Rupture or continuity? The impact of globalisation on cultural identity and education in Indian immigrant families in Australia

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Introduction

This article aims to bring together existing research that bear directly or indirectly on the cultural identity of Indian immigrants in Australia in order to establish whether the migratory experience has ruptured Indian cultural identity. To do this, it was important to provide a general framework of globalisation theories so that a better understanding of the impact of globalisation and migration on cultural identity can be facilitated. The passage from an unproblematic conception of identity as the shared possession of 'norms' (Rouse, 2005) to the socially constructed, contested multiplicities of identity ((Nonini and Ong 1997, p. 24), is closely bound up with the forces of globalisation. First, I engage in a discussion of the different theoretical perspectives on globalisation and discuss the ways in which some of these theoretical perspectives about cultural identity are being challenged and alternative frameworks are being developed. Secondly, I examine empirical findings from recent research and evaluate their contribution to the notion of cultural identity. A review of the literature (Faria, 2001; Lakha & Stevenson 2001; Butcher, 2003; Voigt-Graf, 2005) addresses the ways in which Indian immigrants in Australia conduct their everyday lives in terms of their identities Thirdly, I highlight the main conclusions from the emerging research to show that cultural identity among Indian immigrants in Australia has not ruptured but has continued and finally, I conclude with the implications for curriculum development and participation in diasporic communities.

Globalisation, for the purpose of this paper will be defined as 'the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and via versa' (Giddens, cited in Naidoo. 2006.). In conceptualising globalisation, two important characteristics emerge: the first is that the world is viewed as a single space, a whole and the second revolves around the concept of time-space reordering. Featherstone, (cited in Naidoo. 2006), believes that globalisation 'entails the sense that the world is one place, that the globe has been compressed into a locality, that others are neighbours with whom we must necessarily interact, relate and listen'. Some of the important socio-economic dimensions of globalisation are transnational transportation and migration of people or increased transportation of labour across the globe (Castles & Miller, 1998, cited in Robinson & Jones- Diaz 2005). In this context, social institutions such as the family are rendered vulnerable to the influences of consumerism and cultural homogenisation typically fostered by the West (Tomlinson, 1999), with anti-globalisation activists arguing that globalisation needs to be understood as a form of Western cultural imperialism (Shepard & Hayduk, 2002).

So while identity is predominately transformed as a result of globalisation or Westernisation, amongst Indian immigrants in Australia, this has not ruptured completely and still continues despite internal conflicts. Considering the fact that the family is the

fundamental reference point in Indian societies, we can assume that family conflicts reflect the changes in the social life-world caused by the competition between traditional and western. It is quite obvious that issues such as marriage, the economic and social role of women, social aspects of gender equality, and the relationship between elders and their descendants are aspects of social change resulting from globalisation and migration but the research (Faria, 2001; Lakha & Stevenson 2001; Butcher, 2003; Voigt-Graf, 2005), shows that despite this, cultural identity among Indian immigrants in Australia is fairly intact.

Given the focus of this paper, to understand whether cultural identity in Indian immigrant communities has been ruptured or continued, it is imperative to understand some of the globalisation theories from the perspective of the social sciences. This paper seeks to contribute to the conceptual spadework of the impact of globalisation and cultural identity on Indian immigrant families by examining the multi-local transnational family practices of Indian immigrant families in Australia through a critical review of the literature on Indian migrants in Australia namely, Faria (2001), Lakha and Stevenson (2001), Butcher (2003) and Voigt-Graf (2005).

Globalisation: theoretical perspectives

With globalisation, attention in the social sciences has largely focused on the negative impact of globalisation on culture. It ranges from studies of communities within nations to 'spaces of which nations are components' (Kearney, 1995, p. 549) to the model that is concerned about national cultures in a globalising world and in particular the influence of the Western ways of life on non-Western societies. The domination by the West accelerated by global networks of communication and economic exchange 'diminishes the grip of local circumstances over peoples' lives' (Giddens, 1990, p. 18). This latter concern highlights aspects of a subset of the global culture approach, 'globo-localism' which aims to unravel the complexities of local-global relations by focusing on the territorial dimension, in particular the impact of globalisation on territorial identities. Giddens' time-space distanciation (Giddens, 1990) is reflective of this model. Giddens' says that social interactions and relations in today's world are not dependent upon simultaneous physical 'presence' within a specific location, since communication technology has facilitated from and fostered intense 'relationship between absent others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction' (Giddens, 1990, p. 18).

There was a time before globalisation when there was a cultural connection between identity and geographical place. Identity then became something that belonged to communities, to local culture. However with the advent of globalisation, people were displaced, culture thus obliterating the differences between locality-defined cultures which had constituted our identities (Tomlinson, 1999). Thus 'globalisation has dislocated traditional livelihoods and local communities, and threatens environmental sustainability and cultural diversity' (World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation, 2004, p. 3). This fear of the loss of cultural diversity and hence identities stems from the fact that globalisation is viewed as cultural homogenisation or westernisation or Americanisation. With increased interaction across borders, local cultures are being diluted in favour of global norms, ideas and practices. The new cultural mixture therefore deeply impacts the world of the family and that of the child.

According to Pieterse (1994, p. 49), cultural homogenisation is the belief that the so-called global culture follows the global economy and this has lead to such phrases as 'Coca-colonization' and 'McDonaldization'. The notion of 'McDonaldization' refers to the 'worldwide homogenisation of societies through the impact of multinational corporations'. In this view, the mechanisms for change are closely linked with the globalisation of the market

economy and multinational corporations. As Holton (2000, p. p. 142) notes that '[c]onsumer capitalism of this type has been built upon a standardized brand image, mass advertising, and the high status given by many Third World populations to Western products and services. This view of cultural homogenisation and the global economy has been strengthened by the rise of the Internet and other information technologies

With the influence of Information Technology, computers and the Internet, the world becomes a small and new place that directs children, especially immigrant children towards exploring their actions, events and virtual groups. According to Giddens (1991, p. 187), children have 'phenomenal worlds that are for the most part truly global'. Robertson (1992, p. 8) argued that children today gradually develop 'the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole'. Tomlinson (1999, p. 30) wrote that the world as a whole 'increasingly exists as a cultural horizon within which we (to varying degrees) frame our existence'. This means that in developing a global identity, children have a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture which includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles, and information that are part of the global culture. The global identity of children allows them to use information technology to communicate with people throughout the world.

Tomlinson (1991) believes that children are not passive recipients of media output and that they do interpret the global media through their own cultural experiences. But, Morley and Robbins (1995) see the global media as having consequences for cultural identities. Older generations of migrants see the media as a way of maintaining the' imagined community' of the home nation, making assimilation into the host culture more difficult while children representing the younger generation, may develop new hybrid identities. Drotner (2001) sees age difference as significant because while the older generation may prefer home produced programs, the children would prefer imported programs which indirectly encourage the emergence of global youth cultures that transcend national and cultural borders. The latter is viewed as a positive outcome by authors such as Tapscott (1998) while Ohmae (1995) believes that this may lead to children from migrant backgrounds having more in common with children from other countries than with their own parents.

What the above literature review indicates is that the erosion of values of the local culture has no doubt been affected by globalisation. The process is more complicated for migrant children because not only do they have to negotiate the boundaries of the local and global culture, but there is also that of the native culture. So as globalisation alters and erodes traditional ways, as Giddens (2000, p. 65) observed, identity 'has to be created and recreated on a more active basis than before'. Furthermore economic globalisation has heightened the demands for formal education and linguistic homogeneity thereby reinforcing English as a dominant global language. This could threaten the local language/ dialect of immigrant groups especially as they are already struggling with English as a second language. Said, (1978) argues that western cultural imperialism operates through discourses of power, whereby the non-Western world is constructed as the 'Other', that is, fundamentally different in nature from the West (Holton, 2000, p. 145).

Another dimension of cultural homogenisation is that of the assimilation of 'elites' into the political, educational, and economic life of Western society. The experience of a Western education not only globally disseminates Western knowledge but also creates similar values which then influence international organizations such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and multinational/global corporations.

In his essay 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', Appadurai (1990, p.170), writes of regional homogenisation, where the cultural 'periphery' is threatened by cultural homogenisation from the cultural 'core'. He writes, 'for the people of Irian Jaya, Indonesianisation may be more worrisome than Americanisation, as Japanisation may be for

the Koreans, Indianisation for Sri Lankans, Vietnamisation for Cambodians' There are then, according to Appadurai's analysis, multiple 'cores' that hold cultural power, rather than a relationship of core-periphery centred on the United States or the West, to which all others are homogenized. If the world is experiencing cultural homogenisation, we must view this homogenisation as being a multi-centred phenomenon, a homogenisation of peripheral cultures to 'core' regional cultural powers.

Appadurai's five dimensions of global cultural flow best illustrate the two characteristics of globalisation addressed above and offer a radical new framework for examining cultural dimensions of globalisation. Appadurai (1996, pp. 33-36) speaks of five kinds of 'scapes'- ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes. Ethnoscapes refers to the landscapes of people, the shifting world in which one's life is situated, technoscapes refers to the movement of technology across borders, financescapes describes global capitalism, mediascapes refers to the distribution of the images of the world 'created' by the media and finally ideoscapes has to do with ideologies of states and counter-ideologies of movements which challenge the states. These 'scapes' are the foundation for understanding the contemporary imagined worlds. Faria (2001) in her study on Indian Ethnicity in Australia captured some of the global cultural flows (Appadurai, 1990) which influence the formation of 'ethnoscapes' in the early twenty-first century.

What these definitions of globalisation show is that theory and research about globalisation in the social sciences is largely pessimistic and demonstrates a growing awareness of and a rising concern with the notion of identity reflected in notions of dispersion, decentering and interpenetration. Central to the notion of identity is the notion of culture since the latter plays an important role in constituting identity.

Despite this, there are other, quite contradictory, views on globalisation which show that far from destroying cultural identity, it, has been perhaps the most significant force in creating and proliferating cultural identity (Tomlinson, 1999). Castells (1997, p. 2) has as his primary objection, the fact that globalisation has the power to create 'the widespread surge of powerful expressions of collective identity that challenge globalisation… On behalf of cultural singularity and people's control over their lives and environment'. What is implied here is that the local culture is powerful enough to challenge global capitalism and hence the implications for preserving one's cultural identity are increased. Central to the analysis of transnational social formations are structures or systems of relationships best described as networks. The network's component parts – connected by nodes and hubs – are both autonomous from, and dependent upon, its complex system of relationships. The technologies do not altogether create new social patterns but they certainly reinforce pre-existing ones.

Some examples would be the popularity of all things 'Bollywood' among Indian families in Australia. It is a form and style that Australian Indians can claim as their own and it allows for an assimilation of the values of urban Australian youth culture in combination with a continued attachment to the values shared with parents and rooted in the subcontinent (Ray, 2001). Their 'Indianness', according to Niranjana's study (1994) of the diaspora, is shaped within the social imaginary in India, even if it is deployed in a society such as Australia, in which Indians are not culturally hegemonic.

The essential core of culture, which Smolicz (1994, 1979) called 'core values', is retained amidst all the flux and change. Barth, cited in Faria (2001, p. 141) emphasised that 'central and culturally valued institutions and activities in an ethnic group may be deeply involved in its boundary maintenance by setting processes of convergence in motion', reinforcing and reproducing aspects of culture. This is shown by both Voigt-Graf's (2002, p. 286) study of Punjabis, Kannadigas and Indo-Fijians in Australia, 'given that kinship is the organising principle of Indian transnationalism,' she observes, 'the type and regularity of transnational flows depends primarily on what happens within the extended family rather than on the

economic or political situation in the home or host country.' Migration and transnational communication within extended families involve tactics for collective upward mobility, while marriages are arranged to strategically extend a family's kinship networks. In this way the social capital of families can be transformed into economic possibility if the need arises and Faria's (2001, p. 142)) study showed that:

> Family values, in other words, respect for the family and all it entails has certainly emerged as a core value for most of my respondents. The role of family in keeping alive cultural awareness of the beliefs and practices, in determining relationships and maintaining them within and outside the family, in promoting contact with extended family, in influencing, even directing career aspirations, choosing life partners are all part of the family's role description

What these research studies show is that the notion of cultural identity is not easily eroded under globalisation because it 'is not in fact merely some fragile communal-psychic attachment, but a considerable dimension of *institutionalised* social life in modernity… it is the product of deliberate cultural construction and maintenance via both the regulatory and the socializing institutions of the state: in particular, the law, the education system and the media '(Tomlinson, 1999, p. 270). For example, the complexities and tensions introduced by the multi-ethnic constitution of societies arising from global population movements (Smith, 1995; Geertz, 2000) and can pose problems like ethnic violence.

In such instances, issues of identity are amplified and this was clearly seen in the Cronulla Riots in Sydney in 2005 (Pereira, 2006) The 2005 Cronulla riots were a series of ethnically motivated mob confrontations which originated in and around the beachfront suburb of Cronulla in Southern Sydney. Those who claimed an Anglo ethnicity wanted to erect an ethnic fence around Aussie-ness, which is the way that 'ethnic' identities, a product of multiculturalism are reproduced and reinforced. What this reflects is that despite a policy that calls for integration, migrants will always do a cultural balancing act. The cause of the Cronulla riots was much deeper than the attack of Anglo-life-savers by youth of Middle Eastern origin. There have been efforts to portray people of Middle Eastern origin as 'others' especially after 9/11 and what this reflects is territoriality which in effect has heightened one's cultural identity in a multicultural society. This could lie in the fact that the positions of identity could be producing challenges to the dominance of national identity. The key point in Kaldor's (1999, p.76) analysis of the wars in the Yugoslav Federation between Serbs, Croats, Bosnian, ethnic Albanians; Christians and Muslims is that they were fought around 'identity politics' in which 'movements… mobilize around ethnic, religious or racial identity or for the purpose of claiming state power'. These examples are sufficient evidence to show that globalisation does not simply undermine cultural identity and that it actually generates cultural identity.

People are exposed to hybridised forms of multicultural life through migration and transnational transportation and they are becoming self-conscious of the changing civilisational, societal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and regional engagements in which their lives are embedded (Singh, 2004). While globalisation is seen by some as exacerbating the homogenisation of cultures through the dominance of western, especially US/American cultural commodities, this paper supports the contrasting view that globalisation not be seen as a question of either homogenisation or heterogenisation, but rather aims to show the ways in which both of these tendencies have become features of life in Indian immigrant families in Australia.

Globalisation and cultural identity: evidence from research on Indian immigrants in Australia

My argument in this section is that cultural identity is enhanced and continued as Indian migrants confront their transnational situations. I illustrate this by a review of the emerging literature on Indian immigrants in Australia. As a consequence of globalisation, most people in the world now develop an identity, part of which is rooted in their local culture while another part from an awareness of their relation to the global culture. There has been an increase in recent years in the frequency and intensity of the contacts that people in various cultures have with the global culture led by the West and defined by free markets, consumerism, and individualism. People in urban areas experience globalisation with much greater intensity than people in rural areas do. The values of the global culture often collide with traditional cultural values, causing people to face the challenge of adapting to both the global culture and their local culture, even as their local culture may be changing rapidly. Finally this could result in transformations in identity, that is, in how people think about themselves in relation to the social environment.

In the migration process, identity undergoes changes because it must continue to meet the same set of needs within a changed context. Migration therefore redefines and challenges the established codes that organize and give meaning to the commitments and demands of the community. Displacement and physical relocation disrupts the migrant life as roles become embedded within different economic, social, political and cultural contexts. Based on a discussion of the empirical evidence provided by Faria (2001), Voigt-Graf (2005) and Lakha and Stevenson (2001) and Butcher (2003), in their studies on Indian immigrants in Australia it will be shown that globalisation has continued rather than ruptured cultural identity amongst Indian immigrants in Australia. Voigt-Graf (2005), in her study of Punjabis, Kannadigas and Indo-Fijians observed that in the case of Indians in Australia, they follow their normative cultural and social systems. Her research has shown that kinship solidarity amongst Punjabis is at the centre of the migration process and impacts on their activities in Australia. The basis of social organisation is the family, providing its members with both identity and protection. Marriage is an important institution among Punjabis in sustaining the ethnic bond. One of its important roles is to create positive self-image through arranged marriages in which region; religion and caste identities are maintained and promoted. Punjabis choose their marriage partners not only in their respective places of residence but from the homeland and other countries around the world. Through regular travel to India and frequent phone-calls, the day-to-day lives of Indian migrants in Australia are to a great extent affected by what happens in their own family networks. So information technology and the internet provides the platform for Indian migrants in Australia to interact with each other and link their lives, strengthen their shared heritage, deal with the problems of living in foreign countries, conduct business together and maintain stronger links with India. Language, regional culture and religion offer the ideological base for their identities and bondage for fusion at the global level.

The role of international Indian associations and organisations is very significant in the promotion of networks by bringing all Indians together to preserve the Indian culture, tradition and folklore. Lakha and Stevenson (2001, p. 249), say that 'the various associations in Melbourne are important sites of cultural activity and provide the communicative space where the heterogeneity and multiculturalism of India are represented and addressed'. Faria (2001, p. 137) quotes one of her participants in her study as saying that 'that he looked for Indians with whom to associate, attended Indian functions and generally sought the company of other Indians because of his loneliness and isolation. Similarly, the permeability and blurring of boundaries can be clearly seen in the proliferation of Indian restaurants and grocery shops in Australia to 'create an ethnoscape… not limited solely to friends and family

but represented areas where participants could safely engage with both their cultural worlds, through food consumption' (Lindridge, Hogg, & Shah, 2004, p. 229). Diasporic members, living on cultural borderlands, cluster around remembered or imagined 'homelands', practise 'authentic home cultures', form ethnic communities, so as to re-root their floating lives and reach a closure in making sense of their constantly changing subjectivities (Shi, 2005, p. 57). They are constantly producing and reproducing themselves with an endless desire to return to 'lost origins' (Hall, 1992).

The existence in Australia of many temples affirms according to Clothey (1983, p. 196) 'a world- psychic space in which the community lives and acts out its identity'. There are hundreds of Hindu temples in Australia especially in major metropolitan areas likes Melbourne, Canberra, Sydney NSW, Queensland and Perth, which have wider networks within Australia and with their counterparts in different parts of the world (Sahoo, cited in Naidoo, 2006). So remembered places like that of the temple, serves as a symbolic anchor for this community of dispersed persons. To overcome the anxiety associated with possible assimilation into the Australian way of life many families of the Indian diaspora in Australia, use religion or religious affiliation in order to make their children 'good Indians'. Retaining the cultural heritage through native religious practices could increase self-esteem even when such practices could diverge from that of the host culture. Such expressions of cultural affinity they believe may increase one's sense of ethnic pride and may in turn increase one's personal self-worth (Phinney, 1990; Porter & Washington, 1993).

Butcher's (2003) participants in her research shifted from one cultural space, such as home, to another and adopted appropriate behaviour, language, even values expressed as particular attitudes for that setting. This movement between cultural spaces required the management of strategies of identity: to fulfil the requirements of continuity and place in the home or the communal space by perhaps adopting 'tradition'. Similarly Faria's (2001, p. 136) study showed that one respondent 'spoke to her parents in the same accent that they used to speak with her. Yet when operating outside the home, the accent she had acquired as a result of her schooling and her interaction with the mainstream came into play… there was a certain comfort and confidence in responding in this diverse manner to the two audiences, to relate, to belong and to be at ease'. The fact that most Indian children can speak their native language reinforces their family orientation and cultural identity, their bilingual ability related to the need to negotiate an existence within two. In this way, multiple identities could be constructed that satisfied family and community expectations and helped them retain their ethnic identity within the wider society (Lindridge *et al.,* 2004, p. 223).

Furthermore, Lakha and Stevenson (2001, p. 251) believe that migration and the diasporic experience are now themes that are increasingly woven into the narratives of the Bollywood cinema. The poignant themes inserted into the films and songs, offer migrant Indians an opportunity to assert their cultural affiliations. The themes mostly centre on family, family relationships and the maintenance of family stability. The conflict between tradition and modernity is also repeatedly invoked in Bollywood narratives. The binary between modernity/tradition, regulates thinking about the modern Indian social formation which invariably disapproves of modernity and approves the recuperation of the 'Indian tradition'. This self-produced popular culture helps displaced populations form and maintain cultural identities from a distance and across national and geographic borders.

Implications for curriculum development

Current ways of constructing and teaching knowledge are value laden and designed to privilege only certain groups in society. Dominant power systems define who has authority to know and who determines valuable knowledge. The education institution perpetuates the

status quo of this power relationship, thus making it difficult for those already silenced to get their voice heard (Goduka, 1998). The effect is to deny the silenced person's identity and to create 'disjunction between the values and beliefs about the nature of knowledge, its transmission, assessment and constitution' (Allen, 1997, p. 184).

hooks (1994) proposes a particular teaching approach – 'engaged pedagogy.' She describes this as a learning relationship where 'everyone's presence is acknowledged' (p.8). According to this approach, teachers are regarded as mutual learners and the students' lived experiences are central to informing the academic material. The teacher learner relationship encourages students to challenge what has previously been taught.

Devising a culturally or socially relevant curriculum which simultaneously engaged with critical analysis, the student voice and reflexivity has the potential to be insular. Curriculum planners need to build on people's lived experiences as a knowledge base to construct new knowledge which is then validated by and within their shared social or cultural heritage.

Educators need to make their pedagogy critical, extending good interactive teaching and learning beyond the classroom and into the real world. Some of the processes involved in engaged critical pedagogy may include reflection of self and those who are from culturally diverse backgrounds. This can lead to self and social understanding. Within teaching environments, identities are challenged; relationships between different cultural groups are both eroded and reshaped. This process of rupture leads in the first instance to confusions and rejections around different 'world-views'. Often, the complexities that emerge are marginalised and silenced. If social cohesion is to be maintained, then the complexities of identities in 'new times' must be openly dealt with. If educators connected their pedagogy to the life-worlds of students from diverse cultural backgrounds, they will not only understand their own cultural capital but also those of the students they teach. hooks (1994, p.8) in writing of her own experiences at the university states 'but excitement about ideas was not sufficient to create an exciting learning process. As a classroom community, our capacity to generate excitement is deeply affected by our interest in one another, in hearing one another's voices, in recognizing one another's presence… any radical pedagogy must insist that everyone's presence is acknowledged… everyone influences the classroom dynamic . . everyone contributes. (p. 8).

We should try to 'place diversity front and centre' (Nieto, 2000), to work for educational equity.

> Teachers and teacher educators must take stock of ourselves by questioning and challenging our own biases and values… Teachers also have cultural identities… and colleges of education need to provide prospective teachers of all backgrounds… opportunities to reflect on their identities and privilege before teaching children from diverse backgrounds. (p. 184).

Nieto put forth five ways in which teacher educators can situate equity at the centre of the teacher education program. Firstly, teacher educators should be encouraged to take a stand on social justice and diversity issues. Secondly, social justice should be made ubiquitous in teacher education. Thirdly, teaching should be promoted as an ongoing process of transformation, fourthly, teacher educators need to learn to challenge racism and bias and finally, teacher educators need to develop a community of critical friends (Nieto, 2000, pp. 182-183).

A teacher needs to act as a mediator between two cultures, both the dominant and the disadvantaged. This is achievable by facilitating the less dominant to understand, acclimatise and hence thrive academically in pursuit of conquering the dominant culture without loss of

identity, therefore bridging the cultural gap and levelling the societal inequality, resulting in the empowerment of students in succeeding academically and socially (Chisholm 1994).

Social justice education therefore is not only a reality but it is also a part of the socio-cultural context of schooling that teacher's encounter. In view of this fact, social justice education should become a major concern for curriculum planners in recent times since it is seen as an attempt to redress educational inequities rising from the increasing pluralism of westernised industrialised societies.

Conclusion

In examining the theoretical perspectives of globalisation and the empirical material on Indian immigrants in Australia, I have established that Indian cultural identity is rooted and even heightened as reproduction of the home culture takes place. This is so because Indian migrants recapture the familiar past to maintain equilibrium and sustain a sense of home (Featherstone, 1993). This kind of identity, is one that is constructed through a process of 'imaginative rediscovery' of the past, a harkening back to a glorious history, full of time-proven traditions, values, and faith – to 'some very splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us…' (Fanon, cited in Hall, 1990, p. 223).

Maintaining 'Indianness' is an important part of one's cultural identity and one which provides continuity for Indian migrants in Australia. This process whereby diasporic communities transport cultural products with them as they move and attempt to recreate in their new locations parallel or alternative systems that establish and promote values, assumptions, and ideologies that resemble the culture the diasporic community left behind is what Hall (1990, p. 223) refers to as 'true cultural identity that (my emphasis) reflects common experiences and cultural codes that provide stable, unchanging, and continuous frames of reference and meaning, which can be retrieved and nurtured to create a potent mixture of blind faith in the past (a discourse of 'who we were') and boundless passion to assert that identity in the here and now (a discourse of 'who we are').

Cultural identity therefore becomes enhanced alluding to the fact that physical presence in a nation is not necessarily a pre-condition for feelings of nationhood. What this discussion shows is that through the production of a homeland culture, Indian immigrants in Australia were able to develop a sense of community and subsequently Indian identity while still acknowledging global orientation with all its contradictions and complexities. A community of this kind has two points of reference. One is to the homeland and the second is the relationship to the land of settlement. It is within the latter that they will have to fight against being treated as inferiors, because of their racial or colour characteristics, as well as their cultural distinctiveness. For this reason, curriculum planners need to incorporate social justice education and critical engaged pedagogies in the classroom to address curriculum issues arising with the worldwide flow of people, ideas, culture and technology.

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