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GLOBALISATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A VILLAGE AND A TOWN

Introduction

The present paper is a comparative study of identity formation of a village i.e. *Tana* and a town i.e. Shamli, Muzaffarnagar District, Uttar Pradesh in the wake of globalisation. The concept of identity formation has been looked by broadly focussing on the socio-cultural life of people in family, neighbourhood and community, generation gap, changes in socio-cultural celebrations, emergence of new social and cultural celebrations, etc. in both the village and town. Globalisation comprises of various nature and trend of homogenisation, hybridisation, Coca-colonisation and McDonaldisation used in the study. Both homogenising and heterogenising trends of globalisation are mainly used for understanding spread of homogenisation, cultural imperialism and hybridity which broadly influence identities of various groups and communities in the field. The village studies conducted by various Indian sociologists such as Ghurye (1932), Dube (1955), Bailey (1957), Srinivas (1976), etc. have directed their studies towards castes, land, their relation, etc.. But this study is different from those conducted earlier, mainly by centring on numerous socio-cultural practices, their changes and some new emergence observed by various castes and communities in both the village and town life in India in the era of globalisation. The paper has been divided into three sections. The first section of the paper deals with homogenising and hybridising nature of globalisation, their relation to consumer culture and cultural identity, and techniques of research. The second section emphasises on the field- both village and town, and their problems. And the last, focuses on analysis of changing identity of both village and town in relation to the process of globalisation.¹

Globalisation, Consumer Culture and Cultural Identity

Among the available perspective on globalisation, one upholds in the fact that it begins with revolution in information and communication technology (ICT) rendering global circulation of messages and symbols in the

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shortest possible time, which infuses homogenisation of consumer products and market process in the realm of commodity, cultural symbols, life style and behaviour pattern on the one hand and on the other elevates sense of cultural identity and distinctiveness (Singh 2012). This homogenisation leads to spread of cultural imperialism by obliteration of cultural difference and cultural plurality and it also leads to generation of a sense of alertness and consciousness of identity among various cultural communities across the world. This cultural imperialism by globalisation is expressed in terms of media imperialism, discourse on nationality as well as critique of modernity and global capitalism. This imperialism spreads distinctive dominant culture of multinational and produced homogenised global culture by way of serving a capitalist system by producing good life to consumer and luring powerful people across the world. It is significant to mention here that this form of globalisation is pregnant with the idea of cultural imperialism, has a disruptive influence on local cultural practices because it converts traditional objects of arts and aesthetics, customs and ritual uses into marketable commodities. It has not only disrupted a cultural autonomy but also destabilised the life of the people by creating a network of competition, price war and exploitative class. In such conditions people from local cultural community feel loss of their cultural identity.

There is yet another perspective, which focuses on hybridising nature of globalisation basing on the blend of global with local. This trend produces tensions in terms of assertion of identity and culture at local level. In a comprehensive mode global is not counterpoised to the local rather local is necessarily included within the global. Such features of globalisation is found to be closely related to responses of various global categories of individual, regional, ethnic, gender and consumers seen in the forms of tailoring and advertising goods and services on the basis of global and local market. It leads to construction of differentiated consumer tradition. This view holds the idea that globalisation is a major problematic of global-local polar relationship where the idea of local is formed as a form of opposition or resistance to the homogenising trend of globalisation. It is perceived that both local and global are two aspects of the same process of globalisation. At this juncture, Pieterse's view (1995) on hybridisation deserves special mention. He has seen hybridisation process in several structural senses such as nation-state formation, global-local dynamics, ethnic community, super-national and sub-national regionalism, political economy and organisational space which are another way of raising reconstruction of issues of the some form of identities. The increasing structural form of globalisation provides hybridisation by increase in available mode of various instrumental, transnational, non-governmental organisation (NGO), micro-regional, macro-regional, multi-local organisation, which ultimately criss-crossed by functional, professional, informal and communicational uses. The network of organisational function and ideology has created informal space inhabited by diaspora, migrant,

refugee, exile, etc. of various socio-cultural identities. As a matter of fact, hybridisation in cultural area is a mixture of different cultural categories and beliefs of Asian, African, European and American culture in origin and it produces a global culture through global melange, which is evident in the various areas of culture such as food, music, dance, drama, art, painting, etc. producing a different hybrid culture. These hybrid forms are in one angle appears to exoticism and from other angle reflects trans-cultural class affinity. The culture and its elements existing prior to the hybridisation is viewed as territorial cultural system from localised learning process and having orthogenetic, endogenous, authentic in-word looking and community based characteristic for identity formation. After hybridisation these characteristics are transformed into different trans-local exogenous, heterogeneous, out-word looking and network of strangers. As a result not only criss-crossing of culture happens but also the cultural forms get transformed in appearance and identity. This hybridising nature of globalisation may be viewed against the homogenisation of globalisation. If one accepts culture as hybrid identity then globalisation means hybridisation of hybrid culture. In hybridisation of culture new trans-local cultural expression of independent in nature requires new cooperation, which evokes new cultural imaginaries. The identity practice of individual and group is created in the way of immediate experience, which is structured in a definite social context, called identity space. This identity space in the presence of globalisation is derived from the identity space of modernity and the essentialism of substance of meaning of culture is generated by such space.⁵The production of local difference in global relation is produced by a global control over local consumption through product of differentiation. Friedman (1995) claims that identification is an on-going practice and the concept of culture upon which the notion of globalisation is based is a product of identity space of modernity. He considers globalisation theory as a product of parameters of modernity of the ways in which modern subjects identify the world. Thus globalisation is a term where hybridisation, creolisation, blend, and mixture find their ways and practices for resonance.

At this juncture it is significant to dwell upon the characteristic of consumer culture spreaded by globalisation process and converting society into consumer society. Bauman (2001) conceives consumer society as a society where consumption is self-propelling and it has its own purpose. To him the distinctive mark of consumer society and consumerist culture has not been primarily elevated to a fast rising volume of consumption but it is an emancipation of consumption from its past instrumentality of limit in terms of norms and plasticity of needs, which makes consumption free from its functional bond and absolving it from the needs of justification of leisure ability. Even Bourdieu (2010) understands cultural identity through his idea of taste, life style, habit and consumption. For him habit is both generative principle of objectively classifiable judgement and system of classification of these practices. Habit is a relationship between two capacities — one the

capacity to produce classifiable practices and the other is the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products. It represents a social world that is the space of life style. This relationship has been established between characteristics of economy and social condition and the distinctive feature, which are associated with the corresponding position in the universality of life style. Life style is related to choice of products and desire for goods and is not the consequence of income but it has been the result of way of life, which is distinctively precipitated through the process of socialisation in habitus. In other words, the distinctive life style and social distinction has not been the function of income but primarily the result of different socialisation. The social identity according to him is defined and assorted through the difference, which is inevitably inscribed within the disposition of habitus. In this way Bourdieu's ideas of the habitus, life style, and consumption have provided a platform for analysing different dynamics of identity relating with family socialisation, class and caste. Many scholars have seen consumer culture as a unique culture of consumption by giving a meaningful practice to everyday life. It is found not only to be a way of consumption but also containing a way of ideology and scope, which can structure and subsume all other ways to a great extent. It has been a part of the western agenda of the assertion of own different from the rest of the world as model, progressive, free and rational, civilised, affluent and progressive universal values. Slater (1997) has understood consumer culture as the result of advance western business and universalising western modernity. It has been the part of making modern world, which is experienced by special actor who has been free, rational and not governed by tradition. In this way consumer culture can be equated by mass culture. And the desire and taste of masses who are newly empowered by money and democratic rights are reduced to consumption. The consumer culture is also called the culture of capitalism in the sense that modern consumption is moderated by market relation and is a culture of market society.⁹ In the similar fashion Sklair (1991) is of the view that the cultural ideology of consumerism produces the values and aptitudes that create and sustain the need for the products. He explains it through the idea of global consumerism which creates activity and impact of transnational corporations that are supposed to be the wheels of the process of cultural ideology of consumerism in the global era.

Research Technique

The researcher has conducted an empirical study of identity formation vis-à-vis globalisation by taking a village-*Tana* and a town-Shamli Muzaffarnagar district, Uttar Pradesh (UP), India as units of analysis as a part of his doctoral work. The process of identity formation involves pre-global and post-global social-cultural formation in both *Tana and Shamli*. The process of globalisation, its relation with local culture and its responses are analysed for understanding changing identity at two levels. At the first level, positivistic,

phenomenological and social anthropological approach are used for the study of culture, and at the second level, the study of the impact of revolution in ICT and its broader use by masses as a new separate category has become obligatory to use because it has revolutionised various institutions and interaction patterns of people in the world in general and in India in particular. For the purpose of study both primary and secondary data are used. To generate primary data interview schedule, focused group discussion and observation research techniques are mainly used. The structured and open ended nature of interview schedule is prepared and used for the study. For generation of primary data a sample of 300 families/households from both, hundred from the village and two hundred families from the town have been selected by using mainly stratified and purposive sampling. The observation technique has been used at various occasions of socio-cultural celebrations like birthday, marriage anniversary, carrying *kanvariya*, organising and doing *Kirtan*, *Jagaran*, etc. The focused group discussion with family male members and young boys are also conducted. In the interview numerous socially, culturally and politically influential people, priest from all Hindu, Panjabi, Jain and Muslim communities and local leaders, business men, both old male members and boys from young generation, and students and their peer groups are also included as respondents from the field. The interview schedules have incorporated specific research questions covering concepts of globalisation, culture, identity, market and media process. To this end, radio, cell phone, Internet, television (TV), dresses, food habits, leisure activities like film, music, family, occupation, gender relation, family and marriage, migration and mobility, and socio-cultural festivals and celebration are given special emphasis. The limitation of the study has been that it could not generate empirical data from groups like young girls and women from both the village and town because the socio-cultural condition of the field did not allow the researcher to include them as respondents.

The study shows that both the town and village has been experiencing high degree of rural-urban nexus that is required for fulfilling various needs, is also essential for understanding social-cultural changing identity in the field. Singh (1999) claims that the country-town nexus has been an important category to understand conflict and contradiction emerging with social interaction become a central concern for expressing social reality. Sharma (1999) refers to structural-cultural change, and specific local condition for analysing change and transformation occurring in country-town nexus in Indian society. He has also pointed out other important categories emerging from such nexus that includes money lenders, artisans, shopkeepers, workers, priests, teachers, revenue officials, bank officers, etc.. These categories influence planning, programmes, and structure corresponding to impress upon people's life tremendously in both villages and town leading to changes in structure, structure-function and local condition that have made hierarchy of country-town unavoidable. The country-town nexus with emergence of various

socio-economic categories and their relation with interaction and social reality in Indian society has been analysed mainly with the process of modernisation. And the process of globalisation, as late modernization (Giddens 1990) along with above mentioned categories helps in emerging and combining several new categories such as Internet cafe, mobile, ATM, malls, brands and their items in the areas of clothes and foods, entertainment, celebrations, etc. are not only changing institutional set up but also having changed interaction process and pattern, social reality and identity observed in the field.

The Field: The Village *Tana* and the Town *Shamli*

The village

Tana is situated about 12 kilometers (Kms) away from *Shamli* town in Muzaffarnagar district, Uttar Pradesh, India. It is a multi-caste and multi-religious village having total population around 7000, as informed by people. The entire population of the village is comprised of mainly two- Hindu and Muslim communities. Hindus with 6,200 population account for maximum proportion of the village and rest of the population is Muslim. The Hindu *Jats* constitute major population of *Tana* as they are highest in number, Hindu *Harijan* caste comes second, followed by *Jhimmar*, *Muslim*, and *Brahman* with their third, fourth and fifth standing respectively. The main Hindu castes—*Jat*, *Harijan*, *Jhimmar*, *Brahman*, *Nai*, *Balmiki*, *Julahe*, *Dhobi*, *Konhar*/*Kumhar*, *Badai*, *Bairagi*, *Jogi*, *Gaderiya*, *Bhangi* and *Noniyana* are found in the village. The influence of Hindu caste system has been evident on Muslim community of the village and the important Muslim castes are *Dhobi*, *Teli*, *Badai*, *Gujjar*, *Raggar* and *Mulla Jat* (Hindu *Jat* converted into Muslim community). According to *Tana Gram Panchayat Niyamawali* - 2005, a total number of *Panchayat* voters in the village are 3148.² The total number of houses in the village are around 400 and out of which *Jat* families account for maximum i.e. hundred houses, *Dalit* families hold second position with eighty five houses, followed by Muslim and *Brahman* families having around sixty five and forty five houses respectively. People in *Tana* village call their house *gher*. The majority of houses in the village is built of bricks and is called *pakka ghar*/ house and only a few house is constructed with mud and is termed as *kachcha ghar*/house. The entire structure of the house is surrounded by a big outer boundary made up of bricks and house with boundary is called *gher*. It is an arrangement, which is meant not only for residential purpose but also for other engagements pertaining to their all life activities. In the village, around 95 percent families have one *gher* each and the rest of the families have even two *ghers*- one for themselves and other for animals.

The structural arrangement of *Tana* village can be seen divided broadly into two parts- the *Do Dheri*/ *Do Patti* and the *Tihai*. In the *Do Dheri* *Jat*, *Brahman* and other upper caste families reside mainly, and Other Backward

Castes (OBCs), Schedule Castes (SCs) and Muslims are found residing in the second part i.e. *Tihai.Jat* is considered the dominant caste (Srinivas 1994) of the village and area. There are two temples of various Gods and Goddesses for the Hindu community and one mosque for Muslim community in the village. *Tana* has a village *GramPanchayat* with fifteen panchayat members, who belong to OBC and SC communities of the Village largely. *Tana Gram Panchayat* has various committees/*samitis* such as *Jal Parbandhan Samiti*, *Swastha Samiti*, *Shiksha Samiti*, *Niyojan Samiti*, etc. for looking after various problems related to water, health, education, sanitation, planning and development, etc.. of the village The impact of modernisation/globalisation is observed in various walks of life in the village. Modern facilities like tubewells and hand pumps for irrigation and drinking water, schools for education of both boys and girls, medical clinics and medical shops, animal hospital, *PanchayatBhawan*, electric polls and wires for facility of light, and road and private vehicles for transportation and communication are found in the village. The several other modern facilities like TV, radio, video compact disk (VCD), video cassette recorder (VCR), compact disk (CD) and CD player, telephone, mobile, coolers, fans, motor bikes, cars, *jugad*, scooters, and jeep are observed in use of people in the village. *Jugad* is a very popular local vehicle in the area. It is a three wheeler motor vehicle and locally constructed by using mainly diesel pump engine, wooden plate, bullet body, handle, etc.. It is used to carry people and things to local markets in nearby towns from the village and vice-versa. Total thirty government water pumps for drinking water and twenty street lights on the road sides are noticed in the village. *Tana* has a main central road with three other connecting branches going to the numerous parts of the village, which are paved by bricks. *Tana Gram Panchayat* has constructed four bathrooms for girls and four for boys at government schools under *Pradhanmantri Yojana* in the village. There are six *vidyalays* (five schools and one *madarasa*) noted in the village for providing basic education to the children. These schools also cater to the educational need of the children of the adjacent villages in the area. These schools provide education to the children from class one (Primary Class) to the class tenth (High School). A *Madhyamic Vidyalaya* is located in the village to educate only girls till class five. The *madarasa* is engaged in providing *Islamic* education to the Muslim community children. Ten tailoring shops are also found in the village for stitching clothes and cater to stitching requirements of all sections of society including male, female, children, young and old. Ten local practicing doctors and one registered medical practitioner (RMP) out of them are noted in *Tana*. Four medical shops sell both allopathic and *ayurvedic* medicine in the village. Generally, these doctors are available in the village from 7.00 AM to 10.00 PM every-day. One veterinary animal hospital has been newly constructed by *Panchayat* for treating various problems of their animals.

Farmers in the village grow diverse crops but the main crop in the village and area is sugarcane, which is also the most important commercial

crop for them. It has been a primary source of income for the farmers from farming. There are three sugar mills— *Sir Sadiklal Sugar Mill*, *Bajab Hindu Asthana Chini Mill*, and *Gour Sugar Mills* are situated in the range of eight to ten Kms from the village. It has also been observed that five *kollhus* (A small setup used for sugarcane processing) are installed in sugarcane season in diverse parts of the village. It is used for preparation of *gud* (molasses) or other *khandsari* related materials from sugarcane. All *kollhus* are installed and run by lower castes mainly *Jhimmar*, who belong to *Tana* and other nearby villages in the area. The *kollhu's* owner purchase sugarcane from the farmers of *Tana* and surrounding areas on lesser price than the sugar mills. Farmers, generally, do not prefer to sell their sugarcane to the sugar mills but they like to sell it to *kollhus'* owners because they get money in return for sugarcane from them before the mill owners. And sometimes farmers wait for even years.

The Town- Shamli

Shamli has been named after the name of Lord Krishna. According to a famous story, as people say, Lord Krishna while going to Kurukshetra for Mahabharata War from Hastinapur opted this route and took night halt in this town. The total population of the town was 89,861 in 2001 census but now in 2011 census it reached to 1,274,815 and out of which male constitutes around 54 percent and female 46 percent. The main reason for this meteoric rise of population in the town has been migration of the rural population to the town areas in search of good schools and colleges for education of children, employment, business, trade and other livelihood opportunities. *Shamli* has been elevated to a district from town in September 2011 named as Prabuddha Nagar first and in July, 2011 renamed as *Shamli* on the huge public demand. It is both multi-castes and multi-religious town and the main communities are Hindu, Jain, Sikh and Muslim. *Shamli* is known as *dharm-nagari* evident with the presence of various old and prestigious temples. There are around two hundred temples situated in its different areas and the main temples are Guljari, Hanumanteela, Barkhediwala Mandir, Makuwala Mandir, Satiwala Mandir, Atthiwala Devi Mandir, Dasiwala Mandir, and Kuttiwala Mandir. In addition to that there are various temples for Jain community; *gurudwaras* and mosques are also located in the town for Sikhs and Muslims respectively. The biggest *gurudwara* in town is Punjabi Colony *Gurudwara*. Around forty seven mosques are noted for Muslims and the main mosques are Jama Masjid, Kureshiyan Masjid, Gariwali Masjid, Kalandarshah Masjid, Timarshah Masjid, and Hakimjiwali Masjid. People of Jain and Sikh communities also visit Hindu temples in the town. There is only one *madarasa*, which caters the need of Islamic studies of Muslims in the town. The main locality/*mohallas* in the town are- Punjabi Colony, Kaka Nagar, Dayanad Nagar, Charan Singh Colony, Teacher's Colony, Khedi, Vikas Nagar, Majara, Saraswati Vihar, Jain Mohalla, Brahamn Mohalla, C.V. Colony, Hanuman Tilla, Timsa, Nopua, Railpar, Bankahadi Mohalla, Madiharm, Badiyal, Jain Colony and Muslims *mohallas*.

Shops of both kinds of retailer and whole sale shops are found in *Shamli* and they cater to the needs of not only of the town but also of many other small towns such as Jhinjhana, Burana, Bhilwal, etc. and eighty surrounding villages. The town has mixed character of both commercial and residential area, which has made it congested as there is no particular place for parking, loading, unloading and reloading of the vehicles. Several shopkeepers and commercial institutions have encroached upon the side spaces of roads, which have made the roads narrow and it causes obstacles in smooth flow of traffic, transportation, and trade and business. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has constructed one *Mandi-Samiti* located on Bhaishwal Road, which has registered eighty seven whole-sale shops equipped with modern facilities. The development of several commercial shops on both sides of the road renders the possibility of commercial development on it. The industrialisation of town provides good opportunity for employment, trade and business. The main industries of Shamli are sugar, *khandsari* (materials made by juice of sugarcane), wooden spoon, rim and axel (*dhure*), *buggi* (male buffalo cart), Ice-cream's stick, paper industry, artificial cloths, and steel and aluminum utensils. *Buggi*, and rim and axel (*dhure*) industry has a total of forty three industrial unites in the town. The *Shamli* Distaliray Chemical Works, Niketa Paper Private Ltd., Sikka Paper Mills and J. S. Jain Industry are the prominent small industries situated in the town. Several medium and small scale industries are found in the town with more than thousand employees working in these industries. These industries are of steel and iron casting, electrical repairing and servicing, plastic goods, rubber textile, steel furniture, cement, hosiery, readymade garments, paper printing/tube, cotton power loom, oil and oil cake, rim and axel, *ayurvedic* medicine and various leather items. The development of industry has not happened in an organised way on the road side of the town. There are four sub-stations and each of which has the capacity of eleven kilowatts for electric supply. Currently two telegraph offices, one Head Post Office and six small post offices, several international subscriber dialing (ISD), subscribers telephone dialing (STD), public call offices (PCOs) and one fire-brigade office are found in the town. According to Lila Sevayojana Karyalaya Muzaffarnagar, eleven Nationalised Bank, two Sahakari Bank and one Bhumi Vikas Bank are working and providing banking facility to people in the town and surrounding areas. There are many *dharamshalas* and marriage hall of both private and public nature are found in the town, which are used by public for marriage, religious preaching/*pravachan*, family function, socio-cultural gathering, etc.. These *dharmashalas* are used by all Hindu, Jain, Punjabi, Muslim and Christian communities. Considering the needs of all communities into account *Shamli* Municipality has constructed several community centers located at the different parts of the town. There are four sub-stations and each of which has the capacity of eleven kilowatts for electric supply. There are three kinds of roads-State road /*Prantiya Marg*, *Pramukh Marg* or main road and local road found in the town. *PrantiyaMarg* is situated

in mid of the town and various industrial unites are located on its sides, and several branches of both *PramukhMarg* and local road are connected to it. There are six bus stands found in the town including Roadways Bus Stand, which are situated in the congested localities of the town. The Roadways Bus Stand receives two hundred thirty four buses daily and provides facilities of communication and transportation to all sides passengers. Roadways Bus Stand connects directly Shamli to Delhi, Baraut, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Karaina, Panipat, Haridwar, Dehradun and other cities in the country.

Globalisation and Changing Identity: A Comparative Analysis

It is a comparative study of cultural identity of both the village and town in the era of globalisation. Culture has been made understood by various scholars in numerous ways such as a way of life and behaviour, socialisation and habitus, need serving system, structure, organisation, identity, speaking with one voice, inferring internal cultural constituents, material and nonmaterial, values, etc. (Kluckhohn 1962; Geertz 1984; Malinowaski 2008; Bourdieu 2010; Gupta 2015). Apart from it culture has also been attributed to power, influence, honour, etc..of individuals, groups and communities. The process of globalisation with its both homogenisation and hybridising nature has profound impact on changing cultural identity of both the town and village. The homogenising trend of globalisation leads to obliteration of cultural differences and raising conscious alertness about identity (Tomlinson 1991; Pieterse 1995; Hall 2003; and Singh 2012). The rapid proliferation of market process and global cultural products (Sklair 1991; Slater 1997) has led to the breakdown of collectivises of family, neighbourhood, community and quick growth of individuality in all castes and communities observed alike in both the village and town. The breakdown of joint family after marriage has not been for desire of land and property, as evident earlier, but for an aspiration of a life style directed towards fulfilling of enjoyment and entertainment that can be achieved in nuclear family only because joint family life is full of responsibility, accountability and restriction. The community and neighbourhood cultural norms and practices in both the village and town are largely flouted, experiencing disintegration, shamelessness and its erosion by youths/young generation especially when they are indulged in activities like sharing cot with elders, wearing western dress of jeans, top and t-shirts, taking newly married wives to shopping and films, and young boys and girls talking to each other openly on roads, exchanging letters, celebrating birthday and valentine day in restaurant, class, etc.. Along with deterioration and destruction of such collectivities globalisation also helps in creation of new kinds of virtual community and virtual locality (Singh 2012; Appadurai 1997) which are like real community and contributing in fulfilment of various global cultural desire and needs. The global cultural product and life style as part of consumer culture rapidly replacing dominant traditional culture of the village and town by alluring more young generations and generating space for creating

subculture (Break 1985) more noticed in *Shamli* than in *Tana*. This subculture makes indigenous cultural items less desired and less respected and returning of those migrant youths to the field, who went to other cities of India for educational and occupational achievements, generally youths from the town are reported more in number as migrant, act as referent group to others, help spreading it rapidly because they bring new global cultural package and life style along-with them. The spread of consumer culture generates a clash between the old culture and life style, which is collective, endogenous, closed and inward looking, and community oriented; and the new global cultural life style, that is claimed to be individualistic, open, hedonistic, exogenous, and outward looking (Friedman 1995; Pieterse 1995) resulting in changing identity in both the village and town. The sway of consumer culture is so pervasive that it shapes the behaviours and aspirations of youths and adolescents from all castes and communities. The study reveals that at times when elders of the family try to convince the children about the pitfalls of consumerism, children exhibit anomic and revolting behaviour by committing suicides, noted in the field i.e. in both *Tana* and *Shamli*. While celebrating birthday and Valentine day in college, restaurants, etc. many young boys and girls are caught red-handedly by teachers, principals, community leaders, parents and family members, which ultimately take a course of clash among families and later acquire colour of caste and community in the field. Although it occurs less in number hardly three or four in an year but shows very high impact on pride, prestige and identity of various families, castes, groups and communities. And in light of increasing numerous anomic and revolting behaviour *Jat Khap Panchayat* (A prestigious body of *Jat* community in the area) has openly passed a resolution that has prohibited only their girls from wearing western dresses and carrying mobile in the public (Rashtriya Sahara 2011).³

The process of hybridisation and formation of hybrid structures are observed in both the village and town mainly in the areas of socio-cultural celebrations, and consumer-able items such as food, dress, clothes, films, songs, dance, etc. at large level. The various socio-cultural celebrations and changing identity are observed occurring at two levels in the field. Firstly, socio-cultural celebrations such as marriage anniversary, Valentine day and birth day, which are European/American in nature of origin, as popularly known, are very much new to both the village and town area. It has been observed in the course of study that either there is a visible inclination or celebration of these events by families of all castes and communities. Both marriage anniversary and Valentine day are also celebrated by married couples secretly in the field because they are shy of them openly. Young boys and girls (commonly called boy-friend and girl-friend- which are objectionable terms to the people in the field) also celebrate both birth-day and Valentine-day clandestinely with friends in colleges, restaurants, surrounding towns like Shamli, Jhijnhana, Burana, Bhilwal and Malheri, and ICT like cell phone and Internet help them in various ways such as giving/taking information for fixing meeting, venue, etc.. But

college principals, teachers, community leaders and guardians are aware of such meetings and celebrations and they consider it as a threat to their culture, family pride and identity. The birthday celebration of children is also done at home, which does not mean only lighting candle and cutting cake with relatives, friends and family members and receiving gifts from them, as it occurs in the Western-American life. But along with this majority of Hindus, Jains and Sikhs families perform worship/*puja/katha/ yangya*, taking blessing/*ashirvad* from elders, and taking children to temple, *gurudwara*, etc. for doing *darshan*, *puja* and *dan* (Visiting temples, worshipping, and donating food, money, cloths, etc. to the poor). And some of the Muslim families, sometimes, also offer food to poor as *dan* in mosque on birthday or marriage anniversary in the field. These are distinctively celebrated in accordance with their cultural beliefs and practices along with a conscious blend of influence of global market and media, and local religious-cultural practices of all Hindu, Jain, Sikh and Muslim communities producing hybridity at various levels of style of celebration, food, dresses, using cake, etc. observed more in the town and less in the village. The vegetarian communities mainly *Jat*, Jain, and other Hindu castes use vegetarian cake on such occasions, that is prepared on order basis from surrounding towns. Secondly, socio-cultural celebrations, which have been canonical in nature existing before globalisation in the practice of people in Indian society at national level in general and at the local level in particular are also experiencing change in their spread and celebrations. It includes important socio-cultural celebrations like *Holi*, *Karvachouth*, *Bhaiyaduz*, *Kanvariya*, *Kirnat* or *Jagaran* for all caste and community of the Hindus; *MahabirJayanti* (Birth day of Mahabir) for Jains; *Lohdi* and *Guru's Jayanti* for Sikhs; and *Eid*, *Bakarid*, and *Muharram* for Muslims. Important observations are noticed in these celebrations of Hindu festivals like *Holi*, *Karvachouth* and *Bhaiyaduz*, were earlier limited only to families of upper castes and were like referent group celebrations for lower caste families because they were not celebrating them in both the village and town around just three-four decades before. But now all started celebrating them because of globalisation that has succeeded in breaking the bond of auspiciousness of a child birth in Hindu family for *Holi* celebration. It has also spreaded desire and awareness for *Karvachouth* and *Bhaiyaduz* celebrations in lower castes in the field. The *Kanvariya* and *Kirnat* or *Jagaran* celebrations are also observed on rise in the field. In *Karvachouth* a wife keeps whole day fast for her husband's good health and prosperity and in *Bhaiyaduz*, a sister keeps whole day fast for her brother. They worship for healthy life, progress and prosperity of their husband and brothers respectively and in lieu of it they promise them to give love, care and security. *Kanvariya* was celebrated by youths from upper castes only earlier but in two-three decades now, lower castes youths are also participating in it at large scale. They go in group to Haridwar, a district in Uttarakhand state, to bring river Ganga water to worship Shiva in Pura-Mahadev temple in Meerut, a district in state of UP,

mainly in the month of *Shravan*. It is an auspicious month for worshipping Shiva in India. In *Kirtan* or *Jagaran* people in groups sit together, also known as *Jagaran/ Kirtanmandali*, whole night in some temple or at home and do *kirtan*. It is repetitive chanting of names of certain deities or *bhajan, mantras*, etc., which are generally devoted to Hindu goddess Durga, lord Rama, Krishna, Shiva, etc. These *Kirtan/Jagaran* are celebrated by people their own and also by *Kirtanmandalis/* group dominated by male members earlier but now female *Kirtanmandalis* are also rapidly cropping up and taking part in both the village and town. It is very important change observed in these *Kirtan/Jagaran* in the field. And all Jain and Sikh communities in the town celebrate many Hindu's festivals together and engaged in sharing more and more common identity and keeping cultural milieu of the area intact. The Ravidas *Jayanti* and Ambedkar *Jayanti* (Birthday of Ravidas and Ambedkar) are only started celebrating around three decades by Hindu Dalit community along with other Hindu festivals separately in both *Tana* and *Shamli*, which were not celebrated by them earlier. It provides a separate identity to the Dalit community in the field (Ram, 2008), is considered the result of long struggle and movement of the Dalits in India and use of global mass media has helped them in raising and spreading consciousness and awareness for them tremendously. The other mentioned celebrations of *Lohdi, Eid, Mahabir Jayanti*, etc. of various communities are experiencing a huge change in both style and purpose of celebrations. They are celebrated now more for fun and enjoyment rather than receiving and practicing their messages in family and community life. It is really apoint of large concern.

The hybridisation process has also seen operating in the area of films, songs, dialogues, etc. in the dominant Hindi films in general and in local-regional *Hariyanavi* and *Punjabi* cinemas in particular. The old generation people do not like much to see such new films as they think these cannot be seen in family together with daughters, sons, daughter in-laws, etc. as the actors and actresses in films are dressed very dirty/*bhadda*, their dialogues, songs, acts, etc. spread *ashleelata/* vulgarity/ dirtyness and nakedness/*nangapa*. For example some of new objectionable songs' verbatims are like '*choli ke peechey kya hai*'; '*chhamma-chhamma baje re teri payjania*'; '*bidi jalaila jagar se piya, jigar me badi aag hai*'; '*billo rani kaho to apani jan de du*'; '*hoth rasile tere hoth rasile*'; '*babuji jara dhire chalo.... bijali khadi-bijali khadi*'; '*pappu cannot dance sala*'; '*mahi re.....magda nasiba kuch aur hai*'; '*hat ja tau pichhe ke.... nachan de mainu ji bhar ke*'; '*jo nai -nai kudio ko najar lagate hai.....unko chhoti umar me hi chashme lag jate hai*'; '*pahala peg yaron deshi ka tha..... dusara peg angreji ka tha*', etc. ('What is there under the bodice; anklets/ lower leg's ornaments of girl/lady speak chhamma-chhamma..; 'lit bidi/ local leafy cigarette by heat of your bosom..... there are much fire in it..'; 'if you ask for, I can give you my life billo rani', 'your lips are juicy..'; ' gentleman walk slowly.....bijali is standing here...'; 'Pappu cannot dance sala....'; 'destiny demands other things.....than you desire..', 'uncle go back let

me dance fully.....’, ‘people who looks at girls..... forced to use spectacles in early age because their eyes get damaged while watching girls/them’ ‘let me drink first English wine then I will have the local/*deshi* wine later’,etc.). They are spreading vulgarity, dirtiness and polluting mentality of all generation people in general and young generation in particular. These films and songs are influenced by global cultural package in all their lyrics, music and style of singing and acting for generating pleasure seeking desire among people and spreading consumer culture rapidly among all castes and community and helping in changing various identities in the field. The tendency of watching films and TV programmes in the old generation in both the village and town has also been increased many folds. But, unlike youth, old generation people are appreciative and inclined to watch religious programmes such as Ramayan, Mahabharat, Krishna, religious preaching and religious songs (*Bhakti geet*), knowledge spreading programmes, news, and discovery and history channel on TV. They also suggest young generation to watch them because they proliferate indigenous socio-cultural norms, values and practices, and knowledge in the field area.

The process of hybridisation shows much influence on identity in *Shamli* occurring through blending of global and local food and drink items, and dresses also. The McDonaldisation (Ritzer, 2010) does not show much influence on identity formation of people directly as not a single outlet for global food items like pizza, burger, chowmine, etc. is found in the town and the question of getting them in village does not arise. But the people from all castes and communities from both the village and town do not show keen desire to go out for having food as it is considered very un-prestigious, unhygienic and unhealthy. These items are prepared with the use of indigenous ingredients producing hybridity and sold in local shops in the towns. The process of McDonaldisation has shown much influence upon the migrant youths of all castes and communities as they get opportunities of having these new food items in the migrant cities. The process of Coca-Colonisation in contrast to McDonaldisation shows high impact on identity formation of people in both the village and town area. The different sorts of soft drinks like Pepsi, Coca-cola, Sprite, Mazza, Fruiti, Fanta, Mirinda, Limka, etc. are found everywhere and offered in the hospitality of relatives, guests, friends and common people on various occasions in the field. Hybridity as a result of hybridisation has observed in the main areas of food items and dresses in both the *Tana* and *Shamli*. For example use of sugarcane juice with eating burger and noodles, using soft drink with eating *bhujia*, *dam-aallo* (Both are local food items made from potato, etc.) using local oil, spices, etc. in preparation of noodle, chowmine and pizza, and wearing *kurta* on jeans, sport shoes on *salwar-kurta*, wearing ear rings, *topi* on head on jeans and t-shirts, wearing *lungi* and t-shirt, etc. are observed in the field. And people from all caste and community do not like their girls in comparison to boys wearing such western dresses in public. Butgrown girls from all caste and community except Muslim are seen wearing

these Western and American dresses in the public more in the town than village.

The most important and influential wheels of globalisation is media as observed in the study. Media helps in providing information, creating and sustaining need and desire for consumption of various global cultural products and items that can be fulfilled by the market only resulting in rapid spread of cultural consumerism (Paterson, 2005). The hybridisation shows reinforcement of localisation more in town than the village for expressing identity issues and can be explained easily with popular phrase 'think globally and act locally' (Robertson, 1995). The local identity of *Shamli* has been changing to global because of locally produced items like rim, axel (*dhure*), etc. by local small scale industries are now exported to the global market of various European, American, African and Asian countries, as informed by owners of these small industries. The observations in the study force to suggest that one can easily understand this happening with opposite phrase 'think locally and act globally' of above 'think globally and act locally'. It is more supporting and obliging to recognise identity formation of the town in global era. The opposite phrase 'think locally and act globally' may helpful to explain identity of the town in better manner, since think locally is related to the thinking of producing at local level and act globally inspire to export these local made products, that help in understanding some locally produce acquiring a global identity and raising the identity of the local town *Shamli* to the global.

NOTES

1. It is my doctoral work awarded in 2009 from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
2. The village Gram Pradhan, as the head of Tana *Panchayat*, keeps a register as *Tana Panchayat Niyamawali*, mentioning total voters in it, which he had shown to me during my field work.

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