

Representing the Local: The Locus of the Indigenous in Globalization

Jose Jacob

Dept of English, Asst. Professor, St Berchmans College, Changanacherry, Kerala.

ABSTRACT : *This study aims at placing the local in the proper location and thereby allowing the tides of globalization to edify it. The energies and currents of globalization are to be tempered and mentored for the organic growth and development of the local. It makes a plea to the ruling corporations to curb their greed and to own a new role of shepherding the nations and cultures in favour of the maimed and marginalized. It exposes the superficial and creamy layer dynamics of globalization and demands a profound and genuine pragmatics of growth and development. The dignity and identity of the indigenous cultures shall not be sacrificed under the flattening formula of globalization.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a favourite area of study and research in the academic circles at present. The volumes of books and articles churning out from publishing houses and the enormous conferences and seminars conducted on the theme do witness to its currency. Globalization is a tempestuous current hailing from the mighty and imperial west and devouring the rest of the world. The poor Third World nations are allured by the Western ‘metaculture’ and see it as the desired end that ensures growth and development. The mass media, the apostles of this global trend, converts the common people into the new dispensation of globalization by making them alien to their indigenous culture, cynical to native economy and indifferent to local political scenario. An overarching presence and influence of a foreign factor is the visible logic of globalization.

An introspection into the dynamics of globalization shows that it mainly affects three essential realms of a nation or community, namely, cultural, economic and political. This study aims at a considered evaluation of these three areas in the given global context. The invocations made to various scholars in this study are just to achieve clarity, and not to make one-sided judgments on the trends of globalization. The rapid developments in science and technology solicit all to own a new world view, keeping the limiting borders at bay. To be blind to the changing pattern of the world will prove to be a folly. At the same time to be credulous in approving them also will be irrational. A ‘middle path’-not of compromise, rather of discretion- is desirable to face the agendas of globalization.

Globalization operates through various organs and treatises like International Monetary Fund, World Bank, WTO, GATT, TRIMS, TRIPS and many more. They all aim at an equitable world order to ensure peace and welfare of all mankind. It means that globalization techniques are neither intrinsically evil nor radically good. But the mode of operation is often counterproductive and fall short of genuine ideals. The negation and the eclipse of the local or indigenous at the heels of globalization are alarming. From pesticides to sophisticated electronic gadgets the choice is for the ‘imported’ one and ‘export quality’ item. Thus globalization redefines the concept of the ‘exotic’ in postcolonial theory. In the globalized era the ‘exotic’ is the West and the principle of gradation-West is superior, Local is inferior – attached to this slavish sense of the exotic is pernicious. There emerges contempt and disliking for the indigenous, and consequently they are jettisoned and the foreign or the superior is embraced.

This study aims at placing the local or indigenous in the proper locus and thereby allowing the tides of globalization to edify it, than dethroning and dismantling it. The energies and currents of globalization are to be tempered and modulated for organic growth and development of the local. This paper is not only an exclusive survey of the ontic questions precipitated by the globalizing trends, but also an analysis of the ontological anxiety spreading wide in the developing nations. It makes a plea to the ruling corporations (David C. Korten. When the Corporations Rule. 2001) to curb their greed, which ushers in a deluge of economic injustice and traumatic cultural anarchy, and to own a new role of shepherding the nations and cultures in favour of the maimed and the downtrodden. Thus it becomes an exposition of the superficial and creamy layer dynamics of globalization and a demand for a profound and genuine pragmatics of growth and development. The necessary metamorphosis of the currents of globalization from cultural hegemony to genuine transport of cordiality

between identities (self) and differences (other) is the focal point of this study. The dignity and the identity of the indigenous cultures shall not be sacrificed under the flattening formula of globalization. The local cultures and their patrons and stalwarts are to be vigilant to resist the formation of a 'clandestine culture' under the pretext of excellence and cultural apotheosis.

II. GENESIS OF GLOBALIZATION

An adequate sense of the history and evolutionary routes of globalization will provide an added clarity in understanding the currents and dynamics of this perceptible phenomenon. Globalization is born not out of nothing (*ex nihilo*) instead came to being through various historical eventualities and we encounter it as a historical inevitability. As we try to trace back the origins of globalization, we shall also be aware how globalization treats history and temporality. An introspection into the mode of operation of globalization will show that it conveniently negates the temporal dimension of existence. For Majundar comments, "Globalization, clearly refuses to look back, and in this refusal seems implicit a similar denial of historicism-that events can be rationally explained by their linear progress through historical time... Globalization is clearly a rupture with the past" (28). Leaving aside this irrational ahistorical sense of it, we shall try to mark the trajectory of its evolution.

There is consensus among the scholars about the beginning of globalization, but they differ in acknowledging the various stages of this flattening process. The first step towards reducing the spatial distance of the world began with the Christianization mission of the Spanish empire at the end of 15th century. The triumphant navigation under the leadership of Columbus, approved and patronized by the queen of Spain marked the discovery of the New World. The second stage is very similar to the first, but differs in the motif and interest. The second stage propelled by the civilizing mission of the British and French Empires focused primarily on economic gains. It was a trade policy aimed at plundering the new world resources. So the ability of a country to deploy its muscle power and other devices to dominate the new land mattered much. But even in this colonizing system the powerful role played by the mighty companies is to be reckoned. These companies are the forerunners of the Transnational Corporations (TNC) of the globalizing system. The united East India company assigned by Dutch Crown, the British East India Company patronized by the British Empire and many others like the London company founded by Virginia colony, the Massachusetts Bay company, the Hudson's Bay Company played a vital role in colonizing the new world and conducting profitable business. The empires who deployed or patronized these mighty companies found it difficult to keep them always under control. The thriving business and the unlimited power enjoyed by them in the colonies often gave them a sense of autonomy which disturbed the patronizing crowns. David C. Korten finds a parallel between the companies during the colonization era and the corporation of the globalization era and writes;

Each charter set forth the specific rights and obligations of a particular corporation, including the share of profits that would go to the crown in return for the special privileges extended. Such charters were bestowed at the pleasure of the crown and could be withdrawn at any time. Not surprisingly, the history of the corporate – government relations since that day has been one of continuing pressure by corporate interests to expand corporate rights and to limit corporate obligations. (Korten 61)

The colonizing mission of the West resulted in the shrinkage of geographical distance between East and West. The trade between the Old World and New World received momentum by victimizing the latter. Thomas Friedman sums up these first two stages in his book *The World is flat* like this. "In this era, countries and governments (often inspired by religion or imperialism or a combination of both) led the way in breaking down walls and knitting the world together, driving global integration" (Friedman 9). So globalization can be easily understood as neo-colonialism. But making a indiscreet parallel between colonization and globalization may result in epistemological ambiguity and even fallacy. Because, even if we find a continuity and a similarity between both, the effect produced by them are different. So the genealogy of globalization goes up to the colonizing missions of the mighty empires, but at the same time the difference they possess both in kind and degree shall not be forgotten. Ashcroft writes with acuity. "...This should not be mistaken for an assumption that somehow globalization is the same thing as neo-colonialism – the two phenomena are very different and result in a different range of material effects. But the principles and strategies of engagement are similar, and the analysis of those principles are far more advanced in postcolonial theory than in globalization studies, itself a recent field" (Ashcroft 217).

The Third stage in the history of globalizing trends shall be seen in the U.S. Imperialism which is a mission for the development and modernization of the entire world. The role played by the two World Wars, the Great Depression, the Cold War and the collapse of Soviet Union are to be taken into

consideration as we think about this stage. The World War I, the Russian Revolution and the Great Depression divided the world both geographically and ideologically. The World War II again divided the world and the cold war became the international system of alignment in trade and diplomacy. Scholars see the death knell of Cold War in the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989. Thus the United States emerged as the sole world power by collapsing the mighty socialist Russia. Thus the third stage of globalization is marked by the collapse of socialism and the triumph of capitalism. Liu Kang observes, “Globalization is generally perceived as the result of the collapse of Soviet – Style socialism, as well as the unprecedented expansion of transnational capitalism” (164). Thus the third stage marks a shift of power from the imperial Britain to imperial America. Cold War, even if unhealthy in design and operation, was potent enough to check the unconditional powers of any nation. As it receded to the annals of history the American hegemony became the final and ultimate principle of global transactions. The so called independent organs of the United Nations Organization (UNO) also had/have to obey the dictates of America in their planning and implementation, it being the reliable source of income of these institutions. So the whole world came under the spell of American imperialism which dictated the methods and patterns of international trade, commerce and diplomatic relations. Geeta Kapur explains the dynamics of globalization in terms of Americanization as follows.

The terminology of globalism refers unblushingly to an ideology of the market, dictated by the IMF, the World Bank and the G-7 executive, crowned by Gatt, to a global market of which the United States, having “won” the cold war, is the moral conductor. It sets the norm not only for free trade but also (in the same universalizing mode) for human rights, for historical and cultural studies. What is being globalized is therefore American – Style capitalism and its implicit world view. (192)

Thus the American power and American culture dominated the third stage of globalization and this led to the fourth stage steered by the Transnational or multinational corporations. The TNCs or MNCs are the tangible expression and extension of the American imperialism. The centre of the ‘Great Wheel’ of world economy is United States. So every nation, if at all seemingly immune from alignment to American super power is under the spell of this ominous peril. The nation states and their planning and strategies often stumble and fail due to this all pervading powerful presence. Arundhati Roy’s observation is grave and humorous.

New imperialism is already upon us. It’s a remodeled, streamlined version of what we once knew. For the first time in history, a single empire with an arsenal of weapons that could obliterate the world in an afternoon, has complete, unipolar, economic and military hegemony. It uses different weapons to break open different markets. There isn’t a country on God’s earth that is not caught in the cross hairs of the American cruise missile and the IMF chequebook. Argentina is the model if you want to be the poster-boy of neoliberal capitalism, Iraq if you’re the black sheep. (196)

In this new global dispensation headed by America the geographical distance transforms into a single market place and village and the various civilizations converge into a homogenization. Thus at present the world is caught under the currents of globalization.

III. CURRENTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization, as an international system of trade and commerce presided over by the transnational corporations, affects not only the economy of a nation or community, rather it influences the other fields of life like culture and politics too. The world is experiencing this overarching presence and power of globalization in all the walks of life now. This new mode of operation in a way nullifies the difference between various fields of life. In this economy of flattening dynamics, according to Fredric Jameson, we experience “the economic itself gradually becoming cultural, all the while the cultural gradually becomes economic” (70). Thus the postmodern theoretical affirmations find its crystallization in the actuality of globalization. The dismantling of this “thin line” and the resultant merging of borders and margins demands ultimate vigilance. It is a grave matter of identity and difference, it being an attempt for rampant homogenization. The effects of globalization in the economic, cultural, political and social fields call for keen introspection.

a. ECONOMIC DEMAGOGUERY

The currents of globalization are most visible in the economy of a nation. The techniques of globalization target primarily the economic strategies of a given society and from them gradually creep into other areas too. Thus the tentacles of globalization loom large the entire way of living. It is true that globalization has mitigated the sense of isolation felt by the developing countries and the global market became accessible to them. It is often not recognized that the economic system that globalization preaches and

promotes stealthily is capitalism. Thus the economic strategies of globalization celebrate and vilify the capitalist economy in and through the projects and treatises of the transnational corporations. The developing nations are susceptible to the surreptitious agendas of the TNCs, which in turn endanger the local economy. David C. Korten vehemently challenges the promotion of capitalist economy under globalization due to the stark social injustice embedded in it. "Capitalism's proponents now speak freely of capitalism to celebrate its global triumph, so now I too use the term to raise awareness of its actual meaning. Proponents usually equate capitalism with private property, without noting that capitalism is an extremist ideology that advances the concentration and rights of ownership without limit, to the exclusion of the needs and rights of the many who own virtually nothing" (9).

The developing nations place high emphasis on the increased economic output to meet the demands of development. But, according to the United Nation Development program, this is a wrong notion. Many countries can stand firmly at the threshold of integral development with the available local or national productive output. But the poor nations allured by the exotic capitalist economy easily become prey to the massive development projects offered by the TNCs. For the transnational corporations, writes the noble prize winning economist stiglitz, "Globalization (which typically is associated with accepting triumphant capitalism, American style) is progress; developing countries must accept it, if they are to grow and to fight poverty effectively. But to many in the developing world, globalization has not brought the promised economic benefits" (5). The economic devices proposed by the globalizing TNCs create an ambivalent notion of progress in which hope and promise prove null and void. It shall not be forgotten that there are national economies certainly very few, which ushered in the dawn of true development with the advent of globalization. But the time is yet not ripe to pronounce a judgment on their development and progress as sustainable and enduring.

The nations who adapt the strategies of capitalist economy to welcome the developmental patterns promised by the globalization often end up in a collapse of the local economy. The over emphasis given to money makes the nation and people highly materialistic and it gradually drains the values and nullifies spirituality in them. Korten's comment is worth mentioning. "The more dominant money has become in our lives, the less place there has been for any sense of the spiritual bond that is the foundation of community and a balanced relationship with nature. The pursuit of spiritual fulfillment has been increasingly displaced by an all consuming and increasingly self-destructive obsession with the pursuit of money-a useful but wholly substanceless and intrinsically valueless human artifact" (16).

Globalization can be seen as a feast of economic plenitude which welcomes all to participate in it, unmindful of the ensuing dangers. But this celebration of abundance precipitates various environmental and ecological issues. So what we need is neither a paralyzed or crippled economy nor an inorganic fiscal policy, rather an organic vision of development. Such an economic system shall not be implemented under the dictates of TNCs and United States, instead it will spring up from the aspirations and hopes of the people of the land. Korten's integral vision is laudable. "When we limit ourselves to fragmented approaches to dealing with systemic problems, it is not surprising that our solutions prove inadequate. If our species is to survive the predicaments we have created for ourselves, we must develop a capacity for whole-systems thought and action" (21). The pull of globalization is so potent to tempt the developing economies to embrace the capitalist economy as panacea for all the endemic problems. As a result the fragile local economy is replaced by the new system which in the long run proves to be a failure at a time when the local economy is nearly extinct and irreparably collapsed. So the "economic demagoguery" of globalization is to be well checked and evaluated before implementation.

b. CULTURAL APOTHEOSIS?

Culture is the quintessence of any society, which bequeaths to it an identity and a mode of existence. Culture is not a static ideal rather the most dynamic principle which ever adheres to the past and sincere to the present and responsible to the future. The individuality of the culture is at stake when alien impositions and intrusions happen in its trajectory of processual growth and development. The matrix of culture is marred and violated by the 'other' as it is ignorant about the unique splendour of the individual culture. It is this arrogance of the 'other' that implicated all the political, economic, cultural and social invasions and dominations. Globalization is the last in the series of the mighty and arrogant 'other' to attack and assault the tender and delicate labyrinth of the cultures of the developing nations. In the words of Fredric Jameson "all history has been moving toward American culture as its apotheosis" (63). The veracity of this statement needs indepth evaluation.

The influence of globalization on the indigenous cultures is so vehement that compels the scholars to articulate that “globalization is what eventually determines the meaning of culture in our time” (Ahmad 94). If the semantics of culture is determined by globalization, we should think loudly what it contributes to culture and how it disseminates into the inner realities of culture. For globalization, ‘the culture’ is undoubtedly Western and precisely American. So if it attempts to determine the meaning of any culture it will be in terms of conformity and resistance. Thus the cultural currents of globalization are trade between dominant culture and the inferior cultures of the developing nations. Amartya Sen alerts the indigenous cultures as follows.

The contemporary world is dominated by the West, and even though the imperial authority of the erstwhile rulers of the world has declined, the dominance of the West remains as strong as ever- in some ways stronger than before, especially in cultural matters. The sun does not set on the empire of Coca-Cola or MTV. The threat to native cultures in the globalizing world of today is, to a considerable extent, inseparable.(240)

The American and the Western cultures are presented as the metacultures to the developing nations. Most of them, bearing the vestiges of colonization, are easily attracted to this exotic and hybrid cultures. It is a deplorable predicament that the people in the developing nations keep a slavish attitude to the west. The eulogists of globalization manipulate this servile disposition to account for the greatness of the Western culture. Thomas Friedman, one of the admirers of globalization, writes about the imitation of American culture by the Indian Youth as they work in the call centres of affluent MNCs. He comments, “Columbus accidentally ran into America but thought he had discovered part of India. I actually found India and thought many of the people I met there were Americans. Some had actually taken American names, and others were doing great imitations of American accents at all centers and American business techniques at software labs” (5). But we know this is not a singular phenomena among the youth employed in American companies. The majority of Indian youth sees and admires anything American as the desirable and unknowingly become the agent of the “Americanization” of national culture.

The effect of globalization on the cultures is aiming at a homogenization of them all unto the western or the American culture. Many scholars have predicated this danger but no developing nation is equipped itself with the courage and dignity to stand against this sweeping currents of the metaculture. Globalization thus destroys the cultural diversity and threatens the aesthetic plurality of the world. It aims at the establishment of a single culture and civilization and thereby annuls the other cultures and civilizations. Ahmed writes about this capitalist civilization’s atrocity. “We are witnessing the emergence of a worldwide capitalist civilization, in which national, regional and local cultures are being recognized as so many variants of that singular civilization. Civilizational homogeneity exists at the deepest level, the level of commodification” (103). Thus the living traditions and the vibrant cultures of the world are facing a genuine threat under the pretext of cultural apotheosis.

The agenda of cultural domination is, surely, a bait awaiting the prey. The financial aids and massive investments are seemingly oriented towards development, but the subliminal intentions are not transparent. The economy often becomes the foothold to initiate the transformed ploys of plunder and manipulation. The cultural hegemony of America paves the way for globalization in the developing nations by projecting it a desirable end for them. According to Rashid Khan, “Cultural dominance is used as an extension of its economic and military power. This, in turn, reinforces the view and perception of the U.S. as a hegemony” (90). So the preservation and survival of any culture depend on the awareness of the natives about its dignity and uniqueness, which enable them to shun the alien cultural hegemony appearing in myriad forms.

The commodification of culture is yet another tragedy getting momentum along with globalization. Culture, which is the way and style of life of a people, becomes a commodity to be sold and even exhibited. This tendency uproots culture from its genuine locus – the everyday life of the people – and places it on the showcases of malls and plazas. Thus Jameson’s postmodern idiom “becoming cultural of the economic and becoming economic of the cultural” (60) proves to be true. But this trend is not encouraging, rather endangering. The commodification of culture happens as a part of the TNC’s business strategies. They maneuver the fecund cultures of the developing nations in order to increase their economic or production output. The carelessness of the state or government in preserving the culture is a grave issue. The government often becomes a toy in the hands of the powerful TNCs and thus the native culture is sold at a lower price and an alien culture is brought with huge money. Nestor Gracia Canclini finds fault with the state apparatus for the commodification of the culture. He writes, “the state has ceded its role as the leading cultural agent to private business and transnational corporations” (256).

To be precise, in the name of cultural apotheosis, what globalization implementing is an impending cultural anarchy. Because, a people distanced and uprooted from the placenta of the native culture and introduced into the womb of a surrogate alien culture are deemed for a violent collapse. The apocalyptic trumpet of such a culture is imminent before it reaches the haven of apotheosis. So what is becoming for the people of the developing nations is to gird themselves up as the vigilant stewards of native culture, allowing it for structural and ideological changes that are organic and integral in design and content. Amartya Sen invites the people of developing nations for such a cultural activism.

Ways of life can be preserved if the society decides to do just that, and it is a question of balancing the costs of such preservation with the value that the society attaches to the objects and the lifestyles preserved. There is, of course, no ready formula for this cost-benefit analysis, but what is crucial for a rational assessment of such choices is the ability of the people to participate in public discussions on the subject. (242)

Globalization offers mutations in culture which are capable of mutilating and paralyzing the culture. The principle of change is a spontaneous inner dynamics in every culture, happening due to various reasons. Orthodoxy is not the norm of culture, so obviously man is not for culture, rather culture is for man. This lucid and transparent principle of culture does not make man the dictator of culture, instead anoints him to be the living witness and bearer of it at a time when tempestuous wind and wave knock against the cultural edifice of a nation or community.

c. POLITICAL LETHARGY

The currents of globalization directly affect the political realm of a nation. By 'political' here it means, the state apparatus or the government of a nation state that plans and decides policies of administration. The levelling dynamics of globalization do recognize the territorial states having sovereignty. But the ultimate aim of the TNCs is to create a global state in which America wields the supreme power. The initiation into this new system is camouflaged by the ceremonies of innocence. In his *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* Friedman gives repeated assurance to the developing nations saying, "Despite globalization, people are still attached to their culture, their language and a place called home. And they will sing for home, cry for home, fight for home and die for home. Which is why globalization does not, and will not, end geopolitics" (250). But he admits with a feeble voice in the next line, "but it does affect it" (250), revealing the double standards inherent in it. He himself portrays the various ways in which globalization influences the geopolitics. "... it creates new sources of power, beyond the classic military measures of tanks, planes and missiles, and it creates new sources of pressure on countries to change how they organize themselves, pressures that come not from classic military incursions of one state into another, but rather by more invisible invasions of supermarkets and super-empowered individuals" (*Lexus*261).

The hidden agendas of globalization dethrone the sovereignty of the individual nation and intrude into its governance in the form of developmental programmes and projects. As a result the rule of law of the state is compelled to reshape itself to conform to the fund providing TNCs or America. This metamorphosis of the legislative function of the state is already operative in various countries. Aijaz Ahmad deplores this condition and writes. "...a crucial aspect of this globalization law and sovereignty is that national governments are being constantly pressed to alter their own laws so as to make them more compatible with – often more facsimiles of – American law" (99). We shall not fail to recognize that such an apathy creeping into the governance of the state is due to certain unholy alliances. These alliances take place both in ideological and practical realms. Korten alerts the developing nations about such illegal alliances. "The enormous political success of the alliance in shielding corporations from public accountability has created a monster that even the members of the corporate class no longer control and is creating a world that they would scarcely wish to bequeath to their children" (80).

The over dependence on TNCs for fund and the negation of local economy creates a rift between people and the government. The government being the policy makers often think they are accountable to the TNCs than to the people for whom, by whom, of whom they are wielding the power. This pathetic alienation of the government from the people is the reason for violent protests of the people recognizing the creamy layer development Arundhati Roy makes a sagacious opinion. "Corporate globalization has increased the distance between those who make decisions and those who have to suffer the effects of those decisions" (309). This is a political lethargy; which distances the state policies from the people, who are to be the real beneficiaries. To check this lethargy, initiated by the intervention of the affluent TNCs in the policy making of the state, the government should become aware of its responsibility to the common people. With the advent of globalization

and its monster TNCs the political organs of the state seem to serve and please them than the people. If the state apparatus is to become transparent and accountable to the people, it should stem the tide of TNCs and their funding and keep them under the control of the rule of law of the state. Korten admonishes the governments of the developing nations like this.

To play its essential role in relation to the market, a government must have jurisdiction over the economy within the borders of its territory. It must be able to set the rules for the domestic economy without having to prove to foreign governments and corporations that such rules are not barriers to international trade and investment. A government must be able to assess taxes and regulate the affairs of corporations that conduct business within its jurisdiction without being subject to corporate threats to sue for lost profits, withhold critical technologies, or transfer jobs to foreign facilities. For such jurisdiction to be maintained, economic boundaries must coincide with political boundaries. If not, government becomes impotent, and democracy becomes a hollow facade (98).

Another aspect political lethargy is the rank corruption happening in the governance of the state. The development of the state and the amelioration of the people fall out of the focus of the government. Even if policies and projects are implemented, they do not reach the actual beneficiaries owing to the corrupt intermediaries and agents. This vacuum created by the corrupt politicians and bureaucrats provide the space for the TNCs to step in under the pretext of immediate development. Friedman, realizing the massive corruption in the developing nations, writes with missionary zeal, "There is a huge political vacuum now waiting to be filled. There is a real role today for a movement that could advance the agenda of how we globalize - not whether we globalize. The best place such a movement could start is rural India" (387). What an infamy to the "Incredible India"!

The generous mission of the 'Great America' in establishing democracy all over the world is to be reckoned seriously as we examine the political currents of globalization. American "crusades" (Wars in Vietnam and Iraq and elsewhere) fought by the "Knight of Templars" (obedient soldiers of England and America) aim at establishing new dispensation (democracy) by dispelling the old through the rite of fire and brimstone (lethal weapons) and make martyrs (poor civilians and soldiers) for the kingdom/empire. The intellectuals all over the world are conscious of the tactics behind it. This is a warning to the existing democracies too. Democracy as a form of government assumes the power from the people and function for their benefit. So the three pillars of the democracy, namely, legislature, executive and judiciary, shall stand up to its dignity. Arundhati Roy warns against the possible commodification of the estates of democracy under corporate capitalism. "The crisis in modern democracy is profound one. Free elections, a free press, and an independent judiciary mean little where the free market has reduced them to commodities available on sale to the highest bidder" (Roy 293). The only solution to stand firm in this deluge of TNCs is never to surrender the sovereignty of the state and government under any critical circumstance to them.

The organizations under the U.N.O. and other international agencies that fund the developing nations shall reframe their laws and statutes if it threatens the sovereignty of the states. Then it will act as a model agenda for the TNCs in implementing their projects and plans in developing nations. Any development agency and programme that challenge the sovereignty of the state initiates political lethargy in the state apparatus of governing. Stiglitz makes a solemn utterance as he writes, "The most fundamental change that is required to make globalization work in the way that it should be is a change in governance" (226). This change in governance is nothing but a respect for the freedom and sovereignty of the state Amartya Sen envisages such a concept of freedom, in his *Development as Freedom*, which establishes true development. "Freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means... Political freedoms help to promote economic security. Social opportunities facilitate economics participation. Economic facilities can help to generate personal abundance as well as public resources for social facilities" (11) To free the states from the political slavery and lethargy pressed upon them by globalizing currents, such a freedom should permeate and enliven all the organs of the state.

IV. GRASSROOTS GLOBALIZATION

The discontents of the existing style of globalization demand an alternative, which will take into consideration the indigenous culture, local economy and the have-nots in its race for unprecedented development. A reverse global movement in which the local is empowered and led to perfection may be named "Grassroots Globalization". Such an attempt necessitates a change in the mode of operation of the TNCs and new idioms of development formed with the help of public opinion and collective interest. The local is displaced and its identity is ignored or mutilated by the currents of globalization. Saji Mathew observes, "By

creating new patterns of fashion and standard of living, globalization has insidiously erased the locality of the local” (85). So the mission of the ‘grassroots globalization’ is to replace the local and empower it to attain organic development which will integrally uplift the people and preserve the ecology. With a firm belief in the principle of Korten – “Getting the difficult and unpleasant truth on the table for discussion is a necessary first step toward action. Fear of the unknown may mobilize us, but the truth empowers us to act” (12). I too scribble down certain ideas, of course with the help of the insights of scholars, that may rectify the paths of the globalization in motion.

a. GLOBALIZATION AS SHEPHERDING

The present day globalization devours and plunders the economies and cultures like wolves and bandits. Its development patterns are often destructive and serve the vested interests only. An introspection which is steered by a stretch of humanity will suggest a radically new role to the TNCs in globalizing mission. This role will be one that of a facilitator and a caring shepherd which alone can assure integral and organic development to any given economy and state. This is not an easy task, because such an empathetic mission may redefine the very nature of the profit oriented business done by the TNCs. For this, first of all the owners and operators of TNCs, the Western society should realize the need for a change in the role of TNCs in favour of humanity. Stiglitz addresses the Western society:

The developed world needs to do its part to reform the international institutions that govern globalization. We set up these institutions and we need to work to fix them. If we are to address the legitimate concerns of those who have expressed a discontent with globalization, if we are to make globalization work for the billions of people for whom it has not, if we are to make globalization with a human face succeed, then our voices must be raised. We cannot, we should not, stand idly by (252)

The developed nations should consider this responsibility as paramount and should direct and reorganize the TNCs in favour of the developing nations and their underprivileged lot. Stiglitz even ask them to work independently and selflessly for the unlucky people in the Third World. “If the developed countries were serious about paying more attention to the voices of the developing countries, they could help fund a think tank independent from the international economic organizations that would help them formulate strategies and positions” (227). The intellectuals, the philanthropists and the disinterested NGOs shall conscientize the human family and motivate the TNCs to effect a new development strategy for a better world order. The greed of the TNCs shall be replaced by empathy and compassion. Even the advocates of present day globalization do not forget such a possibility. Friedman conceives a ‘compassionate flatism’ which is a people oriented intelligent method. “Advocates of compassionate flatism need to educate consumers to the fact that their buying decisions and buying power are political. Every time you as a consumer make a decision, you are supporting a whole set of values... Progressives need to make this information more easily available to the consumers, so more of them can vote the right way and support the right kind of global corporate behaviours” (301).

The role of a shepherd calls for a rapport between the people and the TNCs. This deep understanding builds up trust in the people towards TNCs and the corporations come to know the real needs and problems of the people. Thus it opens up an avenue for formulating and implementing projects and strategies that would fit into the indigenous culture and economy without disturbing its rhythm and harmony Jagdish Bhagwati, in his book *In Defence of Globalization* addresses the TNCs and reminds them of this responsibility. “The edifice of corporate social responsibility, however, must rest on two foundations. One has to be altruism, which deals with what corporations should do. But the other must deal with regulation that defines what corporations should not do” (191). He invites the multinational Corporations to operate under a tapestry woven in three colours, namely, social norming, voluntary codes and mandatory codes, and tells, “multinationals, unfairly accused of predation can embrace these approaches to corporate social responsibility to emerge even more effectively in the global economy and society as institutions that truly advance the economic and social good in the countries they invest in” (195). He being a cheer leader of corporate globalism the tone is apologetic, but there is truth in it.

To change the role of TNCs from predatory monsters to caring shepherds, the whole family of humanity should decide upon it. The affluent lots are to shun their selfish and amassing ways and the poor lots are to give up their servitude and violent ways to embrace this golden path of true development. This predicament of mutual respect and concern provide a holistic view of life in which man and ecology find shelters of genuine security. Korten establishes a sympathetic chord in every human hearts as he solemnly proclaims, “Through this rediscovery we may achieve the creative balance between market and community, science and religion, and money and spirit that is essential to the creation and maintenance of healthy human societies” (20). So the sheepfold of humanity want for true shepherds – at present led by predators and butchers

– and if the TNCs own that role of caring and leading, globalization will become a saga of humanity and celebration of justice.

b. EMPOWERMENT OF THE LOCAL

Globalization has displaced and ignored the indigenous or the local in its greedy economic enterprise. This resulted in the disempowerment and disintegration of the local cultures and economies. Saji Mathew carefully captures the fate of the local once slipped into the global current. “That moment of the exotic could also be viewed as one of “rupture” in the thinking of the concept of the local, when its locality ceases to exist and gets connected to the global market identity, canceling a whole series of political and social ‘resonances’ which have local significations” (82). It being so, to empower the local means to heal this ‘rupture’ and to equip the local with a stable self dignity. It is an illusion of the agents of globalization that the establishment of a metculture powered by capitalist economy will bequeath unlimited blessings to humanity. The truth is, once the local culture is deflated and indigenous economy is devalued, the signs of doomsday like poverty, violence, war, diseases and other natural calamities will befall on the world, which may consume the whole world. It will not be prudent to think about remedies at that time of immediate and imminent peril. Any thought and action directed towards empowering the local will be a ceremony of exorcism which keep aloof those maladies from the world. Even Thomas Friedman, the chief advocate of globalization, calls for a rethinking. “How we learn to strike the right balance between globalization’s inherently empowering and humanizing aspects and its inherently disempowering and dehumanizing aspects will determine whether it is reversible or irreversible, a passing phase or a fundamental revolution in the evolution of human society” (433).

Empowerment of the local can easily be understood as gathering mature public opinion and decentralizing the power structures in development policies. It means empowerment does not happen by distributing seeds of hybrid crops or imported pesticides and fertilizers. Such inorganic steps often choke the economy due to its negative impact. But when the people wield the power and decide for their economy, tremendous growth happen. The Self Help Groups (SHG) of women in South India is the best example for this. Korten speaks about this people oriented planning like this, “...when people find the freedom and self confidence to develop themselves, they demonstrated enormous potential to create a better world ... we were able to see the powerful energies that people and communities can mobilize on their own behalf when development initiatives are actually centred in people” (14). He even challenges the TNCs saying they cannot guarantee genuine progress to the people. “...real development cannot be purchased with foreign aid monies. Development depends on people’s ability to gain control of and effectively use the real resources of their localities – land, water, labour, technology and human ingenuity and motivation to meet their own needs” (15).

Empowerment of the local is neither a total negation of the foreign investment nor an antagonism towards the TNCs. It means that the people, who know the ups and down of the economy, shall decide upon including or excluding the TNCs in its programme of development. Korten clearly states; “Domestic economies that favor locally owned business – serving community interests in ways that foreign producers and footloose investors cannot - need not exclude imported goods and outside investors where a community finds benefits in foreign trade and investment, it should surely welcome them” (98). The empowerment of the local economies takes place only when the people become profoundly aware of the need for such organic movements. As long as the people see anything local as inferior and anything foreign as exotic and superior, the experience of “development as freedom” will not happen. Korten’s optimism reaches its zenith as he visualizes a self - empowered local economy.

Economic systems composed of locally rooted, self – reliant economies create in each locality the political economic and cultural spaces within which people can find a path to the future consistent with their distinctive aspirations, history culture, and ecosystems. A global system composed of local economies can accomplish what a single global economy cannot – encourage the rich and flourishing diversity of robust local cultures and generate the variety of experience and learning that is essential to the enrichment of the whole. (241)

Thus the empowerment of the local is an inevitable step in ‘grassroots globalization’. And that will accomplish the globalization of the local and the localization of the global for the humanity.

C. NEW IDIOMS OF DEVELOPMENT

The term ‘new idioms of development’ comes out of the realization that humankind alone is not the owners and beneficiaries of the earth. There are millions of micro and macro species who inhabit this small planet. Even among human species the subaltern – women and economically and socially deprived lot –

deserve an increased attention in 'grassroots globalization' in which "development is a voluntary process. You need a positive decision to make the right steps, but it starts with introspection" (Friedman 313). The need for new idioms in grassroots globalization is evidently because the developing nations and the poor people in it have lost their faith and confidence in the globalization of the TNCs. Stiglitz sums up the contribution of globalization saying, "Globalization today is not working for many of the world's poor. It is not working for much of the environment. It is not working for the stability of the global economy" (214). Realizing this failure Korten calls for formulating new idioms of growth. "To counter the economic, social, and environmental devastation being wrought nearly everywhere by the realization of this corporate colonial vision, we must learn to recognize its message and method of its propagation" (123).

To coin new idioms and formulate fresh strategies that suit for the place and people the society should experience freedom in its fullest sense. Here freedom means not only political freedom, but also freedom from servitude of any kind. Amartya sen speaks about the removal of unfreedom: to establish freedom in the minds of the people. "Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states" (3). The new idioms of development should reorganize the system that the agents of development will be held accountable for everything they do. The major drawback in handling the TNCs was its unaccountability to the people. The success and failure of the projects and programme depend on the fate of the people and the TNCs never shouldered the responsibility. Such an unaccountable looting and plunder shall not be repeated. Announcing the advent of 'grassroots globalization' stiglitz writes, "the time has come to "grade" the international economic institutions performance and to look at some of those programs – and how well, or poorly, they did in promoting growth and reducing poverty" (52). The TNCs and the local bodies, if made directly accountable to the people, will perform better in the development programs and it may curb the degree of corruption too.

The strategies of TNCs are often detrimental to the other species on the earth. New hybrid species is not the real need, rather preservation and protection of the existing, especially of the endangered, species is the need of the time. The scholars who think of on ecological revolution as an integral part of 'grassroots revolution' envisage its success only when the power is vested with the local system. Korten is of the opinion that "the principles of the Ecological Revolution point toward a global system of local economies that distributes both power and responsibility, creates places for people, encourages the nurturing of life in all its diversity, and limits the opportunity for one group to externalize the social and environmental costs of its consumption onto others" (247). Such an ecological revolution alone can ensure biological diversity marked by healthy survival on the earth.

The new development idiom should fight against the fear syndrome and inferiority complex of the people of the developing nations. If they are not dissolved, the claim, that the empowerment of the local is potent enough to complete and excel the TNCs, will be a voice in the wilderness. The developing nations should make its people aware of its rich and varied heritage, natural resources, man power and other potencies which are unparallel compared to the First World. Arundhati Roy's words suggest a new revolution. "The corporate revolution will collapse if we refuse to buy what they are selling - their ideas, their version of history, their wars, their weapons, their notion of inevitability. Remember this. We be many and they be few. They need us more than we need them" (86).

Thus the new idiom of development ushers in a new revolution in which all are important and cared for equally. Domination, hegemony, unlimited power and the like will never find a place in the lexicon of new revolution. Empathetic love, which edifies and empowers all will be the motto and principle of life. To make it clear a citation from *When Corporation Rule the World* will suffice. People who experience an abundance of love in their lives rarely seek solace in compulsive, exclusionary, personal acquisition. For the emotionally deprived, no extreme of materialistic indulgence can ever be enough, and the material world becomes insufficient to our wants. A world starved of love becomes one of material scarcity. In contrast, a world of love is also one of material abundance. When we are spiritually whole and experience the caring support of community, thrift is a natural part of a full and disciplined life. That which is sufficient to one's needs brings a fulfilling sense of nature's abundance (239). The "grassroots revolution" "live, move and have its being" in the abundance of love.

V. CONCLUSION

This paper is an attempt to suggest an alternative for the present day globalization which disfigures and collapses the economies and cultures of the developing nations. The orientations of the study owe much to the 'organic intellectuals' of the time like David C. Korten, Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen. Their pronouncements on globalization are guiding principles in evaluating and judging it. They all agree on the failure of 'corporate capitalist globalization'. The prominent defects are their inability to empower the local and negation of the poor in its development projects. Thus the TNCs become responsible for the increasing crime and violence in the developing world. The TNCs and their organs being monsters and spread their poisonous tentacles all over, to think about their end may be a folly. What is fitting for us is to temper and modulate their strategies and thereby make them feasible for organic growth. For this, the intellectuals of the world, who recognize the danger posed by the TNCs, should gather public opinion that will challenge the very existence of these monsters. The organizations like "living democracy movement" should reach to the common people to conscientize them about the perils hidden in the globalization and also about the need for empowering the local.

The people of the developing world have a grave responsibility to represent the local in and through their lives. This representation happens only when the value of the local is recognized by the people. The awareness that the local will never endanger us, as the alien powers do, is the sole solution. If the people represent the local economy and indigenous culture by taking them seriously, they will represent a people of self dignity to the world. This representation of the local in no way means discarding the boons of science and technology. They are to be integrated into the local organically so as to empower the local. Blind imitation and credulous adaptations are to be kept at bay. Thus representing the local in the context of globalization means, to stand firm and dignified with the identity of the local which is the sole model of integral and organic development for the people of the locality. Others may seemingly glitter, but to try its veracity is suicidal. Again, representing local is not an economic and cultural fundamentalism, rather a conscious and radical response to vicious fundamentalisms that looms large in the world. By representing the local to the global, the global gets replicated in the local.

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