

THESIS

HINDUISM IN THE INTERNET AGE:
A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF CULTURAL COLLISIONS AND
RAJASTHANI EMERGING ADULTS' WELL-BEING

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ABSTRACT

HINDUISM IN THE INTERNET AGE:

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF CULTURAL COLLISIONS AND RAJASTHANI EMERGING ADULTS' WELL-BEING

As the world globalizes at an ever quickening pace, it becomes increasingly important to understand the ways in which potentially competing cultural ideas come into contact with one another, alongside the possible repercussions of such interactions. This research looks at a particular example of this in the Indian city of Udaipur, Rajasthan via an ethnographic field study of Hindu university students' views on Hindu religious traditions and what it means to be a "good Hindu" in modern India, as well as how religious ideas intersect with valuations of the internet in a rapidly globalizing nation. A psychological anthropological perspective, and specifically a cognitive anthropological "cultural models" or "mental representations" approach, allows for the identification of culture-specific understandings of Hinduism and the internet, as well as how these understandings interact with one another to both form identity and impact stress and subjective well-being among emerging adults. Relying on both qualitative and quantitative data analysis, the relationship between religiously- and technologically-informed models is found to be either competing, complementary, or independent. While the majority of Hindu university students in Udaipur don't consider these two models to be at odds with one another, this research suggests that for those Hindu university students who consider these models to be competing, there is a statistically significant increase in self-reported stress.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Bhanu

In the now bustling city of Udaipur, Rajasthan, Bhanu¹ crumbles the dried cake of cow manure into a brass bowl. As he attempts to light it with a lit rolled up piece of paperboard, his mother barks instructions through the shawl-like veil that covers her entire face, even though Bhanu's steady hand says he's done this hundreds of times before. Bhanu, a 19-year-old social science and humanities major, grew up helping his father tend to the family shrine to Ganesha (the Hindu elephant-headed god) who's inset into a wall that lines one of the busiest thoroughfares of old-town Udaipur. Ever since his father died last year, it has fallen to Bhanu to be the *pujari*, or priest, of the shrine, leading two services every day—one just after sunrise, one just before sunset. During the rest of the day, Bhanu attends classes at a university in Udaipur and tries to find odd jobs to make money.

The cow manure is smoldering happily now, and the air around the shrine grows thick with a sweet earthy smell that clings to the inside of the nostrils. A small audience comprised chiefly of older men begins to gather on the sidewalk for the *aarti*. They step out of their sandals, and some gently bring their hands together in front of them while some are handed small drums to aid in the noisemaking that will summon the divine attention of Ganesha.

The incessant honking of auto rickshaws joins the drums of the old men as Bhanu begins the ritual. In his left hand he rings a bell, while with his right he waves an oil lamp with six lit wicks clockwise in front of the myriad statues and framed pictures that form the shrine. He

¹ All names and identifying details, except for those of Dr. Snodgrass, Professor Hussaini, and Tamu, have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the respondents.

continues, his gaze either focused unwaveringly on the depictions of Ganesha or his head lowered in devotion, long enough for the ears of the bystanders to pulse from the noise.

The ritual ends, and the bystanders line up to receive the *prasad* back that they had offered to Ganesha. The ritual imbued their offerings with divine blessings, which they accept back with both hands and reverently bowed heads. Once everyone has received their *prasad*, Bhanu sits down on the stone bench next to the shrine and opens Facebook on his mobile phone, even as an elderly man bends down to touch Bhanu's feet in veneration.

1.2 The Self in a Globalizing World

In an increasingly globalizing world, scenes like this are becoming commonplace in places like Udaipur, where this study unfolded. With the increasing availability of the internet, even the most traditional, isolated villages have access to ideas, images, songs, and products from all over the world. As Arjun Appadurai writes some two decades earlier, there are some “brute facts about the world of the twentieth century that any ethnography must confront. Central among these facts is the changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity” spurred on by technological advancements and the forces of globalization (1996:48). These forces complicate ways that cultural groups interact both with one another and with different cultural ideas. Yet, these interactions are also creating new avenues for understanding new emergent cultures, as well as the new pressures, tensions, and opportunities individuals around the world face as they navigate changing and shifting social landscapes. There are a number of questions that arise as a result of this increasing cultural complexity. Chief among them is how individual actors navigate these cultural interactions, whether these interactions are considered

beneficial or detrimental in regard to well-being, and what these interactions mean for the cultural identities of both the individual and the group.

These are, of course, enormous, complex questions, as the ways in which cultures, or even individual cultural concepts, can interact on a global scale is beyond comprehension. What can be done, though, is conduct an analysis that's rooted in well-grounded theory and focused methodological investigations of specific cultural concepts' interactions with each other, with the ultimate aim of arriving at a more comprehensive understanding of more complex cultural processes. Psychological anthropology, and especially so-called "cultural models" theory (Bennardo and De Munck 2014), offers methods to not only identify specific, culturally bound concepts, but also to assess, quantitatively, the extent to which any given individual embodies a given cultural model. Identification of specific cultural models allows for researchers to begin to answer questions regarding the interplay of various cultural processes, especially of the way globalization presents interactions between older and newer cultural forms. Additionally, identifying specific models, in combination with Katherine Ewing's understanding of identity as being comprised of many different, inconsistent self-concepts that shift according to social context (1990), can help to pinpoint specific aspects of identity as they morph from context to context.

While theoretical perspectives regarding globalization (Nederveen Pieterse 2004) and identity (Ewing 1990) tend to be predominantly qualitative, cultural models theory and a mixed methods approach allow for a novel quantitative take on how different cultural values and identities interact. With these theoretical and methodological approaches in mind, this research focuses on the interaction between traditional religious values, as understood by Hindu university students in Udaipur, India, and globalizing influences, exemplified by the internet, to

pursue the following research aims: (1) discover the culturally consensual model of a “good Hindu;” (2) discover the culturally consensual model of the value of the internet; (3a) determine whether these two models interact positively, negatively, or don’t interact; (3b) if the interaction of these two models is negative, whether it is associated with an increase in self-reported psychological stress.

1.3 A Specific Cultural Context: The Young Bannas of Udaipur

In order to address these research objectives, I spent six weeks in the city of Udaipur in the Indian state of Rajasthan, spending time with emerging adults at two of the local universities, Mohanlal Sukhadia University and Bhupal Noble’s College. Emerging adulthood, that is, roughly 18-25, is a particularly suitable focus of this research, as it’s a period of development marked by identity exploration (Arnett 2014). My participant-observation time was spent with a group of predominantly young Rajput men whom I came to refer to as the “Young Bannas,” though I spoke with some young men of other castes as well, such as Bhavan, the young Brahmin pujari. *Banna* is a Hindi word the young men translated as “son of a king,” and they would use it to address each other as a sign of respect. My ability to interact with young women was culturally constrained, so other than a couple of young women who were either close friends or family of the Young Bannas, I was unable to interview or interact substantively with young women, though 22 of my 103 survey respondents are female. Since I spent so much time with them, these young Rajput men acted as key informants who provided me with critical information that I might not get otherwise from brief encounters, as well as invited me to join them during social events, allowing more insight into their culture-specific identity. In this way,

they also acted as gatekeepers, introducing me to new people to talk to, especially ones they knew were knowledgeable about the topics I was interested in.

It should be noted that the subculture of the young Rajput men has a few noticeable differences from other groups of young men in Udaipur. First, the Rajputs have a specific style of dress, associated with a general masculine style. I was told that “a Rajput man must always have a mustache.” Additionally, though other groups may do it as well, young Rajput men wear earrings in each ear. This combination was generally enough to reveal to others that the man styled in this way was a Rajput. Because the Rajputs in Udaipur also tended to be middle to upper class, they also dressed in a more fashionable manner with pricier materials compared to the lower classes. Slacks, a patterned button-up shirt, and leather shoes were all commonly worn by young Rajput men. Second, young Rajputs had specific linguistic tendencies that other groups did not. For example, in addition to the use of *banna*, they would shorten their friends’ names and add the suffix “-sa” (for example, Vikram becomes Vik-sa), which denotes respect. Additionally, they would refer to each other only using the formal second-person pronoun *aap* rather than the more common, more familiar *tum*. Third, the Rajputs that I spent time with had unique eating habits compared to other communities. They would eat meat, drink alcohol, and had traditional Rajput dishes such as *daal baati* (lentils and round, oven-baked bread-rolls). While not all Rajputs would necessarily do all three of these things, and other groups might share similarities in certain ways, in my experience the combination of these three things was exemplary of the culture of young Rajput men and differentiated them from other Indians in Udaipur.

Even though the majority of my participant-observation was spent with this particular subculture of young Rajasthani men, the information I gathered from informal conversations

with other individuals convinced me that the interactions between the models of Hinduism and the internet I observed were more generally shared throughout the population of young adult university students in Udaipur.

1.4 Interacting Cultural Models

Through participant-observation and semi-structured interviews, general models of being a “good Hindu” and the value of the internet emerged, results I briefly summarize here, before delving more properly into a fuller analysis. The cognitive model, or mental representation, of Hinduism included parameters such as worshipping at home with family, going to temple, and treating others with respect. The model of the internet included things like this new technology allows people to stay in touch with friends and family, and is an important source of information. Cognitive models such as these are variably distributed throughout a population to approximate an aggregate cultural model (Bennardo and De Munck 2014), or in other words, culture writ-large could be conceived of as being comprised of the cognitive models of its adherents. And while the components of the models were gathered from a diverse number of informants, the amount and extent to which a population might agree upon the exact nature of the model can be complicated, as it is in Hinduism.

Rajput is but one sub-caste within what is generally thought of as Hinduism. Hinduism is an exceedingly diverse religious system, the practice of which is dependent upon things such as historic caste, class, and location in India. In addition to this diversity, many of my respondents discussed how flexible and relaxed a religion Hinduism is. According to my respondents, Hinduism doesn’t force anyone to do or believe anything. As one respondent put it, “it’s simple. If you want to, just follow, if you don’t want to, don’t.” With this combination of the diversity of

Hinduism with its laid back nature, it isn't surprising that even within specific caste groups there isn't consensus about what a "good Hindu" is. Likewise, consensus is lacking in the value of the internet. However, there were three clear interactions between Hinduism and the internet that became evident through unstructured and semistructured interviews and participant-observation: some saw the internet as taking the place of religion; others saw the internet as being helpful for religion; and many didn't think that the two had anything at all to do with one another, even though with further questioning it became clear that there are ways in which they interacted. I refer to these three ways these cultural models interact as "competing," "complementary," and "independent," respectively, which are key themes that anchor my analysis.

For these young Rajasthani Hindus, religion and the internet both form integral aspects of their identities. For the majority of these young adults, the way they think about Hinduism offers rhetorical devices that allow them to play off these potentially competitive worldviews in a way that doesn't lead to stress. However, this research shows that for young adult Hindus in Udaipur, those who strongly feel that the internet is a threat to religion, and thus that these models are competing, also score higher on an abridged Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) (Cohen et al. 1994).

Overall, this research addresses an aspect of the question of what happens when cultural values come into contact with one another via globalization—in this case, traditional Hindu values and the internet. If different aspects of cultural identity are vital yet competing, this competition is associated with increased stress. This has implications for the growing literature on cultural exchange, and provides evidence for the necessity of cultural sensitivity in intercultural exchange.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In order to understand *emic*, or insider, conceptualizations of religion and the internet, and the way their interactions might impact well-being, a theoretical perspective that can integrate culture writ-large with individual experiences, identities, and understandings is necessary. This chapter discusses some of the main theoretical perspectives of psychological and cognitive anthropology, especially a psychological definition of culture (subsection 2.1.1), cognitive models (2.1.2), cultural consensus and consonance (2.1.3), and psychological anthropological perspectives on identity (2.1.4).

Once this theoretical and methodological perspective is established, a psychological anthropological definition and approach to religion in general will be discussed (2.2.1), followed by some important points regarding the religion we think of as “Hinduism” and a discussion of the term “caste” that are key to an understanding of the way that young adults in Udaipur conceive of Hinduism (2.2.2). A definition of globalization and some points on how globalization has been documented to be affecting life in contemporary India, and some of the political ideologies that contribute to attitudes toward globalization, and especially Westernization, will be touched upon (2.2.3).

Finally, a psychosocial model of health will be presented (2.3.1), which shows potential physiological pathways by which psychological and social factors can influence well-being, as well as other aspects of religion that potentially contribute to well-being (2.3.2).

Altogether, the sections in this chapter present the relevant psychological and cognitive anthropological theory that supports the identification of the cultural models of Hinduism and the

internet, and establishes these concepts in literature on globalization relevant to India, as well as justification for these psychosocial forces affecting well-being.

2.1 Psychological Anthropology

2.1.1 A Psychological Definition of Culture

One of the great debates in cultural anthropology is the question of where culture is located; inside or outside the individual. As Victor de Munck discusses, though few anthropologists would disagree that culture is necessarily made up of both psychological and social factors, exactly how these two arenas interact and constitute culture is still the subject of many differing theoretical perspectives (2000). While some cultural anthropologists place themselves strongly in the “outside” theoretical group, such as those that follow Clifford Geertz’s famously anti-psychological discussions of culture (De Munck 2000), psychological anthropology is specifically concerned with the interplay between these two and understands culture to be both inside the individual and outside the individual, that is, in both the inner mind of the individual as well as in external social networks, family structures, and communities.

A definition of culture that forms one of the bases of psychological anthropology comes from Ward Goodenough, who defined culture as “whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members... It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them” (1957:167). This definition, considering culture to be predominantly knowledge-based, creates a base from which anthropologists can begin investigating culture as internal mental phenomena that interact with external social and cultural factors.

One theoretical perspective that arises out of this psychological conception of culture and that informs this research is that of Gananath Obeyesekere, which is particularly suited to a psychological anthropological discussion of religion, globalization, and identity, as it is based on an analysis of the relationship between cultural and religious symbols and an individual's well-being. Because they operate on "psychological and cultural levels simultaneously" (Obeyesekere in Lambek 2002:384), Obeyesekere's personal symbols are key to a psychological anthropological understanding of well-being. According to Obeyesekere, there are three types of symbols: private, public, and personal (Obeyesekere 2014). Private symbols are deeply meaningful and motivational symbols that are not shared with anyone. Public symbols, in contrast, are culturally shared but have no inherent motivational meaning for individuals or groups. Personal symbols are in between the other two: they are "related to the life experience of the individual *and* the larger institutional context in which they are embedded" (Obeyesekere in Lambek 2002:384, emphasis added). The locus of meaning lies within the individual, but that meaning gets attached to shared cultural symbols, which are then reified because of the importance the individual places on them. In this way, the relationship between cultural norms, society, and the individual is elucidated and allows a way to describe the ways in which these interact. Individuals' religious experiences, for example, are meaningful because of the individual, private understanding of the symbol, yet become shared because they are linked to a communal public symbol. The individual thus can have an experience that both privately alleviates anxiety and also reifies the communally held religious symbols, propagating religious ideology and symbolism through the power of personal symbols.

2.1.2 Cognitive Cultural Structures: Schemas, Models, and Frames

Building off of Goodenough's idea of culture as something existing primarily in the mind of social actors, schema theory gives anthropologists a framework to discuss these culturally bound cognitive organizations of information. One of the earlier definitions of schema comes from Jean Piaget: "a cognitive structure which has reference to a class of similar action sequences, these sequences of necessity being strong, bonded totalities in which the constituent behavioral elements are tightly interrelated" (De Munck 2000:77). Schemas are dialectic in nature, meaning they are composed of mental cognitive representations (such as memories) that engage the present moment in a "dynamic feedback loop" (De Munck 2000:77). Importantly for anthropology, since schemas are enacted cognitive structures they can be "discovered" using ethnographic methods. Schemas that are shared by a significant number of people within a community or society are referred to as "cultural models" (De Munck:77), and these cultural models are what cognitive anthropologists are generally most interested in eliciting. For example, a cultural model of what a religious person looks like in Udaipur, India, or the value of the internet can both be cultural models, as they are mental representations that inform how a person thinks about Hinduism or the internet, and are shaped and shared by and among a social group. While a cultural model should not be conflated with culture, as culture is a more complex and dynamic thing, this theoretical viewpoint allows researchers to discuss specific aspects of culture. Further, as Bennardo and De Munck discuss, since individuals have choice and agency, even though it may be culturally constrained, any given individual's schema of a given topic may be slightly or very different than the overall cultural model (2014).

A type of cognitive model that bridges linguistics, psychology, and culture that can be utilized both as a theoretical perspective and as a method of qualitative analysis has been

introduced by George Lakoff as *frames*. Lakoff defines frames simply as “mental structures that shape the way we see the world” (Lakoff 2014:xi). In shaping the way we see the world, frames also inevitably are a fundamental component of why we make the choices that we do and which behaviors we choose. However, frames are parts of the “cognitive unconscious,” meaning that the individual holding a frame most likely is not aware of the depth, extent, and cultural influences on it. This poses a unique difficulty for the anthropologist: How does one discover a cultural concept that a member of that culture cannot describe or identify? According to Lakoff, frames can be identified through language: “All words are defined relative to conceptual frames. When you hear a word, its frame is activated in your brain” (2014:xii). Thus, by analyzing how individuals in a culture talk about different topics, for example, by examining which metaphors are used or how objects are personified, insights can be gained into the frame, or frames, being activated.

In that they are conceptualized as cognitive structures that can inform choices and actions, frames fit well into a cognitive anthropological “cultural models” approach to culture. Though he doesn’t use the word, Lakoff describes frames as being socio-culturally shaped in that family plays a large role in frame structuring, but they can also be shaped by the groups, especially social and political, that one finds oneself in. Frames, then, can be conceived of as schemas or models experienced through language informed by individual psychological development, and therefore they can be utilized to help identify cultural models.

2.1.3 Cultural Consensus

From a cognitive psychological anthropological perspective, if culture exists as organizations of knowledge in the minds of individuals that are shared with their culture writ

large, then these cultural models can be discovered and discussed. One method predominantly used to discover these models is called cultural consensus, which is discussed by Giovanni Bennardo and Victor de Munck as being a method that “operationalizes culture and makes it directly measurable” (2014:93). Cultural consensus as a theoretical perspective was posited by Romney, Weller, and Batchelder as having two fundamental components: one, culture consists of information that is shared amongst members of a group; and two, this information isn’t contained in its entirety by any one member but rather is distributed and is organized in the mind of the individual in coherent domains (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986; Bennardo and De Munck 2014). There are three main aspects to this theoretical perspective as it is used here: consensus, competence, and consonance. Consensus refers to the extent to which a group of people “agree” that a cultural model is shared, typically based on how a sample responds to a survey. (For a discussion of the details of consensus calculation, see Chapter 3.5.) The extent to which any given individual “knows” the “correct” (i.e., average) aspect of a cultural model based on his or her survey response is his or her cultural competence. An additional aspect of cultural consensus is cultural consonance, popularized largely by William Dressler (see, for example, Dressler and Bindon 2000; Dressler et al. 2016), which indicates the extent to which an individual embodies a cultural model. That is, as opposed to cultural competence which merely indicates the extent to which the individual “knows” the cultural model, consonance is the extent to which that individual actually “lives up to” that model. As an example, one may “know” that to be a good Hindu one must go to temple every week (competence), but in reality he or she goes only once a month (consonance). Importantly, cultural consonance has important implications for well-being, discussed further in the next section (see Dressler and Bindon 2000).

As it was noted above, just because these cultural models exist in a structural way in the minds of cultural actors doesn't mean that they are easily identifiable by the actors themselves. Rebecca Seligman, for example, discusses self and identity as processual and having reflexive and self-objectifying elements as well as "pre-reflective" elements that are "prior to and fundamentally shape self-objectification" (2010:297). These "pre-reflective" aspects exist in the mind but in a pre-conscious state that doesn't allow them to be easily reflected upon. Similarly, Strauss and Quinn discuss the similarity between un-cognized aspects of identity and Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, "systems of durable, transposable dispositions... principles of the generation and structuring practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu 1977:72), which shares some similarities to cognitive models. While Bourdieu sees knowledge embodied in *habitus* as being "unsayable," and outside the realm of awareness, Strauss and Quinn disagree in that while "such knowledge *tends* to remain backgrounded in consciousness, it is entirely possible to foreground and describe it" (1997:46). For the ethnographer attempting to unearth cultural models and aspects of identity, then, it's important to know that while some may be readily "sayable," reflected upon, and discussable, some may remain pre-reflective and backgrounded. Participant-observation and qualitative research methods, such as frame analysis, can make these aspects of identity and cultural models accessible, objectifiable, and in the end, measurable.

2.1.4 *Self and Identity*

Victor de Munck and others argue that there is no such thing as a "self," as the self is rather a "mental representation or construct, a language game, a constellation of narratives that humans tell themselves" (2000). Rather than a singular, bounded, real "self," then, identity is

made up of “self-representations” (Ewing 1990) or “self symbols” (De Munck 2000) based on how an individual thinks about themselves at any given point in time. Importantly, this creates the illusion of a unified, singular sense of self, whereas Ewing argues that, across cultures, people “can be observed to project multiple, inconsistent self-representations that are context-dependent and may shift rapidly” (1990:251). This conceptualization of the self is especially important when considering how individuals interact with multiple, culturally valued models that are important to identity.

Naomi Quinn (2006) pushes back against this definition of self, arguing instead for a definition that includes aspects of self emerging from one’s physical, biological, psychological, social, and cultural being. She uses insights from the field of neurobiology, and specifically those of LeDoux, to assert that the brain does, indeed, experience self as whole based on neural systems “acting in concert to achieve integration” (Quinn 2006:371). However, each of these aspects of identity, physical, biological, etc., are understood by the individual through cultural lenses, and thus are deeply and invariably culturally-informed.

This research attempts to combine these two approaches, with the understanding that self is comprised of physical, biological, psychological, social, and cultural aspects, yet within those aspects can be inconsistent, context-dependent, and shifting.

2.2 Hinduism in the Global System

2.2.1 A Psychological Anthropological Approach to Religion

Defining religion is a notoriously difficult task, depending on whether the focus is on supernatural or existential concerns, substance or function, community, politics, or psychology (see Diamond 2012). Definitions of religion are arguably as varied as those who study religion.

For this research, the definition that fits best with a cognitive anthropological approach is that of Clifford Geertz, with a few specific modifications. Geertz defines religion as:

(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in [humans] by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (Pals 2006:270).

By Geertz's explanation, a symbol can include both images and actions; that is, objects, events, and rituals can be considered symbols (Pals 2006). Importantly, these symbols are public in that the adherents of a religion would recognize the symbol and it is therefore shared among a group. However, these symbols can carry different private meanings for each adherent. Symbols such as these that have both public and private meanings, as discussed earlier, are referred to as personal symbols (Obeyesekere 2014). From this perspective, while the visual symbols themselves are shared, the locus of deeper meanings resides in the mind of the individual. When interacting with religious objects, actions, and rituals, then, it is the personal meaning of that symbol that is being accessed, the public symbol that is being adapted to individual needs. This is what allows the factuality and realism of the symbols to endure. In the way that this definition is used in this research, the general order of existence, while not necessarily supernatural in nature, does typically deal with ultimate existential concerns (see Tillich 2011). It should be noted that for this research, religiosity and spirituality are both considered equally as valid, though dissimilar; religion refers to an institutional, largely public experience, while spirituality is more individual and private, though they can share characteristics.

Émile Durkheim famously defines religion as “a unified system of beliefs and practices... which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them” (Diamond 2012:327). For Durkheim, community is the focus of religion, and in fact religion is nothing but community: it is the “soul of society” (Pals 2006:107). While this understanding of religion is now largely understood to be reductionist, it nevertheless remains a crucial component of an understanding of religion. This community-oriented conception of religion can be included within an understanding of Geertz’s “moods and motivations.”

2.2.2 Hinduism and Caste

Hinduism is an old and complex religion. If you ask a Hindu how old Hinduism is, they will most likely tell you that it is as old as the creation of the world; older, in fact, because the world has been created and destroyed countless times. While the predominant texts that inform what we generally consider Hinduism, the Vedas, speak to this eternal unity of tradition, the texts themselves have been determined to have been composed sometime between 1200 and 200 BCE (Knipe 1998). The Vedic Age is also but one of five overarching temporal periods that have been identified as shaping the culture of India and thus Hinduism: the Indus Valley Civilization, lasting roughly from 2500-1750 BCE, the Vedic Age, mentioned above, the Epic Age, from about 400 BCE-800 CE, the Medieval period from roughly 750-1750 CE, and the modern age, from about 1750 CE to the present (Knipe 1998). During these different time periods, what we now think of as Hinduism was shaped in a variety of ways that contribute to its overall complexity.

Summarizing all of the various beliefs, behaviors, and sacred texts that make up Hinduism would be a book in itself. Suffice it to say that the long political history of Hinduism,

combined with great geographic and cultural variation, means that presently there is arguably no such thing as a singular “Hinduism,” but rather we must talk about various Hinduisms, based largely on caste, class, and history. In fact, the Vedic Hinduism that many think of as being “Hinduism” proper is more appropriately attributed to the philosophical Hinduism of the Brahmin caste, and can go unknown by Hindus of lower castes. This was brought home in an exchange with a young man who worked at the hotel in which we stayed for the duration of the research. He asked me why I didn’t eat meat (vegetarianism is common for Indians), and, after searching through my very limited knowledge of Hindi to try and explain, realized that one of the main tenets of Hinduism, at least as I understood it at the time, would easily explain it: *ahimsa*, or non-violence. Upon explaining myself with this word, however, the young man only looked blankly at me: this was not a concept he was familiar with, even though I thought of it as one of the most basic concepts of Hinduism. The Vedic, philosophical concepts of Hinduism, it would seem, were not part of the everyday lived Hinduism of tribal people such as this young man. Similarly, the religious practices and important beliefs of one caste might differ from that of another. Though the term “Hinduism” is limiting in the sense that it is not quite specific enough to explain the beliefs, traditions, and behaviors of a specific caste group, I will continue to use it throughout my research as it remains the easiest way to talk about the belief system as it exists generally. Of course, from an anthropological point of view, the correct version of Hinduism is the one that respondents themselves employ. A further discussion of the beliefs and practices of Hindus according to university students in Udaipur will be undertaken in chapter four (4.2).

Much of the differences in religious practice among Hindus are based around the institution of “caste.” Though we use this English word for it, caste is, in reality, an incredibly

complex topic. Louis Dumont hints at the complexity of the topic of caste with the following potential exchange: “If one asks someone ‘What is your caste (*jaati*)?’ he [or she] may indicate either which of the four *varna* he [or she] belongs to, or a caste title, or his [or her] caste, or his [or her] subcaste, or even the exogamous section (clan) to which he [or she] belongs. Note that this is strictly accurate” (1974:62). For this research, caste will be simplified into two terms that are components of what we tend to think of as caste: *varna* and *jaati*, though these two words in themselves still don’t quite capture the complexity of the concept as detailed by Dumont.

The word *varna* comes from the Vedas, and refers to four hierarchical social categories, based primarily on societal function: at the top, Brahmins, who were the religious leaders; Kshatriyas, the landlords, warriors, and bureaucrats (of which most Rajputs consider themselves to be a sub-caste); Vaisyas, the merchant and farmer caste; and Sudras, the laborers and servants (Snodgrass 2006). Of course, there were also what are now called the former Untouchables or Dalits, who, until 1950, were literally “out-caste” and not included in this hierarchy (Snodgrass 2006).

In 1951, after untouchability was outlawed, new organizational terminology was instituted in order to provide protection and affirmative action programs for the Dalit communities and other disenfranchised groups, with these groups being “scheduled” for advancement (Snodgrass 2006). These new groupings, today used interchangeably with *varna* in regards to the question “what is your caste,” include Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Other Backward Castes (OBCs), and General Caste, with the latter including Brahmins, many Kshatriyas, and other wealthy merchants and landowners (Snodgrass 2006). These new groupings, though, are not necessarily strict, and can be manipulated for gain in a number of ways.

While there are some complications with these terms used for caste, still more complicated is the notion of *jaati*. *Jaati* generally refers to a group of clans, comprised of *gotras*, or “exogamous patrilineal descent groups or patri-clans” (Snodgrass 2006:56). *Jaati*, in terms of this research, represents more specifically the family group, history, and sub-caste that an individual might identify with, and, thus also is more specific in terms of the religious practices that one might take part in. In order to get as close as possible to respondents’ religious communities, I asked them both what caste they were (to which they would tend to reply General, OBC, etc.) and what their religion or community was (to which they would reply Rajput Hindu, Brahmin, Sikh, etc.).

2.2.3 Globalizing India

While one specific definition of globalization is controversial and dependent upon the academic tradition to which one subscribes (Nederveen Pieterse 2004), Anthropologists tend to use a definition along the lines of that provided by Ted Lewellen: “the increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas, and people brought about by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel and by the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism” (2003:13). The critical aspects of this definition, at least for the purposes of this research, are the flow of ideas and culture and the importance of the role of sophisticated technology of communications, i.e., the internet. There are three general outcomes that are argued to be occurring as a result of globalizing forces and the intermingling of cultures, related to a larger theoretical perspective of the politics of difference: cultural differentialism, or lasting, immutable difference between cultures; cultural convergence, or growing homogenization leading to one over-arching culture; and cultural hybridization (Nederveen Pieterse 2004). Of these, social scientists can rather easily

point to cultural hybridization as the inevitable outcome of globalizing cultural differences (the argument that Nederveen Pieterse (2004) makes, as well as Appadurai (1996)), citing historical precedents as well as postmodernist theory. However, I would argue that while theoretically cultural hybridization is the most likely outcome, from an anthropological perspective the beliefs of individuals and cultural groups as to whether culture is immutable or open to change can affect cultural groups *willingness* to hybridize, and thus whether cultural interactions are considered positive or negative. Culture clashes are, in fact, just as historically valid as cultural hybridization (see, for example, Fagan 1998). This is vitally important when considering how young adults in Udaipur are conceptualizing the interactions between Hinduism and globalizing forces via the internet.

India has a complicated relationship with Westernizing, globalizing forces, not the least of which is a history of British colonialism. In modern times, the realization of the importance of being a part of the global economy has created an increase in consumerism of Western goods, technologies, and fashion, especially among the Indian middle class (Lakha in Pinches 2005). A growing population of diasporic Indians further increases both the necessity of the use of the internet for communication (Gajjala and Gajjala 2008) and the popularity of foreign consumer goods (Lakha in Pinches 2005). Caste and religion can complicate this relationship to Westernization, however, creating various differing attitudes toward it, especially when it comes to ontological insecurities brought about by globalization, which can create increased feelings of insularity fractured along religious community lines (Kinnvall 2004).

An example of this ontological fracturing can be found in the political landscape of India. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is an exemplar of Hindu national identity, and holds much influence in northern India, and specifically Rajasthan. In the past, this political party has been

associated with militant anti-Westernization and concerned with the culturally dominating influence of globalization (Malik and Singh 1992, Pinches 2005), but now takes an official stance of positive secularism and being progressive and modern (Bharatiya Janata Party 2012). Some of the young men I interviewed were very quick to assert that Hinduism promotes peace and kindness toward everyone, but they were just as quick to discuss the tensions between Hindus and Muslims in Rajasthan, which tended to have a flavor of Hindu nationalistic ideologies. Furthermore, these tensions tended to play out on the internet.

2.3 Religion as a Psychosocial Determinant of Health

2.3.1 A Psychosocial Model of Health

A growing body of literature is providing evidence for health being greatly influenced by psychological and social factors. One of the most important studies to bring light to this is the Whitehall study, undertaken by Michael Marmot et al. in the 1970s (Marmot 2006). In this study, it was found that not only was social position among British civil servants correlated with rates of disease, but that there was a marked difference in health outcomes at every stratification of the social hierarchy: those at the highest level had the best health, those below had slightly worse, and so on until the bottom rung which had the worst health outcomes (Marmot 2006). This points to the fact that health is sensitive to social factors, and has led to more research in the area of social determinants of health (Marmot 2006). While material conditions and behaviors are inarguably a large component of disease, they are not the full picture. Individual psychology and social conditions can influence one's interaction with material conditions as well as behaviors, and is therefore an integral part of the determinants of health. This approach to health and well-being, the psychosocial approach, "emphasizes subjective experience and emotions that produce

acute and chronic stress which, in turn, affect biology and, hence, physical and mental illness” (Marmot 2006:3).

The mechanisms by which stress affects biology are rooted in evolutionary adaptations. Mammals respond to stressors in largely similar physiological ways; in the presence of a perceived threat, the endocrine and nervous systems are triggered in ways that prepare the body for quick reaction and/or maintained physical exertion, including elevated heart rate, increased blood pressure, and increased sensory vigilance (Brunner and Marmot 2006). Modern humans, however, are faced with challenges above and beyond our systems’ intended capabilities. Rather than physical emergencies, humans experience psychological and social challenges that activate these systems too often, and, in some cases, constantly—and thereby a system that is evolutionarily adapted for survival can in fact lead to worse health outcomes (Sapolsky 2004).

There are two neuroendocrine pathways responsible for our so-called fight-or-flight response. The first, known as the sympatho-adrenal pathway, is responsible for immediate, almost instantaneous responses to threats and is characterized by adrenaline (epinephrine) release. In this system, noradrenaline is released from sympathetic nerve endings and adrenaline from the adrenal medulla (Brunner and Marmot 2006). The effects of this type of response are short lived, with the half-life of adrenaline only being a few minutes (Brunner and Marmot 2006). The second is known as the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis, or HPA axis. Compared to the other pathway, the HPA axis is rather slow, being activated over the course of minutes or hours as opposed to milliseconds (Brunner and Marmot 2006). The HPA axis is also more complicated: initially, a hormone called corticotrophin releasing factor (CRF) is released from the hypothalamus and travels to the pituitary gland. In response to this CRF, the pituitary gland releases a second hormone called adrenocorticotrophic hormone (ACTH) into the blood stream.

When the levels of ACTH, via the blood, are raised sufficiently in the adrenal cortex, the third, and most important hormone, cortisol, is released (Brunner and Marmot 2006). In terms of psychosocial health factors, the focus is on the HPA axis and cortisol rather than the quicker (and therefore harder to measure) sympatho-adrenal pathway.

It should be noted that cortisol plays a vital role in our body's natural circadian cycles and that it is not, in and of itself, harmful. When levels remain elevated over a long period of time, however, the body becomes used to a new baseline. In other words, rather than returning to homeostasis, the systems become allostatic. The allostatic load hypothesis, therefore, "links the psychosocial environment to physical disease via neuroendocrine pathways" (Brunner and Marmot 2006:15), by affecting cholesterol levels, blood clotting, inflammation, immunity, system integration, growth, and promoting depression, among other responses. In short: psychosocial environments impact morbidity and mortality.

2.3.2 Religion and Well-being

In the face of constant stress, then, it's vital to have sources of resilience and coping mechanisms to positively impact well-being. In a quantitative synthesis of literature on religion and well-being, researchers found that religion was positively associated with subjective well-being, and when compared to other predictors of well-being was as potent as education, socioeconomic status, marital status, work status, and social activity, making it stronger or as strong as predictors that have been studied more extensively (Witter et al. 1985). Among those with positive experiences of religion, overall religion contributes to lower rates of heart disease, lower blood pressure, decreased chronic pain, lower cholesterol levels, lower rate of overall mortality, and increased longevity, among others (Seybold and Hill 2001). Similarly, church

attendance has been shown to increase lifespan by two to three years (Hall 2006). However, religion can, and has, acted as a negative contributor to health. As Seybold and Hill put it, “religion and spirituality can also be pathological: authoritarian or blindly obedient, superficially literal, strictly extrinsic or self-beneficial, or conflict-ridden and fragmented. Indeed, such unhealthy religion or spirituality can have serious implications for physical health” (2001:22).

Conclusion

This chapter began with a psychological anthropological definition of culture and some theoretical perspectives that have been informed by this definition and school of thought. One sub-discipline of this school is cognitive anthropology, which conceptualizes culture as being comprised of cognitively organized “models” that inform behavior and choices among social actors. These models can be elicited through ethnographic methods, and objectified and quantified through cultural consensus analysis in order to assess the extent to which any given individual “knows” and “lives up to” specific aspects of his or her culture. The extent to which an individual embodies his or culture in this way is considered his or her consonance with the given cultural model, which has implications for well-being. This section concluded with a discussion of how cultural models, as aspects of identity, may or may not be easily objectified and reflected upon by the individual.

This psychological, cognitive anthropological framework offers ways to identify specific models of Hinduism and the internet, though both Hinduism, and attitudes toward globalization and the internet in India, are complex and variable. Hinduism has a long history in India, and what we consider “Hinduism” is really a caste, class, family, history, and geographic-based construction that have great variability in terms of beliefs and practices based on these factors. A

similar variability exists for the role of the internet—attitudes toward globalizing and Westernizing factors can be influenced by class and political factors.

If these two models, Hinduism and the internet, are interacting in ways that are considering conflicting, then they, as psychosocial factors, can indeed impact well-being. Recent research has begun to emphasize the importance of including social and psychological factors into a biomedical understanding of health and well-being. For medical anthropologists, these factors are particularly important because they are largely governed by culture, and thus must be understood within specific cultural contexts. One of the most important aspects of culture in terms of how it shapes worldviews and understandings of health is religion. In the past, religion had been thought of to contribute in largely negative ways to well-being (perhaps based on the at the time irreconcilable differences between religion and science), discounted entirely, or dismissed as “just placebo” (Kaptchuk 2002), but current research provides evidence that positive experiences of religion do contribute to positive well-being (Seybold and Hill 2001).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

In order to address the question of whether a model of being a good Hindu interacts with a model of the value of the internet, this research utilizes a mixed methods approach that uses both inductive (bottom up or emic) and deductive (top down, etic, or theory-driven) perspectives. This research takes an ethnographic approach in order to understand the way in which Hindu university students conceive of and model Hinduism and the internet. To this end, the research occurred in three main phases with the following foci: participant-observation, semi-structured interviews, and field surveys. These phases are slightly blurred in that participant-observation continued through all phases of research, but the focus of each phase remained.

This chapter will begin with an overview of the setting and participants of this research (subsection 3.1), beginning with previous experiences in India that contributed both to an anthropological fascination with the country, and to a knowledge base about Hinduism and its practitioners. This will be followed by the specifics of the current research project, including the setting of universities in Udaipur, and the university students with whom I spent my time.

Then, a mixed methods approach will be described (3.2), including its epistemological underpinnings, the difference between qualitative and quantitative data and analyses, and the benefits to using this approach.

After this overview of the approach, the specific methods themselves will be detailed, including an overview of the method, the means of data collection, and the specific means of data analysis, both qualitative and quantitative, beginning with participant-observation (3.3),

followed by semistructured interviews (3.4) and field surveys (3.5). The results of my inquiry using these methods will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.1 Setting and Participants

Prior to this research, I had spent five months living in the states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu in India from February to June, 2006. During that time, I was living at the ashrams of the guru Sai Baba, engaging in the practices at the ashrams and learning about Vedic philosophy and Hinduism. Through these experiences, I gained a basic understanding of some of the beliefs and practices of Hinduism. As I discovered during the research for this project, however, the kind of Hinduism that I learned at the ashram was very specific and not necessarily representative of everyday Hinduism as practiced by different castes or class groups; it was, rather, a philosophical form of Hinduism that would have historically been more associated with the Brahmin caste. In this way, much of the Hinduism in this setting was based on behaviors; yoga, meditation, reciting *mantra*, singing *bhajans* or devotional songs, and selfless service, or *seva*, were typical ways of showing one's faith. In the lives of the Rajput university students that I was interacting with in Udaipur, however, everyday Hinduism was conceived of and practiced much differently. These differences will be discussed further in the following section (4.2).

In addition to a basic knowledge of Hinduism, I was also introduced to the cultural idiosyncrasies and differences that might otherwise cause one to experience what is generally called culture shock. The differences in levels of poverty and living conditions can indeed be shocking for someone who isn't accustomed to them, and the generally high energy and compacted city streets that result from the high population levels are a far cry from the

comparatively indolent mountain towns of Colorado, where I grew up. While it did take me a while to get used to these differences on my first trip to India, I was already accustomed to life in India when I returned for this research project. This meant that I was able to jump into focused participant-observation for my research questions as soon as I arrived, rather than having to get used to and learn about the culture overall first.

These experiences instilled in me a keen interest in India and Hinduism, and, though I didn't realize it at the time, burgeoning anthropological interests. With the knowledge that my advisor, Dr. Jeffrey G. Snodgrass, does continuing research in India, I applied for and was awarded a National Science Foundation (NSF) Research Experience for Graduates (REG) supplemental fellowship award, which provided additional funds for graduate students whose advisors have existing NSF grants. This REG grant attached my research to that of Dr. Snodgrass' NSF grant (BSE #1600448)(Snodgrass 2015), a bio- and cross-cultural exploration of the physiological effects of intensive internet use. My research informs his by helping to explain the views that young adults in Udaipur have regarding the use of the internet, and how these views could shape intensive internet use.

This current research took place in the city of Udaipur, located in the northwestern Indian state of Rajasthan. The history of Udaipur, as told to me by members of the Rajput caste and as espoused by the museums in the city, is one of battles and kings, heroes and invaders. Almost every new informant (the Rajputs, at least) would share with me some militaristic tale of the history of the city: how the city had never fallen to Mughal invaders, for example, or how the wives of the Rajputs were so fiercely loyal, and their honor so pure, that they sacrificed themselves *en masse* rather than be taken prisoner by invading armies.

The young Rajput men that I spent time with and discussed in Chapter 1.3, the Young Bannas, carried themselves with an air that hearkened back to their warrior ancestors. After witnessing the respect with which they spoke to each other, and, by extension, the respect they carried for all Rajputs, I asked one of the young men one evening at their favorite haunt how Rajputs are supposed to behave and comport themselves. The qualities he listed could have come straight out of an Arthurian legend regarding the code of chivalry for the Knights of the Round Table. These young men took their familial responsibilities very seriously, and were emphatic about the importance of respecting and defending all people, especially women and children, regardless of caste or religion. They also spoke of the importance of defending their country and religion from those who would attack it, with knowing looks that suggested I knew they were referring to (Islamic) terrorists. It was with this group of young knights that I spent the majority of my time, and who introduced me to the majority of university students that I spoke with.

My entrée into this group were due, with incredible appreciation, mainly to the help of my research assistant, key informant, and gatekeeper Tamu. Tamu is a cousin of the Jhala family whose hotel I lived at for the duration of the research. This hotel, a converted old haveli that served as a sort of family mansion for a number of generations, still served in its original capacity in that the family, including Tamu, still lived there. The hotel is owned by Dr. Yuvraj Singh Jhala, a retired principal of Bhupal Noble's College. My advisor, Dr. Jeff Snodgrass, has known the Jhala family for a number of years, and has known Tamu since he was young. Tamu was an invaluable help in making connections with university students and gaining insight into the culture of emerging adults in Udaipur, both in terms of thoughts on religion and how they think about the internet.

I was in Udaipur from July 5th, 2016 until August 14th, 2016. In addition to doing ethnographic field research, I also took Hindi courses from Professor Hussaini Bohara, meeting once a day during the week to discuss grammar and vocabulary. Professor Bohara also helped me to gain understandings about the culture, and his knowledge of university students was a necessary complement to the reports of university students themselves. My field research time there was generally broken up into three two-week sections: participant-observation, semi-structured interviews, and field survey. As mentioned, these were not strict delineations and participant-observation continued throughout the entire six-week process, and the timeline was a little malleable to allow for flexibility and responsiveness to conditions in the field. There were some limitations due to this short amount of time, which will be discussed in the next chapter (section 4.7), however, because of previous experiences in India, it wasn't as crucial to spend the normally extended amount of time doing participant-observation prior to beginning this research in earnest.

3.2 The Mixed Methods Approach

Epistemologically, Michael Schnegg (in Bernard and Gravlee 2015) identifies three main approaches within anthropology: positivism, hermeneutics (or interpretivism), and radical constructivism or postmodernism (2015). He argues that in anthropology, the epistemological approach one takes is related to the split between humanistic and scientific approaches to the social sciences and humanities, with those falling on the scientific side of the spectrum tending toward positivism and those on the humanistic side toward hermeneutics or radical constructivism (Bernard and Gravlee 2015). Briefly, positivism is concerned with what can be measured and tested empirically, hermeneutics is rooted in a dialectical deep understanding of

texts and culture, how people understand them and how they inform one another, and radical constructivism questions the production of knowledge and the role of the scientist in the creation of that knowledge (Bernard and Gravlee 2015). Though they represent different epistemological backgrounds, these three approaches in anthropology are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and, indeed, a combination of the three is likely the best way to gain knowledge about culture.

A mixed methods approach, simply, is one that is designed to utilize both qualitative and quantitative methods and analyses. As Bernard et al. explain, data can be either qualitative or quantitative, and data analyses can be either qualitative or quantitative (Bernard, Wutich, and Ryan 2017). For example, data could be in the form of short answers (qualitative) or numeric survey data such as Likert scales (quantitative). Analysis could be, for example, descriptive (qualitative) or statistical (quantitative). A mixed methods approach combines these data and analyses in whichever way is most appropriate for the research at hand.

This approach bridges the humanistic and scientific sides of anthropology, allowing not only for a more holistic approach but also increases the toolkit available to anthropologists and thus the types of questions they can answer and the ability to be dynamic and flexible in the field. A postmodern critical examination of the researcher's own biases and assumptions and the power structures at play in society and the creation and distribution of the knowledge being examined is an important aspect of research design and investigation, in order to collect the most accurate information possible. Knowledge of a hermeneutic approach allows for investigation of the interplay between emic perspectives and etic perspectives in a dialogic relationship, which creates a better understanding of the local culture. Finally, an understanding of a positivistic approach can assist the researcher to keep in mind scientific principles in his or her research

design and analysis. The influence of these three epistemological traditions allows a researcher to design and implement a critical, scientific, and culturally sensitive research project.

A holistic approach that includes positivistic, hermeneutic, and postmodern epistemological viewpoints and combines inductive and deductive approaches drives the choice to use participant-observation, semi-structured interviews, and field surveys, including cultural consensus analysis. These methods allow for the influences of a postmodern critique of culture, a hermeneutic dialogical approach, as well as the ability to check the models arrived at with a quantitative analysis, which are especially appropriate for assessing the role and effects of potentially structural identity-shaping cultural models and the emic understandings of them. For this reason, these methods are best suited for this research project.

3.3 Participant-Observation

Kohrt and Mendenhall define participant-observation as “spending time with people and learning how they know what they know and why they do what they do,” or colloquially as “hanging out” (2015:37). Bernard (2006) discusses how participant-observation is not one technique but a spectrum, with full participation at one end and solely observation at the other. Most of the work done by ethnographers, however, lies somewhere between—the ethnographer could be more of an observing participant or a participating observer. During my participant-observation, at times I was more of an observer (such as quietly watching services at temples) and at times more of a participant (such as taking *darshan* from an ancestor spirit possessing a family member). A key quality of a good ethnographer practicing participant-observation is that he or she is able to be self-reflectively objective, and is capable of “suspending active judgment” (2006:372). This ensures two critical things: that the ethnographer isn’t projecting his or her own

ideas, conceptualizations, or judgments on the population, and that the research population feels comfortable with the ethnographer, and doesn't ever feel that he or she is being judgmental, lest the population not yield suitable data.

Over the course of this research, I estimate that I spent around 170 hours actively doing participant-observation, though as I was effectively living at the field site, many more hours were spent doing passive participant-observation. Participant observation continued throughout the entire six-week research period, though the first two weeks were focused solely on participant observation.

The majority of participant-observation took place with the help of Tamu acting as a gatekeeper and helping me to gain entrée into the social circles of students at Mohanlal Sukhadia University and Bhupal Nobles' University. I would go to these universities with him and spend time chatting with his friends (those that spoke English) about religion and the internet. In addition to spending time at these universities, we would hang out at restaurants, hotels, and Fateh Sagar Lake, places that Tamu and his friends frequented, which were more casual, and more "insider" locations where some of the guys would smoke cigarettes without worrying as much about how others were perceiving them.

In addition to the time spent with Tamu, I would also visit temples on my own in the old city area of Udaipur, especially Jagdish Mandir and Banu's shrine. During these excursions I mostly acted as an observer of the people and events occurring at these sacred locations, especially noting the presence or absence of young adults and attempting to speak with those that I could. Through Tamu's friends at Mohanlal University I got invited to a poetry reading event where young adults shared poems in both Hindu and English, and I was able to speak with individuals afterward regarding their thoughts about Hinduism and the internet. Along with these

experiences, I also joined in celebrations on the street and in the parks on holidays and festival days, in an attempt to engage with young adults actively participating in religious community events.

Data collection during participant-observation consisted of taking field notes, or jottings (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011), in a notebook during or just after interactions with individuals or witnessing or taking part in events. When making notes of things that people told me, I always asked them for permission to take notes, and if anyone asked to see my field notes they were free to do so. During the beginning weeks of participant-observation, I would type up and expand on my field notes on my laptop in my hotel room at the end of the day.

While there wasn't a formal analysis of my field notes, the information gained from respondents, observation, and experiences informed the questions that I asked during the semistructured interview portion of my field work and the creation of field surveys.

3.4 Semistructured Interviews

Russell Bernard (2006) describes interviews as potentially taking a variety of forms based on the needs in the field. On one end of the spectrum are unstructured interviews, which don't have a protocol and consist of the interviewer asking questions they deem appropriate at the time. The benefit of this is that the interviewer can have the freedom to get whatever information seems necessary at any given time, but doesn't allow for a systematic approach to information gathering. On the other are structured interviews, which have a very strict protocol that is followed the same way each time, allow for very systematic collection of data but don't allow for much nuance, follow up on important questions, or asking other questions that seem relevant. Semistructured interviews allow for the benefits of each approach: they have a protocol that is

used for each interview, but allow for the interviewer to follow up on important or salient points, to ask clarifying questions, and pursue other lines of inquiry that are relevant to the research topic. The interviews conducted were “person-centered,” which focuses on the experiences of the individual being interviewed, and treating the interviewee as both respondent and informant in order to assess the relationship between individuals and larger structures, as described by Levy and Hollan (in Bernard and Gravlee 2015). As respondent, the interviewee offers very personal insight into their experience of their culture, and as an informant they can offer insight into the experiences of other people in their culture. Knowledge of these two pathways is invaluable for the ethnographer, for he or she can get both an intimate account of the culture as well as a general one.

The semistructured, person-centered interview protocol for this research (see Appendix 1) contained questions directed at gaining an understanding of how emerging adult university students in Udaipur think about the internet, its positive and negative influences, and what the students mainly use it for; Hinduism and the qualities of a good or devout Hindu; whether Hinduism or the internet are seen as causing or reducing stress; and the relationships, if any, between the two. These questions were informed by participant-observation as well as a review of the literature and my hypotheses.

Respondents were chosen predominantly via convenience sampling: five of Tamu’s friends, family, and social connections formed the bulk of the respondents, with one respondent (Bhanu) being a connection I made through regularly visiting his shrine near the hotel, for a total of six respondents. The interviews ranged from 16 to 38 minutes, based on the respondent’s knowledge of English, knowledge of and interest in the material, and openness.

Locations of the interviews varied from restaurants where the guys were hanging out, to family homes, to the Mohanlal University Library, to on the streets of Udaipur. After getting informed consent, interviews were recorded on an iPhone. The recordings were then transferred to a laptop for transcription and analysis.

The semistructured interview recordings were transcribed using F5 Transcription Software. The transcripts were then imported into MAXQDA (Kuckartz 2007), a qualitative data analysis program, and coded, or had labels applied to chunks of text based on emergent themes. In coding, I used a grounded theory-based approach (Bernard, Wutich, and Ryan 2017) in which I systematically coded the interviews for themes that came directly from the text, but also created codes that were informed by participant-observation and the literature. The main themes coded for in the text were “Hinduism” and “internet,” with sub codes for themes related to, for example, “Hindu qualities,” “traditions,” and “frequency” of internet use. The co-occurrence of “Hinduism” and “internet” codes led to the creation of new codes based on how those themes were talked about as influencing one another, including competing, complementary, or independent codes.

3.5 Field Surveys

Field surveys offer a way to test hypotheses arrived at through qualitative research such as participant-observation and interviews (Bernard and Gravlee 2015). For the purposes of this research, both online surveys using Google Forms and paper surveys were utilized. See Appendix 2 for the survey protocol version that appeared on the printed out surveys.

A number of demographic questions were asked on the survey, including name, age, gender, university, caste, and religion/community. The caste question was aimed at ascertaining

the modern caste group that replaced the *varna* categories, while the religion/community questions was aimed at eliciting the *jati* of the respondent. There was quite a bit of discussion about these questions with my advisor Dr. Snodgrass, and my research assistant, as it can be considered potentially rude to ask about caste in terms of *varna* in modern India because of the stigma attached to low status *varnas*. However, it was key to my research to know, as specific as possible, the religion of the respondent, since, as discussed, Hinduism is composed of a number of different religious traditions.

Survey questions were determined from the analysis of semistructured interviews. The question “What are the qualities of a good and proper Hindu?” informed the creation of a ten question “good Hindu” consensus model (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986). To form the “value of the internet” ten question consensus model, the questions “What are some good things about the internet?” and “What are some bad things about the internet?” were asked. Both consensus and consonance questions for these models were asked: i.e., I first asked respondents about shared ideas in their community, before subsequently asking about their own views and behaviors related to each survey item. Consensus questions are aimed at understanding the shared, communal cultural model, while consonance questions are aimed at understand the extent to which the individual approximates the cultural model. The consonance questions were phrased from the point of view of the respondent, e.g., “I go to temple/masjid/church regularly.” The consensus questions were phrased from the point of view of the community, e.g., “Would people you know agree with the following statements about religion: It is important to go to temple/masjid/church regularly.” The consonance questions were asked first, since, as my research assistant informed me, the students were more used to answering surveys about

themselves. Additionally, this seemed to allow for less influence of the views of community on the responses of individuals.

When constructing a cultural consensus survey, it is important that the items included are generated from ethnographic methods—participant-observation and semistructured interviews—with observations and discussions with informants being informed by theory and previous research. Additionally, the items included should also be about the same level in terms of complexity and clarity. Further, the researcher should expect some variability in the items that are included; if the items included will most likely be very strongly agreed upon by all respondents, a useful or informative consensus analysis cannot be done. In light of this, some of the items were included even though there were some discrepancies in the ways respondents discussed them, that is, some thought they were very important items to include in the domain of a “good Hindu” and some thought they were not important. Importantly, for the survey these questions were worded in terms of the community of the respondents, to elicit a model as understood by the community. (For the questions, see the survey in Appendix 2.)

In addition to cultural model questions in the domains of “a good Hindu” and “the value of the internet,” three questions were asked to elicit the viewpoints of the respondents on the relationship between these two models, i.e., whether they considered them to be competing, complementary, or independent.

A number of questions were also asked in order to understand levels, causes, and relievers of stress. A four item Perceived Stress Scale (PSS), with two of the four items reverse-coded, assessed individual self-reported stress (Cohen et al. 1994). Two additional questions attempted to understand what students perceived as the largest causes of stress in their lives, and the forms of stress relief they most utilized.

I distributed the online surveys through Tamu and the Young Bannas and their friends, with each of them sharing the link to the survey through WhatsApp to their university friends. This only yielded 30 responses. In order to get a greater number and diversity of responses, my Hindi teacher, Hussaini Bohara, a professor at Bhupal Nobles' University, printed out and distributed one hundred field surveys among the students at his university, and shared some with his professor friends at Mohanlal Sukhadia University. In addition, I spent a morning at Mohanlal Sukhadia University and distributed twenty surveys. My intention was to get a diversity of respondents in terms of gender, caste, and religious community among university students in Udaipur.

Once collected, online survey responses were downloaded and paper surveys were input by hand and added to the online responses. Survey data were then imported into Stata (StataCorp 2007) for statistical analysis, and UCINET (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002) for consensus analysis.

Cultural consensus models of a good Hindu and the internet were calculated using UCINET. This calculation is based on a respondent by respondent correlation matrix, that is, comparing those who responded to the survey to one another, rather than comparing survey item variables to one another. An eigenvalue represents the extent to which the variability across respondents can be accounted for by a single factor. The use of factors to describe data is a data reduction technique—essentially, a factor represents a number of variables that are “redundant” (Kachigan 1991). Eigenvalues, then, take as much of these redundant variables into account as possible, with the most redundant variables forming the first factor, and so on. In order to be able to declare consensus, the ratio of the largest eigenvalue to second largest must be at least 3 to 1 (Bennardo and De Munck 2014). The other two important outputs of a cultural consensus

analysis in UCINET, besides the eigenvalue ratio, are average competence and what is called the “answer key.” Competence is a measure of “the degree to which an informant’s knowledge is congruent with the overall model” (Dressler and Bindon 2000:247), or, in other words, the extent to which a given respondent “knows” the correct model. The best estimate of the correct model, based on the responses that informants, especially the most competent ones, are most likely to make is referred to as the “answer key,” and is based on a weighted frequency of responses dependent upon respondents’ competence (Dressler and Bindon 2000).

Statistical analysis consisted of three main analyses: descriptive statistics, linear regression and exploratory factor analyses in Stata. Descriptive statistics were calculated using the “tabulate” function in Stata, and represent a univariate frequency distribution of responses, generally displayed using percentages for Likert scale responses and mean, standard deviation, minimum, and maximum values for continuous variables such as age and various scales.

Linear regression can be thought of, simply, as a way to study a quantitative variable, in this case PSS, or stress, in relation to other factors or variables of interest (Cohen et al. 2013). For this research, this means an interest in how the conditional mean of PSS varies among different combinations of predictor variables, e.g., gender, religious community, caste, and so on. Regression was used rather than analysis of variance (ANOVA), because both linear regression and ANOVA utilize the same underlying mathematical principles, but regression gives a little more detail regarding the relationship between variables and is a little easier to interpret based on my knowledge base. To put it another way, regression can do the same things that ANOVA can, but the reverse is not necessarily true (Cohen et al. 2013). It’s important to note that for this research linear regression is being used not in terms of prediction or causality, but rather merely to show the relationship between variables.

Factor analysis, as discussed briefly above, is a means of data reduction, as is the case with eigenvalues to assess consensus. Exploratory factor analysis was also used in order to create consonance scales. Because of a lack of consensus, we chose to extract the factor (largest, reduced variable) that was the most culturally agreed upon, with the idea that it represents the aspects of the culturally domain that are the most widely shared, and thus have the greatest potential impact on well-being across the sample. In order to discover the items of the consensus survey that were most shared by the sample, we performed a principal component factor analysis (PCFA) using Stata (Acock 2012). A PCFA finds the responses that load on the first factor, understood to be the shared belief portion of the model, which we then used to create our consonance scale, including those responses that loaded on each factor with a coefficient of .5 or higher. As a consonance scale is created to measure the extent to which an individual is approximating the communally shared cultural consensus model, we added together the personal (rather than perceptions of community-wide) response questions from the survey.

A number of results were dropped from the final survey results because they did not fit the target sample. A response of “not currently attending college” regarding status as a student precluded a few responders from being a part of the final data set. Additionally, three responders were found to have the exact same answers as each other, so two of these were dropped. Responses were also dropped if they did not report either Rajput, Brahmin, or Other Hindu as their religious community—other religious groups did not have enough responses to warrant analysis, and the focus of this research is on Hinduism. The final number of responses to the field survey was N=103, though, because of the nature of unsupervised paper surveys, some responses were left blank. Where relevant, respondent numbers (N) for specific survey questions or statistical analyses is reported.

Conclusion

A mixed methods approach, that is, one that uses both qualitative and quantitative methodologies both for the types of data collected and the analyses performed allows for an empirical treatment of data and hypotheses while also taking into account hermeneutic and postmodern epistemologies. This approach, combined with the ethnographic triad of participant-observation, interviews, and field surveys, is particularly suited to discovering cultural models of Hinduism and the internet, which have both individual and institutional aspects.

Participant-observation for this research took place at temples, universities, hang outs, and the streets of Udaipur, with the majority of time spend with group of young Rajput men. This period of time was informed by previous experience that I had in India, so I came into the situation with some knowledge of Hinduism and those who practice it already, as well as the conditions of life in India. Participant-observation occurred over the course of the entire research project, but was the primary focus during the first two weeks of research. Field notes and jottings from this phase informed the next phase of research.

Participant-observation lead into semistructured interviews with connections made through the Young Bannas at the universities, as well as my own connections made at the temples and shrines of Udaipur. The interview protocol came from unstructured interviews and observations made during participant-observation, as well as from conversation with Dr. Snodgrass. Transcripts from these interviews were coded in MAXQDA using a grounded theory approach, and the co-occurrences of these codes informed the questions included on field surveys.

Field surveys were the largest aspect of this research both in terms of time spent on the protocol, the size of the data set, and the amount of analyses performed. Surveys were distributed

both online through Google forms and in paper form at a number of the universities in Udaipur. Once collected, these survey data were compiled and analyzed using Stata. Key statistical analyses performed were descriptive statistics, regression analyses, and principal component factor analysis.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this section I will present and discuss the results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses described in the previous section in relation to my hypotheses. I will begin with an overview of the results from the field surveys, including demographics and descriptive statistics (subsection 4.1). Then, the cultural models of a “good Hindu” (4.2) and “the value of the internet” (4.3) will be discussed, with evidence from both qualitative and quantitative data. A key aspect of the qualitative data presented for these models is that the different aspects of the models are presented as justification for their inclusion as the items on the consensus survey. Thus, each qualitative section of these models, both for a good Hindu and that of the internet, represent both the items as they are included in the model and the bounds of the models themselves. Then, the three relationships these models have with one another (competing, complementary, and independent), and their distribution in the sample, will be reported with data from semistructured interviews and field surveys (4.4). Finally, the ways in which these three relationships may or may not contribute to stress will be discussed (4.5). This section will conclude with limitations and suggestions for further research (4.6).

4.1 Overview of Results

As Table 1 reports, the majority of survey respondents were general caste males. Of those in the general caste, about twice as many were Rajputs as Brahmins, with the remainder being comprised of other Hindu religious communities.

Table 1: Descriptive Survey Statistics

Variable	% or Mean	SD	Min	Max	Alpha
Male (N=103) ¹	78.6				
Age (N=98)	19.3	1.9	17	31	
Caste (N=102)					
General	60.8				
OBC	26.5				
SC	4.9				
ST	4.9				
Other	2.9				
Religion/Community (N=103)					
Rajput	40.8				
Brahmin	20.4				
Other Hindu	38.8				
Religious Consonance Scale (N=96)	22.0	4.8	11	30	.76
Internet Consonance Scale (N=88)	11.7	2.9	6	20	.68
PSS4 (N=99)	10.7	2.5	5	16	.29

1: Responses to some survey questions were absent. The number of responses for each question are reported.

Overall, it became clear in the interviews that there were a variety of ways that university students in Udaipur conceptualize the responsibilities of a “good Hindu,” and that they also viewed the internet in a variety of positive and negative ways. Surprisingly, at least based on what I was expecting as a researcher, these differing viewpoints and understandings did not fracture along caste or religious boundaries, but rather much variety was expressed within these different communities. This variety of opinion was reflected in the consensus analyses performed on these two models, which will be discussed in later sections.

A similar observation was made through unstructured interviews during participant-observation and semistructured interviews. When asked whether they thought the internet was a threat to or taking over religion, the majority of respondents at first seemed confused that there would be any relationship between these two models at all, and thought of them as completely separate and unrelated to one another. However, with probing, respondents acknowledged that traditions, including religious practices, are vitally important, and they indeed saw the internet

taking away from that. At the same time, many also saw that the internet could also be beneficial to their religion, as they could share their beliefs, images of gods and goddesses, and gather the religious community together for festivals through Facebook and WhatsApp.

The variety in the ways that university students in Udaipur conceptualize Hinduism, the value of the internet, and the ways in which they interact is understandable considering the different historical and traditional communities that comprise what we generally think of as “Hinduism.” Additionally, interview respondents regularly reported that Hinduism is not a “strict” religion—it doesn’t force its adherents to do or believe anything specific. These concepts, the variety in responses and justifications of said variety, will be explored further in the following respective sections.

4.2 A Model Hindu

4.2.1 Qualitative Data Informing Survey Items

“What are the qualities of a proper Hindu?... They must follow their religion because there are.... to define a Hindu it is a completely different thing. Because in Hinduism there are many religions. And when it comes to Hinduism... every religion has its own set of schedule for their daily life, for their home life, for their marriage purposes, birth purposes, death purposes, every religion has its own rules and regulations, customs, morals, values.... And qualities differ from person to person also. From a man to a woman also, from a girl child to a male child also...” –Arati, 22, Brahmin Female²

As Arati describes, there are many religious communities that make up Hinduism, and each has its own customs, values, and responsibilities. However, there are some themes that come up repeatedly, both in participant-observation and semistructured interviews, that are justified in being included in a cultural consensus model of Hinduism. The PI assisted with the

² Quotations have been edited for clarity and to preserve the intentions of respondents, where necessary.

creation of the consensus scale as well, based on his extensive experiences with Hinduism in India.

One of the most important aspects of being a “good Hindu” that respondents discussed was following family and clan (*gotra*, or subcaste) traditions. For example, in response to the question “what are some of the aspects of a good Hindu,” two different respondents stated:

“Hindus always follow the tradition, culture, everything. About all things. They are very focused on the culture, the tradition, and it’s a really good thing.” – Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

“He should know about his family, like his generation and the history of his family, it is really important. Hinduism is divided into many castes and subcastes, yeah... He should be religiously devoted to his ancestors if his family worships the ancestors.” –Satish, 18, Rajput Male

The extent to which some of the young adults in Udaipur value family and traditions became obvious in one rather emotionally heavy exchange with a young Rajput man. He explained that for seven years, he had been in love with a woman who belonged to the same caste, which, traditionally, and especially among upper caste Hindus, is an incredibly important pre-requisite for marriage. However, because she lived in the same geographic region, his parents forbid him from marrying her. “She got engaged two days ago,” he told me quietly. “I won’t love anyone every again. But I had to respect my parents’ wishes.”

Another aspect of Hinduism that came up repeatedly, though with differences of opinion regarding whether it is important or not, is going to temples. Here are a couple telling examples of this range:

“In our books, Bhagavad Gita and all, a proper Hindu, a good Hindu, he wakes up before the sunrise, and does all the things. Goes to temple. [How many times?] Two times in a day... one in morning, one in evening.” –Jagdish, 18, Rajput Male

“Going to temple is not a big thing. Everyone can go. But your heart should be pure. You should be a kind person. Because if you are going to temple everyday and beside this you are not a kind person, and not helping other people, you are not doing good things to them, then it’s not any, it doesn’t make sense to go to temple every day.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

Even at temples, such as the one at which I spent the most time, Jagdish Mandir, at the heart of the old part of the city, the way that young adults behaved was not necessarily in line with their beliefs. On one occasion, I witnessed a group of four university-age adults take part in a ceremony at the temple but otherwise were laughing, goofing around, and generally not treating the temple with the same solemn respect that the rest of the attendees were. I decided to approach them after the ceremony and get their ideas on Hinduism and the internet, and their reported religious devotion, and the importance of temples and Hinduism, surprised me. In fact, they saw the internet as a threat to Hinduism, and fear that the internet is “taking over religion,” a phrase I then used to elicit reactions from other informants and used in my survey.

Similar to going to temples, an item related to worshipping at home was included in the survey. Though the respondents didn’t discuss this item specifically, every household has a special family shrine somewhere.

In my own previous experience in India, the word *seva*, or service, was an important aspect of the Brahminical Hinduism that I learned about. Only one respondent, however, spoke about *seva*:

“A quality of a good proper Hindu is that they are really, really polite. They help people. Before helping themselves, they help other people. In any way. They will go to anywhere, and they will give their best.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

Though only one respondent mentioned it, I observed youth groups around Udaipur that claimed to be service groups, especially at parades through town on religious holidays. Because of this, I included it as an item in the model of a “good Hindu.”

Another very important aspect of being a “good Hindu” that came up repeatedly was the respect that Hindus have for other people.

“I would say, you should have respect for each and every person, even elder, younger, even if he or she belongs to a lower caste.” –Radhika, 18, Rajput Female

“Good quality of Hindu is that they never abuse anyone.” –Jagdish, 18, Rajput Male

“A good Hindu never, never, never, never says a bad thing. [To a person, or about a person?] Yeah. He’s never angry. Always being peaceful. And... never abuse anyone. [Physically?]
Yeah physically and with words. And he never says a bad thing about other religions.” –Jagdish, 18, Rajput Male

This quality of a “good Hindu” has some limitations when it comes to defending one’s religion or community against outsiders, but otherwise came up very frequently as an important quality.

Similar to being respectful to others and not “abusing” people (they would use this English word to describe it), many respondents during participant-observation would use the phrase “not show off” when describing the qualities of a “good Hindu.” While I originally thought that this statement dealt with humility, in retrospect, and in qualitatively analyzing interview data, I now think that this statement could have more to do with not being “showy” about one’s religion or religiosity. Though it was mentioned often, this item did not end up being a salient item for the consensus model, so this discrepancy does not affect the model.

A quality that, again, I experienced as being important during my time in India but that didn’t seem to be as important for the university students in Udaipur, had to do with religious practices. Often, in the West, we tend to associate things like meditation, yoga, and mantra

repetition with Hinduism. This is where there was a divide between my Rajput respondents and my Brahmin respondents. Rajputs generally did not consider these as important, as when I asked one respondent about meditation. She responded:

“Yeah you could do that. [You can but you don’t need to?] Yeah.” –Radhika, 18, Rajput Female

However, a Brahmin shared something to suggest that, at least for her, and perhaps for her community, there is more of an importance placed on religious practices:

“As a Hindu, if I speak as a Brahmin, I have to wake up in the morning, early morning, I have to first of all what a schedule a person should follow. These things bring the qualities in a person. So early morning I have to get up, I have to regularly do the chantings of god for a fixed time period. I must remember the god, and then I must follow some good values and ethics which my family’s teaching me.” –Arati, 22, Brahmin Female

This discrepancy between these groups makes sense, given the historic differences in the responsibilities of these two groups; the Brahmins being the religious authorities, while the Rajputs were the warriors and bureaucrats. Even though some of the more structured religious practices are not typical for Rajputs, they still would often talk about the importance of remembering god daily, which could be seen as a religious practice.

An item that is similar to religious practices, but different enough that it was a separate question on the consensus survey, dealt with reading holy texts or scriptures. This item was not specifically mentioned by respondents as being an important aspect of being a “good Hindu,” but they would often refer to or quote holy texts, so I decided to include it as an item.

One item that became part of the model of a “good Hindu” came from questions related to the internet—one of the benefits of the internet that was mentioned frequently had to do with

the fact that people can share their religion with others online, either by sharing motivation pictures of deities or gathering together religious communities for festivals.

Finally, the last aspect of a “good Hindu” that the PI and I decided on including regarded religion as being a source of inspiration for living a good life. This item speaks to the relevance that religion has in everyday life, the impact it has on its adherence, and the fact that religion contributes to a shared, valued goal in everyday life. This item was corroborated by a young man at a temple who told me that while for the most part technology has taken over religion, religion is still important for “inspiration.”

4.2.2 Survey and Cultural Consensus Results

Overall, respondents tended to agree that all of the items included in the consensus survey for a model of a good Hindu were important, but there was some variation in the extent to which some items were agreed upon. The least agreed upon item (2), at 59.38% agreement, dealt

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for the Hindu Model

Item	Strongly Disagree ¹	Disagree ¹	Neutral ¹	Agree ¹	Strongly Agree ¹	Answer Key
1: Family worship	3.06	12.24	11.22	37.76	35.71	5
2: Temple attendance	6.25	12.50	21.88	35.42	23.96	4
3: Service	0	6.12	21.43	37.76	34.69	4
4: Non-discrimination	2.06	4.12	6.19	18.56	69.07	5
5: Humility	5.15	3.09	10.31	25.77	55.67	5
6: Proselytizing	3.09	7.22	20.62	38.14	30.93	4
7: Religious practices	5.21	11.46	10.42	40.63	32.29	5
8: Preserve traditions	3.13	9.38	14.58	32.29	40.63	5
9: Scripture	4.21	10.53	21.05	40.00	24.21	4
10: Inspiration	1.04	3.13	21.88	31.25	42.71	5

1: Reported as percentages.

with the importance of going to temple regularly, which is in line with the variability of interview responses in regards to that topic. In comparison, a question regarding the importance of worshipping with one's family at home (item 1) had 73.47% agreement. The importance of doing *seva*, or community service (item 3), had the least amount of disagreement with only 6.12% of respondents thinking *seva* is unimportant, yet didn't have the highest amount of agreement. The item with the highest agreement at 87.63%, item 4, dealt with the importance of not discriminating based on religion or caste. This concept is arguably the most core concept of Hinduism, as shared with me by respondents, which is confirmed by this high level of agreement. This item also had the highest percentage of strong agreement, at 69.07% of respondents. Item 5, the second-highest level of agreement at 81.44%, concerned not "showing off" one's religion, which was another concept that was shared frequently by respondents, and not one that I was expecting. Item 6 dealt with the importance of sharing one's religion with others, which I was interested in in regards to the ideas of respect for other religions and not showing off one's religion. This item was the third lowest level of agreement, at 69.07%. The following item (7) asked about the importance of religious practices, such as mantra repetition and yoga, to which 72.92% of the sample agreed were important. Item 8 is one aspect of the model of a good Hindu that I expected a higher level of agreement on, based on interview responses—it regards the importance of preserving one's religious traditions, and had 72.92% agreement. Item 9, the importance of reading religious texts, received the second lowest level of agreement at 64.21%. Finally, 73.96% of respondents agreed that religion provides a source of inspiration for living a good life.

A consensus analysis yielded an eigenvalue ratio of 2.06, which is shy of the typically accepted 3.0. Due to the variability in the sample in terms of religious community and what it

means to be a Hindu, this is not necessarily surprising. With an overall low consensus eigenvalue ratio, it's also not surprising that the overall mean competence score is .38, indicating that on average any given respondent could be expected to "know" the "correct" answer for any given Hindu consensus survey item only 38% of the time. The "correct" answers to the Hindu consensus model, that is, the answer based on weighted frequencies of the answers of the sample, are reported in Table 2 (the final column).

This lack of consensus warrants the use of principal component factor analysis to extract the items of the survey that were answered concurrently the most. The final consonance scale of a good Hindu consists of items 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, and 10. These items are related to worshipping at home with one's family, worshipping at temple regularly, the importance of sharing one's religion with others, doing daily religious practices, reading holy texts and scriptures, and finding religion to be an inspiration for living a good life. Notably, some of these items had the lowest agreement on Table 2, but it must be remembered that the creation of the consonance scale is based on which items are answered together the most, rather than the ones that have the most agreement. For the complete wording of the questions included on the consonance scale, see Appendix 2. The mean, standard deviation, minimum, maximum, and Cronbach's Alpha for this scale can be found on Table 1.

4.3 The Value of Internet

4.3.1 Qualitative Data Informing Survey Items

The role and value of the internet in the lives of university students in Udaipur was evaluated by asking both what the good and bad things are about the internet. This was done through unstructured interviews during participant-observation and semistructured interviews

with respondents. The PI assisted with some of the items, based on his extensive experience in India and work with online communities.

In terms of good things, respondents overwhelmingly reported the importance of the internet for staying in touch with friends and family.

“It connects us with what is happening and what is not happening. It connects us to friends. And we also know the basic things about our friends, we can see their posts, their pictures. We can chat with them. It’s good to connect to them.” – Jagdish, 18, Rajput Male

“And good thing is that, you can... I’m talking about Facebook, you can know about the events happening in the lives of your friends, families, where they are traveling and what they are eating, and all that.” –Satish, 18, Rajput Male

“I use it for connecting to people. Getting connected. [And this is the most important for you] Yeah this is the most important, because I am not able to meet people all day, so I have many friends all over the world, in different corners of India and other places, so I need to be in touch with them, so I use it.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

“Good thing is that, first thing, that the internet has connected friends, families, and persons—known persons.” –Bhanu, 19, Brahmin Male

While statements such as these show the importance of connection through the internet, based on experiences I had hanging out with the Young Bannas and university students, I suspected there might be a difference in the ways these young adults stay connected with their friends versus their families.

The second most important thing about the internet that respondents would talk about is the ease of getting information. For some of the students this meant learning about the world from the news, and for some it meant having help for schoolwork.

“Through the internet I have read more than what I have read in my textbooks. So the internet has taught me more than my education I believe. Apart from those textbook things, I learn things related to life, of business, of other things, of

literature, of poems, books, and the things in life in which I am interested. So I learned a lot about all those things.” –Arati, 22, Brahmin Female

“There is much knowledge, you can know about the movies, you can know about the books, you can know about the music, news, the important thing is news.”
–Satish, 18, Rajput Male

“If I have any kind of information, from any thing, or about anything happening in this world or anything, so I use the internet.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

“I am interested in politics, so if any information I want to know about the politics, what’s happening between India and what are the collaborations between other countries like US and all.... The internet gives us every knowledge, because the sites I use they give me notifications that this is happening, the PM went to there, and a different person came to India, and that was the main argument from them about oil, and nuclear power, and anything, so it’s really helpful.” –
Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

To these young adults in Udaipur, the internet is key because it helps them to know what’s going on in the rest of the world. This is a very important point; to these students, the information and idea sharing aspects of globalization are sought after and valued. It’s important to these students that they are aware of what’s going on in the rest of the world—they don’t want to be isolated and know only what’s occurring in India. Though some of the students may be wary of the effects that the internet might have on traditional values, the fact remains that they still see the sharing of ideas and information as important.

Though it didn’t come up in semistructured interviews, unstructured interviews during participant-observation, as well as the websites and apps that students reported as being the ones they use the most, revealed that the internet is also valued as a source of entertainment and relaxation. On the university campuses, I would see young men huddled next to each other, taking turns playing a side-scrolling game with a gun-wielding soldier protagonist. Many students mentioned apps like Instagram and Snapchat as being important to them, and while

these apps are certainly social in nature, there is certainly an entertainment aspect to them as well.

The last good aspect of the internet that was included on the consensus survey dealt with the importance of the internet for sharing one's religion with others.

“Whenever I want to create something, large work or large scale, on my Hinduism... you can say a policy... basically, it depends on my religion, then internet is my best way, and I can post something, I can gather Hindus, and I can do whatever I want. [Oh, I see, so you use it to organize other Hindus.] Yeah I can organize any program or anything.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

“I use the internet as temple publicity. Or for a festival publicity. Any information for my temple, it functions as publicity.... And, this is the reason that I use internet in my life.” –Bhanu, 19, Brahmin Male

This wasn't spoken about as much by my respondents, but was mentioned enough times that it warranted inclusion in the survey, especially because it could give insight into the relationship between religion and the internet.

In terms of the bad aspects about the internet, one theme that came up was that people could be exposed to “bad things.” This category can include harassment, pornography, and other things considered negative.

“Bad thing is... internet users are a very, very big bad persons. For abuse, it's a bad thing, a bad use. At the same time, there are crimes, because, bad people are using internet.” –Bhanu, 19, Brahmin Male

“Bad thing is that people can get addicted to it, and they use it for the wrong purposes, as for creating violence, it's a really bad source for it, and people, you know, now the people in India and any other country, they are using for the bad things, as some sites are not good for the kids. Adult sites [Like pornography?] Porn, and everything, porn and different sites... ‘Cause all of the world is connected to the internet, so they get people for that, many people have same kind of thinking. [Are you talking about, like, ISIS?] Yeah ISIS, and many different terrorist organizations in the world.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

“Okay bad things... I’ve been watching TV... there’s cyber crime, and teenagers getting into wrong stuff... online molestation, harassing people. Many more. [Do these things ever lead to problems outside of the internet?] From what I have seen, watching TV, yes people do get mentally disturbed. They get into extreme depression.” –Radhika, 18, Rajput Female

Rather than specifically mention things like pornography that people had talked about as being an issue, we decided to include them in a “bad things” category, knowing that students would understand what was meant, but not using terminology that might offend anyone.

The next bad aspect of the internet that was included had to do with the internet being seen as a waste of time, and not a worthwhile activity. This wasn’t something that my semistructured interview respondents brought up themselves, but more something that they knew older people thought about the internet.

“Well, what I have known, a priest would say that it is a waste of time, and uh... sometimes it is good, but people should not get involved so much. They should visit temple more (laughing).” –Radhika, 18, Rajput Female

Since the purpose of a consensus survey is to elicit the shared, communal model of the internet, that is, including the opinions and beliefs of parents and religious leaders, this item was included in the survey.

Similarly, we wanted to include an item that allowed for respondents to comment on whether it was seen as a negative aspect of the internet that it is affecting people’s traditions. There were some discrepancies in the opinions of emerging adults on this topic, but it was widely agreed upon that parents and religious leaders would see the internet as negatively impacting traditions.

“There was a time when the Brahmins, they were the priests, so their duty was to get fully involved in religion only. And their whole family from the kids to the older grandparents or anyone, they are also indulged in this religion only. But

now that time is moving on, and internet facilities are coming day by day, so in their family not so many people are involved in religion things. Now they are involved in the internet and so they are not going out for something, so they are not following their family tradition. [Is it affecting only the Brahmins, or is affecting the Rajputs and other castes also?] Yeah it is, 'cause in every caste, every family wants their children, their son also to follow their tradition, their culture, but now people are not doing it, so it's affecting every caste." –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

This interaction between the internet and religious traditions is a key one, and we will return to this discussion further in the next section.

Another important issue that respondents brought up about the internet is that many either saw or experienced fighting between groups, either religious or caste, on social media.

“And sometimes the bad thing is that many religious people also do this, many religious people, you know, they post something like this on Facebook or any social network site, that creates violence in another caste.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

“If religious people comment on the religion on social networking sites, like if one person posted a photo of Hindu god and another religion person comment bad comments on this post this is not good.” –Jagdish, 18, Rajput Male

Often, respondents would not say that they take part in this type of activity themselves, as it's a quality of being a good Hindu to not abuse people, even if they are from other castes or religions. However, especially among Rajputs, defending Hinduism or their country from those who would attack it, even just with words, was seen as an obligation.

The last “bad” item on the consensus scale of the value of the internet is that many respondents mentioned the internet as being addictive.

“A bad thing is that it can really get addictive, to social sites and all that, like Facebook and Instagram. It really upsets your social life.” –Satish, 18, Rajput Male

Interestingly, the majority of the respondents admitted that they are addicted to the internet, and, moreover, reported that anywhere from 70-95 percent of their peers are addicted to the internet. Their willingness to self-identify with addiction, and the extent to which they see it in their social groups, suggests that their use of the word addiction might be conceptualized differently than a Western psychiatric, DSM definition of addiction.

4.3.2 Survey and Cultural Consensus Results

Overall, as detailed in Table 3, the distribution of answers for a model of the internet had less agreement than that of a mode of a good Hindu. Of the “good” items, 79.35% agreed that the internet brings people close to their friends (item 1), while only 60.87% agreed that the internet brings people closer to their families (item 2). The item with the overall highest agreement (93.55%) and lowest disagreement (1.08%) was item 3, which states that the internet helps a person learn more about the world—indicating the value, rather than the detriment, of being

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for the Internet Model

Items	Strongly Disagree ¹	Disagree ¹	Neutral ¹	Agree ¹	Strongly Agree ¹	Answer Key
1: Friends	3.26	6.52	10.87	42.39	36.96	5
2: Family	4.35	18.48	16.30	31.52	29.35	5
3: Learning	0	1.08	5.38	24.73	68.82	5
4: Entertainment	5.38	5.38	17.20	29.03	43.01	5
5: Share religion	3.26	7.61	19.57	41.30	28.26	4
6: Bad things	5.38	12.90	18.28	27.96	35.48	5
7: Time waste	9.78	16.30	25.00	28.26	20.65	4
8: Lose traditions	9.68	20.43	24.73	31.18	13.98	4
9: Promote arguing	7.78	17.78	25.56	30.00	18.89	4
10: Addictive	11.24	14.61	13.48	31.46	29.21	4

1: Reported as percentages.

exposed to globalizing forces. 72.04% of respondents agreed that the internet is a source of entertainment and relaxation (item 4), while 69.56% agreed that the internet is good because it helps to share one's religion with others (item 5). Whereas all of the items for the model of a good Hindu had a majority of agreement, three of the items on the model if the internet fell below a majority (less than 50%) agreement, items 7, 8, and 9. These items related to the internet being bad because it can be a waste of time, lead people to lose their traditions, and promote arguing between people or religions, respectively. The remaining two "bad" items (6 and 10) both had around 60% agreement; people can be exposed to bad things through the internet, and the internet is addictive, respectively. Of exceeding interesting for this research, of these items the one with the largest proportion of disagreement is item 8: that the internet can lead people to lose their local traditions. In combination with item 3 (that the internet helps a person learn more about the world) we can get a clear sense of whether Hinduism or globalization tends to be more important when it comes to the use of the internet. For the specific wording of the questions related to the items the contribute to the model of the internet, see Appendix 2.

A consensus analysis of the model of the internet, using UCINET, revealed an eigenvalue ratio of 1.41, less than that of the model of a good Hindu and certainly not a high enough value to be able to declare consensus. Respondents on this portion of the survey did, however, have a similar average competence score as the model of a good Hindu: .30, indicating about a 30% chance for any given respondent to know the "correct" answer to the model items, on average. For the answer key to this model, see Table 3 (again, that table's final column).

In order to construct a consonance scale for this model, principal component factor analysis was used in Stata. The items that loaded on the first factor with a coefficient greater than .4 were included in the consonance scale, for a total of six questions, including questions 1, 6, 7,

8, 9, and 10, meaning that the “bad” aspects of the internet were more highly agreed upon than the “good” aspects of the internet. The good item included in the scale was that the internet is good because it allows people to stay connected with their friends. All of the “bad” aspects of the internet were included in the scale: the internet is bad because it exposes people to bad things, can be a waste of time, can lead people to lose their traditions, promotes arguing between people and religions, and is addictive. The bad items were reverse coded before being added together to create the consonance scale. The mean, standard deviation, minimum, maximum, and Cronbach’s Alpha for this scale can be found on Table 1. (For the specific wording of the questions included in the consonance scale, see Appendix 2.)

4.4 Competing, Complementary, and Independent Model Relationships

4.4.1 Qualitative Results Contributing to the Model Relationships

These two models, that of a good Hindu and the value of the internet, are seen as interacting in three ways, based on responses to the prompt “I’ve heard some say that they think the internet is replacing religion. What do you think about that?” This prompt came from an interaction with a group of university-age students at Jagdish Mandir in old town Udaipur, in which a young man used this phrasing to describe the relationship between the internet and Hinduism. Struck by his conviction in using this potentially controversial wording, I decided to use this as a way to discuss the topic with other university students in order to understand how they conceptualize the relationship between these two models. Their responses, both in semistructured and unstructured interviews during participant-observation, fell into three categories: the models were either seen as being competing, that is, the internet is seen as a threat to religion; complementary, or the internet is actually seen to be helping religion; and

independent, where the internet and religion are considered to be in completely separate arenas without an effect on one another.

The following excerpts are some of the examples of how university students think about the competing relationship between the internet and Hinduism, in response to the prompt “Do you think the internet is taking the place of religion?”

“Yes, I think so. because I think internet is not the, you can say, is not giving the right knowledge. You can get rather knowledge from books, from the books written by the priests, if you want to know the roots, the reality of that religion, or if you want to study, but the internet is, I think it’s fifty to sixty percent information is wrong. In my opinion yes. Rather you can get knowledge from your parents, your elder generation. Because they have lived the life in the era which was not like this. [And you think this is a big problem now, with the internet replacing religion?] Yes, it is. Yes.” –Satish, 18, Rajput Male

“Because to preserve culture is very important thing... India is the only country which is so full of culture and traditions. Any other country is not having such old history and such a rich culture. So it is our duty to hand over the good things from the culture and religion to the upcoming generation. When it comes to online social media and things, they are destroying a lot of things because a lot of time goes in that and we forget to do the things we should do, we should learn. Because we meet so many people who are of different mindsets and then they all collide and then they easily change your mentality. When it is done for good things that is okay but when it makes you forget your culture, your religion, then that is not a good thing.” –Arati, 22, Brahmin Female

These excerpts show the importance of tradition and culture in the lives of these students. In their minds, the internet is a threat to these long-held religious traditions.

Other students, however, see the positive ways that the internet and Hinduism work together. To these students, the internet is an effective way of sharing religious events with others, allows more access to important religious information, and can help with publicity for temples.

“When there’s a Navratri, or something like, Diwali, Holi, or any birthday of any ancestor, like Maharana Pratap, so we share on Facebook, we update on Facebook

and tag our friends. [So you can get everyone together that way.] Mm hm.” – Satish, 18, Rajput Male

“The internet is helping in religious things also. Now if I am sitting in Udaipur and I want to watch arati going on in Haridwar, I can just go to the sites and I can watch it live. So it’s really helpful. For some people who are not able to, they cannot afford to go over there, they don’t have enough money, or they can not go to yatra and all, they cannot visit the temples that are far away, they can easily use the internet service, they can watch the things because now everything is possible on the internet, so it’s a very good thing.” –Lakshmi, 19, Rajput Male

“The leaders of Hindu religions, they are also on internet. They are also on internet and how can they tell people their thoughts? Facebook, Instagram, they are the only way.... Every Hindu leader, every caste leader, are nowadays on social networking sites. Because they have to connect with the people. How can they connect? Internet only is the medium.” –Jagdish, 18, Rajput Male

For these students, the internet is seen as being a great help to Hinduism, even offering opportunities for people to engage in religious practices they might not otherwise be able to. They acknowledge, too, that as globalization increases the availability of technology and the internet, religious leaders are taking advantage of the increasing connectivity to the benefit of their temples or messages. It should be noted that this isn’t strictly a generational opinion, either. One evening, while attending a *shawan mena* (green time, the start of monsoon season) ceremony at Jagdish Mandir, I was sitting at the back of the crowd on the temple floor taking notes when a middle-aged man grabbed my notebook, and, without speaking, proceeded to flip to the back and begin writing down facts about Hinduism. He wrote that the aim of Hinduism is to “love all people in the world as directed by Lord Krishna in Mahabharata.” He followed this with a chart showing the means by which this can be communicated, writing that the “most effective” means include “Audio-visual aid, i.e. T.V., internet (PC), laptop, Android phone (80% person use), Facebook, Whatsapp” and he underlined Facebook and Whatsapp as the most effective of these. The importance of the internet for spreading the message of Hinduism is recognized across generations.

As mentioned, the majority of young adults I spoke with informally during participant-observation thought there wasn't any connection between the internet and Hinduism, even to the extent that a few of them weren't shy about letting me know that my research project didn't make any sense. Semistructured interview respondents shared similar, though kinder, thoughts about the relationship between the two models.

“[Some people have said that technology and the internet are replacing religion. They're taking over religion. What do you think?] Not confirmed. Because religion's place is its place. And technology's place is its place. It's not a replacement.” –Bhanu, 19, Brahmin Male

“No. Religion is one, other place, and this thing has other place. Our prime minister Narendra Modi, he also joined Facebook, and Instagram, and Twitter, and all. Every day he posts. [So you think they are completely separate.] Yeah they are separate.” –Jagdish, 18, Rajput Male

Even those who consider this third relationship to be true, however, with further prompting would discuss the importance of traditions and admit that the internet was either helping or hurting religious traditions. Some of the reasoning behind these discrepancies will be discussed in the next section.

4.4.2 Survey Results

Because of the complexities in the understanding of the relationship between the model of a good Hindu and the value of the internet, the field survey allowed for more nuanced answers in order to understand the distribution of these understandings among the survey respondent sample. Three questions that represent these relationships were asked, with possible responses ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” on a five point Likert scale. The first of these question asked whether respondents thought religion and the internet were opposed to each other, with the internet taking over religion (competing). The second question asked whether

Table 4: Distribution of Model Relationship Responses

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Competing	25.25 ¹	24.24	22.22	18.18	10.10
Complementary	5.10	15.31	23.47	35.71	20.41
Independent	8.16	9.18	29.59	30.61	22.45

1: Reported as percentages

religion and the internet were working together, and helping religion to flourish (complementary). The third question asked whether religion and the internet were unrelated and don't effect one another (independent). The specific wording of these questions can be found in Appendix 2. The distribution of the responses can be found in Table 4.

Overall, these data suggest that the majority of survey respondents consider the internet and Hinduism to be either complementary or independent, with only around 28% of the sample agreeing that the internet is a threat to Hinduism.

These data are considerably different than semistructured interview respondents; a quantitative analysis of the codes used for these different relationships shows that respondents spoke about the internet and Hinduism as competing 10 times, as being complementary 11 times, and as being independent 6 times. Of course, during these interviews prompts were specifically used to tease out the specific ways in which respondents viewed these two models as interacting.

4.5 Hinduism, Internet, and Stress

4.5.1 Qualitative Data Contributing to Regression Models

In this section, the potential ways that the interaction of the models of Hinduism and the internet may influence stress in the lives of these university students in Udaipur will be

examined, with examples from semistructured interviews showcasing the reasoning that the students use to think about these interactions.

Sometimes, in fact, university students would acknowledge all three of these views in one conversation, as in the following exchange with Radhika, an 18 year-old Rajput woman.

Interviewer: I've heard a couple people say that they think technology and the internet are replacing religion. What do you think about that?

Respondent: Well I believe that religion is what you believe and not showing it off.... So what I believe... I don't think technology has taken over it. In my opinion, internet has its own place and religion has its own place.

I: And you think that they don't really affect each other?

R: I don't think so.

I: Okay. Do you think that the internet maybe makes people forget their traditions in any way?

R: Sometimes, yes. Yes.

I: Have you experienced this?

R: Not yet. What I would say is that internet is helping religious people to worship the god more. They get to download religious songs, there are so many things. Everybody has a smartphone now. Every religious person will have a goddess or god's picture in his phone. I would say it's not a bad influence on religion.

In this passage, much like in the work of Ewing (1990), Radhika discusses these three distinct, potentially inconsistent yet valued aspects of her everyday lived experience without experiencing them as inconsistent. This exchange was echoed in many conversations I had with university students and the Young Bannas. In general, young adults in Udaipur think of the internet and Hinduism as interacting in these three ways either concurrently or in varying capacities over time. These are both highly valued models in the lives of these young adults; that is, it's important both to follow religious traditions and to be connected to the rest of the world and their social groups. However, though these models have aspects that are considered at odds at times, university students in Udaipur experience wholeness in their self-representations, to use Ewing's language (1990), and thus do not experience stress because of these interactions. There are some

rhetorical devices that are built in to these students' conceptualizations of Hinduism that assist in the maintenance of this wholeness of self in the face of conflicting models.

The most important of these is that the students understand Hinduism to be a lenient and, above all, tolerant religion. According to them, Hinduism doesn't force and it doesn't judge. This exchange with one of my respondents sums up this attitude.

“Hinduism... it doesn't force you to follow. like if I don't go to worship, like if I will not go to temple or something my I will not, you know... not be stressed or something like that, for not worshipping. [So even if the internet is replacing Hinduism, Hinduism... is okay with that?] Yes. [Okay. because it doesn't want to force people?] It doesn't want. It's simple. If you want to, just follow, if you don't want to, don't.” –Satish, 18, Rajput Male

The last sentence of this exchange is a particularly good summation of the feelings toward Hinduism. Overall, this young man's attitude showcases the lack of stress that comes from not being religious, and gives an example of the rhetoric that young adults use to justify not being religious. Similarly, this exchange with Bhanu, the young pujari, is particularly telling about this attitude considering he, himself, is a religious leader.

Interviewer: So you are young, you're in college, other college students, do you think that they are, in general, less religious than in the past?

Respondent: Yes.

I: Yeah, and this is okay?

R: This is okay. Not an issue.

This attitude allows young adults in Udaipur to alleviate the pressures of conforming to religious mores, even when acknowledging that these pressures exist and are highly valued. That these religious mores are present in the lives of these young adults is likely one of the sources of stress for those young adults who do score higher on the PSS4. While the majority of young adults do

not feel stress as a result of the interaction between Hinduism and the internet, those that do are feeling the pressures of society, family, and religious institutions.

This exchange with Satish, a young Rajput man highlights both what some of these pressures are, and some of the language that we see the students using to navigate these pressures.

Interviewer: What do you think a priest, a Hindu priest, would say about using the internet?

Respondent: He will not be happy.

I: He wouldn't like it?

R: He wouldn't like it. He will say that today's generation is not really getting into the religion. They are not getting proper knowledge, and they are busy with their friends and families and partying and all that. And they are really getting influence of western culture, I will say that.

I: Through the internet?

R: Yes, through the internet

I: And is this a good thing or a bad thing?

R: It's a good thing, because we are civilizing, western culture is associated with civilization, you can say, the bad thing is that the parents don't want their children to be influenced by western culture.

I: And why don't they want their children to be influenced?

R: Because... I think they are afraid that they will lose their culture, and their identity.

I: So you think maybe the priests and parents would maybe say the same thing about the internet?

R: Yes, absolutely.

Here, the tension between traditional religious values and the value of Westernization through the internet is clearly outlined, as well as the suggestion that there are pressures from the young adults' social groups. For those young adults who experience these pressures as competing, then, there can indeed be a great amount of stress associated with trying to live up to these varying societal pressures. This is made explicitly clear in the following exchange with Arati, a young Brahmin woman who is highly involved in social media both because of her work outside of school and her social groups. Because of this high involvement with social media, she considers

herself addicted to the internet. She is, however, a practicing Brahmin, and the religious practices associated with that are also very important to her.

Interviewer: In your own life, when you find yourself being addicted to your phone, and that it's pulling you away from your practices, is that a source of stress for you?

Respondent: Yes, because when I am not able to do yoga then I feel stressed out that I am stuck on my phone, when I am not spending time with my family and using cellphone because of some work, still I will get stressed out, like why am I stuck, and I need to do other things or go out and do, or read books or some things. Because when I am not able to do the essential things of my life which I really feel, I know that they are important, but I am not able to do it because of the social media addiction then I completely freak out.

I: And do you see this in your friends also?

R: Yeah, this thing is very common like, you can easily find out another 80-90 percent of our culture—

I: Are you having this problem?

R: Yeah.

I: Where they want to be religious but they also have an addiction to the internet?

R: Mm hm.

I: And you think that this is affecting their well-being as well?

R: Yeah.

Even though she is experiencing the competing pressures of the internet and Hinduism, Arati still maintains that Hinduism would not say that the internet is bad, which plays into the rhetoric that Hinduism isn't a forceful religion, a potential way to cope with the potential stress coming from the tension of these models. For Arati, though, the interaction of these models does lead to stress. These exchanges outline how young adults in Udaipur can experience stress as a result of the competing values of Hinduism and the internet.

4.5.2 Quantitative Results and Regression Models

Per Table 4, the majority of students don't see Hinduism and the internet to be competing with one another, though they would talk about the internet negatively affecting religious

traditions in India, or the benefits to temples and religion through using the internet. Only a minority of students agreed that the internet is taking over religion, but that minority experiences significant differences in levels of stress.

In a general sense, of the university students in Udaipur who responded on the survey, those who experience the internet and Hinduism as being competitive tend to also have higher levels of perceived stress. Those students who responded that they strongly agree to the question “I think that religion and the internet are opposed to each other, and that the internet is taking the place of religion” had a statistically significant correlation with a higher score on the PSS4, controlling for other variables. Standardized beta coefficient, reported parenthetically under the regression coefficients, represent the increase in stress for each variable, based on standard deviations. For example, for each standard deviation above the norm one goes up on his or

Table 5: Regression Models

Variables	PSS	PSS
Age	0.0516 (0.0391) ¹	0.130 (0.104)
Female	0.447 (0.0758)	0.429 (0.0776)
Caste ²		
OBC (N=27)	-1.551** (-0.279)	-1.548** (-0.299)
SC (N=5)	-2.757** (-0.253)	-2.672** (-0.236)
ST (N=5)	0.471 (0.0338)	0.248 (0.0191)
Other (N=3)	-1.153 (-0.0828)	-0.827 (-0.0636)
Religion/Community ³		
Brahmin (N=21)	0.405 (0.0675)	-0.140 (-0.0239)
Other Hindu (N=40)	0.985 (0.193)	1.113* (0.231)
Competing Models	0.539*** (0.288)	
Religious Consonance		0.0268 (0.0539)
Internet Consonance		-0.154** (-0.269)
<i>Constant</i>	8.390***	11.28***
<i>Observations</i>	92	88
<i>R-squared</i>	0.232	0.212

1: Normalized beta coefficients in parentheses

2: Reference category- General caste

3: Reference category- Rajput

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

her response to the question regarding Hinduism and the internet being in conflict, his or her stress increases .288 standard deviations. For the full regression model, see Table 5.

Primary control variables are in reference to male, general caste Rajputs. Of the control variables, notable significant correlations other than the primary analysis exist for for the relationship between caste groups OBC and SC. Even though it shows significance, the SC respondent group was too small (N=5) for a reliable analysis. The relationship between the OBC group (Other Backward Caste, tending to be lower socioeconomically than General caste) and stress is likely due to the extraordinary social pressures put on emerging adults of the General caste. Young Rajputs and Brahmins are expected to represent their families well in every aspect of public life, for their reputation has a large bearing on their marriage and career prospects. Doing otherwise is unfathomable for many of these general caste young adults.

These results suggest a correlative relationship between the perception of the internet and Hinduism as being competitive and self-reported perceived stress. That is to say, for two people alike in all other variables, if one strongly agreed that the internet is taking over religion, that person is more likely to also have a higher perceived stress score. This relationship may be present due to the pressures that these university students are feeling from religious leaders, their families, and their social groups, as well as the personal value that these individuals place on both Hinduism and the internet.

In addition to higher levels of stress as a result of the perception of the competitive nature of a model of Hinduism and a model of the internet, those students who are more consonant with a model of the internet are more likely to have slightly reduced stress, controlling for other variables. This is in line with the work of Dressler (for examples, Dressler and Bindon 2000; Dressler, Balieiro, and dos Santos 2017) that shows that consonance with shared, valued cultural

models is associated with better well-being outcomes. In this way, those students who most live up to the shared beliefs and behaviors regarding the internet tend to report less stress.

Religious consonance, however, is not significantly (in the statistical sense) correlated with stress outcomes. In other words, individuals with high religious consonance report a slightly higher level of stress than those with low religious consonance, but this difference could be due to random chance. It would seem, then, according to the survey results, that consonance with a model of the internet is a more important factor in the well-being of these university students than consonance with a model of Hinduism, at least as these models were determined by this survey. This could be explained by the way that students are able to use rhetorical means of justifying not being religious, and therefore not being as stressed by not living up to the religious model. The internet, on the other hand, is a part of their day to day social interactions with friends and family, and that could be a more important driver of well-being than living up to religious traditions. These results also make sense in regards to the (lack of) agreement of the importance of preserving traditions and the strong agreement for the value of the internet for being connected with the world, as discussed in 4.3.2 and shown in Table 3.

We also checked to see if these two consonance models had an interaction effect; that is, whether increased consonance with both created a different outcome to stress or not. Initial results show that the relationship changes to become more positive, or, as consonance with both models increases, stress increases as well. However, this interaction effect was not statistically significant and thus requires more research, and likely a larger sample, to confirm.

4.6 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

There were two main areas in which this research was limited; time constraints and translation issues. First, this research took place over the course of six weeks in Udaipur, India.

While I had spent time in India previously, more time was needed in order to fully understand the ways in which students conceptualized religion. For instance, it would have been helpful to do a free list and pile sort exercise in order to understand better the domains of Hinduism and the internet, and to have done a confirmatory consensus survey.

Second, because I do not speak Hindi, I was constrained in my ability to discuss these topics in an emic way, and there might have been issues in translating from English into Hindi for the surveys. I had a lot of help in doing the translations, both with a Hindi professor and my research assistant, but without knowledge of Hindi I cannot know whether the concepts being presented were understood in similar ways. Additionally, yet importantly, my lack of knowledge of Hindi meant that I was only able to converse with English speakers, who tended to be from a higher socioeconomic status. I am unsure of the ability of this research to be generalized to lower class groups, though some that fall into those groups did take the survey. Because I did not ask specifically about socioeconomic measures outside of using caste as a stand-in, I am unsure about the specifics of those measures in regards to my survey sample.

One of the largest limitations of this research that these factors contribute to is the curtailed ethnography of the students in Udaipur. Because focused participant observation only went on for two weeks, my time was spent most efficiently with Thamu and his Rajput friends. Due to time constraints, I had to move rather rapidly into interviews which, likewise, were done mainly with Rajputs. Through the two interviews with non-Rajputs and based on participant observation and unstructured interviews I heard enough of the same types of conversation to feel comfortable moving forward with a survey that included non-Rajputs (and even non-Hindus, though the number of those that took the survey were too small to include in any analysis). However, a broader ethnography of sub-groups besides Rajputs was (unfortunately) not possible

as a result of time constraints, and the ability to speak with groups besides upper-middle to upper class Rajputs and Brahmins would have been prohibitively difficult as well. For the purposes of this mixed methods research, Dr. Snodgrass and I opted for survey data rather than more time spent doing purely qualitative ethnographic participant observation and interviews.

These two main limitations also contribute to the lack of consensus. As Bennardo and De Munck explain, there are two main causes of a lack of consensus: one, problems with the phrasing of the questions, and two, problems with the cultural domain, i.e., respondents represent different cultural groups (2014). Given that the survey was translated from English into Hindi and, as we've already seen, the sample is comprised of a number of different cultural groups, a low eigenvalue ratio is not at all surprising.

Further research should take the time to do a multiple-step analysis of the cultural domains of Hinduism and the internet. Furthermore, it would be interesting to do another survey with more extensive cultural models and a larger sample in order to tease out potential interaction effects in the consonance scales of these two models.

Conclusion

Overall, the mixed methods approach employed in this research suggests that for the majority of university students in Udaipur, Hinduism and the internet are discussed as being at the same time competing, complementary, and independent. Through a variety of rhetorical measures regarding religion, as well as the increasing pressures both of globalization and social groups on the regular use of the internet, the majority of students do not experience stress as a result of these potentially competing models. In fact, consonance with a model of the internet is more correlated with a reduction in stress than is consonance with Hinduism. However, for those

university students that do feel strongly that the internet is a threat to religion, there is a statistically significant increase in self-reported perceived stress, controlling for other factors.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

In a rapidly globalizing world, the task of identifying the relationship between self and culture becomes more complicated than ever, as the concept of culture itself becomes more and more convoluted. Understandings of self, additionally, are increasingly acknowledging the intricacies and multitudinous nature of identity. The complexity of this relationship, however, is matched by the necessity of its understanding, especially considering the potential impact these globalizing influences can have on one's well-being.

A psychological anthropological perspective, with a focus on cognitive models, offers a way of not only addressing the issue of identifying culture in a globalizing world, but also the ways that an individual might identify with these various cultural pressures, both local and global. Cultural consensus and consonance are tools that can be used to identify specific cultural models, and quantify the extent to which individuals within a culture might or might not embody the given cultural model themselves. This quantification allows for the use of statistical models to discover associations between an individual's embodiment of a cultural model with standardized well-being measures, such as stress scales.

This perspective was utilized in Udaipur, Rajasthan, among Hindu university students to ascertain whether globalizing forces, with the internet as a proxy, were thought to be conflicting with local, traditional Hindu values, and whether this conflict translated into increased self-reported stress.

For the majority of these young adults, though they recognized the potential for the internet to negatively impact religious traditions, the perceived value of the internet outweighed any detriments it might have. Some of the things that they valued about the internet included the

knowledge they can gain from it, both for helping with their studies and gaining knowledge about the world, and the fact that it can actually help to give access to and spread the teachings of Hinduism. Additionally, Hinduism itself, at least as the students report it, is not seen as being a strict religion, and it's completely acceptable if one doesn't follow religious expectations such as going to temple regularly or taking part in religious activities like meditation, yoga, or chanting of mantras. In fact, the association of internet consonance with well-being, but not religion, suggests that there might be more pressure to be involved with the internet and new media rather than traditional religious practices.

For a subset of these students, however, the internet is seen as threatening to Hinduism, or even as "taking it over." Those students who strongly feel that this is true, about ten percent of the sample, also report significantly (in a statistical sense) higher levels of stress.

In the context of university students in Udaipur, these findings suggest that the globalization of ideas and culture, especially as embodied by the internet, tend to be readily accepted by young adults and combined with existing, local culture. However, for those that don't accept the influence of other cultural models or ideas, and see extra-cultural forces as being threatening to existing culture, the tension of this conflict is associated with increased self-reported stress.

This research contributes to globalization theory by offering a methodological approach to answering how specific aspects of globalization can be identified and measured to determine how they are interacting with one another and impacting well-being, using a cognitive models framework. Additionally, it contributes to theory of identity and self, and specifically the conceptualization of self as outlined by Ewing (1990), by suggesting that Ewing's concept of multiple, readily negotiable self-identifications generally doesn't lead to internal conflict.

However, when aspects of self *are* thought of as conflicting, especially those that might be forced to amalgamate via globalizing forces, these self-identifications could be associated with stress.

Practically, this research suggests that applied anthropologists, cross-cultural psychiatrists, and others who want to address global problems, must take care if they are introducing cultural concepts or ways of being that could potentially be considered threatening to local cultural identities, lest they introduce more stress to local populations rather than assuaging it.

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APPENDIX 1: SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Name:

Age:

School:

Year:

Major:

Caste:

How often do you use the internet? How many hours per day?

What types of activities, websites, etc. do you use the internet for, and what is the most important use of it to you?

What are some good things about the internet? Some bad things?

Does the internet ever make you feel anxious or stressed?

Do you use the internet when you are feeling stressed? How often? What ways?

Can someone use the internet too much?

What are the qualities of a good or devout Hindu?

How religious would you say you are?

Do you use Hinduism when you are feeling stressed? How often? What ways?

Does your religion ever make you feel anxious or stressed?

What would a Hindu priest say about using the internet? What about your parents? Your friends?

Are there any ways in which you use the internet to be a religious person?

Are technology and the internet replacing religion?

APPENDIX 2: FIELD SURVEY

इन्टरनेट एवं संस्कृति सर्वेक्षण Internet and Culture Survey

इस सर्वेक्षण का उद्देश्य आधुनिक समय में उदयपुर शहर के कॉलेज स्टूडेंट्स (महाविद्यालय विद्यार्थियों) के द्वारा इन्टरनेट के प्रयोग से धार्मिक एवं संस्कृतिक प्रभाव का अध्ययन करना है। यह सर्वेक्षण बिलकुल गोपनीय है अतः ईमानदारी से उत्तर दें। इस विषय से संबंधित प्रश्नों पर कोई टिप्पणी या अपने विचार सर्वेक्षण प्रश्नोत्तर के अन्त में हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी में अवश्य दें।

The purpose of this survey is to learn more about the religious cultural influences on internet use in modern day Udaipur among college students. Please be honest, as these surveys are confidential. If you have any comments about the questions or the relationship between religious culture and the internet, please write them at the end of the survey in English or Hindi.

व्यक्तिगत जानकारी Personal Information

पूरा नाम Full Name _____

आयु Age _____

लिंग Gender

- पुरुष Male
- स्त्री Female
- Other

महाविद्यालय का नाम College or University

- Bhupal Nobles
- MLSU Social Science and Humanities College
- MLSU Law College
- MLSU Science College
- MLSU Business Commerce College
- Pacific University
- वर्तमान में कॉलेज में भाग लेने नहीं Not currently attending college
- Other _____

जाति Caste

- सामान्य General
- अन्य पिछड़ा वर्ग OBC
- अनुसूचित जाति SC
- अनुसूचित जनजाति ST
- Other _____

धर्म Religion/Community

- क्षत्रिय Rajput
- ब्राह्मण Brahmin
- सिख Sikh
- जैन Jain
- अन्य हिंदू Other Hindu
- मुस्लिम Muslim
- ईसाई Christian
- नास्तिक Atheist/Agnostic
- Other _____

खण्ड १ Section 1

व्यक्तिगत विचार

कृपया निम्न कथनों के संबंध में 1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) से 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत) के क्रम में वरीयता अंकित करें। उक्त कथनों के संबंध में अपने व्यक्तिगत विचार रखें। निम्न कथन धर्म एवं इन्टरनेट के संबंध में आपकी व्यक्तिगत रुचि पर आधारित हैं। निम्न प्रश्नों के संबंध में आप अपने व्यक्तिगत विश्वास एवं अनुभव के आधार पर सोच कर उत्तर दें।

Personal Views

Please rate the following statements from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) for your own life. In the following questions we are interested in how you *personally* feel about religion and the Internet. Please think about each question in relation to your *personal* beliefs and practices.

धर्म Religion

क्या आप अपने व्यक्तिगत विश्वास एवं अनुभव के आधार पर धर्म के बारे में दिए गए निम्न कथनों से सहमत हैं?

1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) 2 (असहमत) 3 (तटस्थ) 4 (सहमत) 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत)

Do you agree that each of the following statements about religion applies to your own personal beliefs and practices?

1 (strongly disagree) 2 (disagree) 3 (neutral) 4 (agree) 5 (strongly agree)

मैं अपने परिवार के साथ घर में नियमित पूजा करता/करती हूँ। I worship at home with my family regularly.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 2 3 4 5 पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं नियमित रूप से मंदिर/मस्जिद/चर्च/गुरुद्वारा जाता/जाती हूँ। I go to temple/masjid/church regularly.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 2 3 4 5 पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं नियमित रूप से समाज सेवा/सामाजिक कार्य करता/करती हूँ। I do community service/social work regularly.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 2 3 4 5 पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं अन्य धर्मों के लोगों के साथ समान व्यवहार करता/करती हूँ। I treat people of other religions and castes equally.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
मैं विनम्र हूँ तथा कभी दिखावा नहीं करता/करती। I am humble and never show off.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
मैं नियमित रूप से लोगों के साथ अपने धर्म के बारे में जानकारी का आदान-प्रदान करता/करती हूँ। I regularly share information about my religion with others.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
मैं नियमित रूप से धार्मिक क्रियाएँ जैसे-प्रार्थना/मंत्र उच्चारण/योग/ह्यान करना/आदि करता/करती हूँ। I regularly do religious practices such as prayer/mantra repetition/yoga/meditation/etc.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
मैं अपने समाज की परम्पराओं को आगे बढ़ाता/बढ़ाती हूँ। I am preserving my community's traditions.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
मैं नियमित रूप से धार्मिक या पवित्र ग्रंथों को पढ़ता/पढ़ती हूँ। I regularly read holy texts or scriptures.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
मैं अपने धर्म को प्रेरणा स्रोत के रूप में मानता/मानती हूँ। I find my religion to be a source of inspiration.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

इन्टरनेट Internet

क्या आप अपने व्यक्तिगत विश्वास एवं अनुभव के आधार पर इन्टरनेट के बारे में दिए गए निम्न कथनों से सहमत हैं?

1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) 2 (असहमत) 3 (तटस्थ) 4 (सहमत) 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत)

Do you agree that each of the following statements about the Internet applies to your own personal beliefs and practices?

1 (strongly disagree) 2 (disagree) 3 (neutral) 4 (agree) 5 (strongly agree)

इन्टरनेट मुझे अपने मित्रों के नजदिक लाता है। The internet makes me closer with my friends and relatives.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
इन्टरनेट मुझे अपने परिवार के करीब लाता है। The internet makes me closer with my family.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
इन्टरनेट के द्वारा मैं विश्व के बारे में अधिक जानकारी प्राप्त करता/करती हूँ। I learn more about the world through the internet.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत
मैं तनाव मुक्ति व मनोरंजन के लिये नियमित रूप से इन्टरनेट का उपयोग करता/करती हूँ। I regularly use the internet as a source of entertainment and relaxation.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं अन्य लोगों को अपने धर्म के बारे में जानकारी देने हेतु इंटरनेट का उपयोग करता/करती हूँ। I regularly use the internet to share my religion with others.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 0 5 0 पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं बुरी व नुकसानदायक साइट्स देखने के लिए नियमित रूप से इंटरनेट का उपयोग करता/करती हूँ। I regularly use the internet to visit bad or harmful sites.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 0 5 0 पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं नियमित रूप से इंटरनेट पर समय खर्च करता/करती हूँ। I regularly waste time on the internet.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 0 5 0 पूर्णतः सहमत

इंटरनेट मुझे अपनी परम्पराओं से दूर करता/करती है। The internet is making me lose my traditions.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 0 5 0 पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं इंटरनेट के द्वारा उन लोगों के साथ मुटभेड करता/करती हूँ जो लोग मेरे धर्म को और अन्य धर्मों को निचा दिखाने कि कोशिश करते हैं। I sometimes use the internet to fight with people who abuse my religion or abuse other religions.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 0 5 0 पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं इंटरनेट का आदी हूँ या मुझे इंटरनेट का नशा है। I am addicted to the internet.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 0 2 0 3 0 4 0 5 0 पूर्णतः सहमत

खण्ड २ Section 2

समुदाय का दृष्टिकोण (विचार)

कृपया उदयपुर शहर में धर्म एवं इंटरनेट के सम्बन्ध में सामान्य विचार रखनेवाले लोगों के संबंध में दिए गए निम्न कथनों को 1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) से 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत) के क्रम में आपना योगदान प्रदान करें। कृपया समुदाय इम [सम्बन्ध] में अपने क्या विचार रखता है, अंकित करें। यह प्रश्नों का समूह आपका समूह इस संबंध में क्या सोचता है से संबंधित है। कृपया अपना व्यक्तिगत विचार या अनुभव प्रस्तुत नही करें।

Views of Community

Please rate the following statements from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) for how people you know in Udaipur generally think about religion and the internet (net). For each statement, please mark what you think is the generally shared view among your community's members in Udaipur (friends, family, caste, etc.). Remember, this set of questions is about how *others* in your social circle feel about these matters, NOT about your *personal* views and practices.

धर्म Religion

क्या धर्म के संबंध में आपके समुदाय से परिचित लोग इन प्रश्नों से सहमत है?

1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) 2 (असहमत) 3 (तटस्थ) 4 (सहमत) 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत)

Would people you know agree with each of the following statements about religion?
1 (strongly disagree) 2 (disagree) 3 (neutral) 4 (agree) 5 (strongly agree)

परिवार के साथ घर में प्रतिदिन पूजा करना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to worship regularly at home with family.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

मंदिर/मस्जिद/चर्च/गुरुद्वारा नियमित रूप से जाना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to go to temple/mosque/church/etc regularly.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

जन सेवा/सामाजिक कार्य नियमित रूप से करना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to do community service/social work regularly.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

धर्म या जाति के आधार पर भेदभाव न करके सबके साथ एक समान व्यवहार करना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to treat everyone equally and not discriminate because of religion or caste.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

विनम्र होना व दिखावा न करना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to be humble and not show off.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

किसी भी धर्म के बारे में दूसरों से जानकारी का आदान-प्रदान करना लोगों के लिये महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to share information about one's religion with others.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

नियमित रूप से धार्मिक क्रियाएँ जैसे-प्रार्थना/मंत्र उच्चारण/योग/नमाज आदि करना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to do daily religious practices, such as prayer/reciting mantras/yoga/meditation/etc.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

किसी समुदाय के बिशेष धार्मिक रीति-रिवाजों/परम्पराओं को आगे बढ़ाना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to preserve one's community's religious traditions.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

नियमित रूप से धार्मिक पुस्तकों या पवित्र पुस्तकों को पढ़ना महत्वपूर्ण है। It is important to regularly read holy texts or scriptures.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

बेहतर जीवन जिने के लिए धर्म प्रेरणादायक स्रोत उपलब्ध कराता है। Religion provides a source of inspiration for living a good life.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

इन्टरनेट Internet

इन्टरनेट के संबंध में आपके समुदाय के परिचित लोगों को निम्न कथनों के सन्दर्भ में धारणा है।

1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) 2 (असहमत) 3 (तटस्थ) 4 (सहमत) 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत)

Would people you know agree with each of the following statements about the internet?

1 (strongly disagree) 2 (disagree) 3 (neutral) 4 (agree) 5 (strongly agree)

इन्टरनेट अच्छा है क्योंकि-- The internet is *good* because—

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह लोगों को अपने मित्रों/रिश्तेदारों को नजदीक लाता है। It brings one closer to one's friends.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह लोगों को अपने परिवार के करीब लाता है। It brings one closer to one's family.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह विश्व के बारे में अधिक जानने का अवसर प्रदान करता है। It helps a person to learn more about the world.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह तनाव मुक्ति एवं मनोरंजन का स्रोत है। It is a source of entertainment and relaxation.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह लोगों को उनके धर्म के बारे में और लोगों को जानकारी उपलब्ध कराता है। It helps people to share their religion with others.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

इन्टरनेट खराब है क्योंकि-- The internet is *bad* because—

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

लोग बुरी एवं नुकसानदायक चीजों को व्यक्त कर सकते हैं। People can be exposed to bad things.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

समय बरबाद करते हैं। It can be a waste of time.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह लोगों की उनकी स्थानीय परम्पराओं को कमजोर करने का नेतृत्व कर सकता है। It can lead people to lose their local traditions.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह लोगों/धर्मों के मध्य विध्वंसात्मक गतिविधियों को बढ़ावा दे सकता है। It promotes arguing between people/religions.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

यह नशात्मक है। It is addictive.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

खण्ड 3 Section 3

अन्य सवाल Other Questions

धर्म एवं इन्टरनेट Religion and Internet

क्या आप सहमत है कि आप अपने व्यक्तिगत विश्वास के लिए निम्न प्रश्नों को मानते हैं?

1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) 2 (असहमत) 3 (तटस्थ) 4 (सहमत) 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत)

Do you agree that each of the following three statements applies to your own personal beliefs?
1 (strongly disagree) 2 (disagree) 3 (neutral) 4 (agree) 5 (strongly agree)

मैं सोचता/सोचती हूँ कि धर्म एवं इन्टरनेट एक दूसरे के विरोधी है तथा इन्टरनेट धर्म का स्थान ले लेगा। I think that religion and the internet are opposed to each other, and that the internet is taking the place of religion.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं सोचता/सोचती हूँ कि धर्म एवं इन्टरनेट एक साथ काम करते हैं तथा इन्टरनेट धर्म के विकास में सहायक है। I think that religion and the internet work together, and that the internet is helping religion to flourish.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

मैं सोचता/सोचती हूँ कि धर्म एवं इन्टरनेट अलग-अलग हैं तथा एक दूसरे को प्रभावित नहीं करते। I think that religion and the internet are completely unrelated and do not affect one another.

पूर्णतः असहमत 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O पूर्णतः सहमत

तनाव Stress

ये प्रश्न पिछले माह में आपकी भावनाओं एवं विचारों पर आधारित हैं। ये विचार प्रत्येक प्रश्न से संबंधित हैं। कृपया अपने विचार निम्न तालिका में दिए गए क्रम में आवश्यक दें।

1 बिल्कुल नहीं 2 कभी नहीं 3 कभी-कभी 4 प्रायः 5 अकसर

These questions ask you about your feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, please indicate your response indicating HOW OFTEN you felt or thought a certain way. (1 Never, 2 Almost Never, 3 Sometimes, 4 Fairly Often, 5 Very Often)

पिछले महीने में आपने कितनी बार आप अपने जीवन में अपनी महत्वपूर्ण बातों या चीजों को करने में असमर्थ महसूस किया? In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?

बिल्कुल नहीं 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O अकसर

पिछले महीने में कितनी बार आपने अपनी व्यक्तिगत समस्याओं को नियंत्रित करने में अपनी योग्यता से आत्म विश्वास अनुभव किया? In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?

बिल्कुल नहीं 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O अकसर

पिछले महीने में कितनी बार बातों या चीजों को आसान और सरल महसूस किया? In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going smoothly or easily for you?

बिल्कुल नहीं 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O अकसर

पिछले महीने में कितनी बार आप अपनी समस्याओं पर काबु नहीं पा सके? In the last month, how often have you felt problems were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?

बिल्कुल नहीं 1 O 2 O 3 O 4 O 5 O अकसर

पिछले महीने में कितनी बार निम्न कारणों से तनाव हुआ? In the past month, how often have each of the following caused you stress?

1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) 2 (असहमत) 3 (तटस्थ) 4 (सहमत) 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत)

घर की समस्या Household problems
 समुदाय/सामाजिक समस्या Social problems
 संबंध समस्या Relationship problems
 स्वास्थ्य Health
 मुद्रा (रूपया) Money
 धर्म Religion
 इन्टरनेट गतिविधि Internet activity

1	2	3	4	5

पिछले महीने में कितनी बार निम्न स्रोत को तनाव मुक्ति हेतु उपयोग किया? In the past month, how often did you use each of the following as a source of stress relief?

1 (पूर्णतः असहमत) 2 (असहमत) 3 (तटस्थ) 4 (सहमत) 5 (पूर्णतः सहमत)

परिवार/घर को समस्या Family
 मित्र/समाज Friends
 संबंध Relationship
 शारीरिक गतिविधियाँ Physical Activity
 मुद्रा/खरीददारी Money/Shopping
 धर्म Religion
 इन्टरनेट गतिविधि Internet Activity

1	2	3	4	5

Thank You Very Much!

आपहा बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद

आपको सक्रिय एवं सहायक प्रतिभगिता के लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद। यदि आपका उक्त सर्वेक्षण से संबंधित प्रश्नों के संबंध में कोई जिशसा या विजार होतो कृपया robelse@colostate.edu पर सम्पर्क करें। थदि आप महाविद्यालयी विद्यार्थी हैं और इस सर्वेक्षण में सहायता क रना चाहते हैं तो लिंक से जुड़े।

Thank you for your participation!

If you have any questions or concerns about this survey or its contents please contact Robert Else at robelse@colostate.edu. Please ask your college friends to help with this survey, email Robert for a link to an online version.

टिप्पणी (अंग्रेजी या हिन्दी में) Comments (English or Hindi):
(Continue on back if necessary)