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# CULTURAL STUDIES IN INDIA: INITIATIVES, PRESENT PRACTICES, AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

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## **ABSTRACT**

What is the difference between area studies and cultural studies? If the terminologies like British Cultural Studies, American cultural studies, Canadian cultural studies, and African cultural studies are justifiable, can the same be applicable about Indian Cultural Studies? Should Indian cultural studies be a part of South Asian cultural studies, letting a broader geographical relevance, or should it be kept open to diversity in Indian cultural space, letting the narrowed down phrase makings like Northeast Indian cultural studies? This paper addresses these issues by reviewing the literature on and practices of cultural studies in India. The first part of the paper maps the cultural studies in India by surveying the literature and institutional set ups (including the academic programmes in universities/colleges/institutions and journals and publications), as a part of which some crucial points are discussed on the content of Indian cultural studies. These include the intersections and relationships of subaltern studies, dalit studies, tribal studies, and folklore studies etc. with cultural studies in the Indian context. The second part of the paper presents the argument that the challenge for Indian cultural studies is to be posited itself in the dialectic relationship between the local and the global, metropolis and the regional, without being trapped in either end. As such, in a theoretical parameter, it opens the debate on Indian cultural studies to the debate between universality and particularity.

Keywords: India, Cultural Studies, Globalization, Localization, Interdisciplinary

The root of Cultural Studies is Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. The growth of Cultural Studies is linked to the rise in interest in popular culture in Western Societies in the 1960s. Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall's work influenced the projects and approaches of the BCCS in the 1970s-80s. The approach was clearly Marxist, and it adapted theoretical insights from post structuralism to develop Cultural Studies. Textuality and discourse were the early approaches and remains central to Cultural Studies. Cultural Studies is interested in the processes by which power relations between and within groups of human beings organize cultural artifacts and their meanings. Subjects, identities, relationships are constructed out of discourse and deliver meanings only in the act of differentiation (k.Nayar)

When we talk of Cultural Studies in India, we need to note that British Cultural Studies has certainly been an important influence. However, the emergence of the area in the Indian context has also been determined by developments in the disciplines of history, art history and the study of cinema. Moreover,

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much of what we may today view as early work in Cultural Studies was in fact not called Cultural Studies. A working definition of Cultural Studies would be that it is the study of culture in order to understand a society and its politics. While attempting to trace the history of Cultural Studies we need to look at approaches and areas that are clearly related to what we identify as the concerns of Cultural Studies. These would be the focus on everyday life and its practices a shift away from classical or elite cultural forms to popular or industrially produced forms (such as cinema, television, radio, popular magazines) and the focus on ways in which power and authority are exercised in cultural practices. Cultural studies uses a wide range of materials from the realm of popular culture including films, cartoons, advertisements, news reports, new media such as the internet, actual spaces such as cinema halls and other urban locations. For the student of culture therefore, an important task is to interpret social and cultural practices in order to arrive at what they mean in a particular context.

According to Thejaswini Niranjana Cultural Studies in India is somewhat different from Cultural Studies as it has been described in the western counterparts whereas it has maintained some commonalities with Korea and Taiwan. Her positioning of Indian Cultural Studies is within the broader map of Asian Cultural Studies. While discussing Cultural Studies Niranjana mainly views it from feminist paradigm and focused on the relationship between Cultural Studies and feminism in India as a whole. When did Cultural Studies emerge in India? Cultural studies as an academic discipline has completed 30 years of existence in India as said by Susie Tharu of English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad. The new perspectives and the understanding provided by cultural studies in India helped raise questions on stereotypes related to gender and the representation of the marginalised sections. The reasons for failure of egalitarian promises by the Government and the flaws in the vertical models of development advocated by the Government were also subject to close examination by experts in cultural studies, Tharu added.

If interdisciplinary is one route Cultural studies have taken, then the other route that animates Cultural Studies questions is the 'culture concept'. Institutions like the National School of Drama (1959) under the Sangeet Natak Akademi, the Film Institute of India (1960), renamed in 1974 as the Film and Television Institute of India, and overseen by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and the National Institute of Design (1961) under the Department of Science and Technology were established post-independence. This diverse set of institutions, along with the Sangeet Natak, Lalit Kala and Sahitya Akademis 11 covered the field of "culture" for the post-colonial state. It was in this space of the thinking (and practice) of culture that Cultural Studies inaugurated questions hitherto un-thought. Cultural Studies put to question the idea of the 'nation' as an a priori; the given of national culture – represented as either the "glorious Indian civilization in the distant past" or that which is "irrational, immature, depraved and lazy" was also put to question. Such questioning opened ways to thinking the fundamentally political nature of culture as a domain of research. It has also kept alive the space of culture as a space of epistemo-ontological enquiry, some have seen culture as a 'way of life'; others

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have seen culture as a 'space of struggle'. The question of culture has remained a fundamental question in a number of Cultural Studies approaches in India. Some have tried to grapple with the question "what do we mean by (Indian) culture"; others have tried to look at local subcultures; still others have tried to track changing patterns in the space of culture in the context of globalization (Dhar).

In our society culture is something to appreciate about, be proud about, something always seen as belonging to a glorified mythico-historical lost golden era, but not something to be analyze or critically engage with. Whenever someone talks about culture, what people understand is "Sanskriti" and it still remains an academic and a social struggle to translate the very idea of "cultural". The core of the cultural studies, which distinguishes it from the other disciplines that engages with culture, is its shift from the culture to the cultural. It is not just a difference between a noun form and an adjective form, in our society it will not make any difference, and finally it will link with the idea of Sanskriti. As such, ironically, doing cultural studies in India under the banner of cultural studies faces more difficulties than doing cultural studies under the banners of film studies, media studies, or even folklore studies. This is one serious problem we have to deal with, and a necessary struggle that engage with deconstructing the very idea of Sanskriti. In the cultural studies literature it is common to find the terms like British Cultural Studies, American cultural studies, Canadian cultural studies etc. Can we really use the term Indian Cultural Studies, in the same sense? Should Indian cultural studies be a part of Asian cultural studies or South Asian cultural studies, placing itself in a broader cultural space, or should it be kept open to diversity in Indian cultural space, letting the narrowed down phrase makings like Northeast Indian cultural studies. If a South Asian cultural studies is possible as suggested by some journals and books what are the commonalities in the South Asian cultural space that justify it. Or, if we are to distinguish Indian cultural studies from the rest of south Asian cultural space what is the specificity that would make it justifiable. Further, if we a going to the extreme ends of localization, how we are to remain without being trapped in generating forms of area studies in the name of cultural studies.

The emergence of 'South Asian Cultural studies' however includes Indian Cultural studies sharing some common issues like the minority ethnic community, re-emergence of extreme communal violence etc. In recent years, however, as attention to ethnic particularity increases, there has been a greater shift to studying particular ethnic communities, rather than shared forms across racialised groups. The pride of one community becomes articulated through hatred of another. In places where we are majorities, minorities suffer and sometimes die. Despite the shootings of Christians in Pakistan, the harassment of Hindus in Bangladesh, if you really want to see organised and orchestrated communal violence, you need to go to India, that much-vaunted secular and democratic state... has some relevance across South Asian communities(Bhattacharyya).

"Cultural studies – named as such – in Asia came to prominence in the 1990s, and are today poised to enter diverse institutional settings, from academia to publishing to the popular culture industry. The

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history of cultural studies in India, as it has been outlined over the last few years by several scholars, is somewhat different from Western contexts, although it is similar to Korea or Taiwan" (Niranjana).

Are we doing Cultural Studies in India or are we doing Indian cultural studies? Is it the national boundary that makes the terming possible? If cultural studies are an anti-discipline that aimed at questioning the dominant ideologies, the taken for granted, is not the very plea for an Indian Cultural studies is problematic, indirectly supporting nationalist ideologies?

Further, we should not neglect the criticisms brought on the discipline of cultural studies itself. There have been many criticisms leveled against cultural studies from different sides. One among them is that of Cultural studies been lost, as it is been practiced today, its radical potentials, as a result of overemphasis on particularities, in forms of celebrations of gender, ethnicity, diversity etc. Cultural studies, in its origin in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, in fact, was the "non-discipline" of the academia, having political economy as its base, being intuitionally "strange", and having closer links with adult education. In fact, the strength of cultural studies has always been its "strangeness", being "unrecognized", placed "out of the system/academia". The very process of inclusion into academia proper and being recognized and institutionalized, has in turn caused de-politicization of cultural studies. From a discipline that was threatening the established academia from the within, cultural studies has become "one among the others", doing either this or that form of "cultural analyses". In many forms it being practiced today, it is a form of celebration of multiculturalism, unlimited celebration of diversity, a diversity that has been taken as if having no connection to any uniformity. In this sense, it has not only become a "discipline/d", but also a part of status quo, or more correctly a guard of the status quo. In other terms, it has lost its "violent", and "passionate" encounter with the society and has become a "tamed", "politically correct" "nice to do with" non-encountering venture. In this regard, Cultural studies today, more or less, has betrayed its core values.

At the centre of this transformation lies the shift from grand narratives to small narratives. Taken this as a mutually exclusive binary, has led to celebration of so-called small narratives, and as in the course of time the capitalist consumer culture, marketing, and advertising have articulated them in a smarter way, now we do not see much difference between marketing discourse and most of cultural studies. In fact, one can argue, that marketing and advertising have appeared to be more "radical" than cultural studies in contemporary times; given that capitalism can articulate even the critique against it back in its service. For example, a recent commercial for Coca Cola (Coca-Cola©2014, 2014) radically addresses the problem of atomization in human society; lost themselves in the virtual world of social media and chattext-message hyper reality, people miss their immediate loved ones and the beauty of human relations; they do not get a time to appreciate the beauty of sun set or the beauty of a full moon day. Since the notion of dehumanization has always played crucial role in the critique against capitalism, here what we see is the very idea being articulated in advertising Coca Cola. The problem is, in such a context, what

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will be the use of academic papers or books that raise the issue of dehumanization. This is more revealing when it comes to gender and ethnic discourses as from "preserving ethnic identities" to "empowering women" has triumphed in marketing and advertising than in any academic endeavor. If the solution for conserving ethnic identities are placed in an ethnic fashion show linked with ethnic chic fashion market, and if the women empowerment is assured with a trendy scooter or in the most radical forms like self-defense accessories like "stun guns", "pepper sprays", "folding protection sticks" etc., what the social and cultural critics have to do with ethnic and gender issues anymore? The latest radical chic soon gets its appearance in the market as the ethnic politics in ethnic fashion shows and women rights in "pepper sprays". This is not to say that micro analyses have no value at all, or ethnic or gender discriminations do not matter anymore. In fact, the problem is not about an antithesis of micro analyses versus macro analyses as such. It unavoidably directs towards a debate on the dialectics of universality and particularity, difference and uniformity, meaning and non-meaning, scene and obscene, which is crucial if Cultural studies to continue a radical intellectual polemic.

If we come back to the Indian context, in our survey on literature produced and academic programmes in cultural studies India we found quite a large number of themes and areas coming under the banner of cultural studies, ranging from cultural theory to Gandhian studies. While some prominent figures in the field of cultural studies have dominated a metropolitan version of Indian cultural studies, coming from Delhi, Bangalore or Hyderabad, regionally located institutions have moved to the extreme localization, at the risk of making cultural studies another form of area studies and over celebrating the so called cultural differences. This polarization, has to be recognized and addressed, the missing point here is the connection between the global and the local, universality and particularity.

The year 1990s was the beginning of Cultural studies in India when television and consumerism were both in their infancy. Aligned to the mainstream left and informed by the then western Marxism, Cultural studies in India began to (re)examine Indian modernism(s) and popular culture. The imposition of National Emergency by Indira Gandhi in 1975 led to a clampdown on all democratic political institutions and activities and the left demonstrated utter helplessness in combating autocracy because its entire thinking was pegged wholly to electoral politics. The developments during the emergency, especially the rise and triumph of a 'utopian' Gandhian 'political spirituality' (Foucault) under Jayprakash Narayan and the crumbling of the ground beneath the left's feet, proved to be disturbing. More than the 'cultural turn' in western Marxism, it was the experience of Emergency that necessitated the resurfacing of 'popular culture' into the leftist agenda (Mukhopadhay).

Some crucial points discussed on the content of Indian cultural studies include the intersections and relationships of subaltern studies, dalit studies, tribal studies, and folklore studies etc. Some departments have selected these topics as par relevant in the present society. The syllabus of the departments of the English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad and Centre for Media and Cultural Studies, Tata

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Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai incorporates dalit studies and subaltern studies. Dalits are India's underclass, law-caste, untouchables and tribals who continue to remain unenfrenchized through cultural and symbolic disempowerment despite universal suffrage (Jaffrelot). And when we go through the syllabus it is found that some of the departments of Cultural Studies in India have constricted down their study to their respective local areas, and some under the study of Tribal and Folklore study. Because of diversity of Indian cultural space the study further tapered down to North East Indian Studies and incorporated local phenomenon into each states or districts to better understanding of the prevailing issues. Central Institute of Himalayan Cultural Studies at Dahung in west Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh, provides for instruction for various courses in Indian Culture and for study and research in different branches of Buddhist Philosophical and Cultural Studies, prepares students for higher learning and research in the fields of Buddhist Studies, Bhoti language and literature and Himalayan Studies with pedagogic methods using knowledge of modern research methodology and advanced up-to-date technology. Culture & Media Studies, Central University of Rajasthan offers the study of rich cultural heritage of Rajasthan; To build the analytical ability through case studies focused on heritage sites or traditions; To introduce the basic features of document, disseminate, curate and conserve folk and indigenous cultures. The Centre for Cultural and Creative Studies in North Eastern Hill University, Shillong provides courses on folkloristics and folk music, visual arts and painting. The department has been engaged in an array of programmes as art and music workshops, art camps, workshops on folklore research, series of seminars and conferences on art, music and folkloristic, regular art exhibitions, performances, artist in residence programmes, practicing school in fine arts, casual art and music classes. The school of Cultural studies at central University of Jharkhand have the following centres: Indigenous Culture Study, Music and Performing Arts, Tribal and Customary Law, Tribal Folklore, Language and Literature. The School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies in JNU, Delhi is one of the major centres for teaching and research in Languages, Literatures and Cultures of India, Asia and Europe. The school offers under graduate, post-graduate and research programmes focusing on languages, Literatures, translation, interpretation and culture studies. The Centre for Advanced Studies in India (CASII), Gujarat is consigned to encourage research in Cultural Studies, Sustainable Development and Methods of Clinical Research and Research Design in Social Sciences. CASII offer courses and research projects in the areas of Cultural Studies, Culture and Gender Ethnography, Folklore, Marriage and Family, Medical Anthropology and Methods of Anthropological Research. Cultural Studies Department in Tezpur University is one of the oldest departments fully devoted to the pursuit of Cultural Studies in India as a whole and northeast in particular. Founded in 1995 the department since then has been engaged with cultural products, cultural practices and cultural forms in all its length with a special attention to North East India. The department is engaged in interdisciplinary approaches to traditional fields of study exploring the subjects like ethnicity, religious institutions, folklore and culture, performance, gender, north east studies, tourism, local and national media, and cultural theory. Cultural studies was mostly done under English departments in North East India, until the first cultural studies department emerged at Tezpur University in 2002 which started as a department

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of traditional culture and art form. The politics of narrating the north east is introduced to cultural studies students through a general course on *North east studies* to study the present situation from the colonial legacy ant it's mimetic aftermath. The course introduces students to the emerging notion of the north east as a space of academic exploration and looks at it as a discursive formation that straddles multiple factors such as geography, history, culture and politics (Sarma).

"The challenge of taking cultural studies to the tropics lies in penetrating different ensembles of institutions and practices. A description of culture in India today has to account for the "folk" and, as opposed to the ethnological framing of the "folk" in a time before representation, cultural studies has to negotiate with the fact of its corruption by media. Each cultural region of India has its own "traditional" or "folk" cultures. Increasingly more commodified and professionalized, these have been hybridized by forces of tourism. Consumerism, print culture, advertisement and have even entered into perverse alliances with the global culture industry" (Mokhopadhyay). So Cultural studies institutions in India have shifted down towards localisation in order to promote the culture of people of the region, to study the rich cultural heritage and the diverse ethnic, linguistics, tribal cultures of different states."The emergence of Cultural Studies in the 1990s has allowed for a number of issues to be articulated within it. I will point to two such initiatives – very different from the models we have looked at that began in this period. One is the Department of Cultural Studies in Tezpur University which started in 1995. This department offers MA and Ph.D. in Cultural Studies. A cursory look at the courses offered will give one the impression that Cultural Studies is used as a euphemism for Folk Studies. But on a closer look, it will be clear that the programme is attempting to address a different agenda – one of mainstreaming concerns of a marginalised region within the Indian nation. The description of the department on their website reads:

The department was conceived with an aim to undertake study and research on the phenomenon of 'culture' from multidisciplinary perspectives. The courses offered in the department incorporate theoretical scholarships from relevant schools of thoughts; and also integrate with them a high intensity of focus on local specific cases of North-East India, especially the state of Assam. A focus on local culture, on issues related to the forms of expressions in the North Eastern region, is being emphasised upon in this programme. Another initiative of a similar kind at a national level is the Centre for Indian Diaspora and Cultural Studies that was set up in Hemchandracharya North Gujarat University (Patan, Gujarat) in 2002. This centre seeks to study the life of diasporic Indians and thus to redraw geographical boundaries in the understanding of national culture. The initiatives both at Tezpur University and the Centre for Diaspora and Cultural Studies attempt to infuse into a new domain, conveniently called Cultural Studies, concerns of a local nature in dialogue with and contrast to ideas of national culture (as in the case of the former) and of a global nature again in a dialogic and conflictual nature with ideas of national culture" ((Radhakrishnan). Cultural studies department of Tezpur University is engaged with cultural products, cultural practices and cultural forms in all the dimensions with a special focus on North East India. Northeast India with its polyvocal realities entranched in its ethnic diversities, ethnic

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strifes, internal displacement of people and (or infiltration) from Bangladesh and Nepal, "western" and "materialistic" mode of life in the largely Christian hill states of Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram, which goes against the mainstream Indian grain, and the Rhetoric of neglect, have provided ample opportunities for an engagement with cultural studies (Sarma).

Now, we move to case study how to rethink the connection between folklore studies and cultural studies, and its importance in the Indian context. One of the uniqueness of the Tezpur version of cultural studies is this linkage between folklore studies and cultural studies. We have experienced some proponents of the metropolitan versions of Cultural Studies expressing their dissatisfaction over this linkage.

To begin with, it is interesting to note that E. P Thompson, one of the "founding fathers" of cultural studies at CCCS, Birmingham, had references to folklore, and even wrote for English Folklore Society's journal *Folklore* and delivered the Catherine Briggs Memorial Lecture to the Folklore Society, in 1988. In addition, Thompson was awarded Catherine Briggs Folklore Award by the Folklore Society for his *Customs in Common* in 1992. However, Thompson's folklore was something of historical materials rather than that of contemporary culture.

Folklore in England is largely a literary record of eighteenth – and nineteenth century survivals recorded by parsons and genteel antiquarians regarding them across a gulf of class condescension. (qtd. in Roberts K., 2013, p. 1)

In contrast to this encounter of "British cultural studies" and "British folklore studies", there are more than one possible ways to trace the relationship between "cultural studies and "folklore studies". Interestingly, one such possibility is to place folklore studies as a form of cultural studies even before the "founding fathers" in Birmingham "found" it, and hence stands against the idea of single origin of cultural studies. For example, as Pasquale Verdicchio (1997) notes, Antonio Gramsci's conceptualization of folklore as common sense had a great impact on folklore studies in post World War II Italy.

Gramsci's writings helped change folklore studies models from evolutionary to oppositional. As a result, folklore was no longer viewed as the remains of some archaic culture to be studied in the attempt to reconstruct prehistoric past, but rather as a living culture. (Ibid 139-140)

A generation of Italian folklorists including Ernesto De Martino, Alberto Cirese, Vittorio Lanternari, and Luigi Lombardi Satriani, as such, engaged with Gramscian concepts long before Gramsci was made an iconic of cultural studies. Among these folklorists, De Martino, who published an essay titled "Gramsci *e il folklore*" (Gramsci and Folklore in 1951), was influential in identifying "a 'conservative (religious) folklore' in conflict with a 'progressive one' that was reflected in the protest songs of peasants and workers" (Ibid 140). As such, the post World War II Italian folklore studies found folklore as a battle of cultural contestation. Especially, Luigi Lombardi Satriani, according to Pasquale Verdicchio, "augments

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Gramsci's writings in a direction that articulates the transition of folklore from 'picturesque' to 'contestatory'" (Ibid). In addition, Alberto Mario Cirese, who also published a book titled *Intellettuali, folklore, istinto di classe. Note su Verga, Deledda, Scotellaro, Gramsci* (Intellectuals, Folklore, Class Instinct: Notes on Verga, Deledda, Scotellaro) in 1975, "prefers to view folklore as an index of cultural inequalities within the modern society" (Ibid 141). All these engagements provide sufficient evidence that Gramscian notions of hegemony and common sense played a vital part in post World war II Italian folklore studies and hence produced an early cultural studies model within the folklore studies.

María Harrera-Sobeck makes a similar claim regarding the works of Don Américo Paredes and other third generation Chicano folklorists. As she argues, Paredes's "new theoretical framework for the study of Chicano folklore is directly linked to what later developed as new historicism, cultural studies, and postcolonial studies" (2006, p. 203).

Similarly, Brian Finnegan proposes "a parallel history of cultural studies in the United States, one that draws on American thought and experience to examine folklore's relevance to the broad project of cultural studies" (1998, p. 43). His argument is that among others such as Roger Abraham, Archie Green provides a rich example of early cultural studies traits within American folklore studies. Specialized in laborlore, Green had the "engaged" and "subjective" approach in his studies, long back the CCCS at Birmingham came up with the theoretical and methodological revolt against the traditional academic setting. It was in 1965, Green declared his highly political stance in his studies.

As a folklorist I am curious to locate all variants of this particular tale ... and would like to know its sources and motifs. As a union member I am concerned whether this tale will live in labor tradition. (qtd. in Ibid 47)

Although he highly depended on traditional folklore studies methods and even on definitions too, Green always emphasized his engagement both as a folklorist and a unionist, which made his studies in line with cultural studies developed later in CCCS. In addition, as Finnegan points it out, both the "sources of Green's interests and the directions he chooses to take them allow[s] [one] to describe his work as both folklore and cultural studies. In fact Green arrived at the position that popular culture is not simply a negative force in its relation to vernacular culture earlier than other versions of cultural studies did" (Ibid 50).

However, recent attempts of bridging folklore studies and cultural studies have mainly done on the grounds of popular culture, multiculturalism, feminism, or ethnic identity, especially in the American folklore studies and American cultural studies. For example, Peter Narváez and Martin Laba in their volume of essays titled *Media Sense: The Folklore-Popular Culture Continuum* presents a "folkloric perspective on contemporary popular culture" (1986, p. 1) while S. Elizabeth Bird identifies cultural studies as the converging field between traditional folklore and popular culture as both come to a

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"common concern with how audiences and producers negotiate meaning through narratives" (2006, p. 352). Fiske (2000[1989]), Levine (1992), and Storey (2003) among others, though from different approaches, has argued for strong links between folk and popular cultures.

Similarly, the relation to power relations has also been emphasized as a site of convergence of folklore studies and cultural studies. Folklorists intersect with cultural studies when it follows Américo Parades's challenge of the 1970s "to place question of the politics of culture at the heart of the discipline of folklore". As Charles L. Briggs and Amy Shuman noted in their 1993 "New Perspectives" issue of Western Folklore, this means, on the one hand, 'understanding that folklore is already (in Derrida's terms) a politics of culture' and, on the other hand, understanding that the discipline of folkloristics is, through its representational practices, also a politics of culture. In other words, when folklorists address how folklore is shaped by and in turn shapes sociocultural power relations, they participate in the cultural studies project. (Preston, 2011, pp. 337-338)

If Cultural studies are to question and challenge the dominant ideologies, the taken for granted, cannot we consider A.K Ramanujan's work as a work of Cultural Studies. Has not it challenged the dominant ideologies than most of the works produced in fashionable cultural studies?

We cannot say Cultural Studies is entirely or fully local as the theoretical parameters or methodologies it deals with is mainly western. In the last two decades we have been observing that there has been a gradual shift in the ideas and teaching curriculum of Cultural Studies. The discipline constitutes itself from an array of areas wherein we can say that there is no such concept called universal Cultural studies. It differs from institute to institute, from school to school. With the latest developments in Cultural studies we look at things from new perspectives, explore the different and unusual, and honestly challenge our own embedded assumptions about how the world works. For instance Cultural studies now includes idea like Americanization, hybridization, globalization, McDonaldization, or we can say that a third or global culture have encompassed the whole idea of culture in the recent decade.

The concept of localization has to be considered in relation to globalization, as globalization is often inseparable from its antithesis. This leads to new ideas about important concepts in modernization theory such as cosmopolitanism. Because of the attention paid to localization, it has become clear that cosmopolitan persons, though they undeniably have a very wide orientation, also possess strong roots in the local community where they may even play a leading role. So cosmopolitanism in no way excludes local connections and solidarity and may even be grounded in local relationships. (Hannerz qtd in Nas p.3)

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