Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives

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Lecture - 44

Imagination of Alternate Globalization Part - 1

Welcome back to the class. You are in the fourth session of this particular week, which is

dedicated to looking into the literature and the themes related to anti-globalization and

imaginations of alternate globalization. So, I have titled this specific session as imagination of

alternate globalization. And this is a combined session; this session and the next class will speak

about the same theme will be on the same topic.

So, it will be a kind of continuous class, so please take note of that. In the first session of this

particular week, we started with the Empire, Hardt and Negri thesis, a very influential work. And

in the previous class we discussed, we had a very cursory look at the convenient book on

Globalization and its Discontents by Joseph Stiglitz. In these two classes, we will look at how a

kind of anti-globalization or movement for counter-hegemonic globalization or alternative

globalization has emerged in the last maybe 20-30 years, possibly since the 1990s.

As you have noticed, there have been quite a lot of very active anti-globalization movements,

comprising of workers, parties, students' activities, feminist movements, and then grassroots

civil society initiatives; they have been quite busy. So, they are all demanding alternative

globalization. And they are not against globalization per se or barring some extreme forms of left

parties.

But everybody else wants a globalized world, but not the kind of globalized world we live in. So,

let us see, what are some broader features of these anti-globalization movements, grassroots

movements, or the essential elements of these alternate forms of visualization, visualizing

alternatives? What are the ways that kinds of ideas they have? What types of strategies do they

have, and how do they wish to implement these strategies and processes differently?

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So, we will touch upon criticisms against globalization because we know that in the first class itself, we discussed how globalization evokes solid opinions from different sections of people; some people are celebrated, some people are against it from various vantage points. Please do not think it is only the opposition to globalization; it only concerns its economic consequences.

Many communities and influential interest groups are against globalization from a cultural perspective; they think globalization ruins their culture. And they do not want so much of an integrated or well-interconnected world. They want to live in more kind of isolation. So, there have been worldwide movements and mobilisations, especially this particular section; this specific theme is essential, especially in the last maybe, last 5 to 10 years.

We are seeing a consensus as some semblance of a deglobalization. And it is a very contentious point. Some scholars argue that you cannot have a process of deglobalization; you cannot go back to, say, the 1980s or 1990s. And then it is not possible. But it is almost certain that the kind of optimism that once people had about a globalized world about a global village, that the world is seen as a global village is no longer plausible. There is powerful opposition against globalization.

Very powerful leaders who are populist leaders who play for their domestic supporters have come into the picture in many countries. Donald Trump is an excellent example because nobody has predicted that a person like Donald Trump could ever become the president of America and

the kind of policies that he put forward about migrants or laborers or a host of other stuff was all seem to be against the spirit of globalization, but that has happened.

So, there is resistance, alternate imaginations, coalitions and networks across the globe. And this also, of course, is a part of a critique of capitalism and its global institution because we know that a very thoroughgoing criticism of globalization will always be based on a review of capitalism, especially the neoliberal forms of capitalism, and its global institutions, as we have seen in the previous class, best exemplified by Joseph Stiglitz and his critique of IMF and other institutions.

And of course, they all lead to maybe we are the two significant themes that we have come across in recent times, global justice movement and environmental concerns. A discourse on justice, justice of various kinds, justice concerning economic opportunities, justice concerning human rights, justice concerning equality, a host of demands are being articulated through the language of justice, and of course, about an environmental concern, we know that how the environment has now come as a significant theme.

And first of all, the environment is a global concern; we know that the depletion of the ozone layer or global warming or greenhouse effect, pollution are global problems. They are no longer problems of individual countries; we discussed that extensively when discussing Ulrich Beck. So, these are two essential strands of mobilization and a critique against neoliberal globalization.



- Critique of capitalism predates critique of globalization
- For the Marxist tradition, globalization has since signified an oppressive hegemony of capital, and after the Great Depression and World War II many critics have discussed the manner in which a discourse of 'modernization' emerged to celebrate the growth of a globalized capitalist market system against its ideological and geopolitical competitor, state communism.
- At the end of the twentieth century was first popularly termed the anti-globalization movement, the beginnings of a global civil society that might produce new public spheres of political debate and cosmopolitan culture, as it upholds values of autonomy, democracy, peace, ecological sustainability, equality and social justice.

So, we know that the critique continues the same point critique of capitalism predates critical globalization. Ever since the time of Marx, there is an extreme criticism again, from the left intellectuals or the scholars of economics, who follow Karl Marx, against the unsustainable nature of or the greedy or violent nature of capitalism. Because Marx is very sure that capitalism is a volatile economic system that will collapse soon, it has its seeds of destruction.

And because he said that it is a highly exploitative system, it exploits workers and will collapse under its weight after some time. And it is a sign, in the highly exploitive system, unkind system, least sensitive to the questions of equality or equal distribution or other difficulties of people. But we also know that a capitalist system is now emerging as a very resilient system; it has emerged as a very resilient one.

It did not go by what Marx had predicted, and it just, we simply do not have any alternative insight now. So, for the Marxist tradition, globalization has since signified an oppressive hegemony of capital. After the Great Depression and World War Two, many critics have discussed how a discourse of modernization emerged to celebrate the growth of a globalized capitalist market system against its ideological and geopolitical competitor, state communism.

So, these Marxian scholars have been highly critical of capitalism. Still, at the same time, the supporters of capitalism have presented capitalism as an inevitable alley or an essential component of this modernization story. And modernization, so, we know that about these two

worlds, the bipolar world that existed until the 1990s, on the one side, you had this Soviet bloc

that represented the socialist values and socialist political ideologies, left political ideologies.

And on the other hand, you had America and many European countries representing the

capitalist political positions and political and economic positions. So, this modernisation was

presented as an alternative to the socialist route, followed by these people. Now, at the end of the

20th century, was the first popularly termed the anti-globalization movement.

The beginning of a global civil society might produce new public spheres of political debates and

cosmopolitan culture as it upholds autonomy, democracy, peace, ecological sustainability,

equality, and social justice. We have discussed it many times; when do we locate the emergence

of globalization? Is it immediately after the second world war, or does it go back to the period of

colonialism, or does it still go back to the pre-modern period, or does it begin with the 1990s

after the collapse of the Soviet Union?

So, there is no consensus, but still, we know that the collapse of the Soviet Union is a critical

historical moment, that declared that socialism as a political and economic ideology is fraught

with problems and that it seems to be least sustaining, especially when you have its competitor

that is a capitalist system, thriving almost across the globe. So, at the end of the 20th century, it

was maybe the first time this whole term anti-globalization movement became more important.

And that also shows the emergence of a global civil society. Civil society is usually understood

as a set of organisations that represent the citizens, and they engage with the state on behalf of

the citizens. So, civil society might produce a new public sphere of the political debate and

cosmopolitan culture, as it upholds values of autonomy, democracy, peace, equality,

sustainability, equality and social justice. So, these were the kinds of beliefs and ideas and

imaginations of the sort behind these civil society initiatives and the public sphere that emerged

after that.

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- With the beginning of new millennia, more targeted criticisms began to emerge with 'anti-corporate globalization movement' and the 'social justice movement' gaining currency.
- The anti-corporate globalization movement initially began to receive widespread recognition in 1999, when the first in an ongoing series of large international protests was staged.
- Protesters targeted WTO, the World Bank, IMF, as well as conferences such as the Davos World Economic Forum and the G8 Summits, as central to the growth and future planning of unjust globalization.



So, with the beginning of new millennia, with the 2000s, more targeted criticisms began to emerge with the anti-corporate globalization movement and the social justice moment gaining currency. By 2000 we see, it is no longer the criticism of the old school left group who would blindly condemn globalization because it is capitalist, or who would completely characterize globalization as only as of the handiwork of multinational corporations and US hegemony.

But you see more targeted, more sophisticated criticisms against the anti-corporate globalization movement. So, they would argue that globalization by itself may not be wrong. But globalization in the current form is being hijacked by this, corporate lobbies, multinational companies, very few individuals, and very few people who want to concentrate the wealth in their hands and at the cost of all these things that we discussed earlier.

And they have, and we see the emergence of social justice movements from across the globe. The anti-corporate globalization movement initially began to receive widespread recognition in 1999 when the first, is ongoing series of significant international protests were staged. We are beginning to talk about this World Social Forum and similar congregations across the place.

Many of these protests started targeting WTO World Trade Organization, the World Bank, IMF, and conferences such as Davos and economical World Economic Forum's and G8 summits, as central to the growth and Future Planning of unjust globalization. So, if you look into the history of these, protests you see, there were quite a lot of very spontaneous uprisings staged against these, these institutions.

There were protests in front of the Davos World Economic Forum. This whole idea of a World Social Forum was conceived and then executed as an alternative to this world economic forum. And whenever there was, there were G8 summits; there used to be massive protests in front of that, which often turned violent. So, you see this kind of tension and mobilisations simmering from the late 1990s onwards.

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- Anti-corporate globalization movement includes <u>political</u> and cultural organizations involving more traditional <u>political structures such as</u> unions and <u>parties</u>, as well as <u>non-governmental</u> organizations (NGOs), along with a <u>wide-range</u> of citizen's groups and individual persons representing what have been termed the 'new social movements'.
- Many scholars and activists have begun to reject the moniker of 'antiglobalization' altogether. Instead, people often speak of 'globalization from below' as opposed to 'globalization from above', of anticapitalist or anti-corporate globalization, of the 'alter-globalization movement' and of 'alternative globalizations', of the 'global justice movement' or the 'movement of movements'.
- Because these movements themselves are products of globalization and are extensively using its infrastructure





The anti-corporate globalization moments include political and cultural organisations involved in more traditional political structures, such as unions or parties, non-governmental organisations, NGOs, and a wide range of citizen groups and individual persons representing what has been termed as the new social movements. So, it is exciting to look at the composition of these protest groups.

So, these protest groups include a wide array of parties and organisations and collectivities which represent the old-fashioned political parties. The political parties may be left parties or other kinds of labour unions, and then you had these NGOs more with more former structure. A host of new social movements that are a phenomenon came into existence maybe after the 1990s, which have gone beyond the idea of a class or gender and, say, the collectivities based on identity sexual identity, linguistic identity, or, or another kind of cultural identity, environmental groups.

So, if you look into, for example, I would request you to look at the reports on World Social

forums. So, it is an amalgamation of hundreds of different types of groups coming and then,

putting forward their claims and their assertions and other things, it is a group of almost every

conceivable kind of organisations and interest groups that represent.

So, many scholars and activists began to reject the moniker of anti-globalization altogether

because anti-globalization looks very problematic. Because it raises the question, are you really

against globalization, or if, first of all, is it a feasible position to reject global globalization

entirely. So, if you want to leave globalization entirely, what else is the alternative? Do you want

every country to be disconnected and then isolated?

So, instead, people often speak of globalization from below, as opposed to globalization from

above, anti-capitalist or anti-corporate globalization of the alter-globalization movement and the

alternative globalization of the global justice movement or the movements of movements, there

is a space here. So, these are the alternative terms used instead of the period of anti-globalization

because anti-globalization is problematic, as I mentioned.

So, it could be globalization from below because globalization from below means that these

things are not enforced or entrusted to them. Instead, people willingly connect beyond the nation-

state and have cultural and economic exchanges in doing that. So, that, so alter-globalization,

alternative globalization, global justice movement, or the movements of action, these are all the

terms that have been used to describe this kind of moments later.

Because these movements themselves are products of globalization and are extensively using its

infrastructure, many of them, for example, is World Social Forum. World Social Forum is

possible only because of globalization. Even though they are criticising globalization, it is a

product of globalization. Because without the infrastructure of globalization, without the

imagination of a global whole, as a single unit, and an organisation like or an event like World

Social Forum would have been impossible.

So, many of these organisations, they realise that. So, they are not against globalization per se,

but they are against globalization, which is taking place in a pervasive and exploitative way.

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- political idea of a global solidarity based in the tremendous diversity
 of resistance to be found to today's mainstream ruling practices,
 neoliberal capitalist economics, repressive cultural norms and other
 aspects of global society that lead to increasing gap between rich and
 poor and oppressor and oppressed.
- These movements works both to counter and reform it at once, with some social movements working for direct and participatory democracy and autonomous communities (sometimes utilizing alternative economic structures such as 'local exchange trading systems'), on the one hand, while others seek truly representative and democratically accountable national and global political structures, on the other.



So, the political idea of global solidarity based on the tremendous diversity of resistance to be found in today's mainstream ruling practices, neo-liberal capitalist economies, economics, repressive cultural norms, and other aspects of global society that lead to the increasing gap between rich and poor and between this oppressed and oppressor.

So, this the basic argument, so that these many completely diverse groups are coming together to fight economic policies to fight ruling parties, or to fight the repressive cultural norms that only increase a kind of a gap between rich and poor, or which only consolidate the variety of rival the issues between the oppressor and oppressed.

So, these movements work, both to counter and reform at once. So, that is an exciting thing. At the same time, these alternative globalization moments are resistance movements because they resist the current unfolding of globalization.

And at the same time, they also want to present something alternative; they also want to give an alternative thing. So, they also want to reform it once, with some social movements working for the direct and participatory democracy and autonomous communities and sometimes utilising alternative economic structures such as local exchange trading systems. On the other hand, others seek truly representative and democratically accountable national and global political structures.

So, if you look into what kind of alternatives are they offering, it is exciting; it includes maybe one group that wants to focus on the community level, they want the communities to be self-sufficient, they want the communities to be more autonomous, autonomous in a sense, they must have all the to regulate themselves, their social political and cultural spheres and even local exchange trading systems where the small commodities engage in a kind of a less ruthless, more minor profit-oriented exchange system between other communities.

So, there are initiatives that focus on the local level dynamics simultaneously; there are entities that focus at the global level to make how the global political structures and these international economic institutions had been more accountable, more democratic, more sensitive to all these questions.

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Counter hegemonic globalization of Peter Evans

- "neoliberal globalization," "corporate globalization," or "neoliberal, corporate-dominated globalization" is nothing natural and "counterhegemonic" globalization can be built.
- The growth of transnational connections can potentially be harnessed to the construction of more equitable distributions of wealth and power and more socially and ecologically sustainable communities can be built and this "counterhegemonic" globalization.
- Three broad families of transnational social movements aimed at counterhegemonic globalization: labor movements, women's movements, and environmental movements.



Now, in a couple of coming slides, I want to discuss this idea about this counter-hegemonic globalization by Peter Evans, an American sociologist. So, he has something exciting about how people perceive these things. So, neo-liberal globalization, corporate globalization, or neo-liberal corporate-dominated globalization is nothing natural and counter-hegemonic globalization can be built.

So, this is his straightforward but persuasive argument. So, he would argue that the kind of globalization that we are witnessing today is characterised as neoliberal globalization, corporate

globalization, or neo-liberal corporate-dominated globalization. This is nothing natural; there is nothing natural about it. There is nothing unavoidable, essential about it.

It is not that we are afraid to have to live with that. But we can. It is possible to build a kind of counter-hegemonic globalization can be made. So, that is, that is what I mentioned earlier; it is a visualization; it is an imagination about an alternative world. The growth of transnational connections can be potentially harnessed to construct more equitable distributions of wealth and power. More socially and ecologically sustainable communities can be built, and this is counter-hegemonic in this counter-hegemonic globalization.

So, the argument is that these transnational connections are inherently exploitative; they are not. International relations are not inherently exploitative. But what, instead, you can use his global references to be harnessed to the construction of more equitable distribution of wealth and power and more socially and ecologically sustainable communities. So, more socially and environmentally sustainable communities and economic growth can be built under this kind of imagination, according to Peter Evans.

Three broad families of transnational social movements aimed at counter-hegemony, globalization, labour movements, women's movements, and environmental movements. So, Peter Evans believes that our three sets of exercises, each of these moments, are not a singular entity; they are all diverse heterogeneous groups in themselves.

But you can broadly categorise these three into, so he uses the term broad families of transnational social movements. One is the labour movements, which represent labour interest, second is the women's movement, the feminist movements in different parts of the country. And the third one is the environmental movement, the environmental movement, which has concerns about environmental issues across the globe.

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- Around the globe from Mumbai to Johannesburg, Shanghai to the Silicon Valley – jobs are beinginformalized outsourced, and generally divorced from anything that might be considered a social contract between employer and employee.
- Precisely because the attack on the idea of labor as a social contract is generalized across all regions of the world, it creates a powerful basis for generating global labor solidarity.
- Host of examples of workers movements across the globe: Brazil, France, Germany and so on..



Peter Evans argues that around the globe, from Mumbai to Johannesburg and Shanghai to the Silicon Valley, jobs are being informalised, positions are being informalized, outsourced and generally divorced from anything that might be considered as a social contract between employer and employee. So, this is a critical point that we need to keep in mind.

We had discussed even earlier when we discussed Ulrich Beck, the very idea that somebody after their education will get a permanent job and the person will work in the same company until their retirement at the age of 60 or 65 and then will be happy with a pension. That kind of image that kind of understanding has been very badly affected in recent times because more and more jobs are informalised.

The number of permanent employees is reducing significantly, and every country has passed laws and new labour laws that help these companies to informalise their workforce. So, every major company will have a considerably fewer number of people who can be considered their permanent employees, and the vast majority of their workforce will comprise casual labourers.

Casual labourers on contract are entirely outside the legal requirements of providing welfare, safety, labour safety, and other things. While industries want these kinds of regulations, in terms of efficiency in terms of manoeuvrability and profitability, the workers are in a very disastrous situation because it is almost impossible to get permanent jobs, there is no guarantee to your job, and mostly you are forced to work as temporary contract labourers.

So, that is the whole informalised work, where work is outsourced. And you might be assigned for a particular period in point, and after that, you will be asked to leave, or you are your job contract comes to an end, and that becomes the kind of a most predominant mode of employment. And that he argues, it is it has become a global phenomenon, and anything might be construed as a social contract between employer and employee.

So, the very idea of a social contract between employer and employee suffers badly because nothing binds these two entities together. So, precisely because the attack on the concept of labour as a social contract is generalised across all world regions, it creates a robust basis for generating global labour solidarity.

So, he argues that this is a situation that workers are facing across the globe, increasing pressure of informalization, decreasing wage rate, lowering working conditions, very demanding working conditions, the kind of facilities are provided to the workers are being withdrawn in many places, and this is a global phenomenon. Suppose the company finds that the workers are demanding too much in one particular area. In that case, they will shift the entire operation factory into another country where cheap labour is readily available.

So, this, he argues that it already provides a kind of an existence of a rich set of workers who can be harnessed for staging a sort of counter-hegemonic globalization, it creates a robust basis for generating global labour solidarity—a host of examples of workers movement across the globe, Brazil, France, Germany, etc. You must have seen the workers protesting often turns out violent, and these police shooting arsenal. Across the globe, in the US, in across the place.



- Global neoliberalism has brought issues of gender to the forefront of transnational social movement organizations in a dramatic way. Until there has been a revolutionary transformation of gender roles, the disadvantages of allocating resources purely on the basis of market logic will fall particularly harshly on women.
- "structural adjustment" and other neoliberal strategies for global governance contain a built-in, systematic gender bias.
- The UNDP talks of a global "care deficit," pointing out that women spend most of their working hours on unpaid care work and adding that "the market gives almost no rewards for care."



He argues that labour represents one of the critical families of social movements. The second, hi argument is that global neoliberalism has brought issues of gender to the forefront of transnational social movement organisations in a dramatic way. Until there has been a revolutionary transformation of gender roles, the disadvantages of allocating resources purely based on the market logic will fall particularly harshly on women.

And this is yet another fundamental argument; you know that in the feminist literature, this fascinating argument about the relationship between capitalism and gender, while how capitalism as a structure as an economic system is antithetical to the interest of the woman, and how this whole capitalist system starting with the factory system, in which the men go to the work and women stay back at home, taking care of the household activities was seen as the natural way of doing work.

And after some time, how it systematically naturalised women's household work and so that when somebody asked you what your mother doing, you will say that my mother is not doing anything she is not working, that is the usual thing that we all say—forgetting or not realising the amount of work that an ordinary woman does in her kitchen or her house from early morning to late evening.

And that work is unrecognised; it is unacknowledged, it is not reimbursed, it remains as wage less work. So, unless a revolutionary transformation of gender roles occurs, the disadvantages of

allocating resources purely based on market logic will fall particularly harshly on women. Because if you are only concerned about efficiency and profitability, that will be highly biased against women.

Structural adjustment and other neo-liberal strategies of global governance contain a built-in systematic gender bias. And there is no doubt about it because unless these gender roles are drastically transformed, and we know that even in houses where the woman goes to work, she is doubly handicapped because she has to do the office work and also she has to do the household work.

And there may be, the families in which both the men and women are equally contributing the household works would be very, very minimum, we all can look into our own houses and then see how this household work of cleaning, cooking and washing and other things are predominantly a kind of a woman's work. And so that is an essential thing.

So, this UNDP talks of a global care deficit, pointing out that the women spend most of the work working hours on unpaid care work and adding that the market gives almost no reward for care. So, caring, taking care of the minor children, taking care of husbands taking care of elderly parents. So, this our entire care is unrecognised, it is unknown, it is unpaid, and it is not even acknowledged.

So, he would argue that or have been widely discussed by scholars, especially feminist scholars, that women's work remains invisible, unrecognised, unpaid, or underpaid in a globalized capitalist system. We will stop here and we will continue the same discussion, thank you.