is simply an illusion, this is simply an unfounded argument. The fear that minorities conversely can become major, contemporary globalization intensifies the possibility of this volatiles morphing, so that the naturalness that all group identities seek and assumed is perennially threatened by the abstract affinity of the very categories of majority and minority.


Minorities in a globalizing world are a constant reminder of the incompleteness of national purity. So, exactly what we were discussing so far. So, globalization intensifies the possibility of this volatile morphing, so that the naturalness that all group identities seek and assume is perennially threatened by the abstract affinity of the very category of majority and minority.

So, the moment you talk about minority it reminds you of the other people, the extra people, the unwanted people, who do not really fit in into your cultural imagination of a pure group who think

alike, who wish alike, who behave alike, who have similar kind of strong affinity towards a set of ideas and every majoritarian argument, whether you think of this neo Nazis that are emerging in Europe or white supremacist in U.S. or certain other religious fringe groups in India, they all have this imagination of an extremely homogeneous group of people, where minorities simply do not have any space because that is seen as pollution, that is seen as a kind of an unwanted existence, the extra. So, this is the key arguments in his work.


(Refer Slide Time: 31:27)

Fear of Small Numbers



**Predatory Identities**

I define as predatory those identities whose social construction and mobilization require the extinction of other, proximate social categories, defined as threats to the very existence of some group, defined as a we. Predatory identities emerge, periodically, out of pairs of identities, sometimes sets that are larger than two, which have long histories of close contact, mixture, and some degree of mutual stereotyping. Occasional violence may or may not be parts of these histories, but some degree of contrastive identification is always involved. One of these pairs or sets of identities often turns predatory by mobilizing an understanding of itself as a threatened majority. This kind of mobilization is the key step in turning a benign social identity into a predatory identity.



And I have some paragraphs taken from his book and this is from the last chapter, titled, Fear of Small Numbers. In that book, it is small book, but this is the final chapter. So, I thought it is very interesting couple of paragraphs we need to pay attention to. So, this is the paragraph, I think, three slides from his own book.

So, he mentioned about predatory identities, a very important term, you will be able to see quite a lot of parallels in the contemporary times. He defines predatory identities as those identities whose social construction and mobilization requests the extinction of the other, proximate social categories defined as threats to the very existence of some groups. So, when we talk about identities, we talk about identities as having a coherent set of ideas about who you are and it always defined by the other.

So, usually we think that in a society, this co-existence or co-living is possible because you live in a particular manner and you realize that others are also living but you try to protect your way of life, your identity by keeping a distance with them, so that there is not too much of an intermingling happening, so that your cultural ideas and your cultural identities, your exclusive features, belief systems, everything is of protected and preserved, and that is how societies across the globe have evolved over these times.

Now, what he says is that, when it comes to predatory identities, predatory identities are those whose socially consistent mobilization requires the extinction of the other. So, predatory identities are not ready to allow other identities to thrive, they want them to be annihilated, they want them to be extinct.

Proximate social categories defined as threats to the very existence of some group defined as we. Predictable identities emerge periodically out of pair of identities, sometimes sets that we are larger than two, which have long histories of cross contact mixing and some degree of mutual stereotype.

So, it is marked by a person of coexistence for a long time, occasional antagonism, but a very strong sense of mutual distrust and mutual stereotyping, occasional violence may or may not be part of these histories, but some degree of contrasting identification is always involved. So, what is contrasting identification? Contrasting identification is when you attribute opposite qualities to each other.

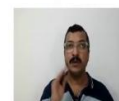
So, if you are violent, you are seen as non-violent, they are seen as violent, if you are seen as vegetarian, the other is seen as non-vegetarian, if you are seen as belonging to one particular religion, the other seen as belong to certain another cult, if you are seen as pure, the other is impure. So, often contrasting identification is attributed.

One of these pairs or sets of identities often turns predatory by mobilizing and understanding of itself as a threat to majority, so you talk to any of these majority or in groups and ask them why they are unleashing this much of violence. They would always tell you the story of a victimhood, their entire discourse could be the discourse of victimhood, they would say that this has been our land, we have been living like this, but then these people are coming, they are threatening us now. So, it is their story of being victims.

This kind of mobilization is the key step in turning a benign social identity into a predatory identity. And you can have this kind of examples in Europe in different parts of the country, where you see that this majority, they feel that their homeland is being invaded, their culture is being corrupted, their women have been allured into other religion, a host of such stories of victimhood is what you listen to.

(Refer Slide Time: 35:42)

Predatory identities emerge in the tension between majority identities and national identities. Identities may be described as "majoritarian" not simply when they are invoked by objectively larger groups in a national polity but when they strive to close the gap between the majority and the purity of the national whole. This is a key point about the conditions under which identities turn predatory. Majority identities that successfully mobilize what I earlier defined as the anxiety of incompleteness about their sovereignty can turn predatory. Incompleteness, in this sense, is not only about



So then, Appadurai writes, predatory identities emerge in the tension between majority identities and national identities. Identities may be described as majoritarian, not simply when they are

invoked by objectively larger groups in national polity but when they strive to close the gap between majority and the purity of the national whole.

That is the point, so a majority identity is not built on the basis of the large numbers exclusively, it is always when the majority wants to claim the nation as a whole but the majority wants to equate itself with the nation but the majority wants to have a complete control, absolute identification with the nation without leaving any space to others, it turns out to be the kind of predatory identities because as I mentioned earlier, the minorities represent the kind of this extra of this impurity, which needs to be eliminated.

This is a key point about the conditions under which identity spread predatory. Majority identities that successfully mobilized what I earlier defined as the anxieties of incompleteness about their sovereignty can turn predatory because they have all the resources, they are majority number, they have more physical strength and material strength and they can always very strongly believe that they are fulfilling their dream, fulfilling of their establishment of their complete authority is possible only by eliminating the other and that often can lead to acts of violence.

(Refer Slide Time: 37:38)

most always majoritarian identities. That is, they are based on claims about, and on behalf of, a threatened majority. In fact, in many instances, they are claims about cultural majorities that seek to be exclusively or exhaustively linked with the identity of the nation. Sometimes these claims are made in terms of religious majorities, such as Hindus, Christians, or Jews, and at other times in terms of linguistic, racial, or other sorts of majorities, such as Germans, Indians, or Serbs. The discourse of these mobilized majorities often has within it the idea that it could be itself turned into a minority unless another minority disappears, and for this reason, predatory groups often use pseudo-demographic arguments about rising birthrates among their targeted minority enemies. Thus, predatory identities arise in those circumstances in which majorities and minorities can plausibly be seen as being in danger of trading places. This inner reciprocity is a central feature of this analysis and will be revisited below in this chapter.



Let us look into this particular paragraph. That is, they are based on claims about and on behalf of a threatened majority. In fact, in many instances, claims about cultural majority is that they seek to be extensively or exhaustively linked with the identity of a nation. Sometimes these claims are made in terms of religious majorities, such as Hindus, Christians, or Jews and at other times in terms of linguistic, racial, or other sort of majorities, such as Germans, or Indians, or Serbs, and we see such kind of contestations everywhere.

In certain places, this claim of majoritarianism is articulated in the name of. India belongs to Hindus, for example, or certain other countries, Pakistan belongs to Muslims. So, others who remain are seen as this unwanted extra which need to be eliminated or sometimes it is also articulated by linguistic, racial or other forms of majority.

The discourse of these mobilized majorities often has within it the idea that it could be itself turned into a minority unless another minority disappears. And for this reason, predatory groups often use

pseudo demographic arguments about rising birth rates among their targeted minority, we mentioned that if you look into some of the controversies about the population growth of certain communities in India, some time back, we saw exactly the same scenario, there were arguments that the birth rate of some minority communities are so high that they will overcome or they will overtake the majority community here.

But later it was found out that these arguments and assumptions were absolutely erroneous because demographers and population scientists, they on the basis of statistics argued that this is quite impossible. But in the popular imagination, such arguments were made again and again, these predatory identities arise in those circumstances in which majorities and minorities can plausibly be seen as being in danger of Trading Places.

This inner reciprocity is a central feature of this analysis and will be revisited below in this chapter. So, he analyses this whole dynamic of sense of insecurity exhibited by the majority group and this is very ironic because majority by its definition are supposed to be the people who have more number and obviously, they have all kinds of resources as well.

But we see in a global society, increasing violence unleashed by this majority community against minorities because there is this kind of perceived sense of threat, perceived sense of insecurity, perceived sense of loss of places, perceived sense of loss of power, which often lead to very active form of violence, bloodbath and even genocide as elaborated by Appadurai.

So, this book, I thought I will introduce you because it offers very interesting insights to understand violence that is being unleashed in different parts of the world because people are increasingly becoming insecure about their cultural identities, cultural affinities, and or quite often, they tend to be predatory identities. So, this category termed predatory identity becomes very useful to understand contemporary cultural violence and cultural conflicts in many parts of the globe.

So, let us stop here and we are winding up the discussion on Appadurai, so this is a final session on Appadurai, I would strongly urge you to read Appadurai, and his original works because he is one of the most celebrated anthropologists or celebrated social scientists on globalization, somebody hailing from India. So, let us stop here and we will have one more session this week on cultural globalization and that will be on the idea of cosmopolitanism by Ulrich Beck. We will see you then. Thank you.