

Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives
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Lecture 3
Globalization: Key Debates- 2

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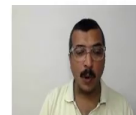
Globalization: Key debates



Globalists and Sceptics



- Globalists- supporters and opponents
- Economy
- State
- The reach of globalization



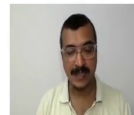
Old or new



- Origin?
- Cyclical
- linear- 'germination' and 'take off' Walt Rostow.
- Connection with the Modernization Theory
- Future?



Continuity or Change



Production



- New mode of production or continuation
- A third wave of Knowledge society?
- Still prevailing centrality of industrial production and capitalism

Or

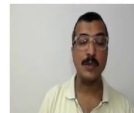
Change within continuity? Restructuring?



Identity



- Cultural synchronization- diffusion of Americana- McDonaldization
- Progressive universalization or oppressive imperialism
- Increased cultural diversity through , glocalization



social change and globalization



- Post modernity? High modernity? Late modernity? Liquid Modernity?

'hyper capitalism is still capitalist; polycentric governance is still bureaucratic; multiple identities are still formed by othering; reflexive rationalism is still rationalist'



Welcome back to the class. We are having the continuation of the discussion that we started in the previous class. We were trying to look at the significant debates, the key debates in globalization. We discussed a host of topics beginning with the point that there is a lack of consensus about the very definition of globalization. Its direction, origin, goal, whether people agree with globalization, people who do not agree that globalization is something new, whether it is old, what drives globalization, and whether it is continuity or change concerning production or governance or identity and about what is happening to knowledge and social change. We concluded the previous session here in this particular slide, so that is why I thought that we would start today's class by having a brief recap on the last slide that we discussed and then continue forward. So, I am talking about the consensus within social, within globalization debate about how we describe the contemporary times as late modern or postmodern.

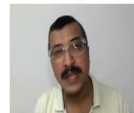
So, as I mentioned in the previous class, there is hardly any consensus. A host of scholars would argue that, for example, Giddens would argue that Ulrich Beck would argue that we see a kind of radicalized modernity. They disagree with the argument that the framework of modernity has wholly lost its significance that they would say that it is an ill-informed and farfetched argument.

So, they are not somebody who would agree with the theoretical prepositions of postmodernity. They have some very interesting theorization which we will discuss in detail in the coming class. So that is why I ended the last class with this exciting quote: hyper-capitalism is still capitalist, polycentric governance is still bureaucratic, multiple identities are still formed by othering, and reflexive rationalism is still rationalist.

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Liberation or shackles?



Let us move on to the next set of issues. This is a significant position. What should be the kind of a political position to be adopted concerning globalization?, What should be our position? Should we welcome globalization? This is a very vague question. Because it does not specify what aspect of globalization are we talking about. Are we talking about economic globalization? Are we talking about cultural globalization? Are we talking about globalization in terms of our political processes? However, still, these questions are relevant, and these questions are asked quite often. Thus, globalization represents a new form of shackles and change for human society, and there are fiercely contested positions even among some of the important economists. Some

people are on either side. For example, Amartya Sen, Amartya Sen is a bit of a critic of this neoliberal economic policy and economic globalization. Whereas the other scholars like Jagdish Baghvati, Jagdish Baghvati is a strong defender of globalization. He has a book in defence of globalization titled 'In Defence of Globalization'.

So, this particular position also changes. It varies depending upon political inclination, reading, how one looks at it, and how one understands the consequences of globalization. Hence, in academia and the world of academia also this debate is very-very hotly contested. It is very-very vibrant debate.

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security

- War or peace?

End of warfare in 'post modern states'?

Increasing religious and sectarian violence
and the role of technology.

Increased competition for scarce resources,
economic reforms and resistance, violence
against women, new forms of global crimes
and frauds



Now, there are security concerns. What is globalization bringing in terms of security for the whole human civilization? Is it bringing in more conflicts and war? or is it bringing in more peace? Are we going to live in a more peaceful society? Alternatively, are we going to live in a society characterized by more conflicts and violence and wars and battles and other things? or simply is it war or peace?. Because this question assumes much significance. The story of nation-states, the modern nation-states, has been the story of bitter battles. We had two world wars, world war one and two and later, the united nation was formed, and there were concerted efforts to bring in a more peaceful society.

However, there are arguments about what would be nature. Is it the end of warfare in the postmodern states? There are compelling arguments, scholars who argue that the conventional kind of war is no longer required. We will not have another world war, or we will not have a world war three, or we will not have a war in the conventional sense because no country can afford to wage war or a battle with another country in a globalized society.

On the other hand, some people would refute this particular argument. Moreover, what we are seeing is increasing religious and sectarian violence and the role of technology. What we are seeing is a more hi-tech kind of war. We are talking about cyberwar, cyber-attacks, more attacks that are orchestrated using all sorts of technological advancements. Even the conventional war is not something that can be ruled out. We know how tensed some of the globe's geopolitical areas are today, and at a much deeper level, there is increased competition for scarce resources. We have been witnessing that there are major battles and then competition for scarce resources. Water seems to be emerging as a major scarce resource: water, clean air or other minerals and economic reforms and resistance. There is local-level resistance arising across the globe against some of the neoliberal policies or multinational corporations. Violence against women is in place or against new children, new forms of global crimes and frauds.

Cybercrimes have emerged as a completely separate category in itself. The kind of abuse of the internet, abuse of the technology produced and provided by globalization, has taken this idea of peaceful co-existence into entirely different levels, whether it is about human trafficking or child pornography or a host of the other issues or economic frauds, internet frauds. These were unheard of or utterly different types of challenges that globalization is bringing in. Hence, whether globalization increases one's security with all these modern states of the art surveillance mechanisms and cameras and then internet surveillance, does it offer one more security? It is an important question, or are we becoming more vulnerable? What is happening to our privacy? These are very-very exciting questions.

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- Environmental integrity: protection or catastrophe?
- Anthropocene
- Economic security
- Security of Knowledge?



Then the whole question about the environmental integrity protection or catastrophe, What is happening to our environment?, Is globalization bringing all countries together? Are we into a more concerted effort to save the planet? and the whole idea of Anthropocene the arguments that Hope you are familiar with this term Anthropocene? It talks about a compelling argument that the current era is unique in the history of the world or the history of the earth itself because for the first time that a particular organism, particular living being in this world can change the cause of earth's character, human beings can alter its atmospheric character. That is why they want to talk about it as an 'Anthropocene', a particular age, a particular period defined by human beings' impact.

What is happening to the environment?, Are we leading to a better form of environmental consciousness, better environmental activism? Or Are we moving backwards? The recent examples are alarming. America walked out of some of these important treaties. A host of other countries are giving less priority to pressing environmental needs.

There is no clear-cut idea regarding what could be the particular stage. The economic security, what is happening to different countries national economies? We have seen that a host of countries are undergoing severe economic disturbance even before the pandemic COVID. The host country's economy was in terrible shape, so what is happening to the economic security of a

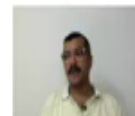
substantial portion of the population, especially those in underdeveloped countries. About the security of knowledge, A huge enterprise about how does one secure knowledge? Who owns the knowledge? The fundamental role of patenting, The whole arguments and then controversies about local knowledge being lifted out and then being part of the multinational companies. Theft property, Theft intellectual property debates, Property laws, Patenting laws. A host of the new debates that we were never familiar with three or four decades ago.

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EQUALITY



- Post colonial imperialism?
- Gender inequality
- Increasing 'global apartheid'?
- Against rural poor?



Another set of essential concerns is equality because we know that equality is one of the important promises of modernity—equality, justice and fraternity. Modernity was built on these ideas, especially this idea that was so prominent in the French revolution. When you look back to that idea to what extent modernity or the period in which we lived, the period of modernity was able to deliver on this particular set of promises. How equal are we? What is happening to the global scenario of equality or inequality. Scholars, including Tomas Piketty, a famous economist, argued that inequality's nature or extent is increasing, which is a vexing question.

That is an alarming trend. You cannot afford to have a society where there is a tremendous amount of inequality exists. That is not good for social cohesion. That will lead to much social unrest that can lead to devastating effects on the underprivileged section. There is solid evidence to suggest that while overall wealth is increasing, more and more wealth is being cornered by

few and few people. The vast majority of people are left in the lurch. Again more significant questions about gender inequality. Gender equality has become a fundamental slogan. Feminism has made an enormous impact. They have made major intros into a host of countries: the mighty feminist movements, women's movements worldwide. However, at the ground level, the changes that are happening are they sufficient enough?

They are very complicated arguments about how a neoliberal global era can negatively impact women's labour. If you read feminist literature on women's work and liberalization and globalization, the situation is very-very bleak. There are fascinating arguments about that. Is there any new kind of increasing global apartheid happening? Because we believed that this racial discrimination would be over in South Africa with Nelson Mandela's victory. South Africa was the last country that had an official position towards racial discrimination.

So, we believed that going to be a bygone era. However, what we see today, especially in the background of these black lives, matters in the West. A host of reports and incidents reported across the western world is that there is increasing racial discrimination. There is a resurgence of white supremacists, those who believed in the supremacy of the white race, or there is rising xenophobia across the world, especially European societies, and Is globalization turning against the rural poor? The people who are left behind? The people who are on the other side of the digital divide. The people who cannot reap the benefit of technological innovations of a globalized society, what is happening to them? People who are starving, so what is happening to them?. So, these are again a set of essential questions raised within the Social Science literature.

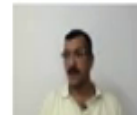
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Democracy



Question of participation, transparency and accountability

- The age of global democracy?
- Technology, communication, civil society etc
- Critique of the very notion of democracy through state.
- The emergence of popular majoritarianism across the globe



Another vital question is concerning democracy. As I mentioned in the case of equality, democracy was another very important principle that was made that was institutionalized during the period of modernity. It is believed that every individual has the right to govern themselves. There is nobody who is divinely selected to rule over the country, everybody is a rightful citizen, and the rightful citizen has the right to choose their ruler.

So, we all believed that democracy would penetrate the whole world, at least that was a promise of modernity. What is happening to democracy? There are questions about participation, transparency and accountability. Even in countries where there are established democratic regimes ruling, what is the kind of quality there? What type of participation? What kind of transparency and What kind of accountability of democratic politics took place.

There are many criticisms against how Indian democracy also works. Indian democracy has been accused of being inefficient, corrupt, partisan, a host of debates. However, India is still considered one of the most thriving, vibrant democratic societies globally.

So, what is happening to this whole idea of democracy? It is the age of global democracy. Can we see that, or can we confidently say that democracy will be the only or the primary form of governance globally? Mainly I want you to remember the whole debate during 2012 about this

Arab spring. A wave of protests swept across the Arab world. Starting from Tunisia to Egypt to a host of countries. There was much optimism that these countries all would turn into the path of democracy.

Nevertheless, now, when you look at their situation, it is a very dismal picture. Because after the revolution, there was no standardized democratic mechanism to take care of or ensure that the aftermath of the revolution was taken care of. The countries were again thrown into utter chaos. Autocracy has come back to most of these countries.

So, what is the role of technology, communication, civil society, extra? Again, these are interesting questions, especially when you talk about this cyber, Facebook activism, the kind of civil society that is quite active in the cyber world. What is the role of that? For example, a political party like the Aam Aadmi Party in Delhi Arvind Kejriwal. New-generation media heavily aided Arvind Kejriwal's party and his entire mobilization,

New generation political activism, new kind of life, new kind of energy that was something entirely new, it was not the kind of conventional politics that we saw. However, people are still pretty sceptical about phenomena like the Aam Aadmi party, why it failed to spread across the globe, or the impact of such experiments. Many scholars are critical of the very notion of democracy through the state.

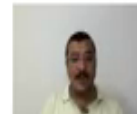
Maybe we can start with the Marxian critique of democracy and state. However, increasingly, many scholars in globalization literature are sceptical of the efficacy of democracy and the modern state in a democratic, globalized scenario. Another crucial, at the same time disturbing scenario is the emergence of popular majoritarianism across the globe. We are seeing that many of the democratic societies are turning to be more populist kind of places. Where populist leaders, mighty, charismatic leaders emerged and spoke for the majority, these leaders declared themselves as the representative of the majority with stand respect to other sections which are not the majorities.

So, such positions will have very significant consequences to understanding democracy, the practice of democracy, minority rights, and a host of other issues. However, we are witnessing that kind of a trend across the globe.

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- Tyranny of global corporations and weak state
- The real politics of cyber activism and emerging civil society?
- Democracy being historically contingent, reshaping is possible.



Then there is this tyranny of global corporations and weak states. Another crucial point. There are substantial multinational companies whose total income is much higher than the whole GDP of so many countries.

Many countries are at the reserving end of these vast multinational companies. The recent controversies associated with google or Facebook, the allegations that Facebook was directly involved in influencing the election process in the US. Even in the US, there are demands that these three or four major technological giants must be controlled. They must be kept in check; otherwise, they are assuming so much power, and it can have very negative consequences.

So, we are yet to see this kind of impact of major huge mammoth multinational companies and their effects on different countries. To what extent can they interfere and influence their democratic and economic processes, which has again emerged as a significant area of concern.

Now the real politics of cyber-activism and emerging civil society. I mentioned that point earlier. Now the social media has become the battlefield. When the election is announced or even during regular times when there is no election declared, the kind of contestations and the kind of aggression between different political parties by using this digital space are fascinating.

So, to what extent the conventional politics is being undermined? Is it being changed by cyber-activism, fake news, cyber propaganda? It is all challenging and different scenarios than what we are familiar with—especially this usage of the post-truth age. There are arguments that we are living in a post-truth era where the truth has lost its significance. It is no longer relevant. Such a scenario is so dangerous; it is an unsettling scenario. We live in a society where truth has lost its significance, and anything can be made up; false, fake news is now the most important way of propaganda.

However, there are more sober arguments that say that democracy has been historically contingent. We never had a democracy that is so pristine, pure, uncontaminated, and democracy derived through or democracy survived through all these changes and here as well, democracy will prevail. Because ultimately, everybody wants to live in a democratic society. So, there are arguments, counter-arguments for and against this particular impression that world democracy is in danger.

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What to do?



Now the whole question is what to do? What should be your response towards globalization? There is hardly any consensus regarding this among the policymakers, politicians, ordinary people on what to do with globalization? What should be your position? How should one approach this whole process of globalization? There is hardly any consensus.

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Neo liberalism

- *Laissez faire* policy
- Liberalization, deregulation, privatisation and fiscal constraint
- Shift from state interventionism towards market enabling governance



Now, one group of all-powerful schools represents this neoliberalism argue that the Laissez-faire policy must continue. The state must withdraw from its role in regulating economic activity. The

state must allow the market to have a free ride. The market has its balances and can make self-regulation, so this typical laissez-faire argument policy must continue, reflected in the ideas about liberalization, deregulation, privatization and fiscal constraints and these three-four processes. In a sense, they contain the element of neoliberal economic policy. You liberalize your rules and regulations, open up your various sectors.

For example, India is undergoing this process of liberalization. However, we started in 1991; many other sectors were not still opened up. Now, the government is opening up those sectors in a more systematic manner. There were concerns about its consequences. Some of these sectors are opened up. But now, the government is opening up a host of sectors that were the state's monopoly so far.

Now, you allow this liberalization. You enable private people to come, allow multinational companies to go in, foreign capital to come and invest and work there. Then deregulation you make your license raj- the dreaded term that you have so much emphasis on giving license. There is so much regulation by the state you let go of those regulations and provide a more flexible approach to the companies or the capitalists. Some of the recent legal changes enacted by the Indian parliament are also in that direction. Whether more and more companies can fire their employees without significant issues. On privatization, more and more sectors are being opened up then private parties are allowed to come in.

For example, the running of airports, railways and educational institutions and health care, a host of them, you name it, almost everything is being increasingly privatized. Then the shift from state interventionism towards market enabling governance. The people who argue for neoliberalism argue that the state intervention of the state must be minimal. The state should not intervene too much; instead, it should leave it to the logic and wisdom of the market. This has been the central argument of neoliberalism, especially after Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher in the UK, and then Ronald Reagan in the US. So, this term neoliberalism became very powerful.

This particular argument that the state must withdraw is increasingly coming under scrutiny; it is increasingly coming under severe criticism. Even the champions of laissez-faire economic policy

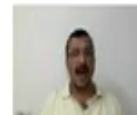
are reinventing the role of the state. America is the best example. Donald Trump is the best example of America going back on this policy of laissez-faire and then increasingly turning into protectionism. India is also sending out mixed signals. On one side, we are talking about India being more self-reliant. On the other side, we also want to open up our economy. Nevertheless, things are in a highly complicated scenario.

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Rejectionism



- Globality by its very nature is.....
- De-globalization including economic nationalism, degrowth
- Religious groups, 'deep-green ecologists



On the one side, this neoliberal school mainly consists of economists who want free market domination. The other side consists of people who argue to reject everything that comes as a part of globalization. They are primarily associated with the political left. They would say that globalization by its very nature is terrible, oppressive, detrimental to the poor and the disadvantaged section. It is only for the benefit of the capitalists. A considerable section of scholars and activists argue that globalization should be rejected because it is inherently adverse to the interest of the poor and disadvantaged.

There are arguments about de-globalization. Now, what we are witnessing today, in a sense, is de-globalization. The whole incident of Brexit, where Britain decided to walk out of the

European Union. The position taken by Donald Trump about America and the virtual collapse of the United Nations as an institution.

A host of other incidents are pointing towards a severe crisis of globalization and including economic nationalism and degrowth. Degrowth, of course, it is not a very powerful argument or not an established form of economic thought. However, economic nationalism is increasingly becoming important because now we realize that many countries, even the champions of globalization, were not ready for the consequences of globalization.

America would not have imagined that their blue collar workers would lose jobs, and many software engineers from India will come and occupy their position. So many unforeseen circumstances have emerged, so many countries are increasingly turning towards economic protectionism or economic nationalism. These religious groups and deep-green ecology groups revolve around some of the fundamental ideas about environmental protectionism and religious beliefs, which very much go against some mainstream understanding of development and progress.

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Reformism



- Reform in the role of the state
- Greater global governance for equality



So, another group or position associated with globalization is a midway or a middle path. It is neither the complete acceptance of a neoliberal economic policy nor its rejection. It is a kind of reformism, reform in the state's role, more excellent global governance for equality. They do not

discount the role of the state. They would argue that the state's role is essential, and the state cannot allow a complete laissez-faire economic policy.

But they understand the increasing role of the market. They do not want a complete economic order, similar to a socialist state, where the state had complete control over almost every aspect of the society. So they argue that you can have a middle path where the state assumes greater significance, but it is only a facilitator, not an active player in the economy and other things. So, that constitutes a kind of a middle path.

Now, this is not a comprehensive list of debates. These debates are endless in the sense that you will be able to identify a host of other debates revolving around the whole question of globalization. I have noted down a couple of essential points and significant discussions and debates that often appear in the Social Science literature on globalization. To give you an overview of the kind of debates, the breadth of topics, the extent of discussions, the larger magnitude of debates, the topics, and issues being discussed and debated under the enormous brick of globalization. Because it is such an overarching theme, it is such a vast theme under which you will be able to discuss almost everything and anything under the sun.

So, a theoretical approach to making sense of globalization is not easy because it is vast and diverse. So as I mentioned, there is hardly any consensus among scholars about many of these questions. Because these questions are complicated with academics positions, disciplinary perspectives, political positions and ideological positions, all these positions make one's standpoint more complex, which gets influenced in the Social Science knowledge production about globalization.

So, these are the major themes that we have discussed so far. Let us wind up the session here, and we will move on to the next topics in the next class. We will have two more sessions on some of the essential features of globalization, the crucial players, the important definitions of globalization, and some general introductory remarks again. So, thank you, see you in the next class.

