CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY, LOCAL-GLOBAL CULTURAL DYNAMICS AND STUDENTS' IDENTITY: PERSPECTIVES FROM AN URBAN SCHOOL IN PAKISTAN

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DEDICATION

This doctoral research is dedicated with lots of love to my mum- Khadija, for re-kindling faith in my heart at darkest moments of self-doubt, and for her unconditional love and sacrifices in upbringing my sister Zohra and myself. This is for you- *Khati*.

The dedication also goes to my nephew Nael - for his healing hugs at times when Akki needed the most.

AL-Karim Datoo

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ABSTRACT

This critical ethnographic project is based on one year of field-work carried out in an urban high school in the context of Karachi. The research seeks to critically explore the local-global dynamic as it manifests in the school's official curriculum and the students' lived-world experiences, especially with reference to their interaction with the media-scape, which in turn bears implications on dissolution and re-construction of students' identities.

Theoretically, the research draws upon discourses of critical sociology, especially the notions of *structuration* (Giddens, 1993), to analyze the local-global dynamic, and *structural,* which conceives agency as an innovative and intuitive self (Bourdieu, 1989), as well as post-colonial perspectives to illuminate historical and political contexts that have shaped the locality within which the agency in question is situated (Rizvi, 2004). Subsequently, the research employs an ethnographic research method. In this respect, monological and dialogical data were generated through participant observation, focus group discussions, semi-structured and open-ended interviews, participant-made visuals, document/textbook analysis, observation and analysis of the school's material culture, and home-visits. The data analysis was informed by Carspecken's (1996) methodological guide.

The research finds the schooling and media as globalizing and localizing sites for the youth. The official curriculum, especially the Pakistan Studies textbook, constructs a sense of narrow political nationalism that seems to inform the students' sense of national identity. The local/national reference is constituted by three complex interrelated discourses: religious/ideological (reference of Islam); linguistic nationalism (Urdu language); and territorial (juridical-legal bounded-space). Furthermore, the official text constructs the local as national (political) and ethnic as (sub-national) references, whereby the national identity overrides the sub-national/ethnic identities.

With reference to the global, the official text constructs the global as trans-national/supra-national, as religious/social reference to Ummah (Muslim

collectivity), and as international. Whilst the school text mainly provides a nation-state-centric view of the world and the other, the media-scape in particular and the lived-world in general open up multiple references of belonging, identifications, and differences for the students. Beyond schooling, high school youth are actively interacting with the global through the media-scape (Appadurai, 1996). Agency's interaction with the media-scape in particular and dis-embedding mechanisms in general is found to be generating de/territorialization (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002) which is bringing both anxiety as well as opportunity for the self.

The students' interaction with the global, especially through Bollywood and Hollywood media, at times produces a sense of disjuncture for students, between the mediated global values, attitudes, and life-styles and the normatively acceptable local values and life styles. Furthermore, students confront a sense of colonial difference (Mignolo, 2000), especially in the realm of knowledge, which leads them to feel a cultural gap between the West and the East, and the global and the local. As a reaction, the students are found to be exercising nostalgia as a counter-discourse to the hegemony of Euro-centric modernity/knowledge. This experience of disjuncture and colonial difference generates frustration as well as a state of ambivalence for students.

My research finds that student agency is strategically and innovatively responding to disjuncture and experienced ambivalence through the politics of identity. In this regard, one of the ways students respond is by using hybrid language and dressing; that is, hybridization is a strategy to gain global social capital, as well as a way to step in and out of modernity and tradition (Rosaldo, 1995). In some cases, student agency makes reference to Ummah (Muslim collectivity) and the new media (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003) to re-filliate with their local moorings; it thus engages in a process of what I refer to as *solidifying* their identities. For this purpose, they are paradoxically using the very globalizing technologies against the forces of cultural globalization, to re-localize their identities. At the same time, some students are found as agents who are engaging in acts of re-interpretation of both modernity and tradition, with a view to re-inventing their identities beyond the modernity/tradition, West/East, global/local

dichotomies. These agents are striving in a nutshell to re-create an identity beyond difference. In doing so they are found as trying to reconcile two competing impulses within the self; that is, being rooted in the particular/local and feeling coherence with the global (Aga Khan, 2008).

ABSTRAIT

Ce projet analytique et ethnographique est basé sur un travail sur le terrain d'une année effectué dans un contexte d'un lycée urbain de Karachi. La recherche sollicite une exploration de façon critique du dynamisme local et global comme démontré dans un programme scolaire "officiel" et des cas vécus des étudiants, particulièrement en ce qui concerne leur interaction avec les médias, qui comporte des implications sur la dissolution et la reconstruction des identités des étudiants.

Théoriquement, cette recherche est inspirée des discours de la sociologie critique, particulièrement la notion de "structuration" (Giddens, 1993) pour analyser le dynamisme local et global et "le structurel" pour concevoir un organisme, innovateur et intuitif (Bourdieu, 1989) et quelques perspectives post-coloniales pour illuminer les contextes historiques et politiques qui ont formé le quartier dans laquelle l'agence en question est située (Rizvi, 2004). Par la suite, cette étude pratique la méthode de recherche ethnographique. À cet égard, des données monologiques et dialogiques ont été produites après une observation de participants, débats des groupes de consommateurs, des interviews partiellement structurés et ouverts, moyens audio-visuels des participants, une analyse de l'exemplaire et des documents, l'observation et l'analyse de la culture matérielle et visite domestique de l'école. L'analyse de données a été informée par le guide méthodologique de Carspecken (1996).

La recherche indique que les études et les médias sont des sites de globalization et de localization pour les jeunes. Le programme d'études 'officiel' particulièrement l'exemplaire d'étude du Pakistan construit un sens du nationalisme politique 'étroit' qui semble informer aux étudiants un sens d'identité nationale. La référence locale ou nationale est constituée par des triples discours complexes reliés réciproquement aux corrélations religieux ou idéologiques (la référence à l'Islam), le nationalisme linguistique (l'Urdu) et territorial (juridique-légal d'espace limité). En outre, le texte 'officiel' fabrique le local comme: national (politique) et ethnique comme des références (sous-nationales), par lequel l'identité nationale ignore les identités sub-nationales et ethniques.

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En ce qui concerne "le global" l'exemplaire 'officiel' construit le global comme: une référence trans-national/supra-national religieuse et sociale d'un Ummah (collectivité Musulmane) et comme"international". Pendant que le texte scolaire fournit principalement un vue d'ensemble des états et de la nation du monde et 'l'autre', les médias en particulier et les cas vécus en général, ouvriront les références multiples d'appartenance, des identifications et des différences pour les étudiants. Au-delà des études, les jeunes de lycée communiquent activement avec 'le global' par les médias (Appadurai, 1996). L'interaction de l'agence avec les médias en particulier et des mécanismes de dis-fixation en général sont établis afin de produire de/territorialization (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002) qui reconstitue de la crainte aussi bien que des fortunes pour soi.

L'interaction des étudiants avec le global, surtout par les mass-média d'Hollywood et de Bollywood, produit par moments un sens de 'déconnexion' pour l'étudiant, entre les valeurs 'globales' d'arbitrage, les attitudes et les styles de vie et les valeurs locales normativement acceptables et les styles de vie. En outre, l'étudiant affronte le sens 'de différence' (Mignolo, 2000) coloniale, surtout dans le domaine de la connaissance, qui mène aux étudiants à ressentir 'un écart' culturel entre 'l'Ouest' et 'l'Est', le global et le local. Réciproquement, les étudiants pratiquent un exercice de 'nostalgie'-comme un contre-discours à l'hégémonie de la modernité/connaissance euro-centrale. Cette expérience de 'déconnexion' et la 'différence' coloniale produit la frustration aussi bien qu'un état d'ambivalence pour les étudiants.

Ma recherche constate que l'agence d'étudiant répond stratégiquement et innovatricement au 'déconnexion' et l'ambivalence expérimentée par la politique d'identité. À ce propos, une des façons que l'étudiant répond est en utilisant la langue hybride et autres, c'est-à-dire, l'hybridation comme - une stratégie à gagner la capitale sociale globale, aussi la façon d'intervenir de la 'modernité' et de la 'tradition' (Rosaldo, 1995). Dans certains cas, l'agence d'étudiant utilise des références d'un Ummah (la collectivité Musulmane) et 'les nouveaux' média (Eikleman,) à 'réinsérer' avec leurs amarres locales, qui incite à un processus donc je me réfère à 'solidifiant' leurs identités. À cette fin, ils utilisent paradoxalement

les mêmes technologies de globalisation contre les forces de culturels de mondialisation, afin de re-localiser leurs identités. En même temps, quelques étudiants ont le comportement des agents qui s'engagent dans les actes de réinterprétation autant "modernes' et 'de tradition', avec un engagement de re-inventer leurs identités qui sont au-delà de la dichotomie de modernité ou de tradition, de l'Ouest ou l'Est, globales oulocales. Ces agents en quelques mots luttent pour recréer une identité au-delà 'de la différence'. En faisant celà on remarque qu'ils essaient de réconcilier deux impulsions rivalisantes en soi, c'est-à-dire, l'enracinement dans le particulier/local aussi bien qu'un sens de cohérence avec le global (Aga Khan, 2008).

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CHAPTER ONE

ETHNOGRAPHER SELF AND THE CRITICAL PROJECT

"Practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write" (Hall, 1996, p.110).

FIGURE 1: "FORGOTTEN TEXT" BY GULJEE, AMIN
[http://weiling-gallery.com/artists/amin_gulgee.htm]

"FORGOTTEN TEXT": CULTURAL ENCOUNTER, POLITICS OF MEMORY AND IDENTITY

As one drives down the Boat Basin towards the Old Clifton area, a vibrant urban area of Karachi, famous for the sea-shore and busy food-streets offering a

variety of Asian and foreign cuisines, one cannot miss a 40-foot high metal sculpture installed near the famous roundabout (*Bilawal chorangi)*. The monumental sculpture titled "Forgotten text" is a work of a national-award winning Pakistani artist, Amin Guljee. The above figure represents a model image of the sculpture.

The sculpture is made out of copper, iron, steel, computer motherboards, and glass. It produces the look of a hybrid artifact infused with hieroglyphic (pictorial) script from 5000-year-old Mohenjo-Daro civilization (Husain, 2004).

The sculpture represents a hybrid art form. The use of computer motherboard is a reference to information technology (IT) and a symbol of modernity, as denoted through use of materials of science and technology. The sculpture is also infused with the text of hieroglyphics, yet undeciphered, from a 5000-year-old civilization, which is a symbol of local cultural tradition and heritage. In this manner, the sculpture's medium itself is a message highlighting the processes of cultural and civilizational dynamics at play.

The sculpture articulates the juxtaposition between references of modernity and heritage. In doing so, the sculpture highlights a tension that is often experienced by a local self living a context of globalization and is trying to seek a balance between modernity and tradition, between the global and the local (Nair, 2005).

In the context of contemporary cultural globalization, there is often a perceived threat of diminishing one's local heritage, tradition, and identity, a sense of which is expressed through the very title of the sculpture, forgotten text. Forgetting in the realm of cultural production is not a neutral, natural, or chronological phenomenon, but rather, involves the political economy of culture (Bell, 1999), resulting from increasing cultural interactions due to globalization. The power exerted through the cultural hegemony of one culture over another results in a politics of forgetting and memory which in turn influences the way the self relates to its past, and makes sense of the present and future.

The sculpture thus points to an intellectual, political and therefore educational issue that influences biographies and formation of local identities,

including my own, in the wake of globalization. The dynamic between the local and the global, modern and traditional, self and other, marks my biography as an international student, which in turn informs this critical ethnographic project undertaken for my doctoral research.

Central to any critical ethnographic project is the notion of the ethnographer-self. The ethnographer is the prime instrument through which the research is conceived, carried out, and represented. The location from where the researcher articulates the research - the researcher's epistemic, moral and political positioning - determines the researcher's engagement or disengagement with interpretation and telling the tale (Maanen, 1988) of the cultural other. For this reason, biography and ethnography are greatly interrelaced (Coffey, 1999) as each shapes the other. As Clifford states, "theory is always written from some 'where' and that 'where' is less a place than itineraries: different concrete histories of dwelling, immigration, exile, migration" (Clifford, 1989, cited in Kaplan, 1996, p. 130).

In what follows, I briefly outline some of the itineraries of my travel biography which forms a context where my ethnographer-self is located and from where I see, interpret, and represent the ethnographic world of my research participants. In this regard, below I briefly present some insights and feelings that emerged due to my travels - physical as well as cultural - and the way they in turn shaped me and through me this doctoral research.

THE ETHNOGRAPHER'S SELF: A NOMAD MEDIATING BETWEEN ROUTES AND ROOTS

I choose the metaphor of a nomad to partially describe myself. I am a nomad who is in search of knowledge. Brought up in a Shia Ismaili Muslim family, from an early age, I was inspired by the gist of a *hadith* (saying) of the Prophet Mohammed that encourages seeking knowledge even if one has to go to China. This injunction encouraged me to travel in pursuit of knowledge.

In this regard, I employ a concept of travel as elaborated by Clifford (1997) to denote not only physical movement (displacement) from one place to

another, but also in a broader sense that includes many forms of encounters vis-à-vis cultures, values, epistemologies, and world-views. It is through these travels that my self has been shaped, which therefore bears local-global cultural dynamic in its making.

I have spent significant portions of my life as an international student. After my graduation from Pakistan (my home country), I went to the United Kingdom for post-graduate studies, and am now here in Canada pursuing my doctorate.

Being a student away from home meant that I was de-territorialized (de-linked from my local and the home), as a self in motion, traveling across places, engaging in practices of crossing physical, socio-cultural and epistemic borders, experiencing rupture between the encountered psychological, intellectual, social value and my own locally formed dispositions and value-systems along the way. Nevertheless, this travel has been two-way as it also included sharing of my own self, my culture, and responding to the world from the landscape of my cultural roots. I have thus experienced myself as a product of a dialect between routes and roots.

The above experiences of deterritorialization have also invoked processes of reterritorialization. Deleuze and Guattari (2005), for instance, articulate this process through the simile of a rhizome. As they explain, "there is a rupture in the rhizome [deterritorialization] whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is part of the rhizome. These lines always tie back to one another [reterritorialziation]" (p.10). The quote elaborates on the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, delocalization and relocalization. In this respect, during my travel, every encounter with the cultural other generates in me either a memory or a response that is embedded in my historical, political, and normatively constructed local base, which is constituted by my upbringing, learnings, values, beliefs, epistemic orientations, and all that makes me as a self. Reterritorialization, therefore, involves re-connecting with that base, be it home, or its memory or its re-imaging. In the wake of deterritorialization, a person can re-territorialize in several ways, by going home (physically), remaining

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connected with friends and family back home via the Internet, and/or strengthening connections through shared cultural contexts such as chatting about cricket, food, politics, and so on. Reterritorialization can also happen by being nostalgic when watching Bollywood movies depicting a life of a diasporic-self (such as *Namesake*, a movie based on experiences of a Bengali immigrant family coming to settle in the US), eating *nihari* (a spicy gravy – very popular Pakistani cuisine) participating in *Eid* - a Muslim festival, and/or reading literature for example, of my favorite poets *Ghalib* and *Iqbal* from the sub-continent. All this re-localizes my imagination.

Due to mobility and associated displacement, I am, at times, torn between old affiliations, histories, and relations and the new ones with their own sets of knowledge systems, social values, and cultural contexts. This new and emergent multiplicity opens up new spaces of identification and belonging for me.

In this regard, my where can partially be characterized as a context that is shaped by my dwelling in travel (Clifford, 1997). In this respect, my self has oscillated between home and abroad, national and transnational, universal and particular, local and global, resulting in the feeling of in–between-ness (Bhabha, 1994). These tendencies and references are therefore partially responsible for shaping my self. This state of being is expressed in my own poetic words below:

> Like a wave,
>
> I am dislodged from my source-bed
>
> A part yet apart
>
> Plunging out, pulled by the shore
>
> Paradoxically the same pull creates
>
> A strong yearning to return to the source.
>
> (Autumn, 2008)

Like the wave within which represents two competing forces - the shore and the ocean - my self negotiates the two competing impulses of being local as well as global.

In the context of the globalization, the phenomenon of deterritorialization has been caused and accelerated due to disembedding mechanisms. These disembedding mechanisms - information and communication technology, and symbolic and electronic currency - lift social experiences from their immediate local space and re-inscribe them across new spatialities; hence, social experiences are deterritorialized and so is the self (Giddens, 1991). These practices have implications for the notion of self/identity, as deterritorialization puts the self into contact with the cultural other, or global, where the cultural other penetrates in the local self. The global other is not experienced in a vacuum but is anchored in the local, altering the very locality where the self is situated.

The state of my travel biography and the tensions within somewhat resonate the theme expressed by Glujee's sculpture, as both involve cultural encounters, such as between modern and traditional, local and global, home and abroad, or self and other. The themes continue to characterize the life of a globalizing agency that is deterritorialized and that is physically displaced either through travel or migration or experientially dislodged from the immediate local. In this context of globalization, the notions and discourses of modern and traditional, modern and post-modern, local and global, universal and particular are interacting, co-constituting, and co-producing each other (Rizvi, 2005).

While I traveled physically and figuratively across places and cultures, the majority of the youth that I studied are engaged in a different sort of travel, which is not necessarily physical displacement. However, through mass-mediation and modern education, their social experiences are lifted out from the local context through significant globalizing forces, causing them to experience deterritorialization. The unique kind of travel of my research participants is somewhat different from the travel of the diasporic self, as the youth in my study are interacting with the global mainly through school education and media (except for a few who have travelled abroad). In this respect, my doctoral research focuses on exploring how local-global dynamics are manifested in the schooling and the lived-world of students (especially their media related interactions), and

the implications of that dynamic on the students' senses and practices of identity formation.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

At a personal level, this research provides me with a comparative view of the manner in which youth agency that is deterritorialized differently, through media and education, negotiates the local-global dynamic. It will also provide me with some insights regarding processes of border-crossing socio-cultural and epistemic practices (Clifford, 1997). This informs me about the possibility of crafting educational projects that facilitate inter-cultural understandings and dialogue. More importantly, the critical dialogic nature of the research informs my own assumptions about and understanding of studying the cultural dimension of globalization and education, which will help me in designing future ethnographic research and come up with educational responses to the emergent intellectual issues that this research will hopefully open up.

With respect to theoretical and methodological aspects, this research will significantly contribute to some ethnographic research done in the South Asian context in general and Pakistan in particular, by producing an example of doing an anthropological study of and in Muslim society (Asad, 1986), where the dialectic between the global forces and Muslim identity plays out. At the theoretical level, this research foregrounds social agency. In this respect, the relationship between globalization and agency is conceived as structurational (Sassen, 2003), and hence informs and critiques the research that adopts structuralist/functionalist anthropology in exploring the dynamics between global and local agency. Furthermore, the research substantially draws from post-colonial theoretical elements, particularly Bhabha (1990, 1994), Chaterjee (1986), Nandy (1983, 2004), and Said (1978, 1993) in approaching a historical analysis of the relationship between nation-state and national education, and its role in framing contemporary post-colonial Muslim identity in the context of Pakistan. In doing so the research brings into analytical attention the power dynamic between

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the colonial (past) and the post-colonial (present) in framing of a national educational landscape within which the student agency is located.

Empirical Justification

This research adopts sociological theories (critical orientations) and combines them with anthropological methodology; that is, ethnography to explore local-global cultural dynamics as they get played out in the realms of a school's official knowledge and lived-students' lived experiences (what I henceforth refer to as *educative sites*), and the interactions between the two.

My research complements some of the work done in school ethnography in a South Asian context, such as that of Anderson-Levitt (2003), which explores the local-global dynamic in some select educational contexts of South East Asia. The research sheds important light on the dynamic between the local and the global, as it focuses more on analyzing the impact of the local-global dynamic on educational policy and curricular content. However, the work lacks an ethnographic exploration of the particularities of the students as they engage in the local-global interplay and construct their identities. Furthermore, the school ethnography conducted by Sarangapani (2003) explores construction of school knowledge in a rural Indian context, highlighting a tension between rationality-centric knowledge and local/traditional knowledge. Although the research illuminates interesting tensions between the global and the local in influencing knowledge construction, it lacks an analysis of the political economy of culture involved in the process. To some extent, this gap is addressed by my doctoral research as it analyzes the issue of the political economy of culture and its implications on formation of high school youth identities. With respect to studying youth in the context of globalization, work by Dolby and Rizvi (2008) explores the phenomenon of youth travel in the wake of globalization, with a focus on international students from China who study in Australia. Furthermore, the study explores cyber-space constructed through globalizing technologies and its implications for these youth identities. My study draws some insights from Dolby and Rizvi (2008); nevertheless, it focuses on urban youth from Karachi

who are not necessarily engaged in physical travel, as the youth in the case of Dolby and Rizvi (2008), but encounter the global through media and the school education in general and the curriculum in particular.

From a methodological standpoint, this critical ethnography inaugurates a discourse in research in the Pakistani educational context that combines critical sociology (theory) and ethnographic methods to conduct school ethnography. Until recently, the predominant methodology in use has been positivist/quantitative in nature. These studies are often carried out either to justify or rationalize mega-funded projects by the World Bank or International Monitory Fund, and are often carried out by non-governmental organizations and semi-private educational and research institutions in Pakistan.

However, in the recent past there has been a substantial growth in the use of qualitative research, predominantly the use of methodologies such as: qualitative-case study, document analysis, narrative inquiry, and action-research (Rettalick & Farah, 2005). In this regard, some studies focus on issues pertaining to the notion of school improvement and the role of instructional strategies in the learning (e.g., Dean, 2005), without critically examining the macro-social structures that shape the very context of the schooling. In addition, Ali (2005) explores the impact of globalization on Pakistani education policy. Although a useful contribution to the topic, the study is methodologically limited in the sense that it relies on document analysis, and therefore is distant from the lived reality of stuents in schools.

From a critical perspective, a significant study was carried out by Nayyar and Salim (2002), which has raised issues of subverting curricula that have been constructed through Pakistani school textbooks. This report presents research which critiques Pakistani textbooks from various thematic perspectives. These include the issues of ideological control in textbooks, representation of religious minority identities in a multi-ethnic society such as Pakistan, gender stereotyping, and the portrayal of Pakistan-India relations to mention a few. This critique advocates a complete re-thinking and re-designing of school curricula, with a strong recommendation for making major changes in the curriculum wing at the

federal level of education management and policy. The report attracted a lot of press attention and generated heated debates and protests both in the parliament and the streets. However, this report, though very significant, is based on document analysis of textbooks, and curriculum and educational policy documents. In this sense it is methodologically limited as it does not include exploration that the role of the actual school site and student agency can possibly play in self-identity making process. The study also ignores the roles of school as both a site of resistance and contestation (Apple, 1995). In this manner, the report remains limited by adopting structuralist/functionalist perspective on education. However, the report aptly provides some ground to be built upon by other critical research work, like that of my doctoral study.

With respect to the research on identity, Saigol's (1995) work analyzes the construction of gender identities in the school textbook in the Pakistani context. While the work sheds some interesting sociological insights pertaining to gender construction through knowledge, it remains methodologically limited to the analysis of the textbooks only, and thus lacks the ethnographic realities within which gender dynamics play out in the school contexts. In this respect, nevertheless, an ethnographic study done by Pardhan (2005) which documents stories of women from Northern Pakistan, illuminates some socio-cultural dimensions that shape gender and education relationships in a Pakistani context.

In the above backdrop, my doctoral research will significantly contribute to an understanding of issues of culture and knowledge and power and their implications for the formation of youth identities in a Pakistani context - a theme that has not yet been explored through critical ethnography in this context.

In this sense, my research will shed important light on issues pertaining to the formation of local and cultural identities in the wake of globalization. The research therefore holds great potential to stimulate policy-related debates, especially in relation to recognizing the role of local culture and agency in education as well as in shaping the local-global cultural dynamic. In addition, my study will break away from other research conducted in the Pakistani context which has been mostly framed within a structuralistic/functionalistic perspective,

as it engages an analysis of a dialectical relationship between agency and structure in the context of school education. Furthermore, from a methodological perspective, my research has the potential to offer some significant insights into the issue of ethnographic knowledge – about representation and agency situated in the context of a post-colonial Muslim society where I am located – biographically, culturally, and politically.

Political, ethical and cultural significance

Informed by a critical theoretical orientation, this research aims to explore power involved in the cultural dynamics of the local and the global. Concerned with the issue of political economy of culture and education, the research illuminates some processes and tensions that surface during the production of cultural dynamics in the educative sites with which the youth of my study interact, as well as exposes some aspects in which the global (through the globalization of culture) influences the local self. In this respect, the research attempts to explore some ways in which local agency responds to and negotiates local-global cultural dynamics. The research does not only stop at voicing struggles, but also searches for some spaces and strategies that might have been opened due to the local-global dynamic for the self and other. In this sense this research is conscious of not getting lost, or locked for that matter, in the language of critique only, but rather aspires to seek possibilities. Moreover, my research foregrounds voices of a youth who, as insiders, are both participating in as well as presenting a critique of their local cultural practices in the wake of globalization (Marcus, 1986).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Processes and forces involved in cultural dynamics are not neutral (Soja, 1989), as any cultural encounter involves power encounters - a relationship between powerful and power-less. If one were to extend this in light of Foucault, one could say that it is a struggle between power and yet to be powerful as there is a constant drive by the oppressed to be powerful (Rabinow, 1984). Therefore, given the nature of the research focus, it enages with analyzing issues of the

political economy of culture, and therefore adopts a critical ethnography research methodology to explore the research problem.

Informed by critical sociological theory, the ethnographic research method explores political economy as circulated in local-global cultural dynamics. In this sense it also addresses the concern raised about sociological and anthropological studies by some critics of these studies (e.g., Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Masemann, 2003). In contrast, most sociological research (being modernist/institutionalist) tends to emphasize, and at times, even over emphasize the influence of structure and neglects the role of the particular and of local agency. Most anthropological studies tend to get bogged-down with the particular, ignoring the structural (macro) forces shaping the local/micro through power. This endeavored critical ethnography is therefore conscious of these tendencies and adopts an approach which is theoretically informed through the theory of structuration, which emphasizes the relevance of structure-agency relationship (Carspecken, 1996, 2002).

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

I conducted my research in the context of Karachi, an urban metropolis of Pakistan. Geographically, Pakistan is spread over the region which was previously the center of one of the oldest civilizations, the Indus Valley, dating at least back to 5000 years ago (Ahsan, 1996). During the second millennium B.C., the civilization underwent assimilation of diverse cultures when the Indo-Aryan people came to this region. The area sporadically went through successive invasions in subsequent centuries from the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, and Turks. There were also Arabs who brought Islam in this territory and the Mughals as their subsequent imperial heirs, who flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, marked a great transformation on every aspect of social life in Hind-Sindh, as the territory was known in the historical annals of that period. Then the British came to dominate the region in the eighteenth century. The colonizers made influential impacts on the locality and brought major changes in the cultural imagination of the natives through technology of power. It was in

1947 when the Indian Territory got finally separated by their colonizers into Hindu and Muslim states to form what is now known as India and Pakistan.

Sindh is one of the major provinces of Pakistan mostly driven by an agrarian economy and way of life, whereas Karachi, as the capital city of the province, has always maintained a distinct identity geographically. Karachi was a hinterland in the historical narratives. It first emerged as a fishing village during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and later as a queen for the British colonials in nineteenth century because of its importance as a sea harbor and trading/traveling route (Lari, 1997). From then on, it evolved into an urban locality and a globally acclaimed city for its cheapest solutions for Information Technology, computers, software engineers, hardware manufacturers, and so forth. Moreover, through the heavy use of Internet-based communication people – mostly the youth – are internationally connected with the outside world in real time situation. Nowadays, one may see the IT industry flourishing in the city as infrastructural development based on global partnerships with multinationals and foreign funding agencies, which are likely to see Karachi as a cosmopolitan locality favorable for international trade and as an industrial zone, grow immensely. Many of the flyovers, newly built bridges, and underpasses indicate efforts to make Karachi a hightech metropolis in the world. Not only has the city changed drastically in terms of development, but it has also felt a great deal of change within every corner of social life. Be it food or clothing, Karachi has the most famous chains acclaimed worldwide from McDonalds to Pizza Hut, and from Kentucky Fried Chicken to Dunkin Donuts. One may find stores of international clothing brands in the city, such as Nike, Levi's, and others.

The shifting educational scenario of the city has also seen interesting changes. A significant increase is seen in the number of foreign students wishing to study abroad and there is a deeper involvement of the private education sector in providing education for higher studies. Thus, affordable education and easy access have made this city a melting pot for prospective students from all over the country. To cope with this global change, which changed the local state of education with increased numbers of students, the State of Pakistan has made

several attempts to improve the existing situation. One such move was to recreate and reform an authorizing body to control, identify, and regulate global trends in local education. The establishment of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) was a step towards that goal. It is an official body that ensures all public and private educational institutions operate legally under the prescribed provision of the Government of Pakistan.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

With reference to an analytic thrust, this research is limited in the sense that it focuses on processes of cultural globalization and education oriented towards the youths (participants) views and experiences, irrespective of their socio-economic variations. In this, the research does not include experiences of globalization across social class differences within the same urban context. This could have been done through a comparative study of a variety of socio-economic contexts of schooling within urban Pakistan. While the research remains limited in its focus on an urban context, the rural context nonetheless provided an interesting context for the research.

With regard to methodological limitations, the research focuses on a higher-secondary school to gain in-depth ethnographic bite. With respect to school-knowledge analysis, the research focused on discourse analysis of one compulsory subject, Pakistan Studies, for high school youth that comprises partial school-knowledge. Inclusion of some other subjects like Urdu, Commerce, English Language, and Science related textual analysis might have enriched the analysis further. Another aspect that limits this research is in-depth exploration, especially with reference to participant observation of family and neighborhood contexts, or the locality, of the participants. Nonetheless, some home visits, where access was perceived to be relatively easy, were carried out during which some time was spent watching television with parents and discussing issues over dinner with them.

KEY INFORMING CONCEPTS

In the following lines some key terms are foregrounded as conceptual terms that underpin my research. It should be noted that detailed exposition of these terms is carried out in the next chapter in the light of literature. Here these terms are very briefly explained as they relate to the present research. In this sense, it reflects my own understanding and intellectual preference and thus a position with regard to these terms.

The Local and the Global

The research takes local and global to be spatial metaphors (Moore, 2004) as signifiers of axes of locations, rather than any physical place-bound or power-neutral space. More so, the global in this research, contrary to the dominant structuralist functionalist notion, is conceived as partial (Sassen, 2003). This stance informs an understanding of a world that we are living in as a globalizing and not already globalized world, as it is still possible to imagine a place where the global has not penetrated yet. Furthermore, this research assumes a relationship between the local and the global to be in structuration; that is, in a dialectical relationship, each shaping and re-shaping the other. At the same time, this research assumes that globalization is simultaneously generating de-localization and re-localization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization, and globalization and localization.

Agreeing with Moore (2004), this research takes the global and the local as heuristic devices which help to make sense of data, experiences, and processes. Furthermore, the exact meaning of the local and the global cannot be specified, but can be interpreted through the understandings of the research participants, who are insiders (Willis, 2006), as they relate their practices and contexts with these metaphors. Moreover, I am aware that there is no rigid way in which cultures and politics are first global, then national, then regional, then local. Instead these constructs and scales intersect at all points (Massey, 1998).

Identity

Taken as an ongoing, never complete, always arriving project, identity is seen as an essential reference base from where the self understands and interacts with the world (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 2001). Identity is primarily an essentializing project of the self whereby the self seeks affiliative anchors in some social, cultural, political, religious, or ideological anchors. In the wake of cultural hybridization, due to intercultural interactions, there exists a tension within the self between essentialization and non-essentialization of one's identity.

Globalization generates two contradictory impulses; one is the tendency for cultural homogenization and the other is a reaction to the former, an impulse to solidify one's own cultural identity by clinging to particularity. Politics of identity are linked to political economy of culture. Bauman (2004) captures this pulse very aptly when he says,

> [i]dentity should be considered an ongoing process of redefining oneself and of the invention and reinvention of one's own history. This is where we find the ambivalence of identity: nostalgia for the past together with complete accordance with 'liquid modernity'. It is this that creates the possibility of overturning the planetary effects of globalization and using them in a positive manner (p. 7).

Modernity and Tradition

While conceptualizing my research, I do not treat modernity and tradition as binary opposites that are prevalent in many discourses with: the former belonging to the West, and the latter to the non-Western society; the former meaning progress and the latter as synonymous with backwardness; the former as a quality of secularism and the latter as a quality of religion (Asad, 1986). This research rather takes modernity and tradition as a dimension of social life, and not as a phase of social, economic, or scientific development. More importantly, tradition and modernity are taken not as two mutually exclusive states of a culture or society but rather different aspects of society (Asad, 1986). This understanding

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is very important to keep in the forefront while doing anthropology of a Muslim society, the context of my doctoral research.

Educative Sites

Another key term this research employs is educative sites. By educative sites, I refer to formal schooling as well as mass-media that include TV, Internet, digital/cyber interactions through e-mail, Microsoft Network chat, social utility sites such as Facebook and Orkut; whereby the cultural other interacts with the local self. In a contemporary context, these sites are increasingly becoming globalizing forces that are transforming the self and its locality. These sites, therefore, deserve an analytical attention.

Curriculum

Central to this research is an analytical space called curriculum. Curriculum is a selection from culture. In the context of globalization in general and cultural globalization in particular, the source of curriculum, or culture, is in continuous motion, and is not an isomorphic empirical context anymore, but has rather become a mixture of forces and spatialities due to cultural interactions.

Therefore, the issue of curricular knowledge selection and its representation which carries implications for formation of the student's self, becomes a space for cultural contestation, where politics of identity are played out. Moreover, the curriculum as an official knowledge that is state-controlled, sanctioned and legitimized, comes into contact with other sites of cultural production, such as, media and information techonologies, which shape personal and social identities. Hence these sites become an extended curriculum, a part of the students' lived curriculum.

Culture-Curriculum Link

The study employs concept of culture as used in an anthropological sense, as system of meaning for differenciating the self and the other, whereby habitus as a generative base for social meaning and action becomes the context of the self

(Bourdieu, 1977). Therefore, habitus is taken to refer simply to the complex context in which the self is embedded. This context also includes one of the sources of generating social capital (education), from which the self draws knowledge and content for its dispositions as well as the lived experience of reality. Education and culture in this sense co-constitute each other, as the culture produces education, and education, over a period, produces culture. Moreover, in the wake of globalization, education is also a globalizing apparatus, hence it influences the local culture. In addition, this research also emplyes the notion of cultural (Appadurai, 1996) denoting a process that occurs where cultures intermingle, and in that interaction, the production of difference takes place, through which a particular culture gets distinguished from the other (Bhabha, 1990, 1994).

The above are some key concepts that have come to interrelate in the wake of globalization in interesting and influential manners, and therefore inform my research. An elaborated discussion of these terms follows in the next chapter.

THESIS ORGANIZATION

Having introduced the self and the project in this chapter, **Chapter 2** surveys literature to explore sociological and anthropological perspectives portraying the phenomenon of globalization (the production and experiences of globalization and its implications on formation of identities), in general and local-global cultural dynamics in particular. Subsequently, the discussion will analyze implications of local-global cultural dynamics on production of education and culture with a view to situating the emergent research focus and questions as well as drawing some theoretical optics that will guide the research. **Chapter 3** will discuss the rationale, processes, and procedures of doing critical ethnography to explore the research questions. Building upon this, **Chapter 4**, which is based mainly on document/text analysis, will present the analysis of the school's official curriculum, especially of the Pakistan Studies textbook, with a view to exploring representation of national/local and global, as they often serve as references for students' identities. **Chapter 5** analyzes the students' lived-world(s) with a view

to exploring their self-perceptions and experiences of the local-global dynamic, the disjuncture and continuity that the students experience, and issues of and responses to their identity formation in the wake of local-global cultural dynamics. **Chapter 6** will present interpretation of key themes that emerged from the research, with a view to presenting a synthesized discussion, and make data-theory connections in light of the research findings. **Chapter 7** draws some conclusions and insights about the local-global cultural dynamics as they manifest in students'/school's official and lived-worlds, and the implications on students' identity formation (and related issues of power dynamics involved). Furthermore, the discussion presents some reflections on doing a critical ethnographic project that explores processes of local-global dynamics. In addition, the discussion goes on to suggest some possible lines of further inquiry, and concludes by sharing some reflections on the influence of the research on the ethnographer's self.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter explores sociological and anthropological perspectives portraying the phenomenon called globalization in general and local-global cultural dynamics in particular, with a view to developing theoretical/analytical possibilities to guide this research. The subsequent discussion surveys sociological perspectives on culture, education, and identity to explore the phenomena of educational and cultural production in the context of the local-global cultural dynamic. Finally, the discussion situates the emergent research questions.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GLOBALIZATION AND LOCAL-GLOBAL DYNAMICS

Meta-theoretical Reflections: A Gaze on the Sociological Theorizing of Globalization

Before conducting an in-depth review of the research-related literature, I believe it is essential to cast a meta-theoretical gaze on the very nature of social theorizing about the particular phenomenon being researched. Bourdieu (1977) reminds us that, in sociological research, the researcher as a social agent is caught up in the very object (i.e., society) that s/he is researching. Such is the case with this doctoral research, whereby both the researcher and the object of this critical inquiry - the phenomenon of globalization - are situated in a globalizing world. Hence the knower and the knowledge are both contextualized in the very phenomenon that is being explored.

With reference to sociological knowledge about the portrayal of globalization, it could be noted that the context of globalization has significantly altered the very nature of social theorizing. The phenomenon has de-stabilized the ontology of classical sociological and anthropological debates about constructs such as culture, society, nation-state, community, and place, to mention some key ones. Take, for example, the notion of society, the central object of any

sociological research, which is undergoing significant change in the wake of globalization. Giddens (1990) suggests that:

> The undue reliance which sociologists have placed upon the idea of "society," where this means a bounded system, should be replaced by a starting point that concentrates upon analyzing how social life is ordered across time and space - the problematic of time-space distanciation. (p. 64)

This has made today's world appear as if distances are shrinking and social experiences are no more limited to a place, but get stretched out across space, generating new kinds of social relationships and identities (Bauman, 2004).

Consequently, the ontology of culture needs to be re-conceptualized, as culture, a notion that is central to ethnography, is not a place-bound phenomenon (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997), and in the wake of globalization both culture and agency get de/territorialized (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). These shifts bear implications on conceiving ethnography, especially with reference to the ways in which the notions of the local/ field, individual-place-spatial relationships, culture and the researcher's self-location are conceived and translated into analytical or methodological approaches for researching globalization.

Furthermore, note needs to be taken of disciplinary approaches that portray globalization. Sociology, embedded in institutional modernity, tends to be legalist and structure-centered, and therefore, as Bauman (2004) emphasizes, sociology needs to shed its legalistic approach and adopt post-modernist, interpretive work. At the same time, Masemann (2003) points out that anthropology seems to be much too particular and agent-oriented, and that it tends to neglect the macro social structures that shape the agency/particularity. Therefore, both the approaches need to develop a synthesized mid-stance informed by structuration that takes into account structure-agency relationship in its analytical fold (Giddens, 1993).

The subsequent literature review about the phenomenon under exploration will be discussed in the light of the above mentioned comments.

Globalization: Condition or Project?

The phenomenon of globalization is multifaceted, having historical, political, cultural, technological, economical dimensions which are intertwined in a complex manner, and are continuously shaping each other. This chapter will focus on the cultural dimension of globalization, as the process of globalization cannot be grasped without the concept of culture (Tomlinson, 1999). More relevantly, however, this study is about exploring culture-education connections in the context of globalization.

One of the many entry points in engaging with debates about globalization is to interrogate whether globalization is a condition (a temporal register characterizing the contemporary world) or a project (neo-liberal/neo-colonial/imperialism).

Perspectives that champion the notion of globalization as a condition seem to treat the phenomenon as a temporal register, a temporal context within which current society exists. In this regard, several perspectives see the condition called globalization differently. Giddens (1990, 1991) regards globalization as a characteristic feature of high modernity or late modernity. Others argue that globalization is post-modern in its characteristics (Bauman, 1992, 2000; Harvey, 1989), whilst for some the condition is both modern as well as post-modern in nature (Seidman, 2004), having both universalizing and particularizing tendencies. Here, one could argue that all three views see globalization through a non-political and historically fractured lens. These views treat the historicity of globalization as a linear, euro-centric phenomenon only, projected as the chronological linearity of modernity - a process inaugurated in the eighteenth century West (Arkoun, 2000).

A contrasting set of views to the above exposes globalization as a project. This view holds that globalization is an ideological force, characterized by the values and political agenda that serve the dominant. From economic perspectives, it is seen as a neo-liberal political tool steeped in the logic of free-trade (Apple, 1996, 1998) and development discourse, articulated through a Orientalist/colonial imaginary, that dichotomizes the world as West and East, Occident and Orient

and as a consequence, First world and Third world. Such a power-laden view privileges the West - the so-called First world - which is seen as having a civilizing mission to improve the so-called Third World (Escobar, 1995).

The institutional manifestations based on such a premise suffused through globalization can be seen in the International Monitary Fund, the World Bank, and some multi-national corporations that use the discourse of development to legitimize their own agendas and power, extending the existing gap between the rich and the poor. Connected to the economic is the political perspective, in which regard globalization is seen as a form of neo-colonialism and imperialism (Hardt & Negri, 2000). Interlinked to the economic and political is cultural production under globalization, and therefore, from a cultural standpoint, the globalization project is seen as exerting cultural hegemony of the Euro-American cultures and their values on other cultures. Such a view pitches the West against the Rest (Stromquist, 2002). This view holds the cultural homogenization thesis, often referring to the phenomenon of globalization as Westernization, McDonaldization and Coca-colization (Apple, Kenway, & Singh, 2005). Such a set of positions which view globalization as exuding from the West to the Rest, or approaching from top to bottom (top being the centers of global power) is often referred to in literature as globalization from above (Appadurai, 2003).

In the context of knowledge production, globalization is seen as a perpetuator of Enlightenment epistemologies, steeped in the history and cultures of the West, championing the role of reason and rationality as the only valid form of knowledge, thus assigning subaltern status to all other forms of knowledge based on the folk-wisdom of other non-Western cultures (Mignolo, 2000). Consequently, the education of the South is controlled by the North (the Western world) (Stromquist, 2002), which defines valid knowledge and true academic scholarship (Nandy, 2004).

Such understandings of globalization as a project having political and hegemonic telos have generated several reactions amongst some cultural/social groups, giving rise to a global backlash in the form of anti-globalization social movements championing social justice and the environmental rights of the locals.

Such reactions are often clustered under the umbrella term globalization from below or grass-roots globalization (Held & McGrew, 2002; Niezen, 2004). The globalization from below movements are often initiated by middle-class and/or elites to represent the grass-roots level issues of locals. Another group which sometimes gets engaged in movements of globalization from below are the victims themselves, such as indigenous people (Niezen, 2004). Irrespective of where they originate, it is, interestingly, a paradoxical feature of globalization, as Niezen (2004) states, that many social movements for social justice and environment use globalizing technology against the power of globalization. In this regard, examples can be seen among environmental movements, human rights, and gender rights movements.

Sociological Perspectives: The Global-Local Dialectic

Central to the discourse of globalization is a contestation about notions of local and global and their interrelationship. The global and local are spatial metaphors and therefore refer to spatial scales (Moore, 2004). It should be noted that any space is a not a neutral context, but is rather inscribed with its own unique power dynamics (Soja, 1971, 1989). Hence it could be said that geography is both political as well as cultural (Holton, 2005).

Sociological literature on globalization appears to oscillate between essentialism (structuralism/ functionalism) and relativism (post-structuralist, post-colonial, post-modernist). Depending upon the sociological perspective, the local-global constructs and their interrelationship is assumed differently. One such sociological model (Petrella, 1995, cited in Holton, 2005) theorizes the global-local relationship from the angle of the spatiality of globalization. In this frame, four types of spatial locations are referred. These are: the global, the regional, the national, and the local. The model distinguishes between the global and the rest of the categories, referring to the categories other than the global as sub-global. Furthermore, these sub-global categories are clustered under the metaphor of local. Hence, in this view, sub-global categories - regional, national, sub-national and local - are all represented through the common metaphor of local. It should

be noted that such categorization employs political-legal criteria as a distinguishing factor. Such categorization is fraught with problems which will be discussed in the critique of the model at a later stage. Furthermore, Holton (2005, p. 110) refers to Petrella's model, which presents the following seven mechanisms of thinking about the global and the local. These are:

1.   The global predominates the local

2.   The local awakes itself in a globalized or globalizing word

3.   The global, bringing opportunities, helps the local

4.   The global invents its own local

5.   The local struggles for a different global

6.   The dialectics of the global and local builds up a new synthesis, the "glocal"

7.   The local sets free the local.

Each of these seven ways of perceiving ascribes a particular relationship between the global and the local and their respective positions of power to influence the other.

View 1: Global predominates over the local: Structuralist/functionalist perspective

In the first mechanism, the global is seen as an all-pervasive force which is rapidly undermining each sub-global/local. In terms of politics, this refers to trans-national political institutions and forces which have weakened the sovereignty of the nation-states. With respect to economic globalization, free-capital flow and related economic arrangements made through transnational corporations and business firms are controlling national economies and are crafting global consumer culture.

In the realm of culture, this view takes the form of cultural convergence / homogenization whereby the global, mostly characterized as Western or American cultural values and products, is spreading, thus homogenizing every other culture.

There is considerable debate around the sovereignty issue in political and sociological literature pertaining to globalization. According to Appadurai (1996), the nation-state is in decline in the wake of globalization, while Rizvi (2004) argues that the nation-state's role is changing and is certainly not in decline. For others, the role of the nation-state is changing and has become flexible (Ong, 1999). In economic terms, the above stance assumes that local economies and institutions are up-rooted by transnational and multinational economic/business institutions and free-market capital economy (Apple, Kenway, & Singh, 2005). In cultural terms, the above model sees the global as transferring the globe (locals) into a single world culture, predominated by Westernization (Apple, Kenway, & Singh, 2005). This position is also called the cultural convergence thesis. This mechanism can be characterized as a structuralist/functionalist perspective.

Such accounts of globalization tend to assume a powerful relationship between global capital, the market and digital technology, and their associated colonizing imperatives (Apple, Kenway, & Singh, 2005). Some such studies particularly focus on the reach and impact of technology on the market and social-cultural and political domains. Such views tend to portray a deterministic logic where globalization, usually from above, from a top-down locus of technological and economic power, is influencing the whole world.

Views 2 to 7: Mechanisms portraying global-local relationship

The second mechanism conceives the relationship between the global and the local in a manner in which the local is not vanquished by the global but rather awakens in relation to it (Holton, 2005). Unlike the structuralist perspective, this view presumes the local (regional, national and sub-national) as not destroyed by globalization. The metaphor of awakening is an interesting one to note here, as it indicates the response of the local to the global. The question then becomes, what are the processes and factors which generate such a response, that is, of awakening? In this regard, national awakening in the face of globalization is often due to the ethno-nationalist tendencies of the people which are historically and culturally imagined. So, in such instances, people identifying with the regional,

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national, or sub-national respond to protect their own interest. This perspective affirms the re-assertion of the local and hence counters the cultural convergence thesis (Neizen, 2003, 2004).

With respect to the third mechanism, the global is considered as helping the local. Such cases include instances of developmental aid provided by the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the involvement of global actors and institutions, like the UN and/or some NGOs to facilitate political and developmental reconstruction in post-conflict countries. Here, some caution needs to be exercised in interpreting the term help, as it refers to a normative concept which is not always neutral, and is more often than not driven by political or economic motives and this involves power (Holton, 2005).

The fourth mechanism presents a view where the global invents its own local. Here, quite obviously, the theme of power is crucial and central, whereby the global invents the local to suit the interests of the global, hence the local is created rather than being a limitation for the global to operate in (Holton, 2005). A case in point here is Bali, Indonesia, which was projected as a tourism paradise despite its troublesome history of political instability and insecurity. Another example is the re-invention of national economies under the direction of the World Bank and the IMF to suit a free-market economy, thus tailoring national economic and trade policies. A further example is that of the European Union's (EU) reformulation of its membership criteria to re-shape the economies of applicant countries.

The fifth mechanism views the local as struggling for an alternate global. This process can take a variety of forms including national, regional, sub-national, and transnational movements. In this, the social refers to a certain type of stimulus, as if provided by the global. Here, an example could be that of trans-national social human rights movements or protests against the actors and forces of economic globalization. In this regard, it is interesting to note what Neizen (2004) observes as the paradoxical nature of globalization where the very global instruments/institutions are employed to counter-act global-power/domination.

A sixth possibility, proposed by Robertson (1995), is of the concept of glocalization, where the global and local intertwine and interpenetrate in a way that they form a hybrid local and a process called glocalization. This refers to intercultural fusion; an example being that of music where Indian songs are stimulating a Nigerian youth's imagination of love and romance. In such a situation, the songs (Indian cultural elements as expressed through the songs) are adapted, appropriated, and rearticulated in the local (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). However, this notion of glocalization involves some difficulties. It raises questions, such as, what mechanisms does the fusion called glocalization comprise?

In the seventh mechanism, the local sets free the local. Two situations arise in such a context: one is where the local sets itself free; the second is where the diffusion of social practices takes place from one local to another. Such cases are characterized by a history of freedom from colonial or imperialist power. How, for example, some European countries, like Italy in the nineteenth century, influenced the fight for freedom in the Irish movement which further fed Indian nationalism (Holton, 2005).

This closer look at the above mechanisms of the Petrella model regarding local-global dynamics reveals that the conceptions of these mechanisms are embedded in certain theoretical perspectives about globalization. An in-depth exploration of sociological theoretical views suggests that theoretical perspectives about globalization in general and the local-global cultural dynamic in particular can loosely be categorized as: structuralist/functionalist, structuration, complex connectivity, and post-colonial perspectives (Apple, Kenway & Singh, 2005).

Local-Global Dynamic: Structuralist/Functionalist, Structuration, Post-Colonial and Complex Conectivity Perspectives

The structuralist/functionalist perspective

The structuralist/functionalist view presumes the global as complete, all-pervasive, and all-inclusive in its scope. From this perspective of globalization, the global is taken to represent a complete and perfect entity. In this context, the

term global evokes a powerful sense of wholeness and inclusiveness - the global as total, enveloping sub-global spaces/locales - and hence, presents the idea of the "compression of world into a single place" (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 11). Thus, theoretically speaking, in such a view nothing can be conceived outside of it, and all other spaces encompassed by the global become sub-global. Such a position assumes that we live in an already globalized world.

The structuration perspective

The structuration perspective, on the other hand, views the global as partial (Arnove & Torres, 2003; Sassen, 2003). This view, contrary to the previous one, argues that the global is experienced, contested, appropriated, and re-articulated in the local. Hence, this view presumes a dialectic between the local and the global. It acknowledges the role of the particular in its historic, political, and cultural expressions and manifestations. It presumes interpenetration between the local and the global, viewing the relationship between the global and the local as dialectic and not binary, opposite, or un-dialectical. This view accommodates the notion of cultural dynamics that is central to this inquiry. It perceives globalization as a process inherent with tensions, contradictions and countervailing forces and interests, having multiple centers and peripheries, and therefore multiple globals and locals. In this regard, the two theoretical terms - structuration and dialectical - need to be un-packed.

The term structuration, as theorized by Giddens (1993), represents a theoretical synthesis between two extreme positions of theorizing social world and action, that is, between the structuralist position, which over-emphasizes the role of structure in shaping the actor's social world, and post-structuralist, which ignores the impact of structures and overemphasizes agency.

Both Giddens (1993) and Bourdieu (1977) share a common concern with this deep-rooted division between agent-centric and structure-centric approaches. In this regard, Giddens proposes to look at social practice as agentic as well structuristic (Seidman, 2004). Social practice, according to Giddens (1993), is a combination of both. In such a case, structures provide rules and resources for

individuals to operate in; hence, this synthesis presumes a relationship between structure and agency. Nevertheless, in this model, although structures are not viewed as detrimental to individual action, they do limit or allow social action. In terms of conceptualizing the phenomenon of globalization, this view is helpful to the extent that it provides a frame for the dialectical relationship between the structures (global forces, institutional mechanisms/instruments, and in our case, the school) and agency (teachers and students). However, structures are not simply global, but also local, hence a scalar dimension of structures needs to be supplanted to this theoretical frame. Moreover, Giddens's structuration focuses on social structures (society) and not the cultural dimension, within which education as an institution is structurally located. Here, Bourdieu's (1977, 1989) structural theory seems to fill this gap, as it not only addresses the same theoretical problem, as done by Giddens, but also brings culture into the sociological analysis.

To understand Bourdieu's (1989) notion of the structural, three key concepts are crucial. These are the concepts of habitus, field, and capital. Habitus refers to interpretive schemas - mostly tacitly developed - which provide structurally located individuals with loose guidelines to strategize and initiate actions. The habitus always operates in relation to social fields and capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) refer to social fields (instead of social structures), whereby each field has certain dynamics and values of its own. The notion of capital refers to sources (social, symbolic, cultural) available to individuals by their social class location and the corresponding power that comes with that.

In comparison, we can see that Bourdieu's (1989) "structural" perspective provides elaborated contexts and units of social analysis in the form of habitus, field, and capital within which agency is located, as against Gidden's (1993) structuration bearing the structure and agency distinction. Furthermore, another crucial distinction between structural and structuration is that the former, as presented by Bourdieu, sees human action as intuitive, strategic, and innovative, as compared to structuration, where human action is more limited. It could be argued that structural in this sense lends more weight to agency (yet within the frame of habitus), while structuration seems to lend more weight to structure. And

finally, structural, as argued earlier, brings culture, especially through the notion of capital, into social analysis which will be helpful to conceptualize curricular constructions, as primarily involving the production of cultural capital. My study extends this analytical focus to include power-imposed cultural domination as an interesting focus of the sociology of globalization, especially cultural production in and through education. In this context, it could be interesting to explore the symbolic violence, inscribed in curricular texts, through impositions of global values and knowledge-forms over the local ones. So an interesting question can be asked as to whether a school in the context of globalization officially generates a habitus where a disjuncture/ rupture is experienced in two different epistemic modes, that is, of global (modern rationality) and local (a-rational modes of knowing and being).

Post-colonial perspectives

The post-colonial stance has some potential and force to de-construct and offer new concepts for looking into the complexity of globalization. The post-colonial perspective delineates the ideological construction of globalization by exposing modernity, which is steeped in the eighteenth century Enlightenment-inspired episteme, and is linked with the colonial and imperialistic project (Ashcroft & Tiffin, 2006; Rizvi, 2004).

Unlike functionalist/structuralist perspectives, the post-colonial stance resists the acceptance of the universality of globalization and takes into account the history and politics of the local as well as the role and power of agency historically situated within that. The post-colonial stance problematizes the universality of globalization, as assumed in functionalist/ structuralist accounts, and treats globalization as a modern global colonial and imperialistic project (Mignolo, 2000).

Some of the key characteristics of the post-colonial stance are that it problematizes the construct of center and periphery, highlights the complex interpenetration of cultures, and therefore regards the relationship between culture

and identity as non-static, and brings a subaltern perspective to challenge power (McCarthy, 1998).

In the context of knowledge-production, a post-colonial critique points at the notion of colonial difference manufactured by colonial masters (Mignolo, 2000), who count knowledge as defined by Enlightenment rationality excluding and thus labeling any other forms of local cultural knowledge as non-knowledge, and assigning them subaltern status. For example, empiricist epistemology would disqualify other forms of local knowledge, which do not subscribe to the authority of reason, and are not verifiable by human-senses, as invalid knowledge, as their sources may not be found through the authority of human reason (the basis of the intellectual posture of modernity) but on other a-rational epistemologies (e.g., the role of intuition in the mystic tradition). Mignolo (2000) criticizes this universalizing tendency of Occidental reason, as it subjugates other forms of knowledge as subaltern. He views this as the modern/colonial project of knowledge and calls for the development of a discourse about gnosis, or border thinking, which highlights what he calls colonial difference in knowledge production. Here, interestingly, he unveils how philosophy and sociology relegate other non-rational forms of knowledge to subaltern status. The discourse of globalization should be sensitive to this epistemic exclusion and should be open to plural epistemic discourses.

In this regard, Mignolo (2000) stresses bringing to the fore local epistemologies (rooted in a non-Western, non-enlightenment epistemological foundation), which he calls gnosis. I find it interesting to note the usage of gnosis by Mignolo as reference to local epistemologies, because the same word gnosis (*marifa*) is used in the language of Islamic mysticism denoting a state of enlightenment through received/ intuitive knowledge (Schimel, 2003). It could be summed-up briefly that the post-colonial perspective champions the role of the historical, the political and of the local, and the role of agency within that. It rejects the universality of globalization, exposing its colonial and imperial intent. This view offers a critique, sets its gaze on the power behind it, and hence, problematizes the globalist agenda.

Complex connectivity perspective

Complex connectivity is a sense of the proximity of time and space. But proximity is a metaphorical order, which provides a sense of the experiential and representational shrinking of time and space. Hence, the world is shrinking experientially and representationally (Tomlinson, 1999). Such a phenomenon is generating "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distance localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). However, it is not necessary that the world is shrinking for everyone in all places; moreover, the experience of globalization is rather an uneven process (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). Problematizing the notion of global mobility (physical movement across borders), Bauman (1998) reminds us that it is only people with power, mostly elites and tourists, who can enjoy such mobility; whilst the poor struggle to cross even a few miles.

Tomlinson (1999) emphasizes that theorizing globalization necessitates the identification of the sources of this complex connectivity and its implications for our social existence today. The sources of complex connectivity are rooted in time-space distanciation, disembedding mechanisms, and institutional reflexivity Giddens (1991). These sources are discussed in detail below.

Time-space Distanciation, Disembedding Mechanisms, and De/territorialization of Culture

Giddens (1991) notes that in pre-modern society, the time and space in which social interactions and experiences happened were situated within a place. Hence time, space and place were inseparable. But now in the context of high modernity, characterized by the revolution in communication and travel technologies, time and space have been de-linked from place, and therefore, social experience and/or interaction has become independent of place of locality and is being stretched across distances (Giddens, 1990, 1991; Niezen, 2004). Giddens refers to this as time-space distanciation and Harvey (1989) calls it time-space compression. The following mechanisms contribute to time-space distanciation.

According to Giddens (1991), dis-embedding mechanisms are of two types: "a) symbolic tokens (like money, currency), and b) expert knowledge/technology systems (knowledge –technologies)" (p. 20). These mechanisms have increased connectivity amongst various locales (Tomlinson, 1999). However, at the same time, through these mechanisms, everyday social life is lifted out of the local and is re-combined across indefinite time-space distances (Niezen, 2004).

In this regard, cyber-identities or what Niezen (2004) calls digital identities present an interesting example. Through digital technologies, such as the Internet, new extra-local interactive spaces have been created. For example, in the case of e-chat rooms, people can acquire membership by just feeding-in some information about who they are. In such a situation, people can even come up with fake identities to interact in this new social space. In such a scenario, the notion of community is significantly altered, and has almost become a situation where people wear and un-wear their identities like hats (Bauman, 2004). These dis-embedding mechanisms across time and space present our social experiences with both opportunities as well as anxieties (Bauman, 1998; Giddens, 2000; Stiglitz, 2002).

Coming back to the characteristics of high modernity, it should be noted that these dis-embedding mechanisms, resulting in time-space distanciation and time-space compression, are generating de-territorialization (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). I will now move on to a discussion of the de/territorialization of culture.

De/territorialization of Culture and Self

Culture in the traditional anthropological sense had been linked with place as a bounded, isomorphic entity (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). In this sense, culture was territorialized. What globalization has done is that it has radically separated the culture from its particular locales. Thus culture is dis-embedded from the place and is re-inscribed across the spatialities. This generates the global mobility of cultural forms and products between different locales (Appadurai, 1996, 2003; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). This process brings cultures formally located in different parts of the world into the same terrain, thus de-territorializing numerous places

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and in this process weakening the ties between culture and place. However, this very de-territorialization invariably re-inserts culture into a new time-space context. Cultures do not just flow across but are re-inscribed and re-localized in specific cultural environments. This suggests that culture has not lost its space altogether; rather, it is placed in a manner that does not belong to a particular place. Cultures continue to be territorialized, albeit in rather unstable ways (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002).

Hence, this globalized culture is never simply de-territorialized. It is also simultaneously re-territorialized, whereby simultaneous de-localizing as well as re-localizing takes place (Neizen, 2004). Thus de/territorialization generates a cultural dynamic between the local and the global. This interplay is not power neutral, but ideologically power loaded. It is this premise that forms the focus of my study: to explore the interplay between the local and the global with reference to the production of culture in the realm of urban youth education.

Therefore, the concept of de/territorialization is key to locating the global-local dialectic for analytic purposes. In order to make it clearer, the notion of local needs to be unpacked. As Burawoy (2001) rightly observes, globalization does not take place in thin air, but gets experienced and responded to in the local context. Moreover, it is not experienced by space but rather by real human agency in their heads and hearts. Hence, both local as a context (structure) and the experiencer (agency) will form part of this analysis of cultural dynamics.

Globalization, Disjuncture, and Social Imagination

The above discussion concentrated on portraying local-global dialectics/cultural dynamics. However, the courses of de/territorialization as discussed below are at the core of the debates that underpin globalization and its implications for cultural production. De/territorialization is therefore a phenomenon where culture interpenetrates through the axis of the global and the local dialectic. Appadurai (1996) conceptualizes this as global flows and disjuncture. In this regard he identifies five scapes: (a) ethnoscapes (b) mediascapes (c) technoscapes (d) financescapes, and (e) ideoscapes.

- *Ethnoscapes* refer to the borderless world, moving home and the migrational experiences of individuals and groups; they are influencing factors in shifting world social, political and economic scenarios;

- *Mediascapes* refer to the world created by the images and narratives about the world through the electronic distribution of it by various means. They purport to show how the politics of images and narratives are affecting peoples' desires, experiences, and overall life trajectories;

- *Technoscapes* mean the borderless exchanges of machines, devices and information (techniques/knowledge) in the world regarding development and the application of manufacturing and production processes among individuals, groups and nations;

- *Financescapes* refer to the complexities of the global capitalist economy, affecting local currency markets, national stock exchanges, and commodity speculations;

- *Ideoscapes* refer to the constellation of ideas that are often politically driven. Ideas such as nation, nation-state, democracy, freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty and others are all the progeny of the Enlightenment perspective (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 33-41).

These scapes interrelate as well as interact with agency in a particular locale to create disjuncture. Appadurai uses the term disjuncture to refer to rupture (be it material, psychological, socio-cultural, or intellectual) experienced within the context of the agency (habitus) as it comes into contact with different scapes. This disjuncture can be caused by a variety of reasons and it manifests itself differently. The disjuncture/rupture (I use the terms synonymously) occurs in the context of an agency that is historical, political, social and cultural; it is epistemic situatedness. Appadurai is trying to show how the social actors of globalization are now experiencing a different world of their own: from the known to strangeness and from strangeness to the known, this is an overall shift in socially imagining the global world. However, it involves a constant interplay of

historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sort of [social] actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings (whether religious, political, or economic) and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighborhoods, and families" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33).

For example, through the media, a person gets exposed to a particular lifestyle or way of being which does not fit with his/her reality. A rupture could be experienced between the haves and the have-nots. Hence, de/territorialization is taking place which in turn creates ruptures. In the case of education, an epistemic disjuncture of the extra-local (global) and local is happening. My study thus attempts to theorize how de/territorialization bears an implication for knowledge-production and knowledge transfer. Whose knowledge? Where are the epistemic disjunctures manifested in and through school curricular constructions? In the context of modern mass-education/schooling, a rupture can be seen between the official school knowledge (embedded in Enlightenment rationalistic epistemology, especially through the teaching of science and technology) and local-knowledge (Gellner, 1983; Sarangapani, 2003). Thus more often than not, school knowledge construction becomes an exclusory process whereby the local-knowledge and epistemic sources are nullified (Eisner, 1994), or marginalized (Anderson & Levit, 2003; Escobar, 1995).

On the other hand, de-territorialization is perpetuating a new kind of social imagination (Appadurai, 1996). Through local-global interplay, new spaces of possibilities are opening-up, sometimes as alternate resources, which stimulate agency to imagine the world differently. Appadurai observes that social imagination thus produced is

> [n]o longer mere fantasy (opium for the masses whose real work is elsewhere), no longer simple escapes (from a world defined principally by more concrete purposes and structure), no longer mere contemplation (irrelative for new forms of desire and subjectivity), the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and

culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility… The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order (p. 31).

The disjuncture between media-scape and local ethno-scape/identity references or, for that matter, between media-scape and local idea-scape or between media-scape, finance-scape and the very life style of agency, generates a world that now seems "rhizomic, even schizophrenic, calling for theories of rootlessness, alienation, and psychological distance between individuals and groups on the one hand, and fantasies (or nightmares) of electronic propinquity on the other" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 29).

Globalization is characterized by competing tendencies of cultural homogenization/convergence and heterogenization/divergence. In such a context, culture becomes a contested terrain, a site of power negotiation and production. In this regard, it would be worthwhile to explore how education as a socio-cultural institution and its content/curricula get produced in the context of a global cultural economy, as this has significant bearing on the students' sense of self and belonging. Therefore, it is pertinent to explore here the implications of local-global cultural dynamics on the production of education and through that, of culture.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION: THE LOCAL-GLOBAL DYNAMIC

Education is primarily a cultural and social practice (Masemann, 2003). It is social in the sense that education (as in formal education) represents a link with a social institution like a school or university that deals with knowledge production, a form of culture, as well as socializes the students into culture(s). At another level, the very content and processes of education are selected from culture (Stenhouse, 1967). Put simply, culture becomes a source-bed of education; and education, in turn, produces culture. Once formed and institutionalized, education adopts the role of a cultural transmitter, a producer of culture. In this

sense, education can be regarded as both the product as well as the producer of the culture (Retallick & Datoo, 2005). It also shows how deeply education is embedded in the politics of culture (Apple, 1996).

Stenhouse (1967) observes that the institutionalization of knowledge in the form of mass schooling is a characteristic phenomenon of modern society. In this respect, education becomes a process of cultural transmission, as the curriculum is a selection from culture (Lawton, 1975). Any selection involves a judgmental process that excludes or includes knowledge. This involves the decision of what counts as knowledge and non-knowledge; and whoever decides that, in turn, involves power. Hence the curriculum enshrines power (Apple, 1995).

In the context of de/territorialization, generated in the wake of globalization, there is no isolated culture or society (Giddens, 1990; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). There is traffic in cultural meanings, a struggle between interpenetrating cultures in a spatial context or place. Hence, place (a geographic situatedness) becomes political as well as cultural. These contexts influence knowledge through its own epistemic values and norms.

Based on the above, it could be said that culture is related to power. Moreover, understanding the process of cultural production through education is crucial, as it takes controls of the meaning-making process and, by extension, human lives. With reference to globalization, Burawoy (2001) emphasizes that it is important not only to focus on the experiences of globalization but also on the production of globalization.

The culture and knowledge/power relationship is central to understanding processes of cultural production through education. The knowledge defines what constitutes 'Truth' in a given society. In doing so the knowledge defines what is false. In this respect, the culture through knowledge/truth claims constitute an ideological discourse that exerts hegemony of the domiant over the sub-ordinate culture/self (Apple, 1998).

Ideology can generally be referred to as a system of beliefs, attitudes and meanings that constitutes people's world-view (Abercrombie, Turner, & Hill 2002). However, as Apple (2004) rightly observes, the notion of ideology is more

complex than that, having varied interpretations amongst sociologists. For example, proponents of the interest theory argue that ideology is a system of power that justifies the views of dominant groups, while those who advocate the strain theory conceive ideology as a system of interactions that define situations for social actors. The former, which is influenced by Marxist-sociological tradition, tends to attach negative value to the concept of ideology as it demonstrates how ideological views can be used to maintain power and control. Apple seems to be more inclined towards the interest theory when he demonstrates how dominant ideologies structurally operate in relation to schools to reproduce their hegemony - a developed control and consent created by dominant forces upon the dominated. For example, in analyzing the impact of ideological forces on education and schooling, Apple uncovers how dominant ideologies shape the very content, form and process of school knowledge through overt and hidden curricula. He further points out how the discourse of the New Right excludes certain forms of knowledge, and replaces it with, what selected knowledge (Apple, 2004), as legitimate curricular knowledge, whereby Western civilization is seen as superior and, therefore, in a position to civilize the other. He suggests that groups of people, enjoined by their common ideological lenses, have great power over the nature of what takes place in schools. With the power of their numbers and their financial resources, they are able to shape the day-to-day experiences which take place in schools. He identifies the neo-liberals, neo-conservatives, authoritarian populists, and professional middle class as being powerful, sometimes unknowing participants, in promoting dominant culture, which he refers to as hegemony. Through this ideological discourse, the dominant culture exerts (Western) cultural hegemony through epistemic hegemony (Mignolo, 2000). Ideology, according to Apple (2004), is a set of beliefs, values and norms. Values are about judgments of right and wrong while norms are behavioral definitions of the values. Ideology gets embedded in the curriculum and messages are conveyed through socialization and education (Masemann, 2003).

From the above discussion, it could be extracted that power is enacted in and through the culture-education nexus in which knowledge plays a central role in the production of ideology and hegemony, often communicated through the curriculum. Therefore, the sociology of knowledge/education needs to be seen as crucial in informing the study of the relationship between education and cultural production in the wake of cultural globalization, where a dialectic between the local and the global is assumed to be at play.

Globalization poses a significant challenge for a national education system. The very notion of national education becomes problematic in the wake of globalization. In this regard, one can no more ignore the role of global in the local/national education policy, and, therefore, the global-local interplay in shaping education should become important for analysis as a site for cultural/power production (Arnove & Torees, 2003). Similarly, Apple, Kenway, and Singh (2005) observe the increasing influence of globalization on shaping educational policy, content and pedagogy. In addition, transnational forces traveling through migration and mediation have porous cultural borders (Dolby & Rizvi, 2008). Transnational dynamics have surpassed national boundaries, whereby ideas, information, life-style, ideologies (through global flows) have weakened the control of the nation-state. Although the nation-state works hard to maintain its physical borders, cultural borders have become porous.

Debating slightly differently about the role and grip of the nation-state, Rizvi (2004) argues that after 9/11 especially, the state has increased its grip, albeit the forms of this may have altered. It could be said that both processes, the increased force of transnational forces and the re-defined grip by the state to maintain its own control over cultural/power production, are at play. Building upon these arguments, I would extend the point that whilst other sites of cultural production such as the media and the economy are heavily manipulated/shaped by transnational forces and institutions, national education in general and national curricula in particular (significant sites of cultural production) are under the relatively strong hold of the nation-state, at least in the Pakistani context. This is, by no means, to deny the increasing role of the global in the Pakistani education

system, especially post 9/11, through USAID and EU funding. Nothwithstanding this, the actual translation of this into the curriculum is yet to be manifested as policy takes time to translate into the classroom.

Looking at knowledge and cultural production, it is important to discuss the nature and role of the curriculum in cultural production. In the context of schooling, it is significant to understand how school-knowledge is constructed. Apple (2004) finds it important to note how schools process knowledge as much as they process students. The sociology of knowledge is concerned with how the school organizes knowledge, pupils, and teachers (Bernstein, 1971, cited in Eggleston, 1977). Young (1971) remarks that sociologists now wish to explore the ways in which society selects, classifies, transmits, and evaluates its public knowledge. In the context of school education, the curriculum is an important "instrument through which the prevailing feature of a society's cultural system is carried; wherein its knowledge is transmitted and evaluated" (Eggleston, 1977, p. 6).

Hence, the curriculum can be seen as a pressure site - a site of production, reproduction, contestation, and resistance of the micro-macro. Here, one should be careful, that in the global-local dialectic, the global is not treated as macro and the local as micro; rather, the dialectic shows an interface between structures, both global as well as local, and local agency. Often the global is seen as macro and the local as micro which is a misconception (Stromquist, 2002).

The knowledge dynamic referred to above gets played out in and through curricula that schools teach, which in turn are shaped by the politics of knowledge implicated by local-global interplay. According to Eisner (1994), all schools teach three types of curricula: a) intended - which is explicitly advertised and written, b) un-intended or hidden, and c) null. Here, I would regard the first type (intended) as the official curriculum in the sense used by Apple (1993), because it highlights the political dimension of knowledge-production, legitimization, and representation processes which shape school curricula. Put simply, the official curriculum, as the name suggests, characterizes the knowledge that a school selects and legitimizes. Through legitimization it makes available the knowledge

of a certain select tradition/cultural groups rooted in their respective ideology/hegemony and this is represented as official. This problematic term is crucial for conceptualizing my research and the global-local dialectic implications for the construction of official school-knowledge. In this regard, a line of inquiry opens, as to whose knowledge becomes included in the official curricula. And conversely, whose knowledge gets nullified in the wake of the local-global dynamic?

The notion of the hidden curriculum is a contested and an interesting one. Several terms are used to describe this curricular type, such as: un-intended (Eisner, 1994), hidden (Apple, 2004), and latent. In most cases, the hidden curriculum is taken as negative outcomes/values/messages conveyed through the curriculum, but this is not always the case. Eisner (1994) suggests some positive values/attitudes that are conveyed through the hidden curriculum as well. Here a complexity arises from the very term hidden. The question is: Who is the hidden curriculum hidden from? Certainly not from the students, as it might be the case that for the students it is more obvious than the official or intended, explicit (written) curriculum. Most of the trouble arises from the words hidden/ un-intended. Several research studies in this direction have explored the notion and implications of the hidden curriculum. In our case, the hidden curriculum is seen as a crucial site where educational and social actors like teachers and students are found to be in an overt or covert state of contest and resistance. It can be interesting to see how this happens.

The "null" curriculum refers to "that knowledge which schools do not teach" (Eisner, 1994, p. 97). In identifying a null curriculum, two dimensions need to be considered: one is "the intellectual processes that schools emphasize and neglect"; the other is, "the content or subject areas that are present and absent in school curricula" (p. 98). In the context of the curricula, cultural hegemony is exerted through the exclusion of certain forms of knowledge of a subordinate culture. In such exclusion, the history and memory of a particular community gets lost. The critical task of curriculum discourse construction then becomes to recover the memory and history of the sub-ordinates in ways that facilitate

individuals to politically act for their rights (Kincheloe & Pinar, 1991). This recovery, I would contend, can effectively be carried out in the spaces of pedagogy both by teachers and students, as well as through the re-writing of the official curricular contexts.

In the context of globalization, the functionalist perspective assumes the role of education to function to serve global culture and economy (Apple, 2004). Education is seen as a function for economic development; which in turn is equated with societal and national progress (whatever that means). These global forces are significantly impacting the national education policies of the South or to use a commonly used and mostly unquestioned term in developmental studies, the under-developed countries (Ali, 2005; Escobar, 1995). For example, a closer look at the recent higher education policy of Pakistan and its ensuing proportional funding allocations for the development of disciplinary knowledge-capacity in society through higher education (preferring the sciences over the arts and humanities) shows that they seem to chant such a mantra. In most such cases, the rules of the game are laid down by transnational/global finance organizations and their corresponding global actors which national and sub-national institutions follow (who are mostly at the losing end).

The problem in such an approach is that creating a closer link between education and the economy not only impacts the quality of education as it relates to resources and funding, but also has a bearing on what is actually taught in schools. For example, Apple (2004) suggests that neo-liberals view students as human capital and, thus schools must teach them skills that will prepare them for the labor force and allow them to compete in the global market. In other words, under the influence of a neo-liberal ideology, the function of the school is to prepare workers for the economy and any reform or public assistance that is provided to the education system should reflect this overall objective. This changes the very nature of the school system from one that is focused on holistic development to one that places emphasis on the economic potential of students.

The structuralist perspective, rooted in Marxist scholarship, tends to see structures (global institutions and structures in the case of globalization) as

controlling the social realm and social action within. In such a view, the economy is considered as a base through which education as a super structural institution is controlled. Such critical studies rooted in structuralism show how schools serve the economy and social class stratification (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). In such an approach, curricular knowledge is seen as structural production and the school is seen as a site of cultural reproduction. While there is a lot of substance in what such studies emphasize, this approach is problematic. First, it presents a simplified view of the link between economy and culture, as if the former is independent or isolated from cultural processes and power dynamics. Second, it sees schooling as a black box, illustrating the input/output model of education, ignoring the school's lived culture (Apple, 2004) and the role of teacher and student agency in having power in meaning-making processes. In the context of globalization, the structuralist perspective tends to emphasize global structures/knowledge institutions as predominating over the local, whereby the local is seen as vanquished by the onslaught of the global; hence the local and its associated cultural forms are globalized.

This simply is not the case, as the structuration perspective, presented in an earlier section of this chapter, argues that a dialectic exists between the local and the global, as they interact with each other. This dialectic influences cultural formation/production. In the context of curricular critical research, studies are rooted in neo-Marxist intellectual and theoretical stances. They show how Grasmci debunks the notion of the school as a black box, where there is a set of inputs and outputs, by revealing that schools are not only sites of reproduction but are also sites of contradictions, resistance, and transformation (Apple, 1995, 2004; Fox, 2003; Giroux 1997, 2001; Willis, 1977). These studies evoke Foucault's notion of power residing not only in dominant forces but also in resistance, as well as the Gramscian notion of how struggle can take place within and through the local (Abercrombie, Turner, & Hill, 2002). In the context of globalization, such a perspective sees a dialectical role between the global and the local (respective agencies) in knowledge production, reproduction resistance, and condensation. I would further submit that the schools, in addition, could be sites

of imagination in the wake of globalization, as new forms of social imaginative practices have become possible due to globalization (Appadurai, 1996). These imagined worlds, Appadurai argues, have the potential to open-up alternate worlds/possibilities for the agency. Therefore, the ethnography of the global-local dynamic needs to include in its thick description (Geertz, 1973, 1993) the trajectories of social imaginative practices that are opened due to globalization (Appadurai, 1996).

The post-colonial perspective sees the global/modern project as culturally hegemonic through exerting epistemological hegemony, by assigning a valid and superior status to Western forms of knowledge as compared to the diverse knowledge forms of other non-Western societies, which are assigned a subaltern status. This hegemony of Western forms of knowledge, sciences, and rationality is seen to have spread through colonization, which, in turn, influenced the educational systems of the colonies - a shadow which continues to haunt post-colonial societies.

This juxtaposition of knowledge forms between Western intellectual and philosophical traditions and the rest, is what Mignolo (2000) refers to as the production of colonial difference, which needs to be theorized (Kapoor, 2007). On these lines, Sarangapani (2003) also documents such a disjuncture when she remarks that a child is often posited with two epistemic modes, and each epistemic mode is linked with its own knowledge-power/value/norm system. How is this disjuncture played out in the school context?

Mignolo (2000) further recommends going beyond thinking of the Occident/Orient as a dichotomy, as one discourse contributes to the production of the other; without the Orient, the Occident becomes irrelevant. From this perspective, there is a struggle in the field of education/curriculum and knowledge-production whereby marginalized knowledge traditions, gnosis (meaning knowing through intellect as well as intuition, a term often used in Islamic mysticism) can regain their due status. Hence, the post-colonial perspective advocates for the generation of gnosis/knowledge forms, and in the context of the curriculum/education, its implication lies in opening-up spaces for

other forms of knowledge with a view to reclaiming their valid knowledge status and significance.

LIVED-WORLD, "EDUCATIVE SITES", LOCAL-GLOBAL DYNAMIC AND IDENTITY

The discourse about the notion and predicament of identity (particularly with reference to processes of globalization and its impact on cultural identity) has gained centre stage in sociological and anthropological literature. Debates in this regard tend to oscillate between positing globalization (a form of cultural imperialism) as a threat to local/cultural identity (especially of non-Western countries) and globalization as a process of proliferating identity (Tomlinson, 1999); or globalization as a process that simultaneously contributes to de-localization and re-localization, de-territorialization and re-territorialization and therefore, the dissolution and construction of cultural identity. Against this backdrop of debates, the following discussion will explore the notion of identity and its relationship with globalization, especially with reference to education/schooling and the media.

The notion of identity is central to one's becoming and being. Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (2005) describe it thus:

> People tell others who they are, but even more important, they tell themselves and then try to act as though they are who they say they are. These self-understandings, especially those with strong emotional resonance for the teller, are what we refer to as identities (p. 3).

Developing self-understanding, and therefore identity, involves a relationship between self and other. These identities form "important bases from which people create new activities, new worlds, and new ways of being" (Holland et al., 2005, p. 5). The development of these self-understandings involves the interplay of history, culture and power. Hence, identity is a matter of being which is always becoming, and remains in constant transformation rather than afixed entitiy frozen in time. Identity is continuously shaping, reshaping and altering.

Education and other mediums of cultural production significantly contribute to the development of these self-understandings. In the wake of globalization, with the rapid growth of information and communication technology, the students' lived-worlds are substantially characterized by the school/formal education and media (electronic media, information, and communication technology). Youth, in particular, are heavily engaged with these educative sites (pedagogical sites) and associated activities. These contexts constantly put self in contact with other, and, in turn, shape and re-shape the students' sense of self-understanding (identity). In the wake of globalization, the student self is encountering the cultural other with ever more accelerated pace, and therefore self identity has to be created on a more active basis than before (Giddens, 1991).

In the context of globalization, the self is faced with many opportunities as well as anxieties. Opportunities exist in the sense that globalization, with its dis-embedding mechanisms and complex connectivity (Tomlinson, 1999) has opened up new social spaces for interaction. But at the same time, this situation has brought anxieties, as there is a sense of the "invasion of local space with distant social forces and processes" (Niezen, 2004, p. 38), and hence de-localization. The invasion in the form of, for instance, urbanization, industrialization and/or dis-embedding mechanisms creates a forced co-existence of modernity and tradition (Niezen, 2004). Thus, locality has lost its ontological traditional base (Appadurai, 1996); however, I would contest this. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that all these changes are significantly influencing the local rooted-ness of the self.

The felt force of cultural homogenization often tends to marginalize the local self/identity and also tends to lead to the dissolution of local identity. The politics of identity, therefore, speaks the language of those who have been marginalized by globalization. Nevertheless, it would be a trap if one were to generalize the cultural homogenization thesis too far. I would argue that, on the contrary, the very forces of globalization are simultaneously, paradoxically, erecting and hardening the very boundaries of local-ness (Niezen, 2004), and hence hardening local identities.

In this respect, we need now to raise some analytic questions as to how education/schooling is playing a part in structuring the phenomenon of cultural globalization through either de-localization or re-localization, or both, and in turn, how does it influence the formation of students' identities? It is undeniable that education plays a significant role in shaping students' identities. Several works of critical ethnography show how the school constructs the students' notion of identity in relation to cultural, gendered, cognitive, or ethnic contexts (Fox, 2003).

Central to the discourse of education is the notion of knowledge. Therefore, the production and selection of knowledge becomes a central concern for knowledge/power production through curricular spaces. The discourse of knowledge is embedded in politics and the representation of epistemology. In this regard, whilst the relationship of culture, curriculum and power has been discussed earlier, the issue of knowledge production and representation will be discussed below, as seen from the angle of a critique of the global/colonial project.

Building upon Foucault's notion of the power-knowledge relationship, Said's work *Orientalism* (1978) unearths how colonial knowledge discourse construed the categories of Orient and Occident, whereby the former was rationalized and subjected for a need to be civilized by the latter (through the knowledge systems of the latter). Much of the educational policy and curricula of developing world contexts (including Pakistan) today are shadowed by this colonial educational legacy, which has a tendency to suppress the value of, to use Geertz's term, local knowledge (1993). This creates a disjuncture in students' minds about their located-ness vis-à-vis their own histories, cultures and epistemic and interpretative traditions and experiences, thus influencing their identities. Therefore, in order to create a space for pluralistic education discourse, one needs to critically explore the nature and scope of this hegemonic knowledge, which is a product of globalization today. A critical exploration of such knowledge requires one to identify why, how, where, for whom and by whom, school knowledge is constructed and processed in schools. To summarize our earlier discussion regarding knowledge and curriculum, school knowledge is

excluded (Eisner, 1994) through the notion of null curricula, included (curriculum as a selection), organized and distributed (through the official curriculum, syllabus, textbooks), controlled (through assessment), and valued/approved or disapproved (through the school's hidden curriculum that is mainly constructed through classroom pedagogy and the school ethos/culture) (Apple, 2004; McLaren, 2007). This processed school knowledge has implications for students' learning and ways of being, including their perceptions of self and others. Therefore, Pinar (1975) emphasizes that students need to be made aware of their self production (the social construction of their subjectivities) taking place through the educational experiences of the school. This requires critical explorations of issues pertaining to the relationship between school knowledge and students' identity construction.

In addition to formal schooling, the media is a powerful site for global cultural production. Pointing out the media as a significant globalizing force, Bourdieu (1998) refers to the function of media (including telecommunication as well print media) as "symbolic drip-feed" (p. 30). The circulation of images and visual discourses across the world has made cultural borders porous. Images and symbolism construct textual worlds with which students interact and interpret their self-image. Through media (TV, e-mail, internet chat, cell-phones, You-tube, Orkut and Facebook) the global/other is penetrating students' minds and lives at a rapid pace. Such situations create encounters at the level of perceptions, ideas, beliefs, life-style, social values, norms, attitudes, behaviors and therefore the worlds, characterized by the local-global dynamic.

Moreover, the media is responsible for developing (through media-advertising) consumer culture based on a Western life-style, whereby commodities are circulating across the globe, and thus creating a context where commodities and food culture (Tomlinson, 1999) become markers of a particular identity. In this regard commodities such as cell-phones, I-pods, video games, and fast food items become sign and symbols through which the agency's social relationships, status and identities are generated (Willis, 2006). For example, in the case of Pakistan, fast-food like burgers and pizzas are often associated with

the elite social and upper middle-class (though their consumption is not limited to these classes), with the implicit connotation of being modern to an extent that the elites of the Clifton area in Karachi are popularly referred to as Burgers.

Additionally, in the wake of corperate media globalization controlled by a select few, stereotypes of a particular type to do with community or locality are constructed, manipulated and managed on a wider scale. In recent times, the media has also been seen to provoke local sentiments capitalizing on its global reach. For example, the cartoon controversy relating to the Prophet of Islam instigated by a Danish cartoonist and its worldwide circulation is one such recent case.

In reaction to Western media, there is an emergence of new media, especially by Muslim countries, through which counter-discourse to the West and the global is often generated (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003). In the Muslim world, this emergent new media becomes a symbolic capital to regain the lost and distorted images of the Muslim-self.

De-territorialization is producing new social imaginative practices by opening up alternate social worlds and possibilities. These new social worlds challenge the official narration of the social world imposed by state-nationalism. Moreover, transnational connections are reviving new ethnic/indigenous associations galvanized by the penetration of idea-scapes, based on Enlightenment values such as social justice, freedom, and democracy. Such transnational possibilities provide a fertile ground for imagining new belongings and identities. In this sense, identity as a project is always open and in process.Through de-territorialization and a new social imagination, the self gets situated within culturally hybrid worlds.

> Hybridity can imply a space betwixt and between two zones of
> purity in a manner. Hybridity can be understood as the ongoing
> condition of all human cultures which contain no zones of purity
> because they undergo continuous process of transculturation.
> (Bhabha, 1994, as cited in Huddart, 2008, p. xv).

Hybridizing processes lead people more and more to define themselves "in terms of multiple national attachments and feel at ease with subjectivities that encompass plural and fluid cultural identities" (Caglar, 1997, as cited in Dolby & Rizvi, 2008, p. 73). Such a culturally hybrid self is:

> already open to two worlds [or more] and is constructed within the national and international, political and cultural systems of colonialism and neo-colonialism…[so that] to be hybrid is to understand the question as well as to represent the pressure of such historical placement (Sangari, 1987, pp. 180-181, as cited in Dolby & Rizvi, 2008, p. 71).

The space that Bhabha describes as being betwixt two zones involves an intersecting location, which he defines as "liminal" (Bhabha, 1994). The word "'liminal' (from the Latin *limen*, meaning 'threshold') had been used at first in the domain of psychology to refer to in-between structures of consciousness" (Khan, 2004, p. 6). Later, in his studies of religious practices, Van Gennep resorted to it in order to describe certain rites of passage. And finally Victor Turner enlarged the concept to describe whatever is intermediary in the form for bridge, gates, doorways, boundaries or social margins, liminal locations being points of intersection between the theological discourses (Khan, 2004). Therefore, identity, as a symbolic base for the self (from where self understands her/him-self and interacts with the other), is significantly influenced by the processes of the local-global dynamic and the practices of cultural crossing that it involves.

The above review of literature opens up the following lines of inquiry to pursue through my research:

- The production of the local-global cultural dynamic in the context of the school's official curriculum and media sites;
- Global flows and disjuncture that the self experiences in a globalizing world;
- Globalization and the production of a new social imagination;
- The local-global dynamic and local/cultural identity formation.

These lines of possible inquiry will inform the formulation of the research focus/questions, articulated in the following chapter, for this critical ethnographic project.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the ethnographic fieldwork carried out for my doctoral research over the period of a year. The chapter articulates the research questions, the rationale for choosing a critical ethnographic research approach, the researcher's role, identity and reflexivity in shaping the data, the notion of field as spatiality, the identification of research participants, the processes and methods of data generation and analysis, achieving trustworthiness in research, triangulating data, the ethics of doing ethnography, and methodological limitations.

ARTICULATING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The choice of the research methodology depends upon the nature of the research question(s) that it seeks to explore. In this regard, my ethnographic research set out to explore the question: How does the local-global cultural dynamic manifest itself in the educational experiences of urban high school students, especially with reference to their lived contexts of schooling and their interactions with media-scape?

Some subsidiary questions are: How is local-global defined by students? How is local-global being represented in the school's official curriculum? How does the official school knowledge construct local-global cultural possibilities as part of the educational experiences of students? How do students make sense of local-global cultural interactions? What do these constructs mean for the students' identity formation processes?

RATIONALE FOR DOING CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

The above-mentioned research problematic, that is, exploring the local-global cultural dynamic in the realm of the school's official and lived curricular spaces and the students' lives, involves analysis of the processes of cultural production; especially, with respect to the production of local/global cultural possibilities which become contexts within which the student youth agency is situated and responds to globalization. Such a research focus has to engage with

the notion of political economy in studying phenomena related to culture, as cultural interactions are not power-neutral. Exploring such an endeavor then necessitates the call for a methodological approach that provides analytical and methodological tools and processes to expose power. Such a project was, therefore, not fit to be explored through a qualitative case study as it is limited by its bounded nature in analyzing a case (unit of analysis). Nor was it effective to explore it through an interpretive ethnography, as it lacks the notion of political economy (Jordan & Yeomans, 1995). Therefore, a critical ethnographic approach seemed to be a more appropriate choice for my research.

The adjective critical in critical ethnography refers to its intellectual stance, historically derived from and informed by the epistemic orientation of critical theory, which originated in the Marx and Frankfurt schools of thought, and subsequently, got institutionalized within its unique historical, political, socio-cultural and ideological contexts. The term ethnography represents its roots in the anthropological research tradition from where it draws multiple methods of data generation, analysis, and representations (Carspecken, 1996). Thus critical ethnography embodies both a critical research paradigm as well as an ethnographic method.

Critical ethnography is grounded in the post-positivist qualitative research tradition (Jordan & Yeomans, 1995). It represents a research orientation grown out of dissatisfaction with the social sciences (sociology) in general and qualitative/ethnographic (anthropology) research traditions in particular (Masemann, 1982). This is because sociological research with its predominantly modernist functionalist/structuralist and Marxist/critical structuralist approaches, remained limited to observing structures and their influence on social realms and actions, ignoring the role of social agency within that; while anthropological research, steeped in the post-modernist epistemic tradition, remained engaged with the particular and/or agency (post-structuralist bent, for example), ignoring the structures that shaped them (Masemann, 2003). Hence a gap in the analysis of the relation between structure and agency, micro and macro, remained un-filled in sociological and anthropological research, which critical ethnographic research

attempts to address. Against this backdrop, critical ethnography originated to address the structure-agency debates (Carspecken, 2002).

From a theoretical knowledge perspective, critical ethnography borrows from Marxist thought, yet does not remain part of the Marxist research tradition per se. It also extracts some influence from post-modernism, yet distances itself from being a-political. This simultaneous engagement as well as distancing illuminates the criticality of critical ethnographic research. More recently, the work of post-colonial and post-structuralist scholars has added a new rigor to critical ethnography. In this regard, my research methodology benefits from post-colonial research discourse on selected aspects; especially, with reference to paying attention to the historicity of locality (as Pakistan is a post-colonial nation-state), and the analysis of structures and processes of national education that bear a colonial legacy (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2006; Hoodbhoy, 1998). By historicizing here, the intention is not only to provide a background explanation of the context or situation, but also to explicate the limits of existential conditions set upon it due to political historical processes, in this case, by colonialism on national education. Hence such a methodological approach, unlike a structuralist functionalist one, recognizes the complexities of the local as a context that has been historically, politically, and socio-culturally constituted, and takes this complexity into account while analyzing the local-global dynamic (Rizvi, 2005).

In this regard, the knowledge that claims to be critical has an emancipatory intent that acts as a catalyst to free human beings from the constraints of nature and society (Habermas, 1971). In the realm of the social, this interest strives to uncover and explain the power position through exposing the way ideology and hegemony are forces that connect the micro-dynamics of everyday with the macro-dynamic of social structures (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). The aim is to bring about social justice and emancipation that would eventually lead to human autonomy. Thus, it has a value orientation that ascribes to a certain political and teleological stance that the researcher's critical project embraces, is inspired by the notion that knowledge is not only to understand the society but to transform the society.

Given this, it is best suited as the methodology to carry out my research, as it deals with the asymmetric in the power relationship that characterizes the local-global cultural dynamic in the wake of globalization. In the context of asymmetric power between the global and the local, my research will contribute to shedding some critical light on the way cultural politics and the politics of knowledge interface and impact on local culture and education. Such a research is best served using critical ethnography as its methodology. As Lather (2001) notes, "critical ethnography has attachments to local knowledge and to illuminating the exercise of power in culturally specific yet socially reproductive processes" (p. 479).

KEY ANALYTIC CONCEPTS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Ethnographic fieldwork involves both deduction (from theory) as well as induction (from data), whereby the fieldwork progresses through a continuous dialogue between the two (Sarangapani, 2003). Prior to entering the field, the ethnographer draws upon some select analytic concepts, relevant for his/her analytic purpose, to inform methodological considerations. In the case of the present research, I engaged with the following key analytical concepts that informed the methodological approach:

The Concepts of Culture, Cultural Hybridity, and Identity

Culture is a central distinguishing notion that marks ethnography as different from other qualitative research (Wolcott, 1987). Given the analytic purpose of my research, which focuses on the dynamics of cultural interaction, it will be useful to explore the concept of cultural hybridization to illuminate the notion of culture that guides the methodology of this research. In the context of globalization where cultures are in motion and the world is becoming increasingly inter-cultural (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002), cultures are not discrete phenomenon; in fact they are always interacting with one another (Benhabib, 2002). Furthermore, "there are no cultures that come together to lead to hybrid forms, instead, cultures are the consequence of attempts to still the flux of cultural hybridities" ((Bhabha, 1994, as cited in Huddart, 2008, p. 7). Seen from this perspective, cultures are

formed at the edges (in liminal spaces) and are formed through simultaneous processes of the production of identification and difference. In this scenario, agency in the cultural worlds then engages in the act of what I call cultural production, employing Appadurai's (1996) notion, where the cultural (adjectival usage of the noun culture) refers to the concept of difference. Therefore, it could be argued that, in such a context, the politics and practices of cultural identity performance involve an effort on the part of agency and socio-cultural institutions that attempts to still the flux of cultural mixed-ness through articulating the notions such as sameness and difference.

The above perspectives are employed in my study, as they help to explain and analyze the inter-relationship between culture, hybridization, and identity, which is central to my research.

The Concept of Field/Local: From Place to Spatiality

Understanding the notion of field has been crucial for conceiving and designing my critical ethnographic work. One of the central concerns of doing ethnography in the context of globalization, a de-territorialized world, is to understand the very notion of local on which ethnography rests (Burawoy, 2001). Appadurai (1996) further problematizes the role and nature of the local, by asking what the place of local is in doing anthropology in a deterritorialized world, where the local itself has lost its original moorings.

The phenomenon of globalization which is giving rise to processes of de-territorialization which has been accentuated by dis-embedding mechanisms has led to culture being de-linked from its geographic situated-ness (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Tomlinson, 1999). Hence, the cultural field is no more limited to a bounded geographic place as it was usually conceived in traditional ethnographic research, which was a fallacy (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). As a result of de-territorialization, culture is re-inscribed in a new spatiality whereby the global and the local interpenetrate each other. Therefore, the understanding of the notion of field needs to be shifted from considering it as a geographic locale to a notion of spatiality and scales, and as being multilayered. From this perspective, the field

becomes a multi-locational context (Abu-Lughod, 2000), which is inscribed with power (Soja, 1971, 1989).

Hence, in my critical ethnographic study, the concept of field is approached as space where the dialectic of the real and the imagined is socially and culturally produced. As a result, the field is non-neutral space and is, rather, a representational site for knowledge-power asymmetric discourses that are taking place. This concept expands my unit of analysis from the school as a physical site only to other intervening scapes (Appadurai, 1996), especially media- and idea-scapes which are spaces where the global is produced and locally interacted. As Burawoy (2001) emphasizes, the focus in doing the sociology of globalization should not only remain on the impact of globalization but also on the production of globalization. Hence, the field in case of my research is conceptualized as space where global-local cultural-knowledge reproduction (thesis), counter-production (anti-thesis) and production (synthesis) take place; an approach consistent with the notion of a Hegelian dialectic which is central to my adopted methodology and the thesis.

In this sense, the field is re-conceptualized as a multi-sited (Marcus, 1998), multi-locational context (Abu-Lughod, 2000), anchored in a particular locale, and not limited to that locale only, but rather, connected with extra-locales, trans-local, global-local cultural and power relationships. This conception informs my research design, especially with reference to doing system-relationship analysis (described at a later stage). In addition, the notion of social field as articulated by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) informs the conceptualization of my research. According to this view, the social field "is made up of individuals who are positioned objectively in a set of social relations - who possess varying resources (different types of capital) and struggle for prestige, wealth and power" (Seidman, 2004, p. 149). Capital refers to resources possessed by an individual that have social influence (Seidman, 2004). There are multiple forms of capital, such as economic capital, cultural capital (knowledge), symbolic capital (prestige), and social capital (social ties).

According to Bourdieu (1977), different fields value different capitals. For example, in the context of schooling (academia), cultural and social capitals- that is, knowledge and social ties- are valued, which help individuals who possess them to exercise authority and power. The notion of field becomes useful to make us see school as a social field, where various social actors based on their cultural, social, and symbolic capitals derive authority and power. Another theoretical importance of the notion of social field is that it highlights the role of culture to be central in social organization and domination. Hence, whose culture is reproduced in the school curricula and who is being dominated? These are some of the questions that an analysis through this notion of social field becomes accessible. Although Bourdieu links cultural dynamics with social classes and their domination, the same notion can be extended to analyze the link between cultural/knowledge production and the dialectic of local and global (in this case, the unit of social class is being replaced by the referents of the global and the local).

Based on the above discussion, the emergent notion of field, which comprises spatiality (not only geographic location), is inscribed by de-territorialized culture, and is constituted by the asymmetric power relationship at play due to the local-global dialectic, with which social actors inter-act to form the locations of their respective social field(s), to produce a cultural politics of difference. This understanding of field helps inform both the data generation and the analysis of my critical ethnography.

Thick Description and the Social Imagination

The de-territorialized world is opening up new resources for social imagination, and in the wake of globalization, agency is engaging in a new kind of social imagination, as discussed in the previous chapter. In this regard then, Appadurai (1996) calls for ethnographers studying the processes of globalization to pay attention to exploring and describing the nature of these new social imaginative practices. Thick description in Geertz's (1973) sense, according to Appadurai, needs to be thick in a manner that captures the social imagination of

the community and agency. For the purpose of my ethnography, I take this suggestion into consideration, in an attempt to produce an ethnographic record of the social imaginative practices of and resources available to the youth participating in my research. This exploration is linked methodologically with the notion of field as spatiality discussed earlier - as the trajectories along which participants' imaginations are spatial practices constructed through processes of globalization. Furthermore, I consider the school as a site not only of cultural reproduction (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) and resistance (Willis, 1977; Apple, 1995), but also a site for the production of the new social imagination, a possibility that has opened up in the wake of globalization.

KEY ASSUMPTIONS

One of the key assumptions upon which this research rests is that there is an on-going local-global cultural dynamic at play in the realms of the school's official curriculum and the students' daily lives in a Pakistani urban context. This assumption rejects the global convergence thesis and assumes that there is a divergence where diverse local expressions/resistance/modifications are taking place. This also attests to the view that we are living in a globalizing world and not a globalized world, and the local, though not any more pure, still thrives and re-defines itself. Hence, this research holds the tension alive between debates of cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity, convergence and divergence, through theoretically positing (and methodologically attending) the local-global dynamic.

Secondly, this research, through structuration (theoretical optic) assumes the active role of agency (as not only structure-bound/passive), which also alters the very context in which the self is situated, through her/his agency. In addition, drawing upon Bourdieu's notion of structural this research assumes agency to be intuitive and innovative (Seidman, 2004) in responding to the local-global dynamic. These conceptions of agency would help to see the strategy of agency as hybridizing, as well as engaging in acts of resistance (against hegemony) and imagining, and through that re-shaping the social, political, and cultural.

THE RESEARCH SITE

I chose a higher secondary school in Karachi as a primary site for my research. Located on the busy Shahrah-e-Pakistan Road, the Aga Khan Higher Secondary School (AKHSS) is a private, co-educational higher secondary school situated in a semi-urban and urban area called Karimabad, Karachi. It was established in 1995 as a centre of excellence (Prospectus, 2006) with a distinct culture: different levels of schools from lower primary to higher secondary and an institute for education and teachers development are housed within the large plot of land allotted to the school campus. At the time of this research, the school had a total student population of 600.

I always entered the high-school campus from its main gate entrance (there are three gates to the campus). I often passed by the botanical garden that leads to the school's main entrance. I noticed that the garden was well cared for, and often visited by students of different schools to observe the plants and take notes. Each plant in the botanical was labeled in Latin with an identification of the species to which it belonged. I wondered that no use of Urdu had been made, as this is the national and most spoken language in the country. From this botanical garden a paved narrow street opened up on to the main entrance of the school. There was a symbol inscribed in Arabic, *Iqra* (meaning to recite or read) engraved on the school's entrance wall (see Appendix I). The word *Iqra* is regarded as the opening word of the first verse of the holy *Quran* (religious scripture of the Muslims) when it was revealed to the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad. The symbol of *Iqra* evokes, for a cultural insider, a sense of sacredness attached to the concept of knowledge embedded in source of revelation, forming an epistemological distinction from knowledge based on reason. This symbolism is the cultural logo of the school's system signifying the connection with the knowledge tradition of Muslim intellectual heritage and culture.

Being a part of a huge educational and developmental network spread worldwide, the school is able to attract foreign funding agencies in the shape of international partnerships and exchange programs worldwide. For instance, many

students from this higher secondary school have had the chance to visit the USA as part of an exchange student programme. These features of global connectivity and mobility give a distinct identity to the school in the context of education in Karachi at the higher secondary level. In addition, every now and then students are recruited as internees in various organizations, firms, banks, and multinationals for practical experience in the field, through building local partnerships with global corporate sector by the school. Therefore, the school has an influential image for elite, upper-middle and middle class prospective students, as there remains the consciousness of a class divide between privately and publicly owned educational institutions.

On the other hand, the school affirms that students must be connected and grounded in the locality in terms of social values and cultural integrity. The keynote address from the Principal says that for students the school focuses on "nurturing their innate potentials and train[ing] them to be tolerant, flexible and respectful to others; without compromising on their own self-esteem, cultural values and social norms" (Prospectus, 2006, p. 3).

A typical school day starts at 8:00 in the morning and ends at 4:00 in the afternoon. Total 9 sessions are held per day with two breaks in between. During the break time students mostly go to the school's cafeteria or to the playground. Each learning session is of 40 minutes. The school timetable is designed in such a manner that it provides both curricular and co-curricular experiences for the learners. With regard to the curriculum, the school offers both core as well as elective courses. The core course is prescribed by Board of Intermediate Education, Karachi (a provincial educational institution) for medical, engineering and commerce sections. The elective courses are self-initiated courses by the school which include: courses for International English Language Test System (IELTS), Graduate Management Test (GMAT) and Personal, Intellectual, Social and Moral Development (PRISM). These courses are reckoned by the school as complementing the official curriculum, and in turn, facilitating the studnets to gain admission to institutions of higher learning both at the national and the international levels.

FIELD ACCESS AND NEGOTIATION

Field-access negotiation is an on-going process. The ethnographer negotiates access at several levels, with several actors, for different purposes, each involving its own nuances. In the case of my research, I started field-access negotiations one year prior to my actual fieldwork, when I had gone there for my vacations. The education system employed by the high school I wished to research was known to me due to my past professional teaching and research affiliations through the Aga Khan University where I had worked for six years. During my university tenure, I developed some professional links with the Aga Khan Education Services, Pakistan (AKES, P). In 1999-2000, in a voluntary capacity, I participated in designing a teacher education program for Afghan teachers for AKES, P. On another occasion, I was invited by the high school system, which I now wanted to research, to evaluate sets of elective courses in the area of the Social Sciences that a team of teachers there had prepared for high school students to complement the national curriculum. In this sense, I seemed to have developed an image of being a well-wisher of the education system, and had earned their respect.

Against this backdrop, I formally went to the administrators of the education system and requested them to allow me to do my doctoral fieldwork in their school (see Appendix II). The deputy Chief Executive Officer (CEO), whom I already knew from previous affiliations, was welcoming and remained supportive throughout my work. He advised me to share my intention by writing a working proposal to the head academic in their system, who also knew me. I did what was required. Based on our deliberations the head academic advised me to consider adding certain dimensions of exploration with respect to my topic and asked me to send him the final research proposal the following year, when I actually wished to conduct the fieldwork. So through these initial processes and discussions, I got a green signal, and felt welcomed to do my research. As advised, after one year, having completed my courses and required exams, I

submitted the full proposal for my fieldwork to the education system. When I arrived, I was told that the head academic with whom I had discussed my research proposal last year had left the job, and now there was a new head in place, so I had to update him about my research intention and proposal. The new head was my colleague in the university where I worked. We both understood the implications about research and its procedures and associated power-relationships. After some meetings and e-mail exchanges, the new head academic approved my proposal, and I was given access from the education system (see Appendix III). The system head called the school principal explaining the purpose of my research and facilitated an appointment with him, so that I could brief him about my research and the associated procedures. I met the principal who was acquainted with me and he welcomed me whole-heartedly and assured me of his full support for my research. Indeed, the whole school welcomed me and I considered myself very fortunate.

When I started my fieldwork at the school it was during the summer holidays. So initially, I used to go to the school, and just hang around the library, cafeteria, and my favorite place/space which I called my sanctuary, the staff room, where I had many interesting off the record and on the record discussions with the teachers as our rapport built and trust followed. Over this period, I was able to gain a relatively intimate membership of some teachers' circles, especially with a group of teachers who were interested in watching cricket matches on TV in the staff room over the tea-break and when cricket was not there, we discussed Urdu poetry, and some tales of the Western world (from my side). After the school's official closing time, I used to stay behind, and have some chats with the support staff, especially the school *chokidar baba* - a security guard from Northern Pakistan.

Overall, I felt welcomed in the school. The school principal gave me importance and regarded me as one of them. In one of the meetings with the student prefects he introduced me with great excitement, "Here is Mr. Karim. He is a very good scholar and our friend. He has chosen your school to do his PhD research. He studies at McGill University". He then proceeded to ask the students,

"Do you know where McGill is?" One student replied, "Yes. It is in Canada" (Meeting notes: principal and students, August, 28, 2006). Hence, my transnational image was constructed in the eyes of most of the students, which somehow facilitated my access as for the students I became a successful guy who was studying abroad, a desire that many high school students with whom I spoke harbored in their chest. Some students were curious to know how they could get into McGill, and in this regard, asked me questions like "Do I have to give GMAT? What subjects are in demand if I were to settle there? Where can I get funding from?" I tried to respond to the queries as much as I could, and then directed them to look at the university's website (Informal conversations with students, February, 9, 2007). These exchanges helped to build a friendly rapport with the students too.

THE RESEARCHER'S ROLE, IDENTITY, AND REFLEXIVITY

"To see ourselves as others see, can be eye opening" (Geertz, 1993, p. 16). This quote rings so true when one comes to see the way the ethnographer is seen by the research participants. The role(s) that a researcher takes on in the field bears significantly upon the process of ethnographic knowledge production, as different roles provide different vantage points and access to the phenomena under observation. It is through adopted roles that the researcher enters into certain kinds of relationships with the participants, and that too, in turn, influences the type of knowledge produced. In the case of my research, I was reflexively aware that I could, by no means, achieve a pure objective stance in relation to the phenomenon and participants. I was aware that "the author as tape recorder and grand interpreter is replaced by the author as a living, contradictory, vulnerable, evolving multiple self who speaks in a partial, subjective, culture-bound voice" (Foley & Valenzuela, 2005, p. 145).

While doing the fieldwork, my intention was to approximate a role (as one is not always free to choose the role one desires, as the role is determined more often by the researcher's location/profession/context vis-à-vis the culture s/he wishes to study) that would facilitate me in gaining the experience near

perspectives (emic) of the participants, especially with regard to their experiences of globalization (Geertz, 1993). In this regard, I adopted a role of participant-observer (a detailed discussion of this follows in a later section under data-generation). Moreover, I was both an insider and outsider to the field. Being a Pakistani, sharing the same language (Urdu) and other ethnic dialects of the participants (like Sindhi, Gujarati, Kutchi, and a little bit of Punjabi), I brought to my role some qualities of an insider. However, I was an outsider in more than one sense, and to some extent that is how I was predominantly seen in the field, at least initially. I was an outsider, as I was seen as a student doing a PhD from a foreign university. Even more, though I was an educationist and had some collaboration with the school in my previous capacity as university faculty, being from a university setting was often perceived as an outsider by the school. In this respect, on one occasion when I was sitting with some teachers in the staff room, one of the teachers, who was the head of the Science section and also responsible for managing the school-time table, said frankly:

> I used to think, my God! This guy is observing everything that is going on in the school, everything is so open to him, sometimes we have teacher shortage; whatever, this guy notes all…but now I understand your role better; and understand that you are just concerned with your studies, research.
>
> (Informal conversation: Teacher, February 15, 2007).

On another occasion while I was observing an Urdu classroom lesson, the teacher remarked to the students, who were not in the mood to study that day, as there were sports events going on for other sections in the school: "We have to carry on with the lesson. Then pointing at me, she said, "Mr. Karim is here to observe our class, we have to study" (Classroom observation notes, April 19, 2007). This comment was an eye-opener for me, as it revealed to me many cracks within my assumed role of participant observer and being a member of the

culture. These incidents helped me to re-adjust and re-clarify my role and purpose of being there in the school and classroom and re-project my identity accordingly.

These events also triggered me to ask my research participants, like Paul Willis (1977), explicitly to tell me as to how they saw me as a researcher. In this regard, the student participants presented a variety of views regarding me, through drawings and some remarks (see Appendix IV). Some of the remarks are reproduced below from the charts:

> Tasneem: "[Al-Karim is] friendly, *parhaku* (studious), think-tank".
> Adil: "[Al-Karim is] IMPORTED".
> Amad referred to me having:
>> "P= Phira
>> H=Hua
>> D=Dimag"
> [Meaning: One whose mind is lost. A commonly told joke in a Pakistani context, about those who study too much, that is, doing a PhD]
> (Student-made visuals, April 19, 2007).

The above responses perceive me through my body image, transnational identity, and identity as a PhD student. The frank comments by my participants demonstrate the healthy and frank relationship we had built up over the period of one year. The overall student body in general with whom I interacted as part of whole school socialization saw me as a facilitator who could provide them with some information about getting to a foreign university. In this respect, the students used to ask me how I got admission at McGill, where I got the scholarship from, and so forth. I shared with them the story of my journey and gave them some suggestions from my experience of being an international student.

I considered this as my humble reciprocation for their support. Moreover, I offered to conduct teacher-workshops with specific focus on PRISM (Personal, Intellectual, Social and Moral) development program initiated by the school,

where I offered myself as a participant in teaching. On occasion, some teachers approached me for some curricular-related discussions and sought my help in getting reference material from my university library to complement their curriculum.

KEY INFORMANTS AND OBSERVATIONAL FOCI

Given my research scope and focus, I chose to analyze social science subject-matter in relation to the articulation of local-global interplay in the school's official and institutional knowledge realms. The choice of social science was for two simple reasons: a) I had a research interest in this knowledge area, as well as previous teaching experience in it, albeit at University level; and b) the subject-knowledge context included some themes pertaining to the notions of culture, society, history and politics - themes relevant to my research interest and focus. Within this area, I restricted my analysis for manageability purposes to class XII (second year teaching and learning) of the high school, because it was in this year that the maximum number of courses (four) were taught pertaining to the social sciences.

Deciding upon the subject-matter knowledge focus was a relatively easy and straightforward decision for me. However, the decision as to which particular section levels to focus on was not so straightforward. There were three main sections divided on the basis of academic disciplines: Commerce, Engineering, and Medical Sciences. Within each, there were three sub-sections amongst which a total of 600 students were enrolled. Given the scope of my research, initially, I decided to focus on one Commerce section only, but then soon realized that I should include at least one section from each academic area; hence I ended up observing one classroom each from three sections. This realization partly evolved as a result of reflection on my research design, as I fine-tuned my design based on my initial observation and interaction in the field.

However, at the same time, part of the decision was based on my sensing some possible opportunities for data generation based on participant observation. This opportune circumstance emerged when I was attending the school's

Founder's Day - an annual gathering of the school's current and previous alumni. To celebrate this day, students presented different entertainment activities and programs, such as Pakistani, Indian, and English songs, *qawali* (devotional music), parodies containing some humor and satire about the school, and drama skits. A particular skit attracted my attention as it depicted some thematic issues which pertained to issues of cultural globalization, values and media, central to the exploratory focus of my research, which will be discussed further under the topic of data generation methods.

As a result, deviating from my original plan, I decided to include this performing group (of *Anar Kali* drama) as my key research participants. The next day, I shared my interest to meet with this group with a teacher who helped me identify and gather the group for discussion. I shared my purpose and interest with them. They agreed, and we worked together for eleven months where I observed, spent some time with them in the playing field, on learning trips, in the cafeteria and classroom, as well as met with the parents of two students and visited one at home. Hence, the Anar Kali group (as referred to henceforth) - the name by which the group students began to call themselves and form an identity- became my key research participants. This group belonged to the Medical (second year) group, called M-5 by the school. Re-adjusting my original research design, I made the M-5 Anar Kali group my key research participants. But in order to have some representation of other academic groups, I included for observation one section from Commerce, C-3, and one Engineering group, E-4, which provided me with observation from one section group each. A key informant group was identified, and to get some representation, other groups were formed too, based on purposive/opportunity and snowball sampling.

LIVING UP TO THE ETHICS OF DOING CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

My intention to discuss ethics upfront symbolizes the value that I put on research ethics as an ethnographer. I believe that in research, knowledge and ethics go together. In the context of a critical inquiry, focus is not only on producing knowledge about the other. Also, the ethics of the knowledge-making

process needs to be brought into the focus of the inquiry (Brown, 2004). For me, knowledge and ethics are closely related as through this ethnography the other is engaged and portrayed. Steeped in this belief, research for me becomes both an intellectual as well as an ethical act. Moreover, I do not see the ethics and politics of ethnography as separable (Murphy & Dingwall, 2001). Also, while conducting ethnography, a particular cultural group under study is placed under the critical lens of the researcher. This is bound to involve an encounter between the values of the researcher and the participants. Indeed, due to the very difference in the positions of the researcher and the participants, the latter can sometimes experience a sense of vulnerability and a feeling that their world is being invaded. Such feelings were at times felt by some teachers whose spaces and classrooms I observed during the fieldwork. Awareness of these considerations helped me become more sensitive in approaching and conducting my fieldwork. Responding to these ethical issues, I took certain measures which are assumed to minimize the ethical risks for my research. In this regard, I sought official permission and consent of the school and participants with whom I wanted to work (see Appendix VI). I also maintained their anonymity in my representations, and shared the products of my research, especially my representations of them (as indicated under the discussion of trustworthiness). Here I see the issue of trustworthiness as not only an intellectual/epistemological issue, but also an ethical aspect of my research.

In brief, my ethnographic research practice was guided by the following set of principles (informed by ethical principles): "non-maleficence" - that there should be no harm to the research participants; "beneficence" - that research should be benefitial to participants and society at large; "autonomy - that the value orientation and decisions of research participants should be respected; and "justice" - that particpants should be treated equally (Murphy and Dingwall, 2001, p. 361). In this regard, confidentiality from one layer of schooling to another layer was maintained. For example, when school authorities, out of curiosity, asked me about my impressions of the school, I was quite firm about what to share and what not to, and refrained from making any evaluative judgments. The key principles I

tried to uphold throughout my research and post-research were those of respect, honesty and transparency with myself, my participants/school as well as my readers in representing this thesis. With this in mind, I lived in the field and generated data - the discussion and analysis of which is presented below (see Appendix V).

Living up to the expectations of multiple stakeholders, and remaining ethically true to what one had promised to the research participants or oneself as a researcher about certain do's and don'ts of doing fieldwork is not always easy. Sometimes, one also appears too methodical when faced with real life situations. For example, I had offered help to the school administration if they ever needed it. One day, a teacher asked me to accompany him to appraise another teacher's performance in class. Now this was a tricky situation for me, and although I knew straight away what I ought to do, it was a challenge to handle the situation. It took a lot of explanations and apologies to avoid doing what was asked. I had to describe how it would contradict and complicate my pronounced role, and that I was not there to judge or evaluate, as this might be seen as an inspection and may lead to unwarranted and undesirable stress for the teachers.

Given the above value orientation, I embarked upon generating data for my research. In the following lines, a discussion on data generation and analysis processes is presented.

GENERATING DATA: CONSTRUCTING AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORD

Having positioned myself in the field, I embarked upon generating data keeping the research focus in mind. In this respect, I drew substantially on the work of Carspecken (1996), especially in relation to the suggested interrelated methodological stages: a) building a primary record; b) reconstitutive analysis; c) dialogic data generation; and d) system and social analysis, that involves analyzing relationship of the school with other extra-local systems and society at large.

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Building a Primary Record

Informal chats, semi-structured interviewing, and observation

The purpose in this very initial and foundational stage of my ethnography was to make sense of the situation, the school context as a whole, and to judge what was going on there (Carspecken, 1996). At the time I got the official permission for access to the school, the school academic year had ended and there was a summer vacation. However, the teachers were coming to the school to prepare for the next academic year. I seized that opportunity to get familiarized with the teachers through engaging them in informal chats in the staff room over tea, or in the tree-lined school-courtyard over a walk. These conversations were characterized by mutual sharing. I gleaned valuable information about the school, the teachers' responsibilities, the curricular and co-curricular make-up of the school, exams, challenges faced, and so forth. At this stage, I consciously avoided carrying any field journal or a tape-recorder with me, as I wanted to ice-break with the school's staff and teachers, and strived to appear less obtrusive, although I was conscious that no matter what, the researcher remains an intruder into the insiders' world. Nevertheless, soon after returning from the school, I used to jot down some notes and memos to myself in my field journal.

From my past research experience, I was cognizant of the power of informal conversations to yield valuable information. I also realized that the initial encounter with the field is most informing and refreshing, as the ethnographer is anthropologically strange to the context; and this strangeness is an advantage as it facilitates fresh sensing and grasping of the field. During my initial contact, I built a very good rapport with one female teacher from the social science teaching and learning context, whom I knew from my collaborative work with the same school. She became my guide and at times a gatekeeper in the school, and linked me up with the concerned subject-teachers whose classes I wanted to observe, and to the students whom I identified as my key research participants. Over the period I came to build such a good rapport with this teacher, and through her with the others, that the teachers became well familiar with what I was doing, and at times, to my pleasant surprise, were informing me about the co-curricular or other

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school activities which they thought would benefit my research and would make me part of the whole school experience. All this helped to make me become a member of the school culture.

In addition to the chats, I was simultaneously engaged in the activity of observing. I used observation as a method to gain familiarity with the overall situation. In this regard, I moved at progressive levels of specification in observation from being a mere observer to specific focused observation of the select classroom, shadowing the teaching and learning of social science subject-matter such as Pakistan Studies, Urdu, and English. The focus of my observation remained any textbook or pedagogy pertaining to the discourse of globalization, culture, national (local and global) and other related topics that formed the content of the courses.

Document analysis helps to look into the background of the school as an institution which helped me to get an insight of the situatedness of the school (Mertens, 1998) in relation to the other institutions (schools and managerial boards). Documents serve as sources of data that present information about past, present, and future activities of the research settings and participants. In addition, according to Glesne (1998) document analysis provides contextual and historical dimensions to observations and interviews. Therefore, using this tool for collecting data helped me to triangulate my data which I generated through other tools. I analyzed official documents including reports, school policies, the school timetables and the annual plan and Pakistan studies textbook (the focus of my analysis).

Semi-structured interviewing was used (often post-classroom discussion, to anchor the conversation in the classroom discourse, if needed) to explore the teachers' perceptions about the local and the global and its representation in the school's official knowledge, and especially in the subject-matter that they were teaching (see Appendix VII). In this regard, my main focus was the teaching of Pakistan Studies, about which I interviewed the teacher, continuing the conversation informally at other opportunities. The semi-structured interview allows greater flexibility, as compared to the structured mode of interviewing, and

shares control of communication between the interviewee and the interviewer. The purpose of interviewing the teacher was mainly to understand the context of the teaching and learning, and raise certain discussion points with the students who were my key focus.

In addition to observation and interviewing, I observed the school material culture, such as artifacts, the symbols and signs over the school entrance, noticeboards, the school building and the calligraphic work done on it. These symbols and signs were signifiers of cultural meanings that were conveyed through the built environment of the school, which formed the physical and concrete context that the students inhabited. These methods of data generation helped me to build my primary record whereby I developed the required base for my analysis and interpretation to move forward in my research.

Media/Text: Student-made artifacts

Some key resources that emerged during the research process were media/text artifacts produced by the students who were very articulate and expressive in using audio-visual media. I witnessed these in classroom observation, exhibitions and annual functions. One of the key data sources for my research became the media (audio-video) text produced by the second year high school students of Medical group who became my key informant group throughout my field research. They performed a play depicting the changing landscape of social values and tensions between tradition and modernity. I managed to access the DVD recording of the stage drama entitled *Anar Kali* from a school administrator. This audio-video text became a key data source for me to anchor my focus group discussions. The media artifact was produced by the students (insiders); hence it provided me with an access to their representation as their viewpoints and critique were embedded in it. Artifacts such as media text are key sources for an ethnographer. The text represented issues of contemporary times and values and the changing landscapes of social relationships. The critique represented in the drama depicted the students' creativity as well as their perceptions of the current issues faced by them in the society.

From observer to participant observer

Through my initial interviews, I discovered that the school was in need of support to strengthen their theme-teaching team of PRISM development program. I came to know this as one of the teachers, who was the co-coordinator of the module, asked me to recommend any teacher/professional whom I knew due to my previous university contacts, who could join the school to teach the theme (preferably part-time). While I responded positively to search for that someone, at the same time, I sensed this situation as a window of opportunity for me not only to reciprocate the school's help to me, but at the same time to allow me to get inside the classroom as a participant observer. Hence I offered my services to support the theme team in classroom teaching and learning. This opportunity made me a participant observer, as well as made me feel that I was returning something back to the school which had wholeheartedly welcomed me to do research. So, in that sense, I felt that the move was both strategic as well as ethically responsible.

While I grabbed this opportunity, I was nevertheless conscious of penetrating the classroom environment gradually, which I did through shadowing the teacher in her class. With the passage of time, I began to expand my participation from passive observation to support teaching to co-teaching and finally, to lead teaching over the period. After each session, I used to seek feedback from the teacher. I was concerned whether I had ruffled any feathers, as in my previous university job I had been notorious for sounding too philosophical in my classroom teaching and learning. Somehow, the students started enjoying my teaching, maybe because of the change of teacher, or perhaps some of my teaching discussion-based strategy appealed or maybe they were just being nice to me. I gradually intermingled with the students over the breaks in the cafeteria or playground or school corridors whenever there was an opportunity. I felt really respected and welcomed and my interactions with the students were very interesting. Gradually, from passive observer I began to take up the role of a participant observer. By participant observer I mean an observer at two levels: by participating in the broader school culture, as well as offering to co-teach

(shadowing the main subject-teacher) in one of the curricular electives that the school held called PRISM.

Glesne (1998) suggests that participant observation in a research setting helps the researchers to observe systematically and record all the details to understand many aspects of the research context and participants. In the process of data collection in the field, participation observation is a very important tool for this task. This tool helps the researcher to understand the insights of the researcher-participant's actions and behaviors while helping the researcher to develop mutual trust and understanding. Particularly, in ethnographic research, participants' observation works as a communicative brigade between the researcher and research participants helping them to express, inquire, and narrate to each other. As Glesne suggests, through participant observation, a researcher can get the status of a trusted person and understand the behaviors and see the patterns of interactions. Jorgensen (1989) further suggests that the methodology of participant observation provides direct experiential and observational access to the insiders' world of meaning. Therefore, this method of data collection is very appropriate as ethnographic research focuses on the understanding the context of the research participants.

The very terms participant and observation indicate an inherent tension for a researcher, as s/he has to juggle between both the domains of activity. In doing so, I was conscious that one of the domains could get compromised; nevertheless, one should strive to minimize it through methodic skills as much as possible. With regard to participant observation, my role oscillated between being a relatively passive observer as participant and participant observer at various stages of my research.

Adopting participant observation, I constructed the primary record through thick description of classroom knowledge construction. The main focus of observation in the classroom was on observing how knowledge is communicated and co-constructed through pedagogy. In addition, I took a not-so-thick description of the broader school context such as the corridor, symbols, and signs on the notice board, playground, and assembly area when the assembly took

place, the teachers' staff room, and so on, keeping the record in a field journal. By thick description, I mean detailed notes of the events observed, complimented by a not-so-thick sketch to provide a backdrop to make sense of what was happening. The characteristics of thick description are a detailed recording of speech acts, body movements, and body postures (Carspecken, 1996).

For this purpose, I maintained a field journal to record my field observations and notes. Usually ethnographers use different notebooks, for example, a field notebook for recording field observations and notes and a field journal to write the researcher's own reflections, ideas, and follow-up points. This depends upon individual styles and convenience. In my case, I maintained a field journal where I recorded both so as to avoid mixing data with my inferential thoughts/reflections. Furthermore, soon after I left the field, I enriched the notes and expanded upon them with my fresh memory of that particular day in the field. In addition, I wrote separate analytic and reflective memos of my day-work. This helped me plan my next field day and related steps.

I gradually shifted my active participant role to mainly that of an observer, with some participation in whole class discussion when the opportunity arose depending upon the topic under discussion and/or the class mood. So there was an ongoing adjustment in my observer/participant observer role. Initially my role of participant observer gradually moved towards that of an observer, unlike that suggested by Carspecken, in response to differing demands and the need to gain access. I needed to respond to the window of opportunity afforded to me. Then after taking a few sessions of co-teaching, I took a few on my own, where the teacher became an observer and participated when I needed her help. Gradually, circumstances threw up new opportunities for me: new teachers came, I decreased my role as participant teacher, and shifted to providing any support needed by the teachers, for the PRISM theme teaching. Meanwhile, I remained busy with data generation and they with their respective subject teaching, except when we criss-crossed and chatted over teatime in the staff room where we all met almost daily.

Home visit

I also visited one of the students at home to spend some time with him and his family. The purpose of the visit was to observe the life-style of the student in his home's natural setting. This opportunity arose after building a close rapport and trust with the participant. Generally speaking, welcoming a teacher/educationist or a learned man/woman is regarded as a matter of honor in the broad cultural context in Pakistan. Also due to my shared religious community membership with the family I visited, access became relatively easier. I was invited over to dinner, and we were up chatting till late at night. During this time, the parents spoke enthusiastically about their two sons, one of whom was my research participant, who had traveled to America as part of a school exchange program and had lived there with a local host family, belonging to the field of education, for one year. The parents' eyes were full of pride as they recounted their son's achievement as well as the continuing ties that they maintained with the host family in America through e-mail. The parents also shared their hopes and apprehensions about challenges that the youth face in today's globalization. In addition to this, I had an opportunity to meet with some other parents during the school annual function, where I had conversations (including one formal interview) with them about their views about globalization and how it is seen to be affecting their children.

Through the above methods, the primary ethnographic record was built around the analytic focus of my research (see Appendix VIII). Along the way, I remained engaged in reconstructive analysis to guide my data generation process and to re-construct meanings of the various pieces of data and make sense of the overall themes that were emerging (the discussion of which will be presented under data analysis). Once an arrival was achieved with regard to the next stage of data generation (based on the primary one), I engaged in what Carspecken (1996) refers to as dialogical data generation, the discussion of which follows.

ANALYSIS: PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTIVE ANALYSIS

In ethnographic work, fieldwork, data generation, and analysis go hand in hand. Each interpretive act informs the subsequent data inquiry step, the researcher's actions and responses. I interpreted and analyzed data soon after my fieldwork day was over as well as after transcription. At several stages, and particularly soon after fieldwork, I wrote reflective memos. This practice not only helped me to see where my research was going, but what I should gather more information on, what aspects were missing and so forth, and above all, this matrix helped me to get a feel of emergent sub-themes/categories of my research.

This is a preliminary meaning making stage for the researcher, as it involves making sense of the participants' speech-act, behavior, and social power relationship patterns, surfacing from an initial level analysis of raw-data generated in stage 1. It is re-constructive "because it 'reconstructs', into explicit discourse, cultural and subjective factors that are largely tacit in nature" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 93). Put simply, I understand this as a stage one upper movement from raw data generated in stage 1, enabling the creation of a spring-board for stage three, which is about dialogical data generation. As a result of stage two, some issues/relationships/themes (articulating global-local vectors and agencies' actions and reactions to that) emerged through interpretation and analysis of the official and hidden curriculum, which were further interrogated, de/stabilized, challenged, re-constructed and re-articulated, as my ethnography moved from raw-data to refined ethnographic product, traversing the due processes in between. In my view, three key conceptual terms characterize this process: meaning-making (initial level), analysis, and low-level coding (using low-inference vocabulary in reconstructing an account).

Meaning-making is not always a spontaneous, one-time act. In everyday life, more often than not, making sense of the meaning of various social interactions, conversations, and relationships, quite often needs to be extracted from a series of similar or different experiences, reflections and inferences, even then sometimes meaning escapes us, leaving behind the dust of ambiguity.

In this sense, the process of meaning-making involves the development of understanding, moving towards a more explicit mode of meaning (Carspecken, 1996). However, one must not forget that "meaning is always experienced as possibilities within a field of other possibilities" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 96).

In addition, interpretation and analysis in practice are hardly separable acts, as the latter often becomes what I call a hermeneutic refractor (borrowing a concept from physics and applying it to ethnographic meaning-making) in an interpretive process. Furthermore, these initial meaning-making analyses are done both as mental-notes as well as put to lower-level codes to initiate tying-down loose abstract patterns emerging due to interpretation and analysis. This stage was very helpful in reconstructing how the global is articulated and/or desired or resisted, how the local is defined in official knowledge and pedagogy, how and what meaning students attach or detach to these constructions.

Dialogic Data Generation

This feature made my critical ethnography very exciting, challenging and meaningful for me. After I met the *Anar Kali* group (AKG), we often engaged in conversations and dialogues over the key matters pertaining to my research. The youth group was very dynamic and amazing in thinking on their feet, as it were, which often took me by surprise and at times made me enviable of their energy and the articulations of their responses. This was the occasion where data and the participants surprised both theory and myself. I used the recorded DVD of the play *Anar Kali* to engage in dialogues ranging from the idea of choosing the *Anar Kali* to the influence of media-scape on agency and their response to the processes and impact of globalization, identity related issues and so forth. In this respect, focus group discussions and the participant-made visuals were used as contexts for generating dialogue.

Focus group discusions

In focus group discussions, the researcher initiates a point of discussion or a question to stimulate a discussion amongst small group of participants. The

respondents are seated together in a group and get to hear one another's responses to the questions. Often they add their comments after hearing the responses of other colleagues. They may agree or disagree about each other's views, and hence consensus is neither necessary nor desired. The object of focus discussion is to know what people think about an issue and how they express their own views after hearing other responses on the same issue (Fraenkle & Wallen, 2006). Particularly, in ethnographic research, this tool helps the researcher have an in-depth understanding of the participants' responses. Schensul, Le Compte, Nastasi, and Borgatti (1999) assert that for capturing the most aspects of the subject of ethnographic inquiry, focus group dicusisons are effective.

The chosen group was not representative of diverse sections such as the Commerce and Engineering groups, although later, students were identified using purposive and snowball sampling to include some representation from these sections as well to gather to gather other perspectives. Nevertheless, my major engagement remained with the AKG throughout the fieldwork. This group provided the core data source on which this dissertation rests.

These focus group discussions (FGDs) were used at one level to explore issues arising from the depicted stage drama, and at another level, the FGDs provided a platform to explore/connect/debate about classroom teaching and learning/pedagogy and the local-global. Classroom matters were brought under the discussion lens and were interrogated further. Hence classroom observation provided a basis for some FGDs. In that sense, the FGDs augmented discussions, and clarified and extended some aspects discussed in class, with selected FGD participants. Eleven focus group discussions were carried out with a break of an average of two weeks in between, punctuated by informal chats, while shadowing them on the playground, during sports, especially while playing table-tennis during the school tea-break, and while accompanying them to science exhibitions and to Pizza Hut to escape from school and my research (even there I did not leave them un-bothered; as they say there is no such thing as a free lunch!).

Subsequently, FGDs were also conducted with four teachers of English, while some teachers were interviewed individually depending upon their availability.

Participant-made visuals

Visual generation was one of the most powerful data generation methods that I found for my research. I was contemplating a mode of representation which gives participants an authentic voice to represent. During my interactions with the participants, I found them very creative in their expression and articulation of their thought through performance, as in the case of the drama skit. I thought of inviting them to represent visually. In this regard I started the session by asking participants to represent visually their understanding of what today's world is and how they as self related to it. Multi-modes of expression were encouraged: drawings, cartoons, metaphors (verbal/visual), and prose or poetry text in any language of their choice. Most of the participants were used to written texts, symbols, and drawings to represent the task. Some participants chose to work individually, while two of them opted to work in a pair. The task proceeded in a relaxed and friendly environment where participants were listening to songs on their I-pods, MP3s and mobile phones. The second task involved representing the participants' view of the researcher and their relationship/interaction.

SYSTEM ANALYSIS

After completing data generation and some preliminary reconstructive analysis, I took some distance from the fieldwork and analysis. I went for a short break, and then having come back, I embarked upon what Carspeckean (1996) refers to as system analysis. In this respect, I did an analysis of the school's relationship with other sites of knowledge production, such as the Aga Khan Education Service system within which the school is situated and whose policy and regulation the school follows, the government's intermediate board that regulates the school's official curriculum and exams, as well as the international partnerships that the school has with international institutions such as: the Philips

Academy, USA, and the Aga Khan University's Institute of Educational Development, Pakistan. These sites, by the nature of their partnership, have some role in shaping the school's knowledge and context, as was seen case of the elective subjects that the school offered (which was beyond the scope of my analysis in this research). In addition, I engaged with higher level of analysis, whereby the analytical inference moves up from a lower to a higher level, anchored in the findings generated through previous stages of data generation and analysis. The idea here was to explain and establish the relationship between the participants' meaning and experiences and the broader macro-social structures and forces that shape those meanings. This stage involves analysis of the power that circulates through the dynamics between the local and the global and between the structure and the agency.

DATA MANAGEMENT, TRANSCRIPTION, AND ORGANIZATION

During fieldwork, I organized the data generated through written memos, tape-interviews, field journals, and sorted them out in different categories based on their sources. Then I transcribed the recorded interviews and categorized them according to their sources. I was cognizant of the fact that the transcript on the one hand while represents the reality, it also by the same token absents the reality (Rhodes, 2000), as due to its complex nature, reality always remains beyond the grasp of researcher's tape-recorder and the field-notes. I was also aware that the textural products of the interviews cannot be divorced from the manner in which they were produced, as the context of the interaction and the power dynamics between the researcher and the respondents shape the interview-text (Rhodes, 2000). Therefore, I made sure that while analyzing the interview-text, I re-visited my field-notes and memos that I wrote to recall the context of the text-production.

The transcribed data was then organized under the different data sources from where it was derived. The data was stored in a locked cupboard. Most of the interview discourse happened in mixed languages whereby both English and Urdu languages were used in a sort of linguistic hybrid. Since I know both languages, the translation from Urdu to English was done by myself as an ongoing process

while reading the text (and listening to the audio where needed) for analysis and interpretation purposes. Here I exercised caution pertaining to the issues of translation from one language to another. In this regard, I double-checked some Urdu terms and expressions with my researcher fellows at the University in Karachi who were experts in the field of linguistics.

TRUSTWORTHINESS AND ANALYTIC TRANSFERABILITY

Trustworthiness of data depends on the trust level developed between the researcher and the researched. One of the key factors in building trustworthiness of the data is having a prolonged engagement with the field (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I remained in the field for a full year and that helped me to spend more time in observing, and more importantly, with my participants which developed mutual trust amongst us, and ultimately contributes to trustworthiness of the data. Moreover, I employed multiple modes of data generation which helped me to triangulate the data by testing for misinformation introduced by distortions either of the self or of the respondents and to confirm and to improve the clarity, or precision of a research finding (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). Triangulation also assisted me "in correcting biases that occur when the ethnographer is the only observer of the phenomenon under investigation" (Le Compte & Preissle, 2003, p. 48). For example, the data generated through the dialogue in the focus group discussions were further validated through the participant-made visual charts whereby my own understanding and interpretations were further clarified and deepened. Such a combination of data collection methods allowed me to supplement the weaknesses of one method with the strengths of another and to study the phenomenon from multiple complementary angles. In this way my research achieved a higher degree of credibility.

Furthermore, during the phase of analysis, just before leaving the field, I did a member-check by sharing some transcripts of the focus group discussions with participants to verify whether they reflected what they had said, and whether there was anything more they wished to add or modify. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I hosted a lunch to thank and honor all the school staff, teachers and

the student participants for their cooperation, and made a presentation to the principal, teachers, and the student participants and shared my preliminary findings. The presentation provided a platform to mutually exchange our views about my representation of the school and the phenomenon under research. For example, two of my participants (students) did not fully agree with my representation of their visual charts and they corrected my interpretation. These exchanges helped to bring to the fore the poly-vocality (Brown, 2005) of my research participants, and hence provides authenticity to this research. Marcus (1986) suggests:

> Having the critique come from the subject rather than the author as
> critique can be seen as a move to shift the responsibility of
> criticism to those who are represented as social actors and in so
> doing to find a new and powerful authenticity for works of cultural
> criticism (p. 180).

In addition, during the analysis phase, I also did some peer de-briefing with my fellow research colleagues at the University in Karachi) which helped me to obtain some consensus on the preliminary analysis and interpretations on which the findings were to be articulated.

METHODOLOGICAL/ANALYTICAL LIMITATIONS

In terms of its exploratory focus, given the delimited scope, the study did not take into its fold an exploration of the interrelationship between social class differences across the range and access to, and experiences of, globalization. The study's participants (students) belonged to the range of lower and upper-middle classes, which formed the socio-economic context from where the majority of the school's student body came. With respect to data collection, the study remained focused on one school from a private education system. The other prevailing contrasting systems of schooling in Pakistan, government schools (where the majority of students come from lower socio-economic contexts) and elite private schools (where students come from rich/elite families) remained outside the fold of this research. Furthermore, with regard to analyzing the production of school-

knowledge, the focus remained on the analysis of the Social Science curriculum in the school, with particular reference to the discourse of Pakistan Studies teaching and learning. The inclusion of other subject-matters for the analysis such as Urdu, English, and Science subjects, could have given a more holistic view of the knowledge-terrain and discourse of the local-global embedded within. Nevertheless, it should be noted that some select sessions of Urdu and English subject classroom teaching were observed during the fieldwork; however, these were mainly for providing myself with context-enriching experiences as a researcher, and were not heavily included in the main analysis except for a few exceptions. Moreover, the study, operating within the time frame of doctoral studies, remains limited to exploring the local-global cultural dynamic in an urban context, acknowledging that the exploration of the same in a rural context would have given comparative insights about the phenomenon. Furthermore, whilst the prolonged engagement with the students in the school setting was maintained, there was relatively less engagement with the students' home and community (neighborhood) contexts which could have provided a thicker description pertaining to these dimensions of the students' locality.

Having discussed the research methodology, the following two chapters will present data description, analysis and interpretation with a view to transform the generated data into an ethnographic account (Wolcott, 1994); in a manner that it represents my cultural interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR

REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL/NATIONAL AND GLOBAL IN THE SCHOOL'S OFFICIAL CURRICULA: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN STUDIES

This chapter analyzes the representation of local/national and global elements in the school's official curricular text for Pakistan Studies - a compulsory subject taught to high school students in Pakistan. The analysis is underpinned by an assumption that the school's official knowledge discourse constructs local/global cultural possibilities, which in turn shape its students' sense of identity in today's globalizing world (Fox, 2003). The chapter begins by presenting some scenarios from the lived-world, demonstrating the generation of nationalism and patriotism and constituting the local. It is then followed by a discussion of the policy context within which Pakistan Studies as a school-subject was introduced in schooling, and subsequently presents an analysis of the articulation of the local and the global in the Pakistan Studies textbook.

ROMANCE WITH NATIONAL/ISM AND PATRIOTISM: TEXTBOOK ECHOES IN THE LIVED-WORLD

One quiet afternoon, as I was relaxing in my study, I overheard the voice of a little girl from my neighbor's house, singing a poem in Urdu. As I began to pay more attention, my ears caught these words: "*Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad, Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad… Pakistan Zindabad… Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad…*" (Long live Quaid-e-Azam - the great leader, Jinnah, long live Pakistan). The girl, probably in an early primary class, was reciting a poem from her Urdu textbook, venerating a national hero, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who is considered to be the key architect and founder of the Pakistani nation and is affectionately also known as *Baba-e-Qaum* (Father of the Pakistani nation).

School textbooks in Pakistan inculcate a spirit of nationhood and patriotism from a very early age. This is done by narrating the nation through the story of its freedom struggle from colonialism, and venerating the role of its national heroes in achieving victory in the form of an independent nation-state on

the world map (Kumar, 2001). In addition, schools' lived-curricula complement this narration of the nation by having school children recite the national anthem to open the school assembly - as was the case at the high school where I was researching - and to celebrate national days such as Independence Day (August 14th), Defense Day, the birth and death anniversaries of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the poet Iqbal, to name a few. These are observed as national holidays to mark the memory of the great milestones in the life of the nation. Around such occasions, schools in general, including the one I was researching, often organize debates and essay-writing competitions to highlight the significance of these celebrations. Below I share an excerpt from my field journal describing the scene at the start of the school assembly, where the national flag is hoisted and the national anthem is sung, marking the beginning of the new school academic year:

> It is the first day of the school. The students are coming down the staircase in two separate rows - one each for boys and girls. The senior students (second year students) are wearing uniform, but there is a large number of students not in uniform. These boys and girls are newcomers to the school, some of the girls and boys are seen wearing colourful *shalwar kameez* (popular dress, also referred to as the national dress of Pakistan), some girls are seen wearing jeans and tops, and some boys are in jeans and T-shirts (I can spot some with Nike brand logos), and joggers in global brands such as Adidas and Nike. (Fieldnotes: School assembly, August 7, 2006).

The assembly began with the recitation of selected verse from the Quran, *Surah-e- Fateha* - the opening chapter. The Quranic recitation was followed by the singing of the national anthem "*Pak sar zameen shad baad…*" (Blessed be the sacred Land), which is also printed on the back-cover of the Pakistan Studies textbook. Simultaneously, students were hoisting two flags, the national flag of Pakistan with a dark green base with a white crescent at its centre, and the other, the flag of the Aga Khan Education Service, a white base with a book symbol, interposed upon which is the Arabic word *Iqra*, meaning read or recite (from the

Quranic chapter/ 96, verse 1: *Iqra b'ism-e-rab-e-kallazi khalaq* which means – read… read in the name of thy lord). This is reckoned to be the first ever verse revealed to the Prophet of Islam. I absorbed the whole ambiance of ascending flags, the background singing, and the rhythm of the national anthem… *"Pak sar zameen shad baad…"* (Blessed be the sacred Land of Pakistan) which was reverberating in the whole courtyard and beyond. Every individual, from the teachers to the students, as far as my eyes could scan, appeared to be participating in this process of the narration of the nation. This ambiance also stirred a sense of national belonging within me, all the more - as a home-returning diasporic self, as I too put aside my field-journal, and started cherishing and participating in the whole narration of the nation being told.

The above field-notes illuminate the generation of national sentiment, (infused with religious reference) that forms the local ambiance of the school. Having sketched the backdrop, now I would like to present an analysis of the official curricular text discourse of Pakistan Studies, to analyze the manner in which the representation of the local and the global takes place in the textbook.

Pakistan studies has been chosen as a vehicle for analyzing the ideas of national and global in the curricula because the subject has been one of the major channels for promoting civic education and national identity in the school curriculum. Yet under the impact of globalization, nationalism and national identity cannot exist independently without relating to other cultures, peoples, and lands. Pakistan, being a post-colonial nation-state has to respond to both the shadow of colonialism as well as the wave of globalization.

POLICY CONTEXT: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SCHOOL KNOWLEDGE

Before embarking upon the analysis, it is important to understand the policy context within which the subject-matter knowledge of Pakistan Studies has been formed, by illuminating historical and political contexts that led to the introduction of Pakistan Studies as a mandatory subject for schools in Pakistan. This background will help illuminate the knowledge-power-polity nexus that has been at play in shaping the school official curricular discourse through which the

meanings of the local and the global are constructed.

Since its political independence (from British colonialism), Pakistan, as a modern post-colonial nation-state, has employed the institution of education as one of the key state apparatuses for its nation building purposes. National education was seen as a direction-setting mechanism for national development, and an identity-defining project for the then newly-born nation. Kumar (2001) observes that Pakistan as a nation had to invent her identity twice: first, at the time of her struggle for independence against British *Raj* (colonial power), and second, at the time of the secession of its then East wing, which became Bangladesh in 1971. Extending Kumar (2001), I would argue that post 9/11, Pakistan had to re-invent her identity once more; as the nation-state came under the close scrutiny of the international/global media and politics. In all these different phases of its history and identity inventions, the state has appropriated its national education system accordingly. The very introduction of Pakistan Studies as a compulsory school subject illustrates the point.

Pakistan Studies as a subject was introduced in 1974 (Ali, 2005) after the

partition of the then East Pakistan, now an independent nation-state called Bangladesh. This secession was a major jolt that Pakistan faced in 1971. The separation exposed internal cracks within the Pakistani federation, highlighting grave tensions between ethnicity and nationality affiliations. This event was an eye-opener for the state machinery, revealing that the religious ideology (Islam, the basis on which the country was supposed to be unified) and linguistic unification (through Urdu) could no longer act as glue that could unify ethnic and linguistic diversity. Hence, a dire need was felt to strengthen the sense of nationalism (Ali, 2005). Although the incident of Pakistan's break-up has simply been glossed over in the majority of the school History and Pakistan Studies textbooks, the event stimulated the introduction of the subject called Pakistan Studies in the educational stream of Pakistani national education with a view to foster nationalism and patriotism, as mentioned earlier (Ali, 2005). The discourse

on Islamic Ideology was further strengthened under Zia-ul-Haq (a military dictator) under the scheme of Islamization, which his critics say was actually used to justify and legitimize his own rule. The aims and objectives and the related content taught in the current Pakistan Studies textbook taught in high school context are mainly informed by 1972 and 1992 Education Policies. The current text has not been revised in any major way since then (Interview: Teacher, February, 13, 2007).

It is, therefore, the very construction of this subject-matter that underlines a politics of national self-identity. The school subjects of History and Pakistan Studies, in particular, can be seen as identity making state-apparatuses. This particular historicity of the text will bear implications on the way national and other/global has come to be communicated to the students through the text.

In the following lines, first some analytical commentary will be presented about the construction of national/local and sub-national/ethnic local as the context that generates a sense of national and ethnic identity. These comments will be substantiated through presenting an analysis of two selected chapters from the Pakistan Studies textbook illustrating the argument put forward in the preceding section.

NATIONAL/LOCAL IN THE TEXTBOOK: STATE-NATIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS-NATIONALISM

The Pakistan Studies textual discourse renders the local with a meaning and represents it predominantly as the national, as employed in the sense of a modern nation-state. In this regard, the local constructed is predominantly characterized by political, ideological, and territorial references rather than anthropological or cultural ones. Hence, the very notion of culture as articulated is de-linked from its anthropological content (its ethnographic lived-reality), and is re-fashioned through the vehicle of history embedded in political science diction. In this respect, culture has been presented as "national culture", and has been referred in the text as "Pakistani culture" (Rasool, 2005). It is against this political-linguistic backdrop that the national culture has been presented as symbol and source of national identity.

The narration of the nation through national culture is based on the discourse of nationalism. Nationalism is an ideology, as compared to patriotism which is a sentiment linked to the notion of territoriality (Nandy, 2007). The textbook generates nationalism, characterized by religious nationalism, that is, of Islam, through the discussion of what the text describes as the two-nation theory. The two-nation theory uses the rhetoric of nationalism that embodies:

> [t]he collective belief that 'we' ... [are] a community that possesses
> a history and cultural characteristics distinct from other groups as
> well as the will, feeling, and movement to maintain and promote
> that distinctiveness within the framework of an autonomous state
> (Yoshino, 2002, p. 176, as cited in Tin-yau Lo, 2007, pp. 37-51).

Islam as a religious and ideological reference was used to provide that distinctiveness, upon which Pakistan was distinguished and imagined as a separate nation (from India, portrayed as Hindu collectivity ignoring its multi-cultural/multi-religious/ethnic composition). The nation, therefore, is narrated (Bhabha, 1994) as in search of a territorial-state, having juridical-legal autonomy to regulate its own affairs, and through this narration the ideological and territorial references are inter-linked. The latter, territorial, becomes a physical expression of the former, which is the ideological reference (Islam). In doing so, religious and political nationalism get connected to sentiments of patriotism, both of which are in complex relationships and get embedded in the national psyche and identity, as well as in the meaning of the local that becomes the source and reference for citizen's identity.

In this manner, a space for and an urgency for nationalism (Islam) as an ideology was created through the instrument of history, whereby, a historical rupture was manufactured in the continuity of the Islamic way of life by British colonialism. Hence, it warranted an anti-colonial as well as an anti-Hindu freedom struggle against those who were seen as impinging upon Muslim freedom. The rupture can be felt only if there is a prior sense of continuity; consequently, the text constructs the continuity first to highlight the rupture. In this regard, continuity is created through school history books, where the history

of South Asia appears to be inaugurated by the advent of Arab traders in 712 AD, under the leadership of Muhammad Bin Qasim, who is presented by the text as a Muslim hero who restored social and political justice amidst a politically and morally corrupt local society (Rasool, 2005). The national identity is defined against the colonial and Hindu other; Indian-ness as Hindu-ness, as Pakistan-ness is equated with Muslim-ness.

In this pursuit, the narration of the nation is done through school history texts which construct a plot where the nation (Islam) is in search of a physical homeland and a state that protects it. This urgency is conveyed through generating a sense of rupture in the historical continuity of Muslim rule and way of life, disrupted through British colonialism (Christian culture) and Hindu dominance within the sub-continent. This is done first through school history where a narration of continuity is established. The Muslims came, everything became pure and justice spread, a construction which neglects or silences the invasion into the local cultures by the Muslim Mughals from Persia into the Indian sub-continent.

Hence, the local/national has been constructed as an ideological, territorial, juridical-legal triplex construct, embedded within which is a sense of national identity and patriotism that is defined against the colonial and the Hindu other. Such a local/national and associated sense of identity provides a cultural possibility that is local/national-centric and is articulated against the backdrop of a framework of colonial/post-colonial, Hindu/Muslim othering.

Another manner in which the national identity has been articulated is the national (identity) in relation to ethnic identity (as sub-national). The national is described as a harmonious whole within which sub-national ethnic/locals are located. Hence, national identity is represented as supra-sub-national - ethnic identities bring the national in relation to other ethnic locals, which through the discourse of national culture (religious nationalism [Islam] as well as linguistic nationalism (Urdu)) are taken into the fold (as natural sub-national parts in harmony with the intra-local as well as intra-national, a reality that the texts labour to produce, but that is sought in vain when the ethnographic particularities of the individuals are observed on the ground). The following lines discuss the

national and ethnic identities which are made-up in the textbook, but before that the ethnic make-up of Pakistan is analyzed to provide a context to the text.[1]

The Ethnic Make-up of Pakistan: A Tale from the Struggle

The creation of Pakistan was independence for the state nationalists but partition for the people having diverse cultures and backgrounds living in the Indian subcontinent. In other words, an attempt to integrate diversity actually resulted in the disintegration of unity. This is a common lament that one hears in the lived reality of politics in Pakistan. However, the national or state representation of independence is a harmonious one, as discussed below. Nevertheless, the tensions that the people of Pakistan grapple with at the ground are a different tale to tell.

The nation-state is comfortable with classicism. It wishes to control cultures, and domesticate them so that they are manageable (Nandy, 2007). The state manages cultural diversity through education, media, museums, theatre, and so forth. Living cultures are portrayed as sub-national and in harmony with the national, which is not always the case in reality, as illustrated by Pakistani history.

The problem of ethnicity is of utmost importance when it comes to creating Pakistan from below with the contesting self-assertion of various indigenous groups in the political life of Pakistan. According to Khan (2005) there are, broadly, four (out of five) ethnic groups in Pakistan that actively participate in and claim legitimacy over the administrative composition of the state. They are the Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis and Pukhtuns with the fifth one being the Bengalis, who later separated themselves as a distinct group, and formed their own territorial boundary in 1971 called Bangladesh. Moreover, Khan

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[1] I would argue that Islam has been employed with different meanings and usages according to the political climate and agenda of the state. For example, the Islam in the making and galvanizing of nation to seek state (two-nation theory) during the pre-Partition or pre-independence phase (whatever one likes to call it depending upon the location) is different from the one used post break-up in 1971, to strengthen the grip of the state further. This is also seen in Zia's regime with the further Islamization of society/knowledge, which is again different under the Musharraf regime under post 9/11 circumstances. This supports my earlier argument that using Islam differently each time, the state has employed the meaning to shape a national identity which is intrinsically intricately linked with religious identity. Hence, in some cases, being a Pakistani becomes equated with being a Muslim. This approach bears significant implications for minority rights and status in a Muslim-majority state and its education - a different topic in itself.

(2005) also emphasizes the inclusion of another group comprising the Indian Muslim migrants, known as the Mohajirs, among the five, who supported the cause of a centralized policy structure of the state.

It is evident from the history of Pakistan itself that the contestations for legitimacy already existed before and after its birth. For instance, before Partition, the Pukhtuns and Balochis declined any allying intention of their territories being considered regions of Pakistan. Similarly, having been betrayed of a de-centralized political structure instead of centralized state policies after Partition, the Sindhis rejected the idea of two-nation theory as "unnatural, inhuman and unrealistic" (Khan, 2005, p. 15). The Punjabis are the only ones, in the past or present, who almost always remained satisfied with the political structure of Pakistan, except for their jolting experience under the military dictatorship of General Pervaiz Musharraf. The reason of this contention is simple indeed, because:

> From the very beginning they [Punjabis] have been over-represented in the state apparatus like the military and civil bureaucracy, as well as in sectors like industry, business and commerce. Moreover, after the separation of East Bengal (Bangladesh) in 1971, they have become the overwhelming majority group in Pakistan, further consolidating their control over the state structure (Khan, 2005, p. 16).

Instances of these ethnic tensions are also a living reality for the country apart from their historical significance. For example, the conflict on the distribution of water supply between Sindh and Punjab is a major debate in the country. The control of the Punjabis over the water supply puts an ethnic note on the conflict rather than a national one. Moreover, the deadly clashes between the Pukhtuns and Mohajirs were the worst for the country in the 1980s, as were the clashes between the Mohajirs and the Sindhis for power and legitimacy in politics. However, on the other hand, the Balochis feel neglected in this scenario and have always struggled for their own ancient territorial belongingness. Similar is the case with the Sindhis who claim to be sons of the soil and are determined to

create a *Sindho Desh* (Sindhi nation). In this anxiety of various ethnic groups, language has also played a vital role as an axis on which these conflicts erupt. Thus, it is clear from the above discussion that each ethnic group has its own historical, cultural, and linguistic backdrop. With the creation of the nation-state as a political whole, a national identity becomes dominant over the ethnic. To analyze this interplay of national and ethnic identity, it will be worthwhile to observe how education in Pakistan as a national identity constructor portrays its ethnic make-up.

National and Ethnic Identity: Text Book Representation of the Harmonious Whole

I have selected two chapters from the Pakistan Studies textbook for analysis: "The Culture of Pakistan" (Rasool, 2005); and "Languages of Pakistan" (Sindhi, 2005). The reasons for selecting these chapters are simple. First, they quite clearly show the concentration on the national identity building process, depicting culture in a singularity of its meaning, that is, the many cultures of Pakistan presented as a national culture. And second, the role of language is shown as the most vital tool to consolidate the national identity-building process. Urdu, as a national language, has been depicted as being representative of all the regional languages spoken in Pakistan. Thus, the analysis at this level shows at least two things quite clearly: there is an urge to portray national identity in terms of culture that is driven through (Arabic) religion as well as on a religio-linguistic plane.

The culture of Pakistan: National as cultural

The notion of culture is the key element in the textbook to scheme the process of national identity. A great emphasis has been given to reinvent the meaning of culture to suit a nationalistic bent. Stressing on a culture, which is distinct and different from others, is at the very heart of its episteme. The identity of any people is its culture. It is that distinct and common feature of a people which not only lends them a separate identity but makes them distinguishable from other groups of people. An individual is the constituent unit of a people's

cultural identity. Culture helps him/her determine the aim of his/her life and abide by certain principles and values. This attitude creates a national thinking and collective creativity. Many smaller regional or sub-cultures intermingle and through an assimilating process create a broader integrative relationship at the national level.

Thus, the question of identity from the very beginning of this chapter is the central discursive element in order to distinguish self and the other. In other words, culture has been represented as a monolithic structure where things are always happening in black and white with no grey zones possible. The method of commonality brings the arrival of the culture as an idea, leaving behind the mosaic of diversity and variety in the culture. This idea of a culture discourages plurality and tries to maintain a singularity in expressing identity through culture. However, in reality the opposite is the case. If we analyze Pakistan in linguistic terms, as in case of the Saraiki language, this mosaic is evident. Saraiki is a language which is spoken in the bordering region of Punjab and Sindh. This language is, so to speak, an admixture of Sindhi and Punjabi, the most spoken languages in the country. Moreover, there are many other dialects and vernaculars of each of these two languages. Therefore, there is no sense of any pure Sindhi or Punjabi, rather, there are varieties of them depending on sub-regional areas.

The kind of mechanism operating the above idea of culture is interesting, where people comfortably and consciously assimilate individual differences. In this respect some questions can be asked that what are those certain principles and values that determine the aim of one's life. What kind of attitude creates a national thinking and collective creativity? What makes one culture intermingle and assimilate? In other words, what is the point of enunciation (Hall, 1996) of the above questions? Where are these sentences generated from? What are the sources? Which self? And who is the other? The Pakistan Studies textbook has an answer: "In order to understand properly the various aspects of Pakistani culture, it is important to study its history and consider the influence of the Islamic teachings in all stages of its evolution" (Rasool, 2005, p. 91).

Therefore, it is clear that the textbook gives importance to the teachings of

Islam because it is Islam which binds the diverse cultural contexts in Pakistan. Islam is playing a crucial role in the process of nation-formation here. It is mandatory to consider the influence of Islamic teachings and above all its history on the local cultures, superimposed on the instant local, which has a history of its own, nearly 5000 years old. Hence, Islam is the bedrock or the wellspring of all cultures that exist: "Pakistani culture is the admixture of a number of varied cultures, which have flowed to form a single cultural identity. Islam is the fountain source of this culture which provides vigour and vitality to it" (Rasool, 2005, p. 102).

Is it true that in reality the cultures that existed in the Indian subcontinent actually became subsumed in Islam with complete harmony and serenity? In answer to this query we may refer to the above comment that the age of an ethnic relationship is much older than one's religious affiliation. Interestingly, the text praises the advent of Islam with great honor and pride. It seems that Pakistani culture is an amalgam of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Mostly, it draws cultural ingredients from the heritage of the Muslims in the past. The textbook asserts that:

> The Muslims entered this land [Pakistan] as conquerors in 712
>
> A.D. and brought with them a high standard culture rich in form,
>
> content and spirit. It is during this period that architecture,
>
> painting, calligraphy and music also received patronage. These
>
> form a part the cultural heritage of Pakistan. (Rasool, 2005, p. 95)

On the other hand, for the Sindhis (Muslims), the figure of Muhammad Bin Qasim is as controversial as it is worthy of mention for the Muslims. For some Sindhis, Muhammad Bin Qasim was an intruder and plunderer who robbed many sacred spaces of the Hindus. Moreover, the Sindhis think of themselves as sons of the soil by linking themselves with the ancient civilizations such as the Indus that survived thousands of years before the emergence of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula.

The story of the separation of East from West Pakistan is also an example of the distant reality which the official textbooks of higher education somehow

hesitate to show clearly. The textbook pronounced that "Pakistan came into being as a result of the above demand [Muslims as a distinct nation from Hindus] and the Muslims of South Asia were blessed with a separate homeland" (Rasool, 2005, p. 101). If the demand of Pakistan was a mutual demand of the Bengalis (as Muslims), then why did they decide to secede in 1971? This partition posed a challenge for national integration as the event demonstrated that the championed ideology of the state that based itself on religious-nationalism could not hold it together against the pull of communal/ethnic sub-national forces. Hence, the logic of religious ideology as a binding glue - as a nation-building force - came into question. Therefore, a need was felt to re-invent the national identity again (for the rest of remaining Pakistan) and for that again the path chosen was to strengthen the religious ideological discourse in a more effective manner. In this regard, Islamic ideology was reinforced through various mediums, especially through education in general and school textbooks in particular, and new subjects, such as Pakistan Studies were introduced.

Languages of Pakistan and the glue of Urdu

In the textbook, Urdu is presented as a source of unifying other regional languages. Again this marker of Urdu is influenced by the Muslim dominance in South Asian regions in the past as an Arabo-Persian and Turkish heritage. For instance, a passage from the Pakistan Studies textbook shows the above phenomenon:

> Despite the diversity of the languages, the people of Pakistan are united through their religion and the use of lingua-franca, under the name and style of Urdu. With the blending of all local languages a new language Urdu, was born to serve as a link and symbol of national identity. (Sindhi, 2005, p. 112)

The historical construction of the origin of Urdu by the textbook is such that it was inevitable to avoid Urdu as the national language:

When the Muslim power got consolidated in South Asia, the

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people of different regions were inducted in the army. They included the Arabs, the Persians, the Turks, the Punjabis, the Sindhis, the Pathans, the Bengalis, the Balochis and other local people. These soldiers spoke different languages and with their admingling, a new language [Urdu] was born. (Sindhi, 2005, p. 112)

It is interesting to observe that the contribution of Hindus is not highlighted in the above description, though they were in the majority. Even during the Mughal era their contribution at both literary and administrative levels is not mentioned. Therefore, this textbook does not mention or hint at any influence of Sanskrit on Urdu. From the textbook it is portrayed that Urdu is the Muslims' innovation.

The textbook further highlights the development of Urdu as a language and its employment to galvanize the national consciousness:

In the aftermath of the 1857 War of Independence, significant political and social changes ensued in South Asia. Uder [*sic*] the impact of these changes, a creative literature in Urdu got shaped with a new direction... Sir Syed and his compatriots made innovative experiments in Urdu prose and poetry and added a new horizon to Urdu. The agonizing national consciousness is the hallmark of this period. (Sindhi, 2005, p. 113)

It is interesting to note that the War of Independence was not actually the movement for Pakistan. The official curriculum, particularly the Pakistan Studies textbook assumes it in this way. Moreover, Urdu was actually the language of bureaucrats and elites as sources suggest. The puritanical movements among Muslims were mostly led by these bureaucrats and well-known figures from the Indian subcontinent. They used Urdu to propagate the teachings of Islam and wrote polemical epistles to encourage the Muslims to rebel against the present regime – the British colonials. The high culture used Urdu as the mode of expression and dominated the discourse at that time. The movement of Aligarh by

the eminent scholar Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is a classical example of it. Moreover, Muhammad Iqbal, who is the national poet of Pakistan, also used Urdu, in addition to Persian (in which he wrote mainly) in his poetry for reawakening Muslim consciousness, because Persian was limited to the group of elites, Arabic was rare, while Urdu was widely understood among the Muslims.

Urdu became a suitable tool to harbor the rebellious attitudes and content that suits a nationalistic perspective. Particularly, the Hindus become the sole enemy of the Muslims in the subcontinent. The textbooks are the reflection of this scenario that provides an ideological framework for students so that through Urdu and being Muslims they can push back their ethnic differences.

GLOBAL IN THE TEXTBOOK

Ummah: Constructing Trans-National (Pan-Islamic Global)

The global in the textbook is constructed at two levels having totally different characteristics. One is at the level of transnational identity which is described as Ummah. Though Ummah is global in nature (as it transgresses local national identities), nevertheless, it is a bounded space, hence a somewhat a partial global (Sassen, 2003) - as it collectively identifies with being Muslim (ideologically bounded-space). The other global reference is articulated through the diction of internationalism (politics and globalism, that is, economic globalization and partnerships between nation-states) and the institutions that enshrine such a global outlook.

The term Ummah in its literal sense means community, group, or people. However, the overall shaping and reshaping of the discourse of Ummah among Muslims actually originates from its bedrock: the holy book of the Quran. Therefore, it will be worthwhile to explore briefly how this key term has been conceived in the formation and early emergence of the Muslims. As a result, it will help to juxtapose to what extent contemporary usage varies from or is similar to its source among the Muslim conception today.

In the Quran, the word Ummah occurs 62 times on various occasions with the widest possible range of meanings (Denny, 2000). However, generally, the

Quran refers to Ummah as communities sharing a common religion or religious community. It remains unchanged in the overall occurrence of its usage. Yet there are instances where the Quran does not apply Ummah exclusively to denote Muslims, but to mean fixed term, communities of animals, and an epitome of righteousness by referring to the prophet Abraham. On the whole, the Quran portrays a progressive pattern in the usage of the word Ummah from religious community in general to Muslim community in particular.

The term of Ummah according to the Quran has also a spiritual sub-text. It speaks about those believers as Ummah who by God's grace and protection opted for righteousness thereafter. Here this term becomes particular for those believers who experienced mystical illumination.

In its initial conception and subsequent usage, the term Ummah was used to signify communities of Medina (Yathrab - the old name) whereby the Prophet of Islam made a socio-political pact of peace (*Mithaq-e-Madina*) with all the communities of Medina. This included the Christians as well as the Jews, in addition to newly converted Muslims. After the *Hijra* (migration) to Medina, the Prophet Mohammad established a state with multiple religions, different races, and different cultures and called them *Ummat-ul-Wahida*. This term changed after the conquest of Makkah, after which only the Muslims came to be called Ummah.

It is still a great area of concern for the Islamists whether the usage of Ummah became restrictive in the prophetic activity of Medina as merely Muslim community. According to them, the Meccan treatment of the term seems to be encompassing the Abrahamic tradition: including Jews, Christians, and Muslims – the revealed religions. It was later in Medina when the political relations between Jews, Christians, and Muslims deteriorated, and the change of Kibla ultimately marked an urge for a separate identity of only Muslims as *the* Ummah. This incident led to the limited usage of the term Ummah, exclusively to indicate Muslims.

However, this representation of Ummah has been contested and thought to be contrived with the later usage of it after the institutionalization of Islam and Quran, whereas by *Ummah Muslima* the Quran meant those people who

submitted themselves to God, as the word Muslim also means one who submits. Moreover, it is also evident that in Mecca and Medina, Ummah was referred to as the archetypal or potential unity of mankind and prophetic religion (*Ummah-tul-Wahida*). It was in the later phases when it meant specifically Muslim community as a whole, including the spatial or regional configuration on the globe; particularly, connoting its non-political expression, such as the Ummah in India or Pakistan. Moreover, it is only in the present day that the term in its substance implies its political/ideological nuance as interpreted. Perhaps, this shift in meaning may be due to the incorporation of a modern concept of nationhood and formation of nation-states, where the word nation usually equates with Ummah.

It is observed that with the passage of time, the term Ummah gradually became exclusive and acquired religious connotations (source/reference of identity) to refer to Muslims only; and hence the term became an exclusive signifying the other. With respect to the diversity within Islam/Muslim contexts, the term Ummah is premised on the *Kalimah* (Muslim Oath) - *La Ilaha Illal Lah* (There's no God but Allah) joined the Muslims in one knot. This essential statement of what it means to be a Muslim means that there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad (peace be upon him) is His last Prophet. After the death of the Prophet, *Khilafat*[2], the political authority of the Muslim community was established. The political power was in hands of the *Khalifat*. With the expansion of the Abbasid Empire and later the Ottoman Empire, the ideological form took shape, as it needed an ideological glue to bind geographically scattered areas; and thereon the term Ummah acted as an inclusive (intra-Islam) and exclusive to mark out the other (non-Muslim). During British colonialism, again, the *Khilafat* movement was invoked using Turkey and Pan-Islamism by Jamaluddin Afghani and was injected into the political and cultural imagination of the Indian Muslims.

After the First World War, Turkey was the centre of the Ottoman Empire, which soon collapsed and the British and their allies divided its states. This

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[2] The word *khilafat* generally means the system of political authority to run Muslims upheld by majority of Muslims. The concept emerged after the death of the Prophet Muhammad when the crisis of authority marked the great divide among Muslim communities when questions were raised about who would be leading Muslims in absence of the Prophet.

generated a backlash in the Indian sub-continent, since the British were also ruling here. This event was politicized and the concept of Ummah was galvanized to muster strength and power against the British in the name of the *Khilafat* movement. Hence an extra-local incident triggered a local reaction to liberate Muslims from the British stranglehold. This movement was primarily driven to strengthen Muslim solidarity. At the same time, Gandhi also took advantage of the same and joined the struggle, and started his non-cooperative movement against the British colonials namely, *satyagrah*, meaning hunger-strike.

Whenever Muslim power in a particular context became strong, Ummah as a construct remained in the background, but when Muslim power became weak, the concept of Ummah was re-invoked to galvanize solidarity, and promote a universal character. The same happened in the case of the Muslims of the sub-continent. During colonialism, the Muslims, being in a minority as compared to Hindus, took refuge in the concept of Ummah, to muster some communal strength to feel that they were not alone. In the course textbook both these concepts are very much evoked through text-discourse. Democracy brought realization of minority and took refuge in Ummah to strengthen the cause of nation-states; however, within this Ummah at the same time remained beyond the discourse of nation-states as different ideological markers having to do with religious affairs for the Muslims.

In terms of institutional manifestations of the interrelationship between the Muslim countries, the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) is a classic example. The establishment of the OIC was based on the thought to unite Muslim communities all over the world on a single platform of representation. The goals of the OIC have not been satisfactorily achieved and the organization is reduced to mode of talks mostly. A commentator on a local TV telecast made a pun out of OIC as "Oh I see" revealing the common perception about the kind of function it performs. According to the textbooks, since its inception Pakistan has always championed the cause of the Ummah (the World Muslim Community) and has developed a closer relationship with the Muslim world to become a force to be reckoned with (Askari, 2005).

Global as International

Another reference used to represent global in the textbook is that of international. In this respect the global is conceived as inter-relationship in terms of political, economical, and developmental dimensions between the nations. In this regard, the textbook portrays Pakistan as a responsible and active member of international/World community, cooperating with the international institutions. In this respect the some key institutions mentioned are: The United Nations, and its sub-organizations such as: World Health Organization (WHO), and United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (Askari, 2005).

It is interesting to note that the textbook mostly remains silent on regional networks with which Pakistan is connected. The focus remains mainly on inter-national and not regional.

CONCLUSION

- The textbook constructs the local mainly as national (in the sense of political nationalism). The construct national is a triple complex comprised of religious/ideological, linguistic, and territorial. These constructs are interlinked, and form substance of national identity.

- National identity is a supra-sub-national and therefore overrides ethnic differences and identification. In this regard, culture is represented in the textbook as national culture and not as lived diverse culture in an anthropological sense. Hence, local/national and sub-national categories are formed, but represented as a harmonious whole. However, in the context of the students' lived-world experiences there seems to exist a tension, at times, between the national and ethnic affiliations and their significance respectively.

- The global in the textbook is constructed as Ummah - a transnational/supra-national religious collectivity. This construct has historical, religious, and political significance for Muslims. Another manner in which the global has been constructed is as international, articulated in dictum of international institutions of politics/peace in an

inter-nation state context.

- Seen from a lived-world perspective, there at times exists a tension between national identity and Ummah - a transnational (global) collective reference for Muslim identification. This tension is sharply felt on ground especially post 9/11 when Pakistan became a front force in the US led war against terrorism in justification of which attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq were moralized.

- Another construct through which the global gets constructed is a reference of international. The textbook remains silent about a regional construct.

- The above textbook constructs bear implications on the way the high school youth in my study express their sense and expression of the self and other (some examples from students' lived-world will be cited in the next chapter).

CHAPTER FIVE

LOCAL GLOBAL DYNAMIC, STUDENTS'LIVED-WORLD AND IDENTITY

THE LOCAL AND GLOBAL: STUDENTS' DEFINITIONS

One of the aims of this research was to better understand how students defined the local-global dynamic and the way in which they located themselves within this dynamic. I asked my students to individually create visual charts to define their local-global experience. The students had no restrictions and were free to use metaphors, symbols, and languages to represent their thoughts.

Once the students had finished their visual charts, I then asked them to explain these representations. I recorded their explanations and have reproduced them in the form of transcripts described below. This process allows the direct voices of the students to be at the forefront, and adds multi-vocality to the research (Brown, 2004).

When the students were invited to describe and explain the relationship of the self within the local-global interaction, they were given an opportunity to give a voice to the understanding "of themselves to others, and, in the process for themselves" (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 2001, p. 4). This articulation, both to others and to themselves, may guide their subsequent behavior and meaning making of the self in the globalized world.

In the following section, I will introduce the participants, followed by their visual chart and the transcript of their explanation of the chart. My interpretation and the analysis of this exercise will be discussed in the next chapter.

Introducing Musfira: Musfira and the Local-Global World

Musfira comes from a well-to-do Punjabi family. She is the oldest child in the family and has four younger siblings, two sisters and two brothers. In the patriarchal Pakistani society, where males are given a higher status and a more prominent role, Musfira may not enjoy the same privileges, freedoms, and responsibilities she would have as an older male sibling. Musfira's father is a

practicing lawyer, currently working in the United Kingdom. In her studies, Musfira is in the Science Track, concentrating on Medical sciences. Her future aspirations are to immigrate to the United Kingdom to pursue further studies and eventually, to become a doctor. I did my fieldwork in 2006-2007, and I found out in 2008 that Musfira had been accepted for further studies in the United Kingdom. She was in the process of moving then.

FIGURE 2: MUSFIRA'S REPRESENTATION OF THE LOCAL GLOBAL
DYNAMIC AND THE SELF

Transcript: Musfira and the local-global world

Okay what I have basically shown is the world, the world is very dirty, it's full of violence, it's full of hatred, it's full of jealousy, it's full of greedy people and this is me, and I have a brush in my hand and that I would clean the people around me, I might show myself a very bravely person, but I am a very reserved kind of a person. ☺ I am completely a non serious person, whatever I have on my face, I can't hide it and I am a very straight forward person, if I have flowers in my hand in front of you, I have it besides too, but people around me, they might have good things for me in front of them, but at their back, they are not very good, so there are peoples, who are shaking hands with me, but I feel bad that they have

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got competition, they have got envy, they have got jealousy, I mean they have any good reason to put me down, they got it. My world to me is my mobile messaging to my friends and all that. My world goes around my friends.

Okay and my life, my world goes around the TV, I love watching television and my family. My family is my entire world to me, all to me. And I have showed here the I-pod, though I don't have it, but I just showed it.

Okay I am very scared and very confused of the people around me, so this is a very confused stage of mine, here I have shown the global and local and in the global and local, they have fused together, you go to the higher areas of Karachi and you can't find any difference between them and the streets and areas of US or UK.

Global and local, they have fused and I mean we can't distinguish between them, the differences are undistinguishable. I mean you go to Defense [an urban elite area in Karachi] and you won't find any difference that either is it an area of Pakistan or the area of US.

Okay now I showed the mirror of wishes, what I want to be, I want to be a Graduate from a very good university, I want a very nice car, I want to go to UK, I want to visit UK to my father, because this world is very pretty and beautiful like a flower, so this is the flower the world and flower shows the sign of love, so I am like craving for love of good people, my friends, family[3] (Student's presentation, April 19, 2007).

Introducing Faizan: Faizan and the Local-Global World

Faizan is an only child born in Karachi, Pakistan. In his very early years, he migrated to the United States of America with his parents. He completed his elementary and junior high schooling in the States. Post 9/11, he returned to Karachi with his family. He was completing his high school when I met him during the field research. In 2008, Faizan and his family migrated to Vancouver, Canada. Faizan enjoys watching television, playing the guitar, and listening to

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[3] The language of all interview transcripts is reproduced verbatim to retain the authenticity of the text.

popular music (Pakistani, Indian - Bollywood - and Western), and communicating with friends and families via the Internet.

FIGURE 3: FAIZAN'S REPRESENTATION OF THE LOCAL GLOBAL
DYNAMIC AND THE SELF

Transcript: Faizan[4] and the local-global world

FZ   Local people are so weird people and wear those long, long, long
Shalwar Kurtas and Burqaas and everything and like this is a local
gun and drum.

         [Here the conversation between Faizan and myself began in
question/response form, as reflected below]:

AKD   Okay this is a local gun?

FZ   Yeah this is a local gun and this is a global gun.

AKD   Okay what is the difference between both of them, a local gun and a
global gun?

FZ   They have the difference in shapes and you can carry it over here.

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[4] Faizan's responses are depicted as FZ, and I am AKD.

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	This [global] one looks so good, this [local] on is yucky.
AKD	Okay as you said that it [local] is yucky, so who is saying that?
FZ	Global people.
	Global people, they are saying that?
AKD	And what do you say?
FZ	It's like everyone's own choice.
AKD	Okay global people say that they are like that, okay who have compared the drums?
FZ	I have compared the drums.
AKD	Okay what is the reason for that, which drum you would prefer?
FZ	This one [under the global].
AKD	Why?
FZ	This has so many drums in it and everything glittery and its looks so good.
AKD	And which one would you prefer?
FZ	This one [pointing to the global artifact].
AKD	It's written here in this bubble that [local people] "Always do farming", so who says that?
FZ	The old people say that, they are the local people.
AKD	But who says that?
FZ	I say that.
AKD	Okay.
FZ	"Children should sleep early".
AKD	Tell me about that? [Sound of laughter while asking that]
FZ	Like people are so weird.
AKD	Okay what does weird mean to you?
FZ	Strange and bizarre.
AKD	Strange in which manner?
FZ	They always tell their children to sleep, like they don't want their children to wake up and have fun, they want them to sleep.
AKD	Okay and what is happening in global?

FZ   And global people like, they are all fashionable and everything, they

            listen to "I-Pods", they like to play the guitars and like the girls wears

            the skirts and everything, like they are so developed, they are very

            advance, like they have started using the Bio [Biological sciences] and

            all the things and we have discovered all these things.

AKD   Okay now who are "We"? Where do you see Faizan in this whole

            scenario? [laughter in background]

FZ   I am here [pointing at the global – laughter in the background]

            (Student's presentation, April 19, 2007).

Introducing Asif: Asif and the Local-Global World

        Asif comes from a small family with one younger brother. His mother is
originally from India, and is an English teacher. His father is originally from
Bangladesh, and works in the real estate business. As part of the school's
exchange program, Asif went to the United States where he completed one year of
high school and stayed with a North American family. Asif continues to maintain
contact with his exchange family corresponding through e-mail and telephone.
Whilst staying with his host family, Asif met another exchange student from
Switzerland. Both of them were hosted by the same family. Asif has not
maintained contact or communication with his Switzerland house mate. Asif has
traveled with his family to India and has close relationships with his maternal
relatives in India.

        While doing my field research, Asif was in the Science track with the
intention of pursuing the medical field. However, he was thinking of changing
fields and doing a Master of Business Administration. In 2008, Asif informed me
that he had changed his field and was now enrolled in the MBA program.

FIGURE 4: ASIF'S REPRESENTATION OF THE LOCAL-GLOBAL
DYNAMIC AND THE SELF

Transcript: Asif and the local-global world

This picture elaborates two things, the first thing what am I? So I am basically a growing person, this is a growing plant. Young green plant shows that I am growing and developing; and my roots are my local, they enable me to stand in sun, they probably provide me a better stem and better support to build on in the future; and the stems are global, they connect me to the environment. Plants need the soil, so it's all local, and you know whatever they grow, you come out of the soil, that's when you go out and look in the world and that's where the global things are coming, so we come to the other side of this. You said what is world to you, so this goes like, like the world is also developing and we represented it with the help of the plant as well and I am one of its roots, there are many roots of the world, but I am one of it, because I contribute to it, so the world grows on because of me.

Basically the idea was that, first I thought let me make a tree, but then I thought that it is better to make a young plant, because it's always developing. [Through this] you can show what you are to the world and what is world to you.

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So basically I represented myself as a developing plant and I showed that my roots are local. My roots make me establish and that helps me establish in the world and it makes me stronger. And if you ask me to explain what my local is, so when I brought my values, my traditions, my brought up, my culture, these are all my local, which affected me to develop and grow and pick up things from the world, which helps me to establish myself in the global society, education is my global and my communication is also my global. On the other hand, it shows that this plant can also be taken as the world, [as] the world is also developing and it's also growing, and I am a root of it; and I think that we all are roots of it [the world], because the world is developing because of us, we are growing people and if we won't be there, it won't grow anymore (Student's presentation, April 19, 2007).

Introducing Shireen: Shireen and the Local-Global World

Shireen comes from a working-class family. Her mother is the Principal of a school called Mama Baby Care. Shireen has traveled to Kampala, Uganda. She imagines Paris to be most beautiful city in the world, and wishes to travel to Paris in the future. Shireen's immediate family lives in Karachi, but her extended family is in the United States, Canada, and United Kingdom. Shireen does not like communicating via MSN or Internet but prefers face-to-face connections. Shireen is enrolled in the Science track and wishes to become a doctor.

FIGURE 5: SHIREEN'S REPRESENTATION OF THE LOCAL-GLOBAL
DYNAMIC AND THE SELF

Transcript: Shireen and the local-global world

This is a bridge. Modern has crossed the bridge and has come here [to the local], so the local welcomed it [the global]. This [global] is very rude, but the local has changed it. The local has changed the global through its love and friendly behavior, so the global became intermingled with the local, and her nature and behavior got changed. And when the local went to the global, the global did not welcome the local. I actually agree with this point. There was one program on TV [as well] "George ka Pakistan" (George's Pakistan). In that they showed that there was a foreigner, who came to Pakistan and the local welcomed him, but the westerners are not ready to welcome the local. There are many TV programs which show that whites are running after blacks/Asians (Student's presentation, April 19, 2007).

Introducing Amad: Amad and the Local-Global World

Amad wishes to become an orthodontic surgeon like his father. Amad has travelled extensively in and outside his country, to Dubai, the United States, and

the United Kingdom. Amad's immediate family lives in Karachi, but his extended family lives in different parts of the world: North America, the Middle East, and the Far East. Amad stays in contact with friends and family across the world through MSN Messenger. He likes watching Hollywood movies and American television shows such as *House*.
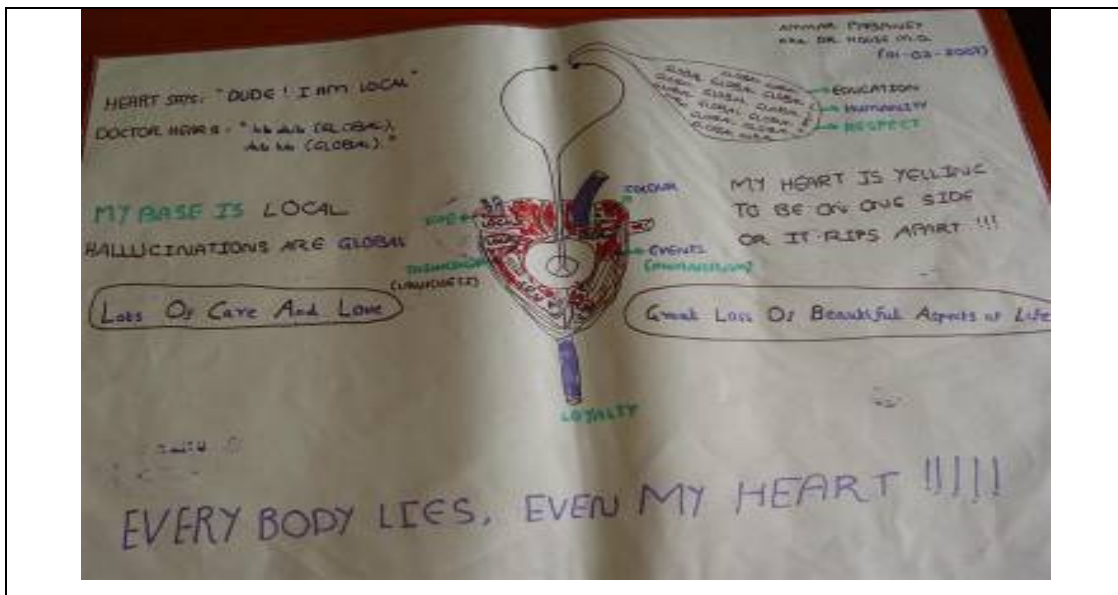
FIGURE 6: AMAD'S REPRESENTATION OF THE LOCAL-GLOBAL DYNAMIC AND THE SELF

Transcript: Amad[5] and the local-global world

Amad   Although I am a western, multinational, but my heart is Pakistan, I am a multinational, because my father is from India and my mother is a Burmese. After that I want to show that if I would consider anything in my life, so that would be the education, I am born here, I am describing here's life, this all includes in local, these are the events, means here it is written that in the Moharram Event [a holy month for Muslims, particularly Shias], that the Moharram you are spending here, you will see a crowd of 3 to 4 lakh peoples, you will see everybody, people from all over the world come here to see this

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[5] While Amad was explaining his chart, a participant interjected and elaborated on Amad's ideas and thoughts. I have indicated this voice by Student 1 (S1).

event, but you will never see this thing in America, UK or India, except Iraq, because over there this is their base.

Amad   Okay here I have written the word "Lalukheti" [sic, Lalukhet is an area in Karachi which has a reputation for protests and riots], the reason is this that if here anyone would not drive the car properly or if a person would throw the wrapper on the road, so we instantly attack on him, "Hey you don't know how to drive a car, you are illiterate, I don't know who have given you the license, you are from Pakistan", first of all we would blame on the whole Pakistani society and nation. And now if we would look on the global side, if anyone in the global would not drive a car properly or if he would do an accident, so they would say that, there is no problem in that, it happens. And what happens here, we start to do fighting and quarrel.

Amad   Okay now the thing which I am going to show here is that, it is been portrayed that our country and our people are bad, this concept is wrong, when we visit any western country like US or UK, so the people there say that see, he is a Pakistani, so it doesn't mean that the citizens are bad, it's the country that has been portrayed bad, our government has done such bad things that we are portrayed as the wrong people, this is the truth, like this mirror indicates that everybody lies, even me, I am also perplexed in this problem, I say that I am a Pakistani, but I regret it at some moments, because whenever I go outside the country, so they just reject my profile, like if I want to go and study in abroad, in any university, so they would not listen to me, they would see you with hatred.

S1   I agree with him, I know someone, he told me when he went to London, so in London, when you are traveling in a bus, you would know by the face that he or she is a Pakistani, so if you carry a bag in the bus, so people won't sit around you and over there, the people would not ask you that whether you are a Pakistani or not, they ask

you that, "Are you a terrorist"?

Amad   In our country we have a person called "Mowla" and a person called "Mowlana", "Moula" is a person who use to create love between the people (spread harmony and love) and the "Mowlana" is a one, who is the opposite of Mowla, the mind of the "Mowlana" is restricted, although they are raising the slogan of "Islam, Islam", but instead of that they are driving their motorcycles fast on the road, they are a person with long beard and shalwar kameez, but they are always ready to break the signal on the road.

AKD   Okay we would discuss this later. What do you mean by hallucination? (pointing to the word "hallucination" in the chart)

Amad   Hallucination means the local, I would continuously say that it's local here, but in the back of my mind, it would run in my mind that you are not local, you are global, because you think that this country is bad.

AKD   And what is your thinking about the local?

Amad   Further it means by local that, as I see myself, I am born over here, like I am portraying myself, my heart is local, I am the production of this country, I am thinking according to my country, but instead of that when I am listening to my heart, so it says that there are so much bomb explosions happens in our country, so go and stay outside the country, means the life here is not good, so I am confuse, I don't understand that where to go, I should stay here or should live outside my country, I am puzzled in this.
This is a voice coming from my heart, that what is this all happening here, this is a bubble.

AKD   Okay and you consider yourself as a "Lalukheti"?

Amad   Yeah because Lalukhet is considered as the worst area here.

AKD   So what do you feel about this?

Amad   Bad! It's just a mock that we are Lalukheti, can't we be like

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	respectable citizens, this is my point of view.
AKD	So you have a mixed thinking, means sometimes you are saying
	others as a Lalukheti, but you also feel it as a mock.
Amad	Yeah this is our helplessness, what can we do (Student's
	presentation, April 19, 2007).

WIRED WORLD, LOCAL-GLOBAL DYNAMIC, AND THE DE-TERRITORIALIZED SELF

This section will provide data describing how the students use the wired world, that is, cell phones, MSN, and ORKUT to connect locally and globally. This interaction, in turn, creates a local-global dynamic resulting in the de-territorialized self.

The Use of the Wired World

The students in this study were heavy users of cell phones, Internet, MSN chat, and e-mails. As will be demonstrated in the vignettes below, the students went to great length to ensure that they had the latest technology in the hottest colors and styles and that they carried the latest ring tones. The technology itself, and the communication it allowed, was central to their ability to communicate with one another and to create social networks. Having access to technology and the skill to communicate allowed the students to impress their peers and accrue social capital. Hence, their popularity and their social status in school was dependent on having the right technological tool, the skill to use the technology, and the ability to show-off the latest gadget.

Below is a vignette from my field notes describing an incident where students were trying to hide their cell phones from the school staff.

It was the second period of the school day. I was observing a Commerce Class attended by grade 12 students. I sat in the last row of the classroom on a partially broken, faded green wooden chair. The chair had an attached writing desk, on which some graffiti in blue ink with recognizable shapes of hearts were drawn.

Ten minutes into the session, a sports teacher responsible for the overall monitoring of school discipline knocked on the classroom door.

The classroom teacher opened the door; and the sports teacher peeped in and then stepped into the classroom, asking for some students. Seeing the teacher, some boys/students appeared to be making some kind of movements amidst the middle rows on the left hand side from where I was sitting, as if they were trying to hide something. As I began to pay more attention, I figured out that two boy students were bending, and sliding cell phones in the sides of their socks, whispering, giggling, looking downwards.

Another student was seen taking his cell phone from his right hand trouser pocket and putting it into a backpack that was lying beside the right foot of the chair on which he was sitting. There wasn't that much movement on my right-hand side rows where the girl students were sitting. As I was witnessing all this, suddenly my eyes met with one of the boy students, sitting at the second last row at the back, who gestured towards me as if urging me to keep his cell phone with me. I somehow responded spontaneously and nodded – Yes. I extended my left arm and took the cell phone; shifted it into my right arm (hiding from the teachers); and silently slipped the cell phone in to my red colored McGill bagpack which I used to carry with me in the field. The student smiled at me and said "Keep it with you till the session gets over…thanks". I winked at him and said "Don't worry".

Soon I started to regret this. What had I done? Why was I participating in this subterfuge? After all I was a researcher, and my role was to remain as unobtrusive as possible. But my inner-chatter was broken, as the sound of the ringing bell reached my ears, indicating that the session was over. I sighed with relief as the teacher left the classroom. I exchanged a smile with her wishing

her good bye, but remained seated in my spot. Soon, the student who handed me his cell phone came to collect the phone back with a mischievous smile on his face. He said: "Sorry and thank you". I inquired "What was that all about?" To which he responded: "Yesterday there was an announcement made in school assembly that from that day nobody was allowed to carry cell phones in the school premises. Those who were seen carrying the phones, their cell phones would be taken away by the school administration, and parents would be called to meet the Principal".

I asked: "But why?" The student went on to say, "Because, you know, here in college, some students, especially boys were mis-using their cell phones. They used to send SMS during the classes, and sometimes used to take girls' pictures during the break time, and then send them online and through MMS. So it's been restricted, and that's why we were hiding our cell phones from the teacher, whom we thought had come to inspect whether we were carrying cell phones today". As he said that he smiled and winked at me (Classroom observation, January 23, 2006).

Cell phones are a common feature amongst the high school youth with whom I carried out my research. I noticed that the students had the latest colors: gray, silver, black, pink, red, blue; in the latest of models, the most popular brands such as Nokia, Motorola, and Sony, and the current ring-tones – Indian and Pakistani songs. All of my research informants had cell phones. For some period, one of my research participants did not have one; as he wanted the latest Nokia model which had just arrived in the market at that time. He said: "I have told my parents that I will carry cell phone only if they get me the latest Nokia model. Otherwise I will not use any at all". Well, after some time he got the model he wanted.

The desire to access latest cell phones is reinforced by glamorous and somewhat seductive media advertisements targeted to youth consumers. The advertisements were in circulation through television commercials, city

billboards, newspapers and fashion magazines. In such advertisements, the cell-phone was projected as a symbol of connectivity, and being modern or mode (an abbreviated expression in use by the youth). The cell phone, in this regard, was signified as a tool for attracting romance, often conveyed through a commercial advertisement where a young college boy is seen to be sending an SMS to a pretty college girl, and in the following scene is seen taking off on a motorcycle with the girl. The notion of connectivity was associated with the acquisition of social relationship (get the phone, get the girl!). Furthermore, the cell-phone also represented social class and status in society. Hence, possessing the latest model in the latest fashion signified how "kool" you were. One student, whilst exchanging SMS messages commented: "I change my cell phone every six months", he went on saying, "the latest model you have, the more popular you become amongst school friends" (Informal conversation:Student, September 18, 2006), showing me his slim silver metallic colored Nokia cell phone, made in Japan.

Some advertisements employed clever use of captions to denote double meanings. Expressions in one of the television adds such as: after mid-night it really gets cheap, implying that not only the call-rate was cheap, but also the talk is cheap. Such an expression is targeted to attract youth. A similar a discourse was reflected in a poster created by a student. For a science project exhibition, a student used the same caption for marketing a cell-phone brand that he had introduced. Such a usage represents psychological discourse associated between the media, the product, and popular youth culture.

The popularity of carrying cell phones, however, went beyond the school environment and the youth. Returning to Karachi a year later, I noticed a dramatic increase in cell phone usage. It seemed as though every other person was carrying a cell phone or mobile as it was popularly called. The street vegetable vender, the sweeper, the *rikshaw wala*, office workers, and house maids all seemed to boast a cell phone.

I did not carry a cell phone in the earlier stages of my research. The research participants sometimes used to ask me casually, "Which cell phone do

you have?" Perhaps, they expected that being a transnational, studying abroad, I must be having the latest and the most expensive cell phone. When I responded that I did not carry a cell phone, I could sense a mixture of surprise and disapproval. Towards the middle of my fieldwork, I too was influenced either by the participants and/or by the broader cell-carrying environment, so I too got one. My cell phone, however, was a second-hand Motorola sent to me by my sister in Toronto. When the participants saw me with a dark blue Motorola with picture taking capability, they responded with an approving smile.

In addition to using cell phones, the students were active MSN, hotmail, and ORKUT users. ORKUT is a social network similar to Facebook and Tagg. These sites were primarily used to develop personal relations, and project social identity by displaying profiles and pictures of themselves and their peers, which also served as a means to demonstrate popularity and status within the peer network.

Social Capital – Striving for Global Contacts

Apart from the basic utility function of communication achieved through MSN and hotmail usage, most of the participants saw its purpose as gaining social capital. Some of my participants considered this connectivity as a must in today's times of globalization. One student commented: "Everything is wired. This is globalization" (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006). Another participant considered the purpose of MSN chat and hotmail use to be "increasing network of friends". Another participant added: "It is for PR [personal relations]". One participant observed: The more people you know, the more respect you gain. Another friend of his added: It makes an impression (*dhons jamta hay*), if you have many contacts. The other student from the group spoke: "Everywhere you can make an impression, in college [the high school is called college], if I say I have, or say anyone says that I have phone number of an actress or I have a phone number of that girl, then literally people get attracted after you, that yar [colloquial for a friend], he has got some relationships" (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

Furthermore, in the context of globalization, according to some participants, it is not simply the number of contacts that one has on MSN that makes a strong impact, but also the types of contacts one has that matters more. If one has contacts from abroad (having English names), it makes a stronger impression on friends/peers. As one participant told me:

> One point for Globalization I had was that sometimes we talk to our friends, we say that I have a friend in my college, I have a friend in my community and whatsoever, but if we say that, I have a friend outside, I have a friend in United States, I have a friend, his name is John, if I say I have a friend like Faizan, Asif, it's okay, but when you say my friend's name is John McGuire, or any English name, then that makes an impact, an impression. They will say - yar, he has American friend, he must have some "relations with some Americans, this guy is cheetah (leopard)" [implying that he is socially sharp and skillful to attract many people] (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

Hence, MSN messaging and the use of sites such as ORKUT allowed the students to build social profiles, which in turn, provide them with currency to make positive and powerful impressions on their peers. In our discourse of territorialization and de-territorialization, it is important to note that while engaging with MSN and ORKUT, the students' social experiences were lifted from their immediate social context (i.e., de-territorialization). At the same time, the claim of having accrued a large number of social contacts, especially foreign social contacts, was influencing their relationships with their peers in their immediate physical locality (i.e., territorialization). It is interesting to note that the de-territorialized experiences and mechanisms were influencing the territorialized social practices of the high school youth in many ways.

Cultural exchange in cyber-spaces: Local meets extra-local

Access to communication technology enabled the student participants to start conversations with peers from across the world. The students that I worked

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with in my fieldwork were able to have conversations with peers from places as far as Mexico or Iran. They were able to access the other culture as well as the factual daily details of what it meant to live in these far-away places. More importantly, the conversations that ensued forced the students to take a second look at their own cultural and national identity. The exchange provided not only an opportunity to learn about the other, but also, to learn how the other perceived the local Pakistani self.

Musfira explained this phenomenon when relating an exchange with a Mexican girl:

> I had one friend from Mexico. We used to chat, and she used to ask me about Pakistan. "What is living like in Pakistan? I have heard that there people live in tents, have no electricity, no water facility, they are very poor." I told her that it was not true. "If that was the case how come I am chatting with you? How can I have computer to chat? Pakistan is a very nice country. I like my country"
> (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

One can see several things happening in this interaction. While Musfira learns about the other, she is also learning of how she is perceived by the other. In explaining to the other who she is, and correcting the stereotypes about herself and her country, she is taking control over how she is defined by the other.

Exploring this concept further with Musfira, I asked her: "When that Mexican girl told you that you people live in tents, so how did you feel about her perception of Pakistanis?" Musfira responded:

> Sir, *uska ghalat* perception *hai* [Sir, that's her wrong perception]. That was a bit bad, I mean if you don't know the entire thing, if you don't have anything like to say about, I mean people like Somalia people, they have so less food, they are skinny and all, but they might be familiar that people are well developed and all. I mean, ups and downs and the rich and the poor are everywhere. So rather than thinking of something as backward you try and think and take it in a positive way. … That was four years back,

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now I don't even talk to her (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

Quantity verses Quality of Social Experience and Fear of the Stranger

Under the topic Social Capital – Striving for Global Gontacts, the participants discussed the importance of having many contacts from around the world as a means of boosting their importance. In this section, the students recognized and acknowledged a tension between having quantity versus the quality of social experiences and cyber relationships. One of the participants remarked:

> The thing is that increasing the number of friends decreases the quality of friends. If we have more friends [on MSN], you could not give them time. You don't go to them, you know when you have a friend [face to face], you should talk to them, you should share your ideas, but you don't have time to talk with all 200 friends. So, it is where you cannot make unity between them, so this decreases the quality of friends (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

A second source of tension that the students articulated was lack in the capacity within the medium to truly care or to share meaningful feelings with the other. While acknowledging the quantity of friends, the students recognized that they could not experience the same level of relationship that they did with face-to-face interactions. I explored this theme further with the participants in a focus group discussion. I asked them directly: "What is the difference between face-to-face and distant communication through MSN? What is the difference in the experience, could you elaborate?" Here are some responses from the students:

S1   Misunderstandings *bohat* created *hoti hai* [lots of
            misunderstandings are created]
S2   Emotional differences
AKD   What about emotions?

S2	We can see emotions on the faces
S1	For example, if there is some tragedy, if it is in front of us, so we can like console the person. But if we have long distance, and you console that person, *lakin apka who lehja nahin hai, jisme aap bolna chahtey ho* [but your tone is not there what you want to convey], you want to, but you can't. Like I want to give an example, like: Two months ago I broke my leg. I was lying on my bed, with my computer on, and I was chatting. I felt so awkward. I was thinking. Here I have over 200 MSN contacts, but there is no body with whom I can share how I feel. Nobody can understand what I am going through. On MSN there is no emotion, even if people say they can't show emotion. Utmost they send some emoticons (sad face, etc.), but that conveys very little…it doesn't help.
S1	So those friends that were near me, [face-to-face], from their faces I could tell that they were literally worried, but to those whom I wrote on MSN, of those one friend sent me a sad face icon. *Uspe muje hasi aati hai ke aik gol sa face hai, jisme sad face bana hua hai.* [I laughed at the icon that there is a round face and that there is a sad face within it]. So, literally you don't show your emotions. You cannot show this at all (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

A third source of tension expressed by the students related to the fear of the other. The recognition that sometimes one really did not know the person that one was chatting with and that in the not knowing there could be danger. One participant expressed the fear in this way:

I don't chat that much…After all you don't know a person, you have never seen him or her, so that person is totally a stranger…so how can I be friends with one whom I have never met? What if he is a terrorist? I cannot know, and what if some day he gets caught, and your e-mail id is found in his contact list…then what?

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(Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL IMAGINATION

This section discusses four main sub-themes: the student and the world, the student and knowledge, the school and global connectivity, and the student and work opportunities.

The Student and the World

Through globalization, the students' physical as well as social reach of the world has greatly expanded. In the past, perhaps, in their grandparents' time, the world existed within the immediate village or district realm. For the students, their reach of the world is wider through physical mobility (e.g. travel) and the media.

Below are the reflections of the students in a focus group discussion regarding the expansion of the world:

S1: Previously people used to die; without knowing what is outside a range of 2 kilometers as they didn't have any such means of communication and travel. Now, we know the world beyond our locality.

S2: People used to die within radius of 2 kilometers, never knowing beyond their village surroundings.

S3: I think [my life] has expanded, definitely, due to globalization. Two cultures have got mixed that means systems [across] have been influenced.

S1: Because, if one talks about 200 years ago, or 100 years ago, then people were not that much influenced due to Western culture (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007).

The Student and Knowledge

Globalization has accelerated the pace of knowledge flow across contexts. As a result, students are able to access knowledge with relatively greater ease. In this respect, the students also acknowledge that their options to travel abroad have opened up:

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Due to globalization we can go to study abroad easily which was not possible few decades back. We can go to other countries, gain knowledge and educate ourselves (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007).

Another student added:

West US is leader in science. We wish to go there and see what is hidden in their culture. How come they are producing so many scientists? So if you wish to go abroad for studies, meaning the science that is so much progressing, that is progressing in the Western culture. So if you wish to gain good scientific education, then you have to go abroad (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2009).

Similar opinions were expressed in the visual charts by Amad who considered global as a reservoir of education. In addition, Musfira, by drawing her mirror of wishes, depicted her desire to go to the UK for higher studies (see figures 2 and 6, Musfira and Amad' visuals).

The School and Global Connectivity

The high school where the students were studying played a role in stimulating the students' imagination to go abroad for higher education. Its partnerships with international and national academic institutions provided students with an opportunity to explore global educational institutions. The school's internship program within Pakistan, and the institutional networking through guest-speaker seminar series, providing information on national and international institutions of higher learning, were a part of the school's effort to open-up the students' reach and facilitate their imagined worlds where they could pursue higher education. Finally, the alumni also played an important role. Returning alumni who had studied abroad were invited to attend the school assembly to speak of their experiences and discuss potential opportunities that the students could explore. All of these activities have enabled to the students to imagine their future world with new possibilities.

The Student and Work Opportunities

In my conversation with the student participants regarding their future, a majority of them saw migration for economic opportunities as being desirous. The students knew of friends and family members who had successfully migrated. Hence, not only was the move desirous but also possible and within reach. One student succinctly summarized this opportunity:

> Sir professional life is boosting up a lot, meaning…due to this globalization, whether you make contacts in America or anywhere else [in the world], first thing in this regard is that you have got now many chances for employment across the globe, in professional earning teams, say for example you are earning here [in Pakistan] rupees: 18,000 per month, there you may get $ 5,000 or $10,000. Meaning, that it is the boost-up for your professional life, for the betterment of your life, there is opportunity. (Focus Group discussion, February 28, 2007)

Another student echoed the sentiment saying:

> Yeah, because right now we are here in local context, we have made contacts outside, like say in America [we have made contacts], we say that we are doing this [my educational background]…they will say ok…we have some positions/vacancies under our office, we will give you this much [money], so then we apply. Now so we have a friend there he will help us to go get there, so in this way due to globalization there is ease for us. (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007)

The students were also able to cite the media to reinforce this understanding, not only in identifying opportunities abroad, but the potential in acquiring knowledge and coming back to re-ignite the local with this knowledge. One student, for example, referred to a Bollywood movie *Swadesh* in which one Non-Resident-Indian (NRI) who studied abroad and worked at NASA, returns from US to his own village in rural India. The NRI develops a power-generating

plant through water-channels that leads to the development of electricity in the village. The student was able to identify the impact of the message within the movie and apply it to their own experience. For example, the NRI was able to bring the knowledge acquired abroad, return to the local context, and develop the local. As he excitedly remarked "*woh gaun mein biljli laya*" [He brought electricity to the village] (Focus group discussion, September, 20, 2006). The word *bijli* has two connotations, one is light or electricity, but it can also mean lightening, connoting ignition or to ignite. This acknowledgement of going abroad and coming back to re-ignite the local was not without tension. Some students recognized and lamented the economic migration which created brain drain. As one student observed, "Everybody wants to go abroad. And most of them don't return. This is a loss of talent" (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006).

CULTURAL FLOWS, AGENCY, AND DISJUNCTURES

Culture flow, according to Appadurai (1996), occurs through media and migration. He identifies five scapes: ethono-scapes, media-scapes, techno-scapes, finance-scapes, and ideo-scapes. When they encounter each other, these scapes cause disjuncture or disruption because the ideas or concepts within each scape may compete with one another. In this context, Appadurai adds that there is a constant interplay between the scapes and the agency which is embedded within its own cultural, historical, linguistic, and political contexts.

The findings in my field research have led me to stipulate that disjuncture or disruption is experienced by agency when it encounters the scapes, especially the media-scape, which is the focus of my research. Thus, disjuncture is experienced by agency when its own values, ideas, meanings of the world, and the self, meet a counter narrative of the same produced by the media.

In my research, I explored the disjuncture experienced by the student participants as they interacted with the media. The students were active consumers of media; in this regard, they were watching Western and Bollywood movies, as well as soaps and drama serials produced by local and global media. While the students were active consumers of media, they were not passive

participants but active ones who critiqued the media. This critique was performed through one drama skit presented by the students titled *Anar Kali*. Anar Kali was the name of a courtesan in the Mughal King Akber's court with whom his son Salim fell in love. She met a tragic death in the path of the love, as she was buried alive as a punishment by the King. Based on the love story, the Indian film industry (Bollywood) produced the film called *Mughl-e-Azam* (The Great Mughal).

The performance was named *Anar Kali* by the students and was part of the activity show presented on the school's Founder's Day celeberation, the event the school celeberates every year where the students and the alumni get together.

The performance was video recorded. Below I have re-constructed an account of the performance, based on my field-notes and the watching of the recorded video.

Anar Kali: A Remake for Contemporary Times

Skit narrative:

The students begin the skit with an announcement stating that they will transport the viewers to the olden days through the movie *Mughal-e-Azam*. The movie, *Mughal-e-Azam*, the students tell the audience, is a film-lover's delight. The students add, for those who haven't seen this movie, we will bring you up-to-date with this classic love story. The female emcee asks the audience to imagine what would happen were this story to be portrayed in modern times. Soon the following number gets played in background "We will, we will rock you!" as King Akbar comes on to the stage.

The skit begins with the booming voice of King Akbar who is shouting for his son, Salim. Prince Salim dressed in jeans, a hooded T-shirt, and wearing Nike shoes enters the stage dancing to the popular Bollywood song: *Bachna ae Hasino lo Main agaya* [watch out beautiful ones here I come].

The music stops, and Prince Salim turns to his Father, "Hey Pops, I wanted to talk to you", he says, "I want you to meet someone. Her name is Annie, she has a strange name Anar Kali".

At this very moment, Anar Kali or Annie enters the stage to a Punjabi song in the background: *Pitche pitche* [As I look for my nose ring, he follows me]. Annie is wearing a *gharara* [long flowing skirt with a short tunic and a *dupatta* (shawl)]. She yells at Salim in Punjabi. Salim introduces Annie and the King to each other in English. Music with another popular Bollywood song: *Chand mera dil Chandni Ho tum* [Sweetheart you are my moon] is heard in the background. The King, falling in love at first sight, starts dancing to the tune chasing Annie around in circles in typical Bollywood fashion. Salim responds by saying "Hey dad, what you doing?" The King replies by telling Salim in Urdu: "Don't you have any work to do, go away". When Salim refuses, Akbar commands him to go away on the excuse of getting a CD so that he can be with Annie.

Salim leaves and another Bollywood song is heard in the background, depicting the romance between King Akbar and Annie. Annie flirts with the King, telling him in Punjabi, not to feel too badly, that it isn't his fault but it is just the magic of her beauty that burns everyone.

Salim comes back, complaining to his father about his behavior. He says to his father: "Hands off, this is my girl!" His father responds by saying in Urdu that he (Salim) would find many more beauties and wasn't that the reason why he had sent Salim to America? "Bring a woman from America, this one is mine. Can't you make this one sacrifice for your *pitah* (father)? Think how she would look in your mother's role". Salim protests, "But Dad, this is my girl!" Akbar responds with "So what?" (Actors start laughing and both actors exit the stage).

Birbal (Akbar's *Vazir,* his minister) enters the stage, meets Annie, while in the background a Bollywood song is heard and a new romance begins. The skit ends with Birbal and Annie going off together (Field-notes, August, 6, 2006).

The above skit of *Anar Kali* can be regarded as a satire on contemporary local society by the insiders. The skit issues a statement about the present state of socio-cultural affairs whereby the media-scape has greatly influenced the domains of concepts of love and fidelity which in turn shape contemporary social relationships, values, authority structure, and roles within the family (which is

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seen as a fading social structure in the local context). Hence, it has shown the existing tensions between local perceptions concerning the social structure of the students' context and the global projection of multiple cultural spaces. The analysis/synthesis will be presented in the next chapter.

The Role of Women in Traditional and Modern Society

The *Anar Kali* skit presented by the research participants portrays shifting images of the gendered self and social values in contemporary society. One of the dimensions highlighted in this data is the image of modern woman represented through the character of Annie who expresses herself openly and flirts with three males irrespective of their social positioning - the son (the Prince), the father (the Emperor) and a minister (the *Vazir*). Such a portrayal attempts to reflect contemporary social dynamics between male and female members of the society. Such a depiction generates a disjuncture between the media projected global image of a woman and the local perception of the image of a woman. Moreover, related to the image is a disjuncture represented between the manner in which gender and social dynamics and relationships are enacted in contemporary society and the locally held norms and perceptions about the inter-gender social interactions and relationships.

In this regard, during a focus group discussion, when asked how she felt about Annie having three affairs, one female participant responded:

So what's wrong with that? Haven't you heard the famous saying... "survival of the fittest"? So Annie flirted with Salim [the son], Akbar [the father of Salim] and Birbal [the *Vazir*/minister], and she found Birbal the fittest…so she went with him (Focus group discussion, September 7, 2006).

This survival of the fittest image where a woman exercises her choice in selecting or rejecting man, seems to be conveyed by the very immediate media-context with which the students interact, especially the Bollywood films and dramas. These media sources can be accessed very easily through the local cable operators. Some examples of such drama series that are found very popular

amonst the students are telecast products by a popular TV channel "Star Plus". In this regard, some examples of the drama series are: *Kuon Kay Sass Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thi* [Because mother-in-law was once a daughter in law], *Kahin to hoga* [Somewhere someone will be there], and *Kahani Ghar Ghar Ki* [Story of every home]. These media texts portray such images where a woman may have multiple relationships during her lifetime. Apart from the above, both locally and globally produced TV commercials expose females as highly contributive both in home life and at workplaces and even show man as subordinate. Thus the image of the woman is represented as self-sufficient, confident, and the opposite equal to man, which often comes into conflict with the local gender-based social structures.

Percieving the role of woman in the local societal context, one male student remarked, "In Eastern culture, woman does home-management work and men go outside to work". In reaction to the question that why that happens in the context of Eastern culture an interesting answer was produced: "According to our Islamic culture they are still less competent than males...[but] I am not saying that females should not work". As a result of this apologetic remark, a debate stirred with regard to the nature and competency of woman. Some male members of the group were of the opinion that the role of woman is confined to do certain chores and not others because "she is biologically weak", as "she cannot lift the bag-sack" for example. To this, one girl rejected the statement and said, "She can lift [the sack] if she wants". This weakness was also synonymously referred to as lack of competency, and hence a justification of the limited role of woman. To this, certain female group members reacted sharply and argued that "Woman can do everything. Women are joining military forces". One male member added, "Women are also becoming pilots today; but from Islamic point of view this is not allowed, because it's not in Quran" (Focus group discussion, October 31, 2006). Before any girl could quote the famous example of the daughter of Prophet Muhammad, Fatima, who went into the battle field, suddenly a male student argued: "Bibi Fatima went to war…but she went to cure the injured". It meant for the male students that she went to take care of the injured and of the patients, equating that example with the role of woman as a caring person rather than

fighting and demonstrating courage and strength, the qualities that are often associated with the males in local context.

The discourse then went on to contrast the role of woman in the West with the role of woman in the local context. In this respect, a female participant pointed out that:

> A Western woman has to work at home as well as outside. In the East, a woman's priority is their house and they don't actually have to work, they are not made to work, but it is an option for them if they want, but there is a compulsion in the West (Focus group discussion, October 31, 2006).

The Image of Islam and Muslim: Disjuncture between Media and Lived Reality

Another aspect that the students were quite critical about was the way global media in general and Western media in particular is distorting the image of Islam and Muslim. The students were concerned about the narrow and misleading portrayal of Islam as negative, as a religion of conflict/terror, neglecting its broad and rich socio-cultural and intellectual diversity.

The media was critiqued for equating Islam with terrorism and portraying a Muslim as a suicide bomber/terrorist. This caricaturing of Islam/Muslim hurt the sensibilities of the Muslim youth students in my research and generated some strong emotions and reactions against Western media. The students regarded these media-based images and narratives to form a disjunction between what is portrayed by the media and what was their perceived reality, in which the majority of the Muslims were peace-loving, kind, and ethical.

The Media and Islamophobia

Frustrated by this predicament, the students shared the following perspectives in a focus group discussion. One student said, "Media has blamed us, media tells, we are terrorist". His class-fellow, detecting what he called the double standard of the media added, "If a Jew keeps the beard, he is pious. But if a Muslim keeps the beard, he is a terrorist" (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

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On a similar point, one girl student lamented about the portrayal by the media of Muslim women wearing the veil, by saying: "If a nun wears a scarf, she is regarded as religious, but if a Muslim woman wears a *burqa* or *hijab* she is considered as backward. American will say she is restricted by her parents" (Focus group discussion, Sepetember 14, 2006).

Such media projected images of Muslim women were reproducing social stereotypes in the very locality where the students were situated, and were influencing intra-local socializing. Paradoxically, quite often, the peers in the school were seeing the boys who wore beards or the girls who wore *hijab* (scarf) with some sense of ridicule. As one girl who was wearing *hijab* lamented:

> Sir in our class those girls who wear scarf are known as
> "Talibans". People think *mere baarey mai, ke is bandi se baat*
> *nahi karna, agar karo gey to chamat (slap) maar dey gi*" [People
> think that we should not talk to this girl. If we do, she will slap us].

Her peer, a boy student, interjected, "We call them Ninja Turtles" and the whole group laughed (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

The disjuncture experienced by the students was a result of the way the media depicts Islam and Muslims and the students' own lived experience of Islam and being a Muslim. Although the students critique the media about its portrayal of Islam and Muslims, they are not immune to the rhetoric, for they themselves judge their Muslim peers using the very same stereotypes.

Knowledge and Global/Colonial Difference: Sense of Cultural Loss, Nostalgia, and Exclusion

The West has come to be regarded as synonymous with scientific technology and advancement. This knowledge power of the West has earned it a sense of cultural superiority. This superiority is, in a way, manufactured by colonialism as the tool for globalization whereby the West had taken a civilizing mission of the rest of the world, which was the self-justifying logic of the colonial project. This gap in knowledge constructed by the colonizer vis-à-vis the colonized is referred to as colonial difference (Mignolo, 2000). This sense of colonial/cultural difference was felt by my student participants. One student

remarked: "There is something hidden in West culture that makes them scientifically advance and progressive. We need to know, what is there that most of the people are attracted by the West" (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007).

Nostalgia

Paradoxically, the very force of modernity/global generated a sense of nostalgia in students as they tried to fill the experienced cultural/technological gap through resorting to their history – the golden past. As one student remarked:

> We [Muslims] were very advanced. In past we had lots of
> scientists. People like: Ibn-e-Haytam, Ibn-e-Sina whose work were
> copied and taught in Western universities. Today we are left
> behind. Today West is where we were few centuries back. So then
> West learnt from us, now we have to learn from West (Focus
> group discussion, Februray 28, 2007).

In such a state, torn between past and present, nostalgia and future, local and global, student agency is found to be responding to the local-global cultural dynamic and resultant disjuncture through using their identity either a complementary or a counter-discourse to global cultural power and supremacy.

Sense of exclusion

The nostalgia for the golden past and the sense of the cultural loss/technological gap also generated a sense of exclusion among the students, especially in the field of knowledge, by the West that is considered as a global force. One student remarked:

> When I read modern books about sciences, I find all reference of
> Western scientists, and hardly any of Muslim scientists, although
> Muslim scientists did make great contributions in science. I think
> that this is conspiracy from the West, that it has suppressed
> contributions of our Muslim scientists (Focus group discussion,
> February 28, 2007).

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Therefore, the power of knowledge production and reproduction has created a cultural anxiety that has penetrated into student agency and the above statements are evidence of it. It has caused disjunctures among students on various levels particularly through the politics of nostalgia and exclusion.

POLITICS OF IDENTITY: HYBRIDIZATION, SOLIDIFICATION, AND SILENCE

Hybridization

Globalization is, according to one student, "mixing two cultures of East and West. We are getting influenced by the West. Our dress, our language, our fashion everything is Westernized". Her friend added, "But East is also going to the West. Our dress, our food is going to the West. I know many Americans and British people like wearing our *shalwar kurta* [a local dress] (Focus group discussion, October 31, 2006). This remark can be aided by an observation that President's Choice food in Canada introduced a type of sandwich called a Nan-wich a hybrid of nan (a type of bread) and fillers of meat or chicken (usual filler components of any sandwich), while a restaurant in the busy Saddar area of Karachi bears the name, KFC: Karachi Fried Chicken, demonstrating the globalization of food and consumer brands (Field observation notes, July, 17, 2006).

The elements of cultural hybridization in the wake of globalization are evident in the dress, language, and fashion that student youth are adopting as consumers of the global capitalist fashion and market. The dresses are modified and elements of Eastern and Western are fused. There is a revival of Eastern-ness and ethnic fashion in Pakistan as well as in India, engaging in a kind of self-orientalizing discourse.

Hybridization for projecting as mode and for socializing

In Pakistan, there is an aspect of mimicry (copy) in some usage of language, especially in the way that English is spoken with either a British or American accent. This is especially prominent in the case of local English news

channels, such as Dawn, a local news channel, where one can hear typical British accents (at times too strong) as if one is listening to the BBC.

Students and youth use English to boast amidst their peers. Some peers are ridiculed for their lack of proper English. As one student complained,

> Though my English is quite good, at times when I make some mistake my friends tease me, saying *Tum to Sindh ke kisi gaoun se ho* [you are from some Sindhi village], while if Faizan (his friend) does a mistake, they say, "Oh it's a style, because he has returned from US" (Interview: Student, October 12, 2006)

So there is peer pressure to demonstrate skills to hybridize and be amongst the group. The same applies to dress: there is peer pressure to wear Western style clothing, as the same student lamented,

> I have 30 pairs of *Shalwar Kamiz* just hanging in my cupboard. I wear them only on *Eid*. Rest I can't wear them, because if I wear those to my college function or any gathering, my friends will tease me saying here comes *chowkidar* [school guard, watchman] (Interview: Student, October 12, 2006).

Liminal zones and threshold people

It is interesting to observe that sometimes cultural zones become so vague that it is difficult to classify each position. For instance, a male student considered keeping a French beard both as a religious act and also as a sign of being fashionable among his younger contemporaries to look up-to-date. He saw a major issue in keeping a long beard like a clergyman, for example. As he expressed, nobody would talk to him, and it would be difficult for him to socialize among his fellow students and friends. A long beard would be a symbol of the Islam followed by its strictest observers of religious tenets, like a *mawlana* or *mullah* (a clergyman). On the contrary, he thought that there was no harm in keeping a beard as part of his religious faith and as a fashion statement, which was unlike other extreme expressions in his context associated with Muslims,

such as those who discourage Western cultural elements, for instance. As he articulated:

> If you ask me why I keep a [French] beard? I will tell you that everybody keeps it in Shia community from where I belong, therefore I keep; but when my friends tease me that I keep the beard, they must understand that it is just for fashion; because everybody thinks [friends] that I am Shia that is why I keep the beard. So when I keep French beard, I can be mode as well as belong to my community's tradition (Focus group discussion, Septermber 20, 2006).

New Media and Muslim Re-Filiation: Global-Local Conjunction (Solidification)

It is interesting that while most of the students reckoned the role of media to be a key factor in influencing their culture, and social/cultural values, attitudes and thinking (habitus in general), some of them were using the same mediation (media) as a source to enrich and expand their knowledge about their own religious and cultural heritage. One English teacher commented that: "I come to know about my own history and culture through National Geographic channel…thus it informs me about my roots" (Interview: Teacher, February 12, 2007).

One student was so fascinated by one of the scholars of Islam, Zakir Naik (who often debates in the style of Ahmed Didat, the famous South African scholar on Islam), that he found his lectures very inspirational and life-changing. He described his experiences of seeing Zakir Naik's lectures accessible to him through some TV channel. He said, "I am influenced a lot by Zakir Naik; and I could see that through him I am able to become bright, knowledgeable and mature…I am able to learn many points from Quran through him" (Focus group discussion, October 30, 2006).

Similar to the above example, there are many other TV channels giving spaces to such re-filiatory processes. For instance, QTV, Peace TV and Haq TV are some of these TV channels accessible to the students. Moreover, one cannot

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forget the role of Bollywood, which through making post-colonial movies like Shahrukh Khan's *Swadesh* depicts the return journey of agency back to its local, whereby the global helps develop local (Petrella, 1995, cited in Holton, 2005).

Practice of Re-Filiation: Family and Roots

Some students were not washed over by the flood of globalization; rather, they struck a balance between the see-saw of the local and the global. One such story was related by one of my research participants who, while studying in urban Karachi and soaked in multimedia gadgets, kept his roots nourished by visiting his maternal family every summer vacation in his childhood village in interior Sindh. This is how he retained being a Sindhi, an ethnic identity by which he describes himself. He stated that:

> I am Sindhi [an ethnic group belonging to the province of Sindh, Pakistan]. I love my roots. My college life demands lot of time therefore I do not get time to learn about my culture, but I make sure that I spend every summer vacation in my home village in interior rural Sindh (Interview:Adil, October 12, 2006).
> He further added that:

> My father, who works as a finance manager in one of the private banks, supports and provides me with latest computer and gadgets, for instance I-Pod, video games and all. But he always says to me that "you must go to your village for your vacations; you must not be living in Karachi". So whenever the vacation comes, I go to my childhood village for two months.(Interview: Adil, October 12, 2006)

The above statement shows that within the processes of globalization, for example, global connectivity, use of media, cyber-world and virtual reality zones, agency is creating a space for itself to reconnect and reunite with its family roots

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and childhood experiences, in the case of the above example, the rural context of a village.

Practices of re-filiation: Media, Muslim sentiments, and social cohesion

Students were both reflective and critical about the recent incident of the cartoon controversy, where a Danish cartoonist published in the newspaper caricatured images of the Prophet of Islam, which later spread across the globe through electronic and print media. As one student observed: "Cartoon controversy was media's conspiracy to hurt Muslims…" (Focus group discussion, September 27, 2006).

The event generated a strong backlash from Muslims living across the globe. These reactions manifested both on the streets in the form of public protests as well as agitated words/reactions on the Internet. The students reported to have witnessed the stoning of Telenor [Norwegian cell phone Company] showrooms in Karachi, as a reaction against the Danish cartoonist. Such incidents demonstrate how an incident in one local affects a distant local in other part of the world through media globalization (Giddens, 1990). Some students were also reflective of such reactions. As one student remarked, "One should not protest this way; by doing this you are harming property, harming the nation. What we need to do is to cut diplomatic relationship with Denmark" (Focus group discussion, September, 27, 2006).

This event triggered strong reaction from the Muslim world resulting in street protests as well as diplomatic pressures ridiculing the act, and the way it hurt Muslim sentiments. As a result, it was interesting that through the use of media-scape, again, Muslims all over the world rallied and registered their protest in the streets as well as on the Internet. A student pointed out that: "The reaction [to the cartoon caricatures] was an outstanding example of Muslims, that they can together fight against any thing; for the Prophet". (Focus group discussion, September 27, 2006)

Referring to hurt caused to their sentiments being Muslims, and the role played by the media in circulating the images globally, the students considered it

as a media-conspiracy to trigger [anti]-Muslim sentiments around the world. In this regard, the students were, on the one hand, agitated by the spread of the cartoon controversy. However, interestingly on the other hand, for the students, the media also became a source of Muslim cohesion globally.

Silence

A somewhat unusual response was received by a research participant when I asked him how he would reply if a person from a global context were to appear and ask "Who are you?" He replied:

> I will say nothing to him, because he does not have any authority to ask me who I am. If someone wants to take the information about me, he should do the research and all that, why should I tell anybody? I don't have any wish to see anybody, because I don't know anyone, so how can I start a conversation? … no conversation with strangers (Focus group discussion, September, 20, 2006).

He further added that "Before 9/11 nobody knows where Pakistan is and suddenly now they begin to know…they must have known this before…"(Focus group discussion, Sepetember 20, 2006).

The above discussion with the student opens up a new kind of resistance through the mode of silence in communication and in the discourse of identity and cultural difference.

Asif's "border-crossing" practices

Asif went to the US as a part of a student exchange program where he stayed with an American family. Asif shared an example of his initial experience of cultural border-crossing:

Pehle to koi bhi bahar jaaye ga to, wohh mujhe mere naam se shayad na jaaney, [When one goes abroad for the first time, no one will know you by your name.] I went to a program to [United] States. Most of them said, "okay there is a Pakistani student coming". I was represented as Pakistani first and then "Okay who are you?", then I am an individual, but the thing is *ke* I have to represent my culture, where do I come from, so culture is represented by Pakistan, because Pakistan *ka apna aik culture hai, phir meri apni identity hai, theek hai mai Asif hoon, aur phir* I live in Sindh, *theek hai*, [Pakistan has its own culture, and I have my own identity alright! I am Asif and then I live in Sindh alright!] that's a part of Pakistan and *phir uske baad mera* religion [and then is my religion] . . . . Its my personal thing . . . so I don't identify myself from my religion . . . . When it comes to my identity, to *aaj mai realize karta hoon ke* okay [I realize that], before anything, I am a human being . . . . When I went to US, I stayed with one American family. They were my host family. My host mother name was Nancy [pseudonym]. When I first interacted with her, she said 'I am Nancy', call me Nancy. It was very awkward for me to call her by her first name. As here in Pakistan, we don't call elders by first name. Similarly, initially I was finding it very dfficult to intermingle with girls as friends. I had one colleague who had come from Spain, and he used to talk about his having a girlfriend. I was not comfortable to tak about girlfriends. But later on I became comfortable, and I also made some girls my friends.

Till today, someties we come online". (Interview: Asif, Novermber 13, 2006).

The above discussion by Asif illustrates his experiences and feelings regarding his initial enocounter with the global/cultural other, especially with reference to some challenges faced in context of social interaction and developing cross-gender relationships. Furthermore, the quote also highlights the agency's signifying himself through the national and cultural identity in his interaction with the global other.

Opening-up: An Identity beyond Difference

Some students destabilized the discourse of identity based on difference. In this regard, they appear to transcend beyond dichotomy of East/West, national-self/other, local/global by associating themselves with commonality, that is, with reference to humanity, rather than differences. In doing so, student agency seems to go beyond difference, and identifies based on a common ground of humanity that they share with the world. For example, one student said:

> If you sit and say I am this, and he is that, this is not good…don't make culture a difference. It's ok… it's their culture, don't make boundaries of the cultures…that I am this and rest all are bad… no…make it like…that I represent my identity, world is open, that is go and join hands together (Focus group discussion, September 27, 2006)
> A colleague added:
> It all matters how do you do? You do *khidmat* [service]…so the basic idea is to serve humanity. Just go…serve humans. Humanity is the top most religion that anything else I think (Focus group discussion, September 27, 2006).

In the same vein, but on a different occasion, one student remarkerd:
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It depends on how you grow in a society, *aap kaise apney aapko develop kartey ho* [how you develop yourself]… I say that first I am a human being, then I am Pakistani, then I have my own identity as well, and then I have my own religion (Interview: Asif, Novermber 13, 2006).

Agency being Pragmatic: Identity as a Strategic Response

Most of the participants did not expresse their affiliation exclusively to any particular identity but rather used identities for their strategic gain, especially for gaining global social capital, and stepping in and out of modernity. Amad, for example, wore a French beard to remain linked with his particular religious tradition as well as to look modern.

Furthermore, Asif introduces his identity according to the situation that he confronts. As he remarks:

If I go to a religious place, and somebody asks me who are you? I will say I am an *Ismaili* [one of the Shia interpretations of Islam]. Then I grow-up, I go to school, I interact with people who are non-Ismailis as well…so then I come to know that those are majority of Muslims [referring to Sunni-an interpretation of Islam, in majority]…and if there if someone asks who are you? I will say I am a Muslim… Then as you develop further and come into contact with the world that is coming globally together, so you come into interaction with such people who are not Muslims…there are Muslims, non-Muslims, Christians…then you think who are you? Then you come to say that, I am a Pakistani, Pakistan more than religion…then if he asks you, then you will say I am an Asian and then finally it comes to…that I am a human being. (Interview: Asif, November 13, 2006)

The above remark illustrates the way student agency responds to and projects accordingly to different social, political, religious contexts with which he

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comes to interact. By the same token, such an articulation also illuminates the web of relations and references within which the self is situated, from where it engages with the world.

Having represented the above themes, the discussion in the next chapter will present a synthesis and some reflections of data-theory connections.

CHAPTER SIX
SYNTHESIS AND DATA-THEORY CONNECTIONS

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one presents an interpretive synthesis of key themes emerging from the description and analysis of data presented in the previous chapter. Part two makes the data-theory connection, and shares some theoretical reflections with a view to making some contribution to theorizing the inter-relationship between the local-global dynamic, culture and identity.

PART ONE: SYNTHESIS

LOCAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXTS AS DEFINED BY THE STUDENTS

When asked to define local and global, the students attached many meanings to both of these constructs, which became apparent in the drawings in their visual charts and in focus group discussions. In this section, I will analyze in what contexts the students used the constructs of local and global and how they impacted on their understanding of their place in the world.

Local Constructs

Most students defined local as being place bound, for example, local referred to "the place where I live", "my apartment", and "my neighborhood area" (FGD, September 20, 2006). The local meant the immediate context where the students could directly engage with their environment. The environment involved the use of all their senses: the smells of the locality, the relationships with family, friends and neighbors, and the school. Appadurai (1996) notes that it is through the process of engaging with the immediate context that we reproduce the local.

Some students associated the local with the national, thereby spinning a nationalistic identity for the local, e.g., "Pakistan is my local", "My homeland is my local" (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006). It could be argued, as I have suggested in Chapter Four, that the construction of the local as being nationalistic is the direct outcome of a nationalistic curriculum.

Other students identified the local with a community reference, as one said, "The local is my community" (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006). When asked to define community, the students referred to either their religious or ethnic affiliations. One student, for example, stated, "I belong to Memon community", while another reported, "I belong to Ismaili community" (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006).

One student within the group defined the local as quite a broad concept, stating that the local was "anywhere where you feel comfortable" (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006). In this case, the student's points of reference for the local were psychological, associated with the notions of safety and comfort. For this student, the local was not associated with concrete notions of place such as neighborhood, or with community affiliations such as ethnic associations, but rather, with the psychological feeling of being welcome, comfortable and feeling safe in any locality.

Global Constructs

In understanding the global, the students identified three markers which defined the global: language, the geo-political metaphor, and plurality. The students considered the English language as representing the global while their own language was seen as representing the local. As one put it, "English is global, like in US, Canada, England, people speak English" (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006). It is interesting to note that the national language, Urdu, which at one time would have been considered to be global because of its official national status, is no longer seen as global in the modern context. English, a foreign language, is now considered to be the international language, one that unites the world. The local, when defined in linguistic terms, is defined through the provincial languages, Balochi, Punjabi, Pushto, and Sindhi, the global, within the nationalist perspective, is defined through Urdu, and the international global is defined through English. Hence, global and local contexts are layered in meaning, based on the particular student's frame of reference at the moment.

The second marker that the students used to define the global could be summarized as the geo-political metaphor. The students defined the West as global and the East as local. As a student stated, "East is local, West is global" (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006). The students located themselves in the local context, that is, the East, and the other as the West. In grounding themselves as the East and the global as the West the students were also articulating not only their location in the international world but also their relationship with the global other.

Edward Said (1978) explains that the Orientalist discourse creates an opposing dynamic between the East and West. He describes it as a discourse used by the West to create a sense of self-recognition, and promote its own superiority and power over the other (Said, 1978). In her visual chart of the Local/Global Dynamic, a participant, Shirin, presented these opposing binary positions where she located herself in the local defined as the East, and other in the global defined as the West. She further attempted to articulate her relationship with the global-West-modern by creating a bridge between the East and the West. She explained it thus:

> This is a bridge. Modern has crossed the bridge and has come here
> [to the local], so the local welcomed it [the global]. This [global] is
> very rude, but the local has changed it. The local has changed the
> global through its love and friendly behavior, so the global became
> intermingled with the local, and her nature and behavior got
> changed. And when the local went to the global, the global did not
> welcome the local. I actually agree with this point. There was one
> program on TV [as well] "George ka Pakistan" (George's
> Pakistan). In that they showed that there was a foreigner, who
> came to Pakistan and the local welcomed him, but the westerners
> are not ready to welcome the local. There are many TV programs
> which show that whites are running after blacks/Asians.
> (Student's presentation: Shirin, April 19, 2007)

In this excerpt, Shireen sees the West as unfriendly and un-accepting towards the East. The dynamics of power are uneven, whereby the East welcomes the West, and the West, although changed by the East, does not reciprocate the same courtesies.

Arkoun (2000) explains that equating the global as being modern and coming from the West is an 18th Century Euro-centric enlightenment phenomenon. This view excludes other 'modernities' that took place in other civilizations. In the light of this argument, the students, it seems, have also accepted the Euro-centric definition of enlightenment as explained by Arkoun. They have either failed to see the modernity within their own civilization or do not equate it with the same value and importance. Their frame of reference for modernity comes from the criteria espoused by the West as supported by Said's argument (1978, 1993).

How is it that such a discourse is prevalent today when a student who has not studied Said's or Arkoun's work can still depict the truth of their argument? In studying the school curriculum, I noticed that the historical discourse focuses on the superiority of the Western Enlightenment and the subjugation of the colonized world. The contributions of the colonized world are not given the same value or power and are intentionally or unintentionally perceived as being either insignificant or inferior by the students. Such education instills ignorance by design, where the intellectual contributions and cultural achievements of other civilizations are not taught within the curriculum. Hence there are only two binary options of reference: the West, which is modern and superior and the East, which is traditional and inferior.

The third marker used by the students to define the local was the notion of diversity. The students understood the global as holding a plurality of meanings, perspectives and cultures. As one student explained:

> The global would be that which is all over the globe, like mixing of
> cultures across the globe, like diversity. While the local is that
> which you can closely relate with your own culture and which is

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not interacting much with other cultures. But local is that you can

relate more to your culture, your language, your dress.

(Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007)

It appears that at least intellectually, the students were able to separate the global and the local in its pure forms. That is, the local was defined as "your own culture, your language, your dress" (FGD, February 28, 2007) and the global was defined as the fusion of cultures, the recognition of diversity. In the lived context, however, this sensibility is more challenging. The purity of cultures no longer exists (Benhabib, 2002). Globalization has blurred those boundaries (Tomlinson, 1999). Languages, dress and cultures have fused, creating an identity of their own. As the students' statements illustrate, they had created hybrid languages fusing English with the local language, and their dress also incorporated the Western with the traditional (or Eastern). Sometimes, it was difficult to tell where one tradition ended and the other began.

The majority of the students seemed to suggest an acceptance of diversity, of valuing contributions coming from different cultures. However, in the case of some, the diverse ways of being are not appreciated. In this regard, ironically, in viewing their own world, which also is part of the global world, some students continued to live with the discomfort of the belief that "Local people are weird people" (Student's presentation: Faizan, April 19, 2007). In his visual chart, Faizan considered the local dress as weird, saying: "Local people are so weird people and wear those long, long, long Shalwar Kurtas and Burqaas and everything…" Amad echoed this discomfort. In his visual chart, he states: "Dude! I am Local" but the Doctor hears: "dub dub" (Global). He goes on to say: "My heart is yelling to be on one side or it rips away!!!" (Student's presentation: Amad, April 19, 2007). Amad employed very strong imagery to capture the tug-o'-war between the local and the global. The irony rests in the fact that the local is situated in the global as defined by the students, that is, the global encompasses the diversity of the cultures of nations which in their own way are local; however, reconciling the two is problematic. In such a situation, the agency tends to feel ambivalent.

WIRED WORLD, LOCAL-GLOBAL DYNAMIC, AND THE DE-TERRITORIALIZED SELF

In the last chapter, I provided data describing how the students use the wired world, that is, the use of cell-phones, MSN and ORKUT to connect locally and globally. This interaction creates a local-global dynamic resulting in the de-territorialized self. Three themes within this section were explored: social capital – striving for global contacts; cultural exchange in cyber-spaces: local meets extra-local; and quantity verses quality of social experience and fear of the stranger. In the section below, I will analyze the significance of the wired world and the challenges it poses for the students in expressing their identity within the local-global dynamics.

The students' use of communication technologies, having access to the latest and the most popular models of communication, and cultivating an attitude and appropriate attire to complement the technology helped them to gain social capital with their friends. In the process, however, the students also lamented the quality of the relationships that they developed on the internet versus face-to-face local relationships (Bauman, 2000, 2004).

The use of the internet allowed the students access to the global world. In communicating with the other, the students were able to gain perspectives on how the other perceived them. Such exchanges were not always comfortable, because the students did, through their experiences, perceive that they were viewed in very narrow terms. They understood that the other sometimes saw them as belonging to a poor, under-developed nation; or when they claimed a Muslim identity, the perception that they (if female) were down-trodden and did not enjoy the same liberties as the rest of their gender. As Muslims, they were perceived as illiterate, fanatic terrorists. These cultural exchanges empowered the students to challenge these perspectives, and to educate the other to have a different image of Muslims. The exchanges, however, did something more important. They created disjuncture between how the students viewed themselves (before the encounter with the other) and their new understanding of how they were perceived by the other. This disjuncture caused a rupture in their identity.

The resulting disjuncture galvanized some students to re-define their sense of self. Many of them had started to use the media to research the past, and were using the past to recreate a new image or a new understanding of themselves as Muslims. This new understanding or image was not completely traditional nor yet completely contemporary. In this regard, some students who had started this process also showed awareness that this new image and new understanding would undergo changes in keeping with their experiences and encounters, both with the past and with the global other.

The last theme explored in this section looked at the fear of the stranger. While realizing that they had easy access to the global other, the students also realized that they did not have the ability to evaluate the safety of those relationships. At the local level, relationships were initiated through common environments such as the school or neighborhood, affiliations or associations with family or cultural and/or worship contexts. People knew each other and they had context to define how they knew each other. This kind of association also had clear protocols which defined behavior. In the fluid environment of the Internet, however, one could be anyone, come from anywhere, and re-imagine themselves in any way. The students realized that they could not take the letter of the word to establish trust. This understanding caused another disjuncture and resulted in the fear of the stranger.

GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL IMAGINING

The use of the media and the Internet allowed the students the possibility of imagining new and better opportunities for themselves. This empowered them to imagine alternate worlds (Appadurai, 1996), for example, the possibility of accessing higher knowledge and of one day, perhaps, working outside of Pakistan.

The significance of being able to dream and access better opportunities made it possible for the students to compete and to be treated as equals with the global other. In their current situation, the students defined themselves as local and as local they were not fully westernized or modern. The chance to go abroad to the Western world allowed an opportunity to situate themselves in the global.

More importantly, those who returned to Pakistan then had the opportunity to globalize the local citizens by providing knowledge and reducing the status gap between the local and the global.

EROSION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL VALUES: DISJUNCTURE BETWEEN MODERN AND TRADITIONAL

The performance of *Anar-Kali* by the students can be regarded as a satire of their own contemporary society and culture. The performance produces two parallel and comparative discourses. It juxtaposes the old and the new narratives of *Anar-Kali*, each in its own way reflecting a clash between what ought to be and what is. The clash can be seen in the realms of the modern and the traditional impacting socio-cultural norms and values pertaining to the father-son relationship, gender social interaction and relationships, and the notion of love and fidelity.

Modern and Traditional

Describing the relevance of the skit *Anar-Kali*, the students mentioned in a focus group that "it was re-made for modern times" (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).When asked what they meant by the term modern, one of the skit writers defined the term as that which is "current and in fashion and full of entertainment". Tradition, on the other hand, was anything that was "old and out of fashion" (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

For the students, the notions of modern and traditional were also embodied in the names of the characters. Anar Kali, for example, was perceived as an old name, hence, as one student said smilingly:

> We changed the name of Anar-Kali to Annie, because Anar-kali is
> a very old fashioned name, and Annie is short and mode. Here in
> our school also people use their nick, for example, Talat Jawed
> [one of the teachers] is called TJ and my friends call me Musfi. So
> the name should be short, because it sounds good and takes less

time to call, as in today's modern times everybody is so busy.

(Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

In this manner, the student expressed a perceived difference between modern and traditional as binary terms, where the difference is expressed through the temporal and social dimensions of their lives.

Father-Son Relationships

In the play, the contemporary relationship between father and son is described as being more informal and casual, even bordering on being disrespectful. This is acted out by the students through the use of slang, informal diction and through the very content of the dialogue. Salim tries to be modern, and his sense of modernity is defined by speaking English, wearing Western clothes, and adopting a casual attitude towards his father. His father, while claiming Eastern-ness through his dress, his speech and never having traveled abroad, demonstrates his perception of modern norms through his open flirtation with a young woman who is currently dating his son, his openness in replacing his wife for the younger woman, and openly discussing his plans with his son. With true dramatic irony, neither of the characters is aware of what he is projecting, however, the student actors and the audience certainly are. The disjuncture is manifested by this clash of perceptions – lived and imagined and influenced by media.

Social Relationships: Notions of Marriage, Love, and Fidelity

Through the dramatization of *Anar Kali*, the students were able to juxtapose two opposing perspectives, the traditional and the modern, and to explore their struggle to reconcile these perspectives. In the traditional world, the social institution of marriage and the concepts of love and fidelity are solidly defined. Marriage, for example, is permanent and forever. One pledges one's love and fidelity to a single person. Contemporary times, however, have challenged these notions and the students' exposure to the media has enabled them to imagine more complex and fluid relationships. More importantly, the

distribution of gender power that defines the institution of marriage and the traditional concepts of love and fidelity are also challenged. The data below explore three themes: 1) the understanding of marriage, love and fidelity; 2) challenging gender roles as defined by religion; and 3) the role of women in society in general.

Institution of Marriage, and Concepts of Love and Fidelity

The reconstructed narrative of *Anar-Kali* demonstrated the fluidity of social relationships in the modern world. It debunked the previously held social norms and notions of love and fidelity as commitment to one and only one relationship. This fluidity in relationships is again largely blamed by the students on the media. Explaining how they had envisioned the new *Anar Kali*, the modern *Anar Kali*, one of the student actors asked me:

> Have you seen *Khushi,* a drama on Star Plus, where the girl Khushi got married to three men in her life [sic: after the death of each preceding partner]? So we thought why not we do the same with Annie [Anar-Kali], and therefore we came up with the idea that Annie flirts with Salim [the son], Akbar [the father] and Birbal [the minister]".
>
> (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006)

To this explanation, one male group member reacted strongly by asking: "But then where is the loyalty in love? Our tradition doesn't allow it. Woman has to be sincere and loyal". He went on to blame Bollywood for creating such images of woman and influencing what he called "our cultural values". He remarked "*Bollywood ne rishton ka satyanas kar diya haye*" [Bollywood has destroyed relationships]. "Have you seen that movie *Kabhi Alvida na Kahena*? In that, husband – wife relationship has been destroyed. If one follows that then anybody can have an affair with anybody else. This is crazy!" (Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006).

The institution of marriage and the notions of love and fidelity clash when the students try to reconcile the notions of the past with the modern. Neither model seems to fit comfortably with the students as they try to re-define what marriage, love and fidelity mean to them. The resulting disjuncture occurs in trying to reconcile two opposing modes of behavior.

Challenging Religiously Defined Social Relationships

The disjuncture causes further discord in the realms of religion which also defines social relationships. When I asked the students how they felt about this new flirtatious Anar Kali as compared to the old one, one of the female students responded: "So what's problem with that. Haven't you heard the quote of Darwin 'survival of the fittest'? So Anar Kali went [ultimately] with Birbal [the minister] as he was the fittest" (Focus group discussion, September 7, 2006).

Role of Women: Disjuncture between Global and Local Images/Roles

Many changes were observed in the students' understanding of the gendered self, particularly relating to the role of women. Different opinions were pronounced about the role and social positioning of women in societies. The images that are globally circulated of a modern woman and the local perception of the image and role of a woman in a Muslim society context seem miles apart. Within this debate, the female participants were inclined towards adapting the modern role charged with the discourse of human rights in general and women rights in particular. The resonance of such a debate can be seen in the case of the Hudood Ordinance which some female participants thought worth mentioning. This law reform was tabled by the Musharraf government as part of an effort to bring gender equality in the society. This event is a manifestation of the interplay between the local (Islamic legal discourse) and the global (international and domestic laws, human and womens' rights) discourses. In other words, the Hudood Ordinance, which is based on Sharia (traditional Islamic law), has been appropriated to be aligned with the modern global discourse of human rights.

Conversely, some male members of the group attempted to define the role of women in the light of locally prevalent socio-religious norms and practices, arguing for the traditional role of women in society which is largely restricted to home and family. It is interesting to note that both the female and the male participants were using Islam as a reference to advocate their perspectives. The female members considered the origin of modern human rights discourse to come from Islamic teachings, and hence, by doing so, authenticated their modern role. On the other hand, the male participants were doing the same to validate their own arguments against them.

Image of Islam and Muslim Identity

My research participants were also articulate about the misrepresentation by the global media when projecting Islam. For them, the West portrays distorted images of Islam as a religion whose followers are terrorists. They were critical of the double standards that the Western media displays in its portrayal of Islam and Muslims. In this respect, one student said, "If a Jew keeps a beard, he will be regarded as a pious man, but if a Muslim does the same, he will be regarded as a terrorist". Another colleague interjected, "Similar is the case with a nun. If she covers herself, it is an act of holiness, but if a Muslim woman does *purdah* to cover herself it is considered socially and culturally backward (FGD, September 14, 2006). As Edward Said (1997) rightly argues:

> Much of what one reads and sees in the media about Islam
> represents the aggression as coming from Islam because that is
> what "Islam" is. Local and concrete circumstances are thus
> obliterated…. [It] obscures what "we" [the West] do, and
> highlights instead what Muslims and Arabs by their very flawed
> nature *are* (p. xxii).

The above view clearly identifies what the students themselves were observing in their context concerning the power of representation that the West (global) has over Islam and Muslims (or local) (Ahmed & Donnan, 1994). It seems that the process of orientalizing the other is still in progress. One such

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event was recalled by a female participant where a high school youth was teasing girls who were wearing *hijab* (scarves) by labeling them as Ninja Turtles – characters in a globally acclaimed cartoon series. This shows how locals (local-self) see themselves through the lens of the global (others), which Sen (2006) describes as the projection of a reactive identity. In summary, the research identified a disjuncture experienced by the students between the globally mediated image of Islam and Muslims and their self-perception of being Muslims. Furthermore, paradoxically, the mediated image of the Muslim, at times, also becomes a standard lens through which a fellow Muslim is seen and judged.

Knowledge and Colonial Difference

Colonial difference for students is a space where the knowledge hegemony of the West in the shape of science and technology is, on the one hand, accepted, indoctrinated and reproduced; but also, on the other hand, resisted, argued and criticized for its politics of an exclusionary approach towards knowledge production throughout history (Mignolo, 2000). As a result, local knowledge becomes suppressed and Western epistemic supremacy gets hegemonized. The West becomes a desired place to be idealized and is seen as advanced in science and technology. This disjuncture (through science and technology discourse) as felt by the students is a means to colonize the East. This is how this disjuncture generates dichotomy between West and East through various markers of knowledge production, sometimes in the name of scientific inventions and sometimes through creating dichotomized and binary categories such as developed, under-developed, modern and tradition, progress and backward (Escobar, 1995).

In the case of my research participants, this knowledge hegemony penetrates to them through their formal education, by studying a curriculum based on knowledge production by the West. It transfers the colonial legacy, which is the exclusion of the local-self by nullifying the discourse and contributions of the Muslim intellectuals, scientists and thinkers. And through this, the knowledge hegemony brings in the politics of nostalgia, whereby students can only glorify

their past when Islamic civilization was at the zenith of its intellectual and cultural might.

IDENTITY: BECOMING AND BEING

In the previous chapter, my research participants revealed different levels of disjunctures experienced in their immediate context; as a result, various streams of responses were observed. For some, these disjunctures created a situation of ambivalence and perplexity; but for others, it became a condition of negotiating and dealing with the rapidly changing social scenario. It became a means of re-thinking and re-evaluating one's own social self. Hence, the most amplified response associated with the student agency was related to their construction and reconstruction of their identity markers which mattered the most for them as social beings. For them, identity was representation of the self (and the other, as a parallel process) in a plurality of situations. Once the social self loses its cultural and historical anchors, anxiety of the self (as aloof) begins to emerge. It is this anxiety that my research participants sometimes grappled with. This crisis is well articulated by Bauman (2004) who says that

> The idea of 'identity' was born out of the crisis of belonging and
> out of the effort it triggered to bridge the gap between the 'ought'
> and the 'is' and to lift reality to the standards set by the idea – to
> remake the reality in the likeness of the idea (p. 20).

The point that Bauman brings into consideration is very important, namely, the gap between the ought and the is. It is about the struggle one puts in to achieve the set ideal that one would like to be, for instance, a doctor, for an undergraduate medical student. In contrast to Bauman, and in the light of the responses of my research participants, the crisis of identity or the gap is of less importance than the process of filling this gap: the making, re-making and unmaking of identities. It is the perpetuity of one's identity markers and the purpose for which identities shift; that is what matters for the student agency in their present context. Hence, identity becomes a pragmatic and continuous thing, always in a process.

Hybridization

The pragmatics of identity markers was a complex phenomenon for the student agency. During various discussions with the students, one realized that the process itself had different emerging trends underneath it. It begged the question, why did a particular student take a particular stance (usage of an identity marker) in a given situation? One such emerging trend that my research participants were pointing towards was the process of the hybridization of their social-selves.

The concept of hybridity entails a consideration of the biological usage of the term. In these terms, hybridization is a combination of two discrete species that results in a hybrid (a pseudo-specie), as a distinct specie from which it is combined. However, sociologically speaking, hybridization refers to the process of amalgamating elements and practices from two or more socio-cultural zones in a way that a distinct social convention or practice comes into being (Rosaldo, 1995).

Similarly, in the context of the students, hybridizing was happening in the realm of dress and abbreviated nicknames, for instance, Anarkali being referred to as Annie (anglo-saxonizing), or mimicking English songs and phrases to impress friends and gain social capital. In this case, Western and local elements seem to be mixed. The global is modified and appropriated in forms of music also. The fusion music of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and various pop bands and other soloists are very much part of the popular culture of youth. They draw together various musical genres combining Indian classical and Western instrumentations. Moreover, the dimension of mimicry was also taking place through adapting a particular language, pattern and style of social interaction. For instance, my research participants professed that even if one does not know the language, listening to popular English songs (accessed easily through the Internet) becomes a sign of being modern. In addition, the usage of such language and attitude in college is highly desirable and thought worthy to impress friends and other students. Similar is the case with Hollywood movies from which the imitation of slang (American) English is very popular among students.

The notion of hybridity can also be seen in the case of food. The famous food chain of Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) has been locally appropriated as Karachi Fried Chicken (KFC), as mentioned earlier. Moreover, the popular Pizza Hut has one Chicken Tikka Pizza in their menu to re-orient the local taste with a new globally acclaimed food item - Pizza, a Italian-American food.

Apart from the above, there also exists the tension between modernity and tradition within the process of hybridization among the students. But in this tension, as my research participants expressed, modernity is taking over the traditional. The classical example among the students is the use of the English language to gain social capital among other students and to make new friends. Indeed, a student can be assumed a villager (i.e., illiterate) if he/she does not speak English well.

Similarly, hybridizing may become a forced impulse and a 'reactive identity' so to speak (Sen, 2006), like wearing *Shalwar Kameez* (a local dress) for students may become embarrassing, as it is old fashioned. In contrast, wearing jeans, T-Shirts, trousers and cargo pants has more currency as part of image-building among students.

In view of the above observation in particular, the process of hybridization is leading us to examine that the idea of trans-culturation or amalgamation is not power-neutral. There is always a tension between cultural elements: between elements that the self wants to preserve and elements that the self wants to transform. However, in the entirety of the process, agency is not always in control.

In contrast to the above discussion, some theoretical discourses pertaining to hybridity from a post-colonial perspective, especially Bhabha (1994), tend to view hybridity as resistance to the colonizer by the colonized. Hence, hybridization becomes a cultural critique to its dominant counterpart, using the same elements, symbols and frames of references as the dominant culture has used. Specifically, Bhabha tends to highlight the active role of colonized agency in hybridizing (Huddart, 2008).

With reference to the above, hybridizing can be considered a form of cultural resistance in the popular cultural context of Pakistan. However, in light of some of the ethnographic particularities of my research participants, hybridizing (adopting Bhabha) was used more as a strategy to enter and leave modernity and tradition (Rosaldo, 1995). For instance, the satirical play of *Anar Kali* (Annie as a hybridized version) refers to hybridizing as a process where self and other polarities dissolve, and there, in an inter-mingling of elements, cultural exchange/osmosis takes place. Therefore, the hybridizing process is always a struggle between reference points for and within the self and the other. Hence, hybridization in my research context is rather a strategy that agency adopts/adapts to step in and out of modernity and tradition, with a view to gaining global cultural capital. On the one hand, hybridization is critiqued by the local self; yet the same self takes upon hybrid cultural forms, attitudes, language and dress-style as part of their social mobility.

Moreover, cultural resistance in certain cases also becomes a reaction to class struggle within their own locality. For instance, some of the students identified and resisted the process of hybridization as merely a mess (locally articulated as *Kichri*, a kind of mixed-grained food thick as a paste). Consequently, they could recognize an elite class emerging in this process which they called Burger culture, meaning westernization of their social realms; Burger being a satirical symbol pointing towards modernity and globalism. Other coined terms pointed towards deteriorating images of the social self, and of those women in particular, who now had multiple options to be with any man, locally known among students as *chaloo* (of loose character). A student also coined the term *Bachi* culture. *Bachi* in the Americanized version of English may mean a babe. *Bachi* culture in the context of the students meant a male student having many female students as friends, which was also a handy tool to become popular among both male and female students. However, paradoxically, the Burger or *Bachi* (referred to college girls with whom the boys want to have friendship) culture happened to be part and parcel of the students' immediate local – specifically, high school or college. It seems that even if students criticized this phenomenon,

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they, nevertheless, themselves upheld elements of it. Perhaps, in hindsight, this may have become a way of critiquing and challenging existing class divisions which they experienced in their own society.

In addition to hybridization, liminality, a concept enlarged by Victor Turner (1995), also sheds light on the added complexity of the above process. The word liminal means threshold. According to Turner, people become "threshold-people" (p. 95) when they move in and draw from a variety of elements from their immediate cultural spaces, and avoid any strict classification and positions assigned by their own cultural space. Hence, it becomes an intermediary and distinct cultural space of a people, structurally indecisive whether they are "here" or "there"; it is a kind of "betwixt and between position" of the person in the cultural space in which he/she moves (p. 95).

One of my research participants could be considered to be in a liminal situation, being a Shia Muslim (the second major sect of believers in Muslim societies after the Sunnis). He intentionally maintained a French beard as part of his symbolic capital in his own context, both religious and social. According to him, keeping a French beard was an excellent solution to managing both his identities: first, as a Shia Muslim who must have a beard and second, to preserve his modern image.

Re-filiation: Solidifying Muslim Identity

A central frame of reference in the solidification process is the notion of the Ummah or the Muslim community. Since 9/11, the Muslim Ummah has been under constant scrutiny and has more often than not received negative attention. The current political dynamics have created tension for those affiliating themselves with the Muslim identity. The Muslim students within this research, however, identified themselves with the Muslim Ummah and with its 1400 year history. Through this identification, the students were in actual fact, re-filiating with the past and taking strength from this identification as a reaction to the post 9/11 globalizing world.

As a result of refiliation, the students were engaging in religious discourses and markers of religious identities such as appearance (wearing a beard), apparel (wearing of the *hijab*), and memorization and recitation of Quranic verses. Furthermore, the students' access to religious discourses on Islam through the new media in the form of television programs and video/DVD recordings. In this context, a popular scholar Zakir Naik is re-engaging the youth in religious discourse by enabling them to imagine new ways of becoming the moderate global Muslim.

Who then is the moderate global Muslim? The power of the scholar Zakir Naik is not in what he says, but rather in how he says it and how he presents both himself and the discourse in which he engages. The youth do not associate with the mullah in the mosque as much as they associate with the mullah on the television. In this case, Zakir Naik impresses the youth with his ability to speak in English, the global language, and yet draw from the sacred language, Arabic, through the Qur'an. Zakir Naik is also able to demonstrate his comfort in using the media, hence, symbolically reinforcing his place as a global, modern Muslim. Paradoxically, in solidifying their religious identity, the students employed globalizing tools as a means to re-filiate with their past religious tradition.

The solidification process, however, has created a new challenge for the students. In their identification with the Ummah, the collective Muslimhood, the students felt a tension between the ideology of the collective community and the lived reality of national, political, religious identity. The school, when constructing national identity, endorses and promotes the collective Muslim identity. However, the post 9/11 scenario has put Pakistan in an ambiguous, perhaps in a conflicting situation, with the rest of the Muslims. By entering the discourse of terrorism and engaging in a partnership with the United States of America against the fight on terrorism, there has been a splinter in this identity. Pakistan has been put in the defensive position. It adheres to the collective identity but has also indicated that national identity, Pakistan identity, comes first.

The students, however, seemed to feel an emotional connection and stronger affiliation with the Ummah identity. They were thus caught in this

tension between articulating the modern Muslim through global means and staying true to the collective communal identity. The students experienced the discomfort of being in conflict with fellow Muslims because of their country's pledge to fight terrorism.

Local/Self Reflexivity: Re-interpretation in the Wake of Local-global Interplay

The global and local dynamics also generated interactions of perspectives which, in turn, broadened the agency's perspective to see the self and the other. As one student commented, "We came to understand how jihad is seen by them [the West]. This helps us to question ourselves- what is jihad? Is jihad name of war? Or jihad means struggle against poverty and ignorance?" (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007).

Intercultural dynamics are stimulating the local agency to 'reinterpret' the local assumptions and in some cases, the meanings of some key tradition- related discourses. For some students, the local-global dynamic triggered an urge to re-interpret both tradition and modernity. These students were found to be disenchanted with both tradition and modernity. The modernity for them was taking them nowhere, leaving a deep sense of loss and frustration with the self, while some aspects of tradition (and its derivative norms) were seen as incoherent and a burden in relation to contemporary lives.

Furthermore, for some students, the local-global cultural encounter in general and the flows of idea-scapes through media in particular, stimulated the need to re-interpret some premises that were part of their identity. In this regard, when the concept of Jihad was discussed, one student said, "We cannot cut and paste tradition" (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007). By this, he was implying that what had worked in the seventh century Arab world could not be applied in a literal sense to contemporary twenty-first century Muslim life, and hence he asserted the need to re-interpret our traditions according to our times. This re-thinking, re-interpreting, where not only tradition but modernity is critically viewed, opens up spaces for new possibilities and re-invention of the self in today's globalizing world.

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Silence

Sometimes the crisis of belonging, as my research suggests, may end up with no response or no dialogue with the other. Silencing oneself in entirety could be considered an assertion of self through the tool of silence. One of the students responded unconventionally to the discussion of identity. He argued, "Why should we tell *them* who *we* are?"(Focus group discussion, September 14, 2006). He believed that no dialogue should undertake to reduce any effort of cultural difference. This resistance or denial to the cross-cultural communication can be examined in many ways. It may have a negative connotation for cross-cultural communication and the cultural plurality of humanity as a whole. However, it can be positively construed in the sense of the concept of cultural pluralism. According to the student's perspective, a dialogue can only be established if it is informed by both ends, and involves an understanding of peculiarities that exist in a particular culture which construct the notion of otherness.

Identity beyond Difference

In another case, the student agency also tried to de-stabilize the power of the discourse of identification, based on cultural difference, and identified them-selves as being beyond difference. This was done through recourse to references to humanity and the human dimension of globalization. As one student proclaimed, they are "Ashraf- ul- Makhluqat" [Best creation of the Almighty, a term used for human beings in the Quran] (Focus group discussion, September 20, 2006). Even more, for some students there was no tension between the global and the local. They seemed to float comfortably between the two. This stance, in a way, is very interesting for inter-cultural dialogue, derived from the teachings of the Quran. Here again Islam, the religious and scriptural reference, has been defined by the students as the guiding source for their global identity. In doing so, the students see universal appeal in the message of Islam, which helps them transcend differences between particularities.

PART TWO: THEORETICAL CONNECTIONS

In the following discussion, I will selectively engage with some key theoretical constructs; sharing some insights which emerged from the research with a view to stimulating some theoretical debates linked to the research topic. Some key theoretical issues pertinent to this research into exploring local-global cultural dimensions and their manifestation in schools' official curricula and students' identity are related to: a) sociological perspectives on local-global dynamics, b) global flows and disjuncture, and c) cultural globalization and identity formation.

Sociological Perspectives Portraying the Local-Global Cultural Dynamic

Most of the sociological literature, as seen in Chapter Two, tends to represent the global as complete, underpinned by the cultural homogenization thesis whereby globalization is sweeping the world through dominant cultural forces and institutions and thus creating a monoculture. Such a view tends to present a simplified view of globalization. As shown by this research, the local agency adapts, modifies, resists, or ignores (through silence) the global, and above all, interacts with the social structures which it interprets and responds to through the politics of identity. Hence, structuration is found to be a suitable theoretical possibility that captures structure-agency interaction, and provides an analytic possibility to understand the interactive nature of the local-global.

Moreover, the model presented by Petrella which is cited in Holton (2005) and discussed in Chapter Two, tends to represent local as sub-global, whereby the local's regional, national and sub-national categories are all collapsed into one. Such a conception describes the local as juridical-legal and political space, and thus homogeneous. This view is too simplistic as it neglects the historical and cultural complexities of localities through which the global is experienced (Rizvi, 2005). Here, it should be remembered that geography is both political as well as cultural (Holton, 2005), and therefore also power-laden (Soja, 1971). Secondly, each locality is an imaginative space, accentuated further in the trans-national, trans-cultural scenario; hence at times, there could well be a tension between, say,

sub-national ethnic-local and the state-national category, as demonstrated through my research, or between the state-nationalism (nation identity) and transnational (Ummah) which has its own dynamics rooted in ethnic local, through the nexus of an ethnic-Ummah historical and political dialectic. Hence the local is complex, having spatial as well as scalar dimensions, and a multiple and interactive axis.

The interactive nature of scapes illuminates perceptual perspectives as agency interacts with these from its historical and political situated-ness. Therefore, the historicity of the locality through which the local has come to be produced needs to be taken into consideration. This cultural connectivity and interactive nature of the local-global dynamic is framed within the structuration thesis, and therefore the notion of structuration provides ethnographic affinity with a theoretical explanation of the ethnographic encounter between the local agency and the global flows.

A reflection upon the above and other similar views that see technological characteristics transforming the world and thus creating a condition called globalization, suggests that these views tend to assume a reified, generalized view of globalization. Such views, Rizvi (2004) argues, miss out on the role of the agency, as in such analyses people are missing. These perspectives are structuralist functionalist as they tend to see global/technological structures functioning (performing) to bring transformation. Structuralist views emasculate the complex connectivity of the globalization process. The structuralist functionalist view ignores the historical and political dimension of the locality through where the agency interacts with the local.

Re-claiming the Signification of Place: Debating the Geography of Globalization

In the discourse of globalization, the notion of place has been made almost redundant, ignoring the significance of face-to-face experiences and their impact on identity projection. The notion of spatiality, argues Mignolo (2000), is linked by the geography-knowledge-power connection. The relegation of place to being a non-significant factor, heightening the spatial/space, suits the global economy transactions and movements.

The discourse of de-territorialization (and globalization in general) tends to lay its emphasis on the notion of time and space relationships and the speed of interaction between them. The definitions underlying the defining logic of globalization are numerous. Such a discourse tends to relegate the notion of place, almost making it redundant. When we talk about the global village, we are reminded that the media is creating communities with "no sense of place" (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 29). Linking the major developments in electronic technologies at the end of the twentieth century to network theory, Castell (1996) saw the parallel rise of the information networking of the world economy as fundamentally changing the spatial relations of cities. While Castell's assertion is useful in informing us about the notion of spatiality and its significance in the wake of globalization and in understanding the construction of the agency's context, my ethnographic findings inform us about the role and significance of the place that still matters in the lives of the students whom I studied. The students' articulations of the conceptions of the local illuminated the significance of the notion of place as a geo-historical reference with which they identified themselves, and above all, drew meanings from visible signs and symbols of material culture that made the context which defined their social experiences and practices.

The students' constructions and experiences showed that the notion of place (territoriality) remains significant in their conception of the local. The notion of place figured in their discourses pertaining to their conceptions of locality, as well as in their recognition of the physical context within and through which their substantial social experiences and practices were located and from where they engaged with the global (for example, with global cultural consumer products). Materiality – material culture - is embedded in place; place as concrete bounded social space was cited as a key reference to define the locality. Some participants defined local as the place where they lived, and where their neighbors and community lived. The sense of place was significant for a sense of community, as social interactions in the physical bounded context, for example, the architectural form and visual symbols within a mosque contribute in creating a

holistic social and spiritual context of experience for the agency. Moreover, the face-to-face interactions (for example, within the school) were carried out in the context of place; a visible, palpable, experiential context, where signs and symbols (artifacts) shaped social interactions.

Although the students interacted in cyber-space, they some how also realized that what ultimately matters is that which happens in the real and not in the virtual space. As one student remarked: "I don't go for MSN chat. What's the use talking to someone whom you have never seen, and will never meet? I have enough friends in my school whom I meet daily" (Focus group discussion, September, 14, 2006). Another student expressed some frustration over the limitation of the cyber-friendship, as he realized when he got his foot injured in an accident. He complained,

> Here I was, lying on my bed with a plaster on my leg, I was feeling
> pain. But how can I explain with whom I chat, or what can they
> say? At max they will send a sad face icon through chat, so what?
> It doesn't show real emotion that you can see and feel when your
> friend is near you here physically. (Focus group discussion,
> September 14, 2006)

This shows that proximity (physical witness in a place) is considered to be more real and meaningful. These findings emphasize the significance of place.

On the other hand, denial of place in the globalization discourse, I would argue, could be a powerful strategy of the coloniality of power for global capital flow and suits Post-Fordist logic – time and space matters, not the place, as indeed, it suited the coloniality of power for large-scale, relatively cheap market production and economic capital gains. Such an assertion may involve the risk of over- exaggeration, but here I am drawing a parallel from the way time (the notion of time/chronology) got dominant in the imaginary of colonial expansion, subsequent to the notion of space. Mignolo (2000) is of the opinion that:

> Time, since the end of the eighteenth century, reordered universal
> history and became the "essence" of modernity. The linear time of
> universal history became, furthermore, entrenched with the very

idea of the civilizing mission: to be civilized is to be modern, and to be modern means to be in the present. Thus, the denial of coevalness became one of the most powerful strategies for the coloniality of power in the subalternization of languages, knowledges, and cultures (p. 285).

To be modern today implies also to be mobile, on the move, and therefore have the capacity for and access to the disembedding mechanisms. Whilst these colonial/global knowledge discourses continue to champion this strategy, the point remains that place still remains a viable concept, and a palpable experiential context where agency breathes and lives day in and day out. Hence, the ethnography of the particular (Abu-Lughod, 2000) needs to pay attention to place, as the field local is still physically expressed and constituted, in addition to its transformation into spatiality.

Notwithstanding the conceptual and empirical support that this notion has received (and it is a significant notion in exploring globalization, as my research has done), however, my research exposition illuminates the role of territoriality as being a significant context characteristic also. It is a context defining factor, within which the student agency is situated, and where it interacts with the global through signs and symbols of cultural commodities in circulation, and importantly, these commodities become social status symbols and currency for socialization (inclusion/exclusion). Therefore, through this research, I would argue that place still remains significant as an experience-shaping context in the wake of globalization and the notion merits analytical focus. In doing so, this research also suspects the overemphasis on space/spatiality (de-physicalization of spatiality to geography without place), drawing upon Mignolo's (2000) critique, as local as a territorial reference remains quite prominent in the students' discourse. This is also maintained in the official curricular text for the students.

Although ideological reference remains a central constitutive element of the local, in the Pakistan context its physical concrete expression is territorial. Initially Islam became a reference point to establish a separate homeland for

Muslims, but once the land was created, it became a concrete symbol of Islam. Moreover, in the lived experiences of the students and their respective constructions, the territorial reference seems to be a primary signifier of the local. The local is seen as concrete, immediate reality, and later it extends into the abstract realm from ideological and psychological affiliation to a structure of feeling. For instance, "Home can be anywhere, as long as you feel that place as yours", suggested one girl student (Focus group discussion, October 4, 2006). The local is inscribed by the global; however, there remain certain concrete references of the local that are still pure. In this manner, place seems to be crucial in experiencing the global as well as relating with the local.

Concept of Nation: A Re-thinking

The concept of nation as imagined community is a very influential sociological construct. One of the reasons that Anderson (1983) identifies for the rise of nationalism is the demise of religion. However, conversely, in the context of my research - the post-colonial nation-state Pakistan - its official history claims religion to be the underpinning force that galvanized the imagination of the community, the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. If one agrees with such a view, then this challenges Anderson's thesis, as religion became an influential force (coupled with linguistic nationalism, i.e., Urdu versus Hindi) in the case of Pakistan nation-state formation.

If one looks at school historiography and the popular view, the creation of the Pakistan nation has been based on religious grounds, i.e., religious ideology as a galvanizing force for nationhood, which, as I mentioned above, challenges Anderson's assertion. However, if one re-reads the official history of Pakistan through a critical sociologists' lens, e.g, Halliday & Alavi (1988) according to whom the struggle for Pakistan was initiated by an ethnic movement and material gains motivated by elite interests rather than for Islam, then Anderson's thesis gets empirically substantiated. Irrespective of these competing explanations, the notion of imagined community serves as a useful theoretical lens to analyze historical studies of community/nations in the wake of globalization, specially in a

context where globalization has opened up new worlds of imagination for an agency (Appadurai, 1996).

Sub-National and Intra-Local Dynamics and Analytic Inclusion

Petrella (1995, cited in Holton, 2005) defines the global as all encompassing and local as sub-global: regional, national, and sub-national. This assertion equates national and sub-national equally. On the contrary, my research demonstrated that there was an experienced tension between the national and the sub-national identity, and therefore the national and the sub-national were different references for identification and could not be collapsed under one category as the local. Hence, the local needs to be analytically conceptualized in a manner that acknowledges the diverse national and sub-national distinction.

The research also showed the role and function of the construct of sub-national (ethnic local) in shaping the student agency's positions vis-à-vis the national and also with the global. Most of the research (as discussed in the literature review in Chapter Two) collapses national and sub-national as local. Such a collapsing entails the possibility of ignoring the potential tensions that exist in ethnographic particularities between the national and the sub-national, which surfaced in this research. Therefore, this research brings to light the significance of intra-local dynamics (between national and sub-national/ethnic and between various sub-nationals/ diverse ethnic locals) in analyzing local-global dynamics. Hence, this research suggests that the notion of sub-national needs to be considered as significant while developing tropes of the local.

Transnational-National Dynamics

Another interesting insight this research brings to the fore is with regard to the dynamics between transnational and national constructs. It has been quite a frequently established assertion that transnational forces are weakening the national. My research identifies that the concept of Ummah (transnational ideology), contrary to the established view, is strengthening the national (Pakistan), as the national draws from the wellspring of its shared religious

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ideological symbolic resources to construct its own national identity. Nevertheless, at the same time, it should be pointed out that in the wake of globalization where the national politics is inter-twined in many ways with global/international political contexts, there exists a tension for the agency between affiliation with Ummah on the one hand, and the nation-state on the other. Through Ummah, a transnational concept, local agency re-imagines and re-invents a futuristic national, an ideal national that they wish to achieve, and ethnographically, this gives some sense of hope to Pakistani youth who, negotiating between nostalgia and future (the new world of globalization) find some oasis of imagination which they wish to translate into aspired reality. Shrewd politicians are quick to capitalize and manipulate this sentiment into what I would call politics of desire. The issue of the cartoon controversy discussed in the earlier chapters is an example of shuttering those sentiments. However, interestingly, the students dealt with this issue intelligently and found strength in their voice being united at the level of Ummah, as transnational Muslim collectivity that expressed the reaction globally.

Liminality, Hybridization, Disjuncture and Contrapuntal: Articulating a Relationship

Drawing upon my ethnographic research data, here I attempt to theorize an inter-relationship that has surfaced through my research between the notions of disjuncture (Appadurai, 1996), contrapuntality (Said, 1984), liminality and hybridization (Bhabha, 1994). I suggest that such a theorization bears a potential to shed better light on understanding the agency and its experiences of and responses to the local-global cultural dynamics.

As shown by my research, the agency while interacting with the dis-embedding mechanisms and the global flows, de-territorializes, and in the process moves in and engages with liminal zones and practices, that is, border-crossing (Clifford, 1997). The research demonstrates that, especially, when the students interact with the global flows through media, the agency experiences disjuncture between global values, attitudes and life styles and the locally, normatively and histrocially embedded perceptions, values and attitudes about the life. To explain

the phenomenon of disjuncture with more elaboration, here I propose that Said's (1984) notion of contrapuntal, which he uses with reference to describing the life of an exile, is very useful. According to Said, the exiles are aware of at least two worlds: that of their own home, and that of the other, that is, the land or context where they are at present. Such awareness gives rise to simultaneous dimensions in a manner that a practice or an experience in the new environment evokes the memory of the same in the home environment. Hence there is a simultaneous movement with the consiousness of the self, between that of the new environment and that of the old. This awareness, Said, borrowing a term from the field of music, calls contrapuntal. These reflections on the exile may also apply to the experiences of my research particpants, in that the student agency experiences disjuncture between the mediated values and the locally based values and habits of life, as shown through the performance of *Anar-Kali*. Each encounter within this space and points of disjuncture, I would argue, generates a clash/encounter that evokes a tension between the global values/message and the local norms and social values and attitudes. Therefore, I would submit that the notion of contrapuntal, in addition to explaining the phenomenon of exile, can also be useful in illuminating processes of disjuncture experienced in the agency's liminal practices in the wake of cultural globalization. Hence the relationship between liminality, disjuncture and contrapatal provide a useful analytic lens to understand the processes of border-crossings in the wake of globalization.

In this regard, what my research contributes is that it orchestrates a relationship between the notions of disjuncture, contrapuntal, liminality and hybridization. Hybridization is often discussed in terms of de-territorialized diasporic experiences and the colonizer-colonized encounter in post-colonial literature (Bhabha, 1994). Hence, my research refreshes the debate and ties up the global flows experienced by the agency, which may not necessarily be in a diasporic state but is very much territorialized yet de-territorialized through disembedding mechanisms in the wake of globalization.

Theorizing Nostalgia

I would argue that the disjuncture generated by de-territorialization at times compels the agency to feel nostalgic about their past, and re-invent it, using new spaces for social imagination, re-inventing tradition and modernity (Hobsbawn & Ranger, 2008). Nostalgia is also invoked due to a sense of cultural loss and disjuncture. Therefore, theorizing a disjuncture experienced in the wake of local-global interplay may necessitate understanding of the practices of the nostalgia by the agency, as highlighted in my research. The participants exercised nostalgia in reaction to their encounter with global/Western modernity. Thus, in a paradoxical way, the modernity became a stimulus to re-visit the traditional, and through that the agency was re-inventing and re-imagining the self. In this context, the role and practices of nostalgia can be seen as a critical response to power dominancy by the agency, as seemed to be the case with my research participants.

Globalization and the Politics of Identity

Re-filiations: Filiation to affiliation to re-filiation

The concepts of filiation and affiliation are used by Said (1983) to describe ways in which colonized society relates to the colonizer. In this respect "the colonized societies replace filiative connections to indigenous cultural traditions with affiliations to the social, political, and cultural institutions of empire" (Said, 1983, cited in Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 1999, p. 26). This understanding of filiation and affiliation was also present in my research study, and therefore useful in the neo-colonial context. However, Said's argument needs elaboration to capture the phenomena occurring in the neo-colonial globalized context. To understand the experiences of the students within this research, I use the term re-filiation to demonstrate a process whereby the agency is re-anchoring or trying to re-anchor itself to its traditional reference points. The agency uses religious or cultural reference points to strengthen and/or re-invent the filiative connections with their religious/cultural memory through the practice of nostalgia. In this process, the students are re-imagining the role and power of the Ummah

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which serves as a source for re-filiation. Hence, I would argue that Said's analysis of filiation and affiliation is incomplete within the neo-colonized globalized context, without incorporating the processes of re-filliation as illustrated by my research.

Silence

In recent ethnographic debates, especially with reference to ethnographic representation, the issue of voice and the politics of voice has gained centre stage within critical sociological discourse (Marcus, 1998). From Spivak's (1988) lament that the Subaltern can't speak to Apple's (2004) assertion that the Sub-altern can speak, a range of debates and research discourses have advocated bringing out the voices. While the politics of voice in sociological research remains significant, my research brings to attention a case of silence which also must be attended to.

In studying the dynamics pertaining to the politics of identity, silence can also be interpreted as a voice that makes a self-statement and defines one's identity. One of my research participants when asked ''who are you?'', chose to respond by remaining silent. His silence, however, was a powerful statement of who he was. When I probed his silence, he replied: "I will not answer! Why should I answer?" (Focus group discussion, Sepetember 20, 2006). I would argue here that this silence should be interpreted, not only as a condition of the oppressed (Spivak, 1988), but also as a strategic act of resistance, expressing power through non-engagement. My research suggests that critical sociological research needs to explore historical forces and conditions that have led to such a silencing of the agency.

Having presented the synthesis of the emergent themes, and their connections with and contributions to the sociological theorizing of the relationship between the local-dynamic and the agency, the following chapter will now draw some concluding insights from the whole research process.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUDING REMARKS AND KEY INSIGHTS

This concluding chapter begins by presenting a summary of the key findings of this research, followed by a discussion of some theoretical reflections that this research highlights in studying the local-global dynamic and its implications on the formation of identity in a globalizing world. In addition, the discussion will present some methodological insights based on a year-long ethnographic field-work done in the Pakistani context, and will put forward some recommendations for further research. Moreover, the discussion will draw some implications for educational policy and practice with a view to suggesting some possible approaches to dealing with issues of curricular policy, content and pedagogy for educating high school youth for a world that is simultaneously globalizing and localizing. The discussion will conclude with some self-reflections about the manner in which this project has informed my own self.

KEY FINDINGS

This doctoral research set out to critically explore the following questions: a) How does the local-global dynamic manifest itself in the students' educational experiences, especially in the contexts of schooling and the media? b) What are some cultural possibilities opened up by the school's official curriculum? c) How do students make sense of the local-global dynamic? d) What implications do the local-global dynamics bear on the students' identity formation?

The research found that the school and the media are two key globalizing and localizing sites that form a substantial part of the students' lived-world context. The local-global interplay is manifested at these sites, which in turn inform the students' sense of the local and the global. Both these sites construct the students' meaning of the local and the global. The constructs not only form the students' contexts, that is, the axis of their locations, but also become references of the students' sense of identification and difference. In this manner, the local and the global constructs serve both as contexts as well as identity

markers, which in turn, inform their social practices and identities. The students are found to be strategically and innovatively engaged with the local-global interplay from their historical, political and value embeddedness. The findings reflect structuration at play between the global flows and the local self who is historically and politically situated. In addition, the innovative and strategic engagement of the agency with the local-global interplay resonates with the notion of structural purported by Bourdieu (1977, 1989), as explained in chapter two.

With respect to presenting cultural possibilities, the school and the media sites promote different world-views and notions of the local and the global, the self and the other, hence presenting different, at times complementary and at others conflicting visions of the world and the self.

Below is a brief summary of the way in which the official curricular text constructs the notions of the local and the global, and the interrelationship between the two.

The Textbook's Construction of the Local and Global

The formal schooling through the state-controlled official curricula promotes a sense of narrow nationalism; thus providing a limited world-view. The discourse of political nationalism underscores and shapes the notion of the students' national identity as being Pakistani. In this regard, the textual discourse defines an identity as against the colonial master and the Hindu other. This can well be rationalized, as the textbook in particular and the curriculum in general is framed in the context of the post-colonial narration of the nation which the state constructs through the apparatus of formal education. The research illuminates that the curriculum is framed within the discourse of colonization/post-colonization and not within the context of situating Pakistan within the context of globalization.

Having said that, it should be noted that post 9/11, Pakistan has come under severe scrutiny as well as international political and economic pressure, in response to which the state has adopted the softer stance (especially under ex-

President Musharraf's regime) of representing and re-defining Pakistan's identity as a soft, enlightened, and moderate Islamic nation-state. This change in stance is reflected in the current discourse of reforming educational policy; however, it remains to be translated into the school curricular discourse.

At present, the official curricular textbook under analysis produces the local as national (as in political nationalism). The narration of the nation (Bhabha, 1990) is characterized by a discourse of national ideology. The underlying ideological reference used in creating a discourse of national ideology in Pakistan is the religious reference of Islam, coupled with the sense of linguistic nationalism, that is, of the Urdu language. Therefore, the national identity is a complex construct constituted by elements of religious nationalism and linguistic nationalism that shape the students' sense of national identity.

With reference to the global, the textbook represents the notion through two main references. One is the notion of the Ummah- a transnational construct having a supra-national status. In this regard, again Islam serves as a key reference that imagines a transnational Muslim community. The second construct that refers to the global (in the sense of its extensivity) is the notion of the international. In this regard, the textbook discusses the role of international organizations; for example, the United Nations Organization, as an institution that serves the interests of the world nation-states. These textual constructs create a dialogue with the students' sense of identification which further confirms their sense of national and religious identities.

In conclusion, it could be argued that the state, therefore, seems to be in control in the realm of the school's official curriculum, strengthening the notion of national identity and patriotism through school history. In doing so, the state strengthens the hyphen between the nation and the state (as in nation-state), and makes it function as an index of a strengthened conjunction, rather than as the weakened link as suggested by Appadurai (1996).

However, in the realm beyond the official curriculum, in the students' lived-contexts, especially in the contexts of their interaction with the media-scapes, where they can forge links with communities beyond the state border,

Appadurai's (1996) observation that the hyphen between the nation and the state has become more an index that separates rather than the one that unites seems plausible. Whilst the school curriculum provides a narrow nationalism, a nation-centric world-view, the students' access to media and information technology has opened up different cultural possibilities and world-views which often appear to be in conflict with the world-view promoted by the school. The local and the global constructed through such sources generates the local as place-bound, having an emotional/psychological character, and ethnic as well as religious references, while the global is seen as the West, progressive and modern, thus constructing a binary West/East orientalized discourse. A summary of the students' definitions of the local and the global and the interrelationship between the two is presented below.

Students' Definitions of the Local and the Global

The students defined the local as the place of their immediate dwelling (place-bound), neighborhood, community, religion, ethnic context and the nation, that is, Pakistan. These references were also used by students as their identity markers, as some of the students defined themselves as Muslim, Sindhi or Pathan, Pakistani, or Lalu-kheti (name of a locality in Karachi). These acts of definitions and identifications assigned the local a variety of meanings as metaphors for place, or having religious, ethnic, communal and political reference. Furthermore, it should be noted that the ethnographic reality of the agency is such that it simultaneously employs this variety of senses, that is, multiple locals within the web of which the agency is historically, socio-culturally and ideologically nested.

The students referred to the global as binary opposites: the global seen as the West, modern and progressive, and the local as the East, traditional, and backward. These constructs of the global/local binary seem to be informed by orientalist discourse, and paradoxically, the students are found to be engaged in a self-orientalizing discourse for which partly the media and partly the school curriculum can be counted as sources that develop such self-understandings.

Some students regard modernity/the modern as a symbol and synonym for the global/West and tradition as a synonym for the local. They seem to take the West as a synonym for and embodiment of rational and scientific knowledge, and hence culturally superior, and conversely, the East is regarded as a synonym for the Orient, and backward from scientific and development perspectives. Such a sensibility, it could be argued, has been developed over the period through the material and intellectual colonization of the local self – which is historically constructed through academia. The type of formal education that they get from the national education system bore imprints of the colonial legacy. In such a system of education, the Western/Euro-centric episteme, entrenched in Enlightenment rationality articulated through science and technology, becomes the sole and only valid reference for knowledge. Thereby, the local knowledge (Geertz, 1993), be it the mystical system of knowledge or any other indigenous episteme, is marginalized to the status of religious or spiritual or moral contexts, and considered non-verifiable, and therefore reduced to the category of what Ayer would classify as being non-sensical (Ayer, 1952).

Nevertheless, some students did take pride in their local cultural heritage and values. In this respect, some students were aware and critical about the exclusion of the Muslim intellectual traditions that had been historically excised by Europe (Focus group discussion, February 28, 2007), in reaction to which the students were found practicing *nostalgia* - through a recourse to their golden past when Muslim civilizations were at the zenith of sciences and arts around the 12th and 13th centuries. Through nostalgia, the student agency were practicing a critical strategy (Wilson & Dissanayake, 1996) to provide a counter-discourse to Western/modern/global cultural dominance and hegemony (Mignolo, 2000), and at the same time, engaging in reflection upon the historical and political causes that led to the decline of Muslim intellectual culture. In doing so, the students were deriving inspiration and meaning from the practice of nostalgia, which in turn helped them to re-imagine and re-invent their identity as modern Muslims. The research also found some students to be de-stabilizing the self-orientalizing dichotomy between East/West, local/global, by identifying with the common

references that make the whole of humanity a world community. In this way, some students refused to identify themselves as Eastern or local but rather preferred human as a marker of their global identity.

With respect to the students' lived contexts, whilst the the meaning of culture produced through the textbook is predominately national culture, the lived culture in the anthropological sense that the students experienced was very much hybridized, and not an isomorphic culture that is often preserved in either the textbooks or museums. Thus the students' habitus, to use Bourdieu's (1977) term, as a generative context of meaning and social action, is hybridized- whereby both the extra-local and the local cultural elements constitute the agency's context. In this respect, it is empirically difficult to distinguish concretely where the local ends and the global begins. Nevertheless, the ethnographic observation and students' insider meanings help to identify certain cultural elements and traits as local or global. In this regard, the research found that the elements of culture that are regarded as local constitute aspects like religious tradition, sacred places and symbols that historically construct the local, both as a place as well as a "structure of feeling" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 181), the local literature, especially the local poetry (elements of high culture), language, traditional dress and the food. Most of the mentioned cultural elements, that is, the local culture, has become less accessible as a habitus and has become either museumized (Appadurai, 1996) or textualized in the school's official curricula.

Wired-world, De-territorialization of the Self

The students' lived-world was heavily characterized by the use of information and communication technology. The information and communication technology constituted dis-embedding mechanisms (Giddens, 1990) which created de-territorialization of the self, through which their social experiences were lifted out from their immediate local and are re-inscribed in different spatial contexts. As a result of the deterritorialization, the students were increasingly coming into contact with the cultural/global other. In this regard, the students interacted with the global from their historical, political and interpretive

embedded-ness in the local. The process of deterritorialization created both opportunities as well as anxiety for the student self. The use of the wired-world created opportunities for the students in the sense that through its use the students were generating global social capital through networking. Ironically, the same de-territorializing experience, especially through cyber-space interactions at times creates a sense of anxiety and fear as the local self encounters the unknown stranger who exposes his/her digital identity only whereby the actual identity remains unaccessible (Neizen, 2004).

Local-Global Dynamic, Disjuncture, and the Self

When the students interacted with the global cultural flow through media-scape, they experienced disjuncture, a sense and experience of rupture between the haves and have-nots, extra-local foreign norms and values and the local norms and values, imagined possibilities and realities between the global and thelocal. In the case of the high school youth that I studied, they experienced disjuncture mainly in the realms of socio-cultural values, their self-image as Muslims, education/knowledge and colonial difference, a disjuncture between past and present and a sense of the loss of local culture and heritage.

Most of the students were found to be experiencing ambivalence due to the disjuncture caused by local-global cultural interplay. Some charts illustrate this assertion. Notable, for example, is Amad's poignant cry of "My heart wants to be on one side, otherwise it will rip apart" (Amad's visual, April 19, 2007). This statement expresses pain experienced due to a state of ambivalence. A similar confusion is expressed in another chart by Tasneem and Saima where they question "where to go"? They seem to find tradition as a burden and modernity and modernization as direction-less and chaotic (see Appendix IX). Such a scenario depicts a sense of ambivalence, a characteristic feature of "liquid modernity" (Bauman, 2000) as solid social structures and relationships in which the agency used to anchor itself remain no more solid but are becoming fluid, which generates a sense of ambivalence, a state of confusion and in-between-ness for the students (Bhabha, 1994).

Globalization and the New Social Imagination

Globalizing technologies such as information and communication technologies are opening up new spaces for interaction and knowledge access. Such spaces are generating new possibilities for the self in terms of accessing knowledge with a rapid pace, developing professional networks across the globe, being aware of economic (job related) opportunities internationally, and being informed with multiple lenses to engage with inter-cultural dynamics. In this manner, globalization is generating practices of a new social imagination (Appadurai, 1996) through which the youth are imagining alternate possible social worlds and in the process are identifying with multiple belongings.

Globalization and the Continuity of the Local Self

Paradoxically, the media-scape that is generating disjuncture for the students is also becoming a source for continuity of the self. The globalizing technologies: Internet, TV or sites such as You-tube, are helping students to re-define and re-imagine their Muslim identity in today's world. This is achieved through access to discourse on Islam telecasted by several local and international media channels referred to as the new media (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003) that has mushroomed in the contexts of Muslim societies, especially post 9/11 events. Through this media, documentaries and lectures on Islam such as those presenting the history of Islam, the intellectual and cultural achievements of Muslim civilizations, interpretations of certain religious rituals and practices, etc are telecasted. Examples of some such TV channels available at local and regional levels are Peace TV, HAQ TV, and QTV. These channels provide a platform for discourse for Muslim youth to re-filiate with their Islamic past and intellectual, cultural and religious heritage. The reasons that such discourses attract some of my research participants are that the material is presented in English and local languages, and the mode of presentation reflects the presenter's knowledge of effective presentation and delivery skills, combined with the know-how of using modern presentation technology.

In this manner, paradoxically, globalizing technologies that are often regarded as a threat to one's cultural heritage and identity is found to be a solidifying force for the Muslim identity (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod & Larkin, 2002). In this regard, one teacher remarked, "I come to know about my own past through National Geographic channel" (Interview: Teacher, October 6, 2006). Furthermore, cyber-space is becoming a useful arena to express a sense of Muslim solidarity in the wake of the global polymics. For example, in reaction to the cartoon controversy generated by a Danish cartoonist, millions of Muslims across the globe registered their protests in cyber-space.

Local-Global Dynamic and the Politics of Identity: Hybridizing, Solidifying and Re-inventing of Identities

The students did not have a single identity marker but several identity markers. All identity markers are strong, but the power of the marker is defined by the situation and context in which it is used. For example, it might be more powerful to associate with the national identity, Pakistani, in certain situations. In others, it might be better to use the identity of a globalized individual who has studied in the Western world but can still fit in with the local context. Identifying with a transnational identity allows for certain powers that may not be available when using only the national identity marker.

The students were found to be engaged in practices of cultural border-crossing. In these liminal spaces and practices, some students' lived practices seemed to be dominated by Western cultural elements as manifested in the use of language, dress and style of interactions. In this regard, Faizan who considered the local as backward and the global as progressive, illustrates the case. However, some students though engaged in hybridizing practices, appeared to strike a balance, by recoursing to available references and interpretations of modernity and tradition, urban and rural ways of life, the global and the local. For example, some students made a special point to visit their family elders who were living in the rural areas, and spend time in their company during vacations. Some refiliated with their ancestors through stories that their parents told, as in some cases the elders were no longer alive or were far away. Nevertheless, these efforts always

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appeared to create a tension, and at times, anxiety and ambivalence within the self, in their attempts to reconcile the global and the local.

The students were hybridizing as a result of the influence of the cultural globalization. However, my research highlights that some students were using hybridization as a strategy to gain social capital that would provide them global mobility. In doing so, the students aimed to gain social membership with their peers who seemed to value what they condidered the Western style of living and being, especially the use of foreign accented language - English - branded designer clothes, and fast-food.

Some students used their own identity as a tool to compare with and relate to other identities. The students might pick a single identity marker such as faith to solidify their religious identity not only in the local but also in the global. For example, the identity of a Muslim helps to draw power from the Muslim collectivity which is greater than the local Muslim community. The same collective identity allows for dialogue with other religious identities about what thay do and do not have in common. In other words, a Muslim could identify with a Christian or a Jew on the basis that all these religions share the same grandfather, Abraham or Ibrahim and are known as the people of the book. Moreover, in the post 9/11 context, the Muslim identity has been challenged globally, making Muslims vulnerable. In the face of such a challenge, the Muslims, such as some of the high school youth in my study, are engaged in practices of solidifying their religious identity as Muslims.For instance, the incident of the cartoon controversy where the image of the Prophet of Islam was caricatured and globally circulated through electronic and print media triggered a back-clash from Muslims all over the world. This event hurt Muslim sensibilities which in turn triggered protests on the streets around the world as well as in cyber-space. In this situation, the students were re-filiating by referring to the notion of Ummah which represents the transnational and supra-national religious identity of Muslim collectivity, as a frame of reference to solidify their identity, and also to gather a sense of solidarity and strength against the onslaught of the power of globalization. Moreover, the students were using the new media that is

mushrooming in the contexts of Muslim societies, whereby they draw upon the discourse about Islam with a view to make sense of what it means to be Muslims in modern/contemporary times. Furthermore, some of my students were re-filiating with their cultural roots through re-linking with their family/ancestral root by visiting the rural context, thus re-territorializing and re-localizing themselves. All these frames of references seemed to be deployed to gain some sense of balance and an anchorage for the self-identity in the context of hyper-modern urbanization within which they were situated.

The students' interaction with the global provided them with different and multiple perspectives about their own identity as perceived by the cultural other, which in turn stimulated them to re-interpret certain concepts with which they identified as Muslims. Through the Internet and the new media in the Muslim world, the students were able to engage in lenses other than their own to understand who a Muslim is and to use the very same tools to challenge and critique those perspectives. The research found that such an engagement with the global provided multiple perspectives about the self through the lens of the global others. In this regard, for example, the students were engaging in re-interpreting Jihad as a struggle against ignorance, hunger and poverty; turning it into a positive word rather than its media-propagated and narrowly perceived view as armed struggle against the infidel other. Such re-interpretation is an attempt to resist the exclusionary discourse of the dominant West regarding the Islam and Muslims, and at the same time helped the students to distance themselves from those who uphold extremist interpretations of Jihad. In this manner, the students in the globalizing world are re-interpreting the local/religious traditions and some related concepts to re-invent their identity as global modern Muslims. Amongst my research participants, some students were generating a discourse and identified themselves and their identity as beyond difference by de-stabilizing the discourse of identification based on cultural difference. This was done through recourse to common references of humanity and the human dimension of globalization, such as the belief of *Ashraf ul- Makhluqat* [Human beings are God's best creation]. Also one student asserted that "I am first a human. Then a

Muslim, and then Pakistani" (Focus group discussion, November 13, 2006). On the other hand, Musfira and Asif saw no tension between the local and the global, and seemed to float between the two very comfortably. This stance is very interesting as an example of inter-cultural dialogue derived from the teachings of the Quran by the students; again a reference to Islam is defined as a guiding base for their identity. By universalizing Islam, they are addressing and de-stabilizing the power-balance by equating Islam with globalization.

Overall, most of the students in my research were found to be very pragmatic and strategic in terms of positioning and locating themselves in the globalizing world. My research points to the fact that the high school youth that I studied are more concerned with their identity as students living in a globalizing world who are disenchanted with the local due to its political instability and low educational quality. Therefore, their prime concern is to be successful students, and in that, they see globalization as an opportunity and the global, and especially the West, as a site for promise. However, at the same time they wish to re-negotiate, re-interpret and re-invent their connection with the local history and traditions as they desire to be at home simultaneously with both the global and the local. My research, contrary to many other sociologists' views, argues that students use the discourse and the politics of cultural and national identities, not always out of their strong affiliation with the local nation or culture, but rather as a strategy, to gain political valance and power in the global contexts. This is because they realize that in these contexts individual and cultural rights are championed, again due to globalization, so they desire mobility, which according to them is the key to be in the game in a globalizing world. This desired mobility, however, is not accessible to many, despite the *mantras* of globalization and claims that our world is becoming a global village, where distances are shrinking (Harvey, 1989; Tomlinson, 1999). Therefore, in the case of my research, most of the students used hybridizing as a strategy to step in and out of modernity and tradition, global and local to achieve social and economic advantages. Here Sen's (2006) thesis seems to be closer to the ethnographic realities of my student particpants, as he argues that the agency often has concerns about other sorts of

identities (rather than abstract ones) such as their student identity or gender or other identities that matters to their immediate lives. My research illustrates that the youth I studied were pragmatic and strategic. They were strategic in the sense that they used hybridizing and their association with the global to gain social capital both globally as well as locally. Like a magician that pulls out different colors of ribbons from his hat, the youth for their strategic reasons used a repertoire of identities to achieve their particular goals, be that mobility at global levels or the balance they sought between the global and the local filiations and affiliations. In this sense, the agency is creative, strategic and innovative in responding to globalization, which echoes Bourdieu's (1989) theoretical construct of the structural.

THEORETICAL INSIGHTS

My research highlighted some theoretical constructs, especially the synthesis and re-arrangement of relationships between some theoretical articulations that may be useful in understanding the processes of local-global cultural dynamics and their influence on the processes of the formation of identities.

In exploring local-global dynamics, the research found merit in deploying the structuration perspective for analyzing global-local interplay, as it facilitated the analysis of interaction between the local and the global, between structure and agency. In this sense, structuration as an analytical perspective merits its own worth. Moreover, structuration as an analytic concept allowed the research to see the global as partial (Sassen, 2003) and not wholly encompassing, thus leaving space and a role for the local in the analysis. Furthermore, the research data about the student agency and its role in dealing with the local-global dynamic shed some interesting light on the way the agency responded/negotiated with the cultural dynamic by being strategic, innovative and intuitive. Such an arrival strengthens the notion of structural presented by Bourdieu to approach an understanding of the role of agency which is ignored by the structuralist/functionalist paradigm.

In addition, the post-colonial perspective sensitized the research analysis with the historical dimension through which the local/Pakistan has been constructed. This dimension informed the textbook analysis and the narration of the nation provided within it. The historical perspective (informed by the post-colonial critique) helped to identify the circulation of power through colonial history that has shaped Pakistan. Moreover, the same lens exposed the power of school historiography in erasing/excluding certain cultures from the historical memory of the students. Hence, the post-colonial perspective added a realistic dimension to the historical, political and socio-cultural factors which constituted the locality – the context where our research participants were located.

The research analysis also highlighted the difference between various locals at national and sub-national levels, and hence identified multiple locals within which the student agency was situated. In a similar vein, the research illuminated difference, and at times, the tension that existed between one local and the other - between national identity and the ethnic or Muslim collective identity known as Ummah. For example, post 9/11, when Pakistan became an ally of the US-led war on terror, it brought into tension the issue of national identity versus Muslim identity (as collectivity) as US allies attacked Afghanistan and Iraq which are Muslim majority countries. This tension was voiced by the students on several occasions during the focus group discussions.

The research also brought to the surface a theoretical relationship between notions of liminal, disjuncture and contraputal, and suggested that the relationship between these can help illuminate the processes and practices of border-crossing in the wake of globalization. Moreover, the research also found that the students are re-filiating in the wake of globalization, and hence the notion of re-filiation is active at the level of the ethnographic particularities of the students. The notion of re-filiation as articulated through my research therefore extends Said's (1983) foreclosure of the notions of filiation and affiliation whereby Said considered that in the context of modernity the filiation has been replaced by affiliations to the Empire/modernity. My research extends Said's thesis further by arguing that it is a premature closure to do so, as in the wake of contemporary globalization the

process of re-filiation has re-generated, and hence, the contemporary ethnography of globalization needs to pay attention to this. In the samevein, therefore, my research argues that in addition to Deleuze and Guattari's (2005) proposed metaphor of rhizome as depicting the complex multiplicity that is the reality of globalization, the metaphor of roots also holds symbolic significance in the lives of the youth agency in case of my research.

Furthermore, my research highlights the role and politics of nostalgia that my research participants exercised, as they took recourse to their golden past when encountered with the onslaught and power of the modern/global/colonial project. Hence, in this sense, the research illuminates the nostalgia as a practice of cultural critique (Dirlik, 1996) which not only helps them to critique the contemporary power-imbalance between the West and the East/them, between modernity/tradition, but is also helping the students to re-imagine and re-invent their identities as modern Muslims.

Finally, the research highlights and signifies the role and place of silence in the politics of identity exercised by the agency in the globalizing world. Here the research calls for attention to silence in addition to urging for voice, which is more often the case with post-modern/contemporary critical ethnographies.

METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

One of the struggles that remained in conducting this ethnography was to use theoretical reference in a manner that did not trap the ethnographic imagination of the research, and did not stray away from actual ground practices. This feeling became quite apparent while confronting data (generated through focus group discussions) which took my theoretical assumptions/optics by surprise. Therefore, a conscious struggle went on in my research between theory, data and my own self in aligning and re-aligning my consciousness and keeping it anchored to ethnographic particularities on the ground.

Moreover, a methodological challenge was found in distinguishing the local from the global at the empirical level. In this regard, the main challenge was how to discern whether an observation/data belonged to the local or the global. In

this regard, a methodological/analytical way out was to go with the insiders' meanings and constructions and follow what the research participants referred to as local and global. Furthermore, the aid of history was taken to relate something belonging to the local or extra-local, for example the local language, dress, food and so forth.

Another reflection that arose was with regard to my role as the field-researcher. I discovered that the fieldwork often includes dialectic between the projected versus the received/interpreted image of the researcher.

An additional point regarding methodology which I wish to reiterate here is the power of participant observation in ethnography. I found Participant Observation (PO) as a facilitating factor for exploring possible spaces and processes of relevant data generation, and above all, spending more time with the participants generated a sense of mutual trust and comfort between the research participants and the researcher.

Another methodological challenge which I faced, especially with reference to the issue of representation, was what I would like to call a crisis of hermeneutics (Bauman, 2004). In this respect, I found it difficult to render a cultural and experiential translation of certain local terms/expressions used by my research participants. For example, while referring to the phenomenon of hybridization, one of my participants used the term *Khichri* – a type of food dish that contains a mixture of rice and lentils - as a metaphor to denote hybridization. This reference to *Khichri* may not easily be conveyed to a reader who has not seen or eaten *Khichri*, in order to fully appreciate the word-play involved in the participant's articulation which itself again is locally (culturally and socially) embedded. Similarly, the tale of *Anar-Kali* is hard to appreciate without being familiar with Mughal history and its romanticisation in local Urdu literature. Hence, a researcher like me, while traveling across the two cultures of the Western readership and local/Urdu speaking context, struggles to culturally translate some local expressions. Thus one remains confronted with the issue of hermeneutics in ethnographic representation.

Role and identity are co-constructed and negotiated. There is a stark difference, often un- noticed by the researcher, between the assumed and intended identity (that we bring to the research) and the perceived identity, which is the way the intended identity gets translated to be projected out on the field-screen by the school members and participants (as the researcher is equally vulnerable and exposed to the eyes of the research participants). The students' portrayal of my identity as a researcher revealed an interesting dimension of my projected-self that took me by surprise, and made me realize that no matter how much the ethnographer tries to become native, certain elements always mark him/her as the other (outsider) to the culture. In the case of my research, this othering was underpinned again by the discourse of globalization, specially with reference to transnational identity in many ways, as one student referred to me as the one who is imported (and hence an outsiderand not from the local/insider). These attached identities are part of the researcher through which the data gets filtered and re-shaped, just like the responses and decisions on the part of the participants to give access and collaborate on the project.

My key participants were very excited by their whole research experience and wanted me to make their identity known throughout the research project. However, I suggested to them that I would do this partially where I felt it to be appropriate. One way to go, and that was quite straightforward for me, was to retain complete anonymity, or conversely, to reveal their identities fully according to the participants' wishes. But I chose the mid-way, as I mentioned the names/identity (with some biographic information) of my participants selectively, and at times I consciously hid and protected their privacy, as I saw some potential sensitivities concerning the views expressed, which in my opinion my participants' did not foresee. Some views expressed may have caused some problems/tensions/ harm in the future for them in a Pakistani research context. Therefore, I had to make a choice and used my own professional judgment based on a subjective reading of the context. This was an interesting insight for me.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The overall research process surfaced some interesting dimensions for further research. Whilst my research focused on the urban city context, further research could be carried out by conducting a critical exploration of the global-local interplay in a rural context, as globalization is altering the very notion of rural/rurality. Such a project could provide an interesting comparative dimension, and complement the current research with rural sociology.

Another possible focus for inquiry that is highlighted by this research is a critical study of the interplay between the students' practices of nostalgia and the new social imaginative processes generated in the wake of globalization, and its translation into students' identity politics. A critical ethnography in this regard could shed some interesting light on the processes at play.

Whilst elites display their transnational identities, and the middle-class strategy is receiving more attention as aspiring for transnational mobility (which became evident in my research too) and is getting attention in the sociology of education, I would emphasize the need to study the failure of hope (with regard to transnational mobility) amidst the poor who do not have basic access to the new social imagination of which Appadurai (1996) speaks. In this regard, the critical sociology of education also needs to pay attention to such failures of hope, and their influence on students' narratives and experiences of identity formation in the wake of globalizing world.

With regard to focusing on exploring the production of knowledge/idea flows across cultural, physical and more importantly epistemic borders, Mignolo's (2000) notion of border gnosis or border thinking holds an interesting promise for research. Such a project designed across multi-sites/cultures can be an interesting endeavor to break the Euro-centric epistemic hold, and create spaces for epistemic diversity, in line with the emphasis made by Appadurai (1996) which calls for a new research imagination in the wake of globalization (whereby knowledge of different traditions can be brought into mainstream epistemic value). Such a project contains the seeds of what I refer to as the de-colonization

of epistemology, which I would argue, is a growing need and concern for the intercultural world today.

Finally, I would suggest a project to re-think and re-assess the very motive behind the discourse on identity (identification and difference) in relating the self with other. The urgency, to my mind, is to develop an alternate way of language, a language beyond difference. This could be a long term project, but one which I think may open some interesting trajectories for future co-habitation and co-production of the world that we all inherit.

Furthermore, the discourse and paradigms of identity need to be critically scrutinized and instead of framing discourse through the binary frame of self versus other, Occident versus Orient, there should be a language of possibility about creating shared meanings and making diversity as a universal project (Mignolo, 2000).

The critical ethnography of the silence/muting of agency through the production of colonial difference in social and educational realms is another area of research. Such a project bears significant value in de-colonizing and unearthing voices that are historically muted, particularly as the ethnography of muting of the local self may take place due to globalization.

Having outlined some possible research foci for further projects, I would like, in the following lines, to draw some implications of this research on educational policy, content and pedagogy in the Pakistani context in particular and the educational research community and beyond in general.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION POLICY AND PRACTICE

Based on my research following recommendations are made to inform educational policy and practice:

- The education policy in general and the high school curriculum in particular need to be sensitive to processes of globalization, and their subsequent articulation need to be informed by discourses of globalization,

and should not remain only stuck in colonial/post-colonial counter discourse.

- The school's official curriculum, especially of Pakistan Studies, needs to be revised to make it more relevant to the characteristics of contemporary globalizing world within which the students live, as currently the students feel that their official school curriculum is out-dated and has not been revised for decades.

- As shown by the research, in the context of globalization, the agency is de-territorializing which in turn opens up new spaces and contexts of interaction for the students with the cultural/global other. These spaces include both physical as well as spatial locations. Therefore, the curriculum needs to represent the shifting cultural geography within which student agency is situated.

- School history needs to be rewritten from the perspective of restoring cultural histories and diversities that characterize the locality. In this regard, historiography needs to foreground the diverse cultural heritage that is part of the historical memory of the locality. In addition, students need to be educated about the histories of world cultures. Such an approach requires anthropological and historical knowledge and sincerity on the part of the curriculum writers and policymakers to provide an educational response that educates students about living and being in a culturally pluralistic world.

- My research shows that the media-scape (TV, information and communication technology) forms a substantial part of the high school youths' lived-world and practices. Therefore, the school curriculum needs to incorporate education on critical media literacy, so that on the one hand, they can understand the politics of representation by the media, the points and causes of disjuncture, and on the other, they can use the same media to express and assert their selves in the globalizing world.

- Schools need to be seen as sites where the production of social imagination takes place. In addition, the school needs to be envisioned, not

only as a site of reproduction (as shown by Marxist sociologists), or a site of resistance only (informed by a neo-Marxist Gramscian lens), but also as a site of imagination - a site that triggeres nostalgia and social imagination in the ethnographic day to day particularities of the students' lives that shape their sense of the world, the self and the other.

In order to be creative and responsive to the globalizing world, the school curriculum needs to strike a balance between the students' need to maintain a distinctive local identity as well as their search to be coherent with the global. In this regard, I quote a paragraph from a speech by the Aga Khan (2008) which suggests one such possible curriculum response:

> In the years ahead, should we not expect a student at an IB school in Atlanta to know as much about Jomo Kenyatta or Muhammad Ali Jinnah as a student in Mombasa or Lahore knows about Atlanta's great son, the Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr.? Should a Bangladeshi IB student reading the poems of Tagore at the Aga Khan Academy in Dhaka not also encounter the works of other Nobel Laureates in Literature such as the Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk or America's William Faulkner or Toni Morrison?
>
> Should the study of medieval architecture not include both the Chartres Cathedral in France and the Mosque of Djenne in Mali? And shouldn't . . . science students not learn about Ibn al-Haytham, the Muslim scholar who developed modern optics, as well as his predecessors Euclid and Ptolemy, whose ideas he challenged.
>
> As we work together to bridge the gulf between East and West, between North and South, between developing and developed economies, between urban and rural settings, we will be redefining what it means to be well educated (¶ 55-58).

Having discussed some implications for education policy and practice, the discussion will now briefly highlight some implications that this critical

ethnographic project has borne on my own self. The ethnographic exploration of the local-global cultural dynamics and its implications on the lives of my research participants has greatly informed my own being, as I oscillate between the local and the global as an international student. Although my research participants and I were both engaged in the local-global nexus differently, the study afforded me some key insights about the nature and the processes of the dynamics at play between the local and the global which in turn helped me to understand the context within which I was operating. This research is significant at a personal level in the sense that it provided me with analytical optics to view and relate my own experiences of de-territorialization and its implications on my identity. Moreover, the project helped me to understand the complex nature of the relationship between the global and the local, and helped me better appreciate how locality is shaped by some of these interplays at political, economic and socio-cultural levels. Finally, the research project has inspired me to return to the local, with a view to re-discover it, in the sense of appreciating what my local has to offer, which in turn will provide me with pluralistic perspectives to see the world and the cultural other. In this sense, this project has enlarged my own self, and has made me more flexible, as well as critically aware of the power dynamics that get constructed through knowledge and representation that is produced through education and media in a globalzing world. I derive a sense of achievement from words such as those mentioned below by one of the students who remarked in a farewell session:

> We were not aware of these issues: local, global. We were just
> living, enjoying. Your discussion made us realize that we have to
> think about local, global. We started taking interest and it was you
> who valued our comments and views. Earlier we were just students
> but now we think ourselves as important, as you are doing your
> PhD on us, our views. Now we are seeing globalization differently
> (Student's presentation, April 19, 2007).

These words encourage me to consider my critical ethnographic project as making some contributions in the lives of those with whom I did my study. But at

the same time, these youths educated me in more than one way. Apart from their energy, their pragmatism in approaching the dynamic of the local and the global informed my own biography in more than one way - which I take with me out of this whole experience, along with the smiling faces and energy of my research participants and the happy memories of my field-work days.

As I write these concluding lines of my thesis, I begin to perceive the whole thesis process more as an organic fossil – that enshrines and imprints the itineraries of my displacements and replacements, migrations and returns, tears and joys, fears and faith, sacrifices and achievements, dislocations and relocations that I have experienced during this journey.

The whole experience of doing this research involved a series of encounters with the other - be they: places, cultures, seasons, peoples, emotions. The experience in turn evokes in my mind a metaphor - "mirrors as windows" coined by Ramanujan (1989). Here I adapt the metaphor to express my own meaning. A window is an interface between the inside and the outside. As I interacted with the cultural other, each encounter became an inter-face, a liminal space, like a window that enabled me to peep out into the world and the other. It helped me to move beyond my own self, and paradoxically, the same window of encounter served as a mirror, a kind of a reflective space, that allowed me to look back within my own self. This doctoral ethnography experience as a whole has become for me that inter-facing and reflective space of window and mirror. It is the window through which I reach out to the other, and the mirror through which I re-link with my own self roots, hoping that in the process, I reflexively emerge as a better human who can respect and celeberate the unity as well as diversity within and between the local and the global.

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APPENDIX I

Iqra

APPENDIX II

Request for Research Access

May 1, 2006

By: AL-Karim Datoo (al.datoo@mail.mcgill.ca)

Through this written letter, I formally seek permission from Aga Khan Education Service, Pakistan to allow me to conduct my doctoral research at Aga Khan Higher Secondary School in Karachi.

My proposed doctoral research intends to critically explore global-local dialectic and its implications on curricular constructions in a Pakistani school context.

The study is multidisciplinary in its approach as it draws upon fields of sociology, anthropology, and education. From thematic perspective, the study is located within a broader discourse of globalization, culture and education.

In this regard, I propose to conduct an ethnographic field-work at Aga Khan higher secondary school (AKHSS) in Karachi from May-December 2006. During my study, I will conduct: interviews of head-teacher, teachers, students and their parents (where required), classroom and whole school observations and document analysis of school curriculum. For this purpose, I will seek informed consent from each research participant.

This study will benefit AKES in a sense that it will provide an ethnographic account of school knowledge construction at AKHSS. More so, the study holds a potential to shed insights into dialectic of local and global at play which in turn could inform school broader curricular policy and pedagogy.

Given the above, I am hopeful that Aga Khan Education Service, Pakistan (AKES, P) will provide me with the requested research access. In this respect, I will somewhat reciprocate the facilitation provided by AKES, through conducting some seminars for AKHSS teachers and/or students (themes to be mutually negotiated), if desired by the higher secondary school management.

I will be very happy to respond to any question, if the institution has in this regard.

I am looking forward to gaining official permission letter from AKES soon.

Thank you for your support.

Sincerely,
AL-Karim Datoo
PhD Candidate at the department of Integrated Studies in Education
Faculty of Education, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

APPENDIX III
School Permission Letter

Aga Khan Education Service, Pakistan

Al-Karim Datoo
Ph.D Candidate, Dise:
McGill University

Dear Al-Karim Datoo:

Following the verbal permission for research given by the Aga Khan Education Service, Pakistan, this letter formally confirms the permission for data collection (2006-2007) at requested college of our education system.

I have gone through your research proposal and ethics clearance certificate from your university; and am confident that the research will follow ethical guidelines outlined.

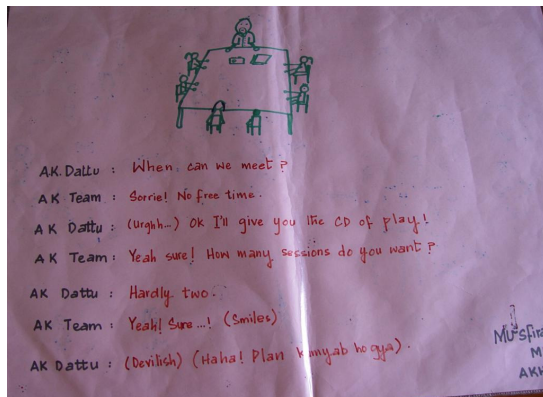I wish you all the best in your doctoral research.

Sincerely,

Rahim Somani
Dy. Chief Executive Officer

Researcher's Identity: Students' made visuals

APPENDIX V

Certificate of Ethical Acceptability

McGill

Faculty of Education – Ethics Review Board
McGill University
Faculty of Education
3700 McTavish; Room 230
Montreal H3A 1Y2

Tel: (514) 398-7039
Fax: (514) 398-1527
Ethics website: www.mcgill.ca/rgo/ethics/human

Faculty of Education – Review Ethics Board
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 688-0706

Project Title : *Critical ethnography exploring global-local dialectic and its implications*

Applicant's Name: Al-Karim Datoo   **Department:** DISE

Status: PhD student   **Supervisor's Name:** Dip Kapoor

Granting Agency and Title (if applicable): n/a

Type of Review: Expedited ✓   Full ____

This project was reviewed by: Stapley/Stringer

Approved by
Bracewell Sept 28, 2006
Signature/Date
Robert Bracewell, Ph.D.
Chair, Education Ethics Review Board

Approval Period: Sept 28/06 to Sept 25/07

All research involving human subjects requires review on an annual basis. An Annual Report/Request for Renewal form should be submitted at least one month before the above expiry date. If a project has been completed or terminated for any reason before the expiry date, a Final Report form must be submitted. Should any modification or other unanticipated development occur before the next required review, the REB must be informed and any modification can't be initiated until approval is received. This project was reviewed and approved in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Subjects and with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Human Subjects.

9/26/06

APPENDIX VI

Consent form: Student

Dear student,

As a part of my PhD studies at University of McGill in Canada, I am conducting a study about influence of globalization on school curriculum; with particular focus on how local-global interplay shapes and in turn is shaped by school curricular constructions in a Pakistani school context. In this regard, I plan to conduct a study at your high school for which I have sought permission from the school authorities.

As part of my study, I will seek some information from students. In this respect, if you wish to participate in the study, you will be asked to meet with me whereby I will have some discussions (which will last around 30 to 40 minutes, 2 to 3 times over a period of time) and two interviews of and hour each.

These discussions and interviews will be audio-recorded. Your opinion cited will be used for research and academic purpose only, and will have no impact on your regular school academic grades. Moreover, the information shared will be kept completely confidential; your name will not be used in any of the reports describing the results of the study. Even if you agree now to participate, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you are willing to participate in this research, please sign and return the consent form at the bottom of this letter. Please also provide your e-mail address (if available) so that I can contact you to arrange our meetings. If you have further questions about this study, you may contact me directly in person or e-mail or phone.

Sincerely

AL-Karim Datoo

PhD Candidate,
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
McGill University, Montreal, Canada
e-mail: al.datoo@mail.mcgill.ca; akdatoo@hotmail.com
Res. Phone: 92-021-4944988

Consent form: Teacher

Dear teacher,

As a part of my PhD studies at University of McGill in Canada, I am conducting a study about influence of globalization on school curriculum; with particular focus on how local-global interplay shapes and in turn is shaped by school curricular constructions in a Pakistani school context. In this regard, I plan to conduct a study at your high school for which I have sought permission from the school authorities.

As part of my study, I will seek some information from some select teachers and observe their classroom teaching and learning processes to explore above mentioned research focus. In this respect, if you accept to participate in the study, you will be asked to meet with me whereby we will have some discussions and interviews (ranging from half and hour to two hours, for around 5 times during my study. In addition, you will be expected to let me observe your classroom teaching and learning.

The discussions and interviews will be audio-recorded, whereas the classroom observation notes will be recorded in a research journal. Your opinion cited and teaching practice observed will be used for research and academic purpose only, and will have no impact on your regular school academic grades. Moreover, the information shared will be kept completely confidential; your name will not be used in any of the reports describing the results of the study. Even if you agree now to participate, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you are willing to participate in this research, please sign and return the consent form at the bottom of this letter. Please also provide your e-mail address (if available) so that I can contact you to arrange our meetings. If you have further questions about this study, you may contact me directly in person or e-mail or phone.

Sincerely

AL-Karim Datoo

PhD Candidate,
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
McGill University, Montreal, Canada
e-mail: al.datoo@mail.mcgill.ca; akdatoo@hotmail.com
Res. Phone: 92-021-4944988

Consent form: Parent

Dear Parent,

As a part of my PhD studies at University of McGill in Canada, I am conducting a study about influence of globalization on school curriculum; with particular focus on how local-global interplay shapes and in turn is shaped by school curricular constructions in a Pakistani school context. In this regard, I plan to conduct a study at your high school for which I have sought permission from the school authorities.

As part of my study, I wish to seek some information from you- as a parent. In this respect, if you accept to participate in the study, you will be requested to meet with me for a two hour interview.

The interview will be audio-recorded. Your opinion cited will be used for research and academic purpose only. Moreover, the information shared will be kept completely confidential; your name will not be used in any of the reports describing the results of the study. Even if you agree now to participate, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you are willing to participate in this research, please sign and return the consent form at the bottom of this letter. Please also provide your e-mail address (if available) so that I can contact you to arrange our meetings. If you have further questions about this study, you may contact me directly in person or e-mail or phone.

Sincerely

AL-Karim Datoo

PhD Candidate,
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
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Interview Guide

For Students:

What comes to your mind when you hear the term globalization?

How globalization is impacting your life today?

How globalization influences your world-view?

In what ways, globalization influences education?

In what ways, globalization influences students?

How the discourse about 'global' and 'local' is represented in official text/curricula?

What examples from the curriculum you can pick/identify that talk about globalization/localization?

In what ways, the text book/curriculum represents themes about the world in general and Pakistan in particular?

Probe – could you identify any examples……..

How 'global' is represented?

How local is represented?

For school principal and teachers

In your opinion, what is the nature of our contemporary world today?

What comes to your mind when you think of the term globalization?

How AKHSS (school) positions itself – as an institution of higher secondary school- in today's contemporary world?

What is AKHSS' vision - as a higher secondary school institution in a Pakistani context?

Where does your school derive its vision from? What are the sources?

What is your role as a principal/teacher in this regard?

How does globalization influence education in Pakistan?

How does globalization influence your school?

Could you identify global forces at play which shape our local culture/life/education?

In what ways your school is globally connected? What is the nature of this connectivity? How it happens?

What happens, as a result? How this 'connectivity' /reach – is experienced, perceived and responded by the school/students/teachers?

How local is connected with the global?

How local influences the global? What efforts are being made to engage local with the global?

What are some constraints faced by your school – being a Pakistani institution situated in the globalizing world?

Note: Relevant probes will be used as and when necessary to elaborate or clarify any discussed aspects.

APPENDIX VIII

Glimpses from the field: Data generation process

APPENDIX IX

Visual by Tasneem and Saima

(April 19, 2007)