

Globalisation: Responses

Day 30 of your revision. Every definition, school and scholar on globalisation, compressed for fast recall. **Revise → write a little → don't break the chain.**

Exam load on this unit (UPSC 2015–2025): **5 × 10-markers · 3 × 15-markers · 3 × 20-markers.**

I Meaning, Phases & Perspectives

I What “Globalisation” Means

The worldwide spread of people, goods and ideas — deepening interaction and integration among cultures, governments and economies. Its agents — **MNCs**, **NGOs** and civil-society networks — press on the Westphalian state.

Working definition

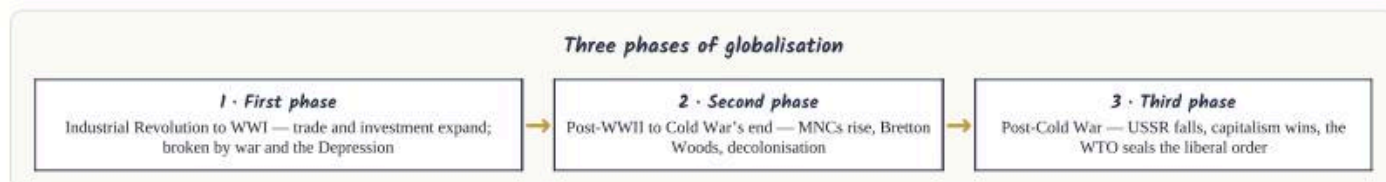
Not one process but a complex of processes — overlapping, interlocking, at times contradictory — whose common theme is **interdependence**: like waves of the ocean interacting and shaping one another.

- **Anthony Giddens** — the **intensification of worldwide social relations**, linking distant localities so that local events are shaped by happenings many miles away, and vice versa; the **compression of time and space**.
- **Robert Keohane** — rising transnational flows and a thick network of **interdependence**.
- **Steve Smith & John Baylis** — social relations becoming borderless, lived on a global scale. **Martin Albrow** — the incorporation of humanity into a single global society.
- **Marshall McLuhan** — the integration of the world into a cohesive “**global village**.” **William R. Thompson** — political globalisation as the expansion of a global political system managing inter-regional transactions.
- **WHO** — interconnectedness, with borders opening to flows of goods, services, finance, people and ideas. **IMF** — four aspects: trade, capital movement, migration, and the spread of knowledge.
- **Martin Khor** (critical view) — globalisation equals historical colonisation: “**neo-colonisation**.”

UPSC 2021 · 15m What is globalisation? Why is there an intense debate about globalisation and its consequences?

2 Evolution — the Three Phases

Scholars differ on its genesis — some trace it to early civilisation, some to European imperial expansion, some to 19th–20th-century advances in transport and communication.



Rosa Luxemburg and **Samir Amin** reject a neat phase-based reading: globalisation is **capitalism in a new guise** — a modern colonisation perpetuating exploitation, echoing **Marx** on British colonialism in India and calling for revolutionary action.

UPSC 2015 · 10m Is globalization essentially a process of ‘universalisation’ of capitalist modernity?

3 Three Dimensions

Dimension	What it carries
Economic	Integration of national economies; trade and finance flows via global currencies; MNCs accelerating global production; developing states enter through liberalisation and privatisation (India's LPG reforms, shaped by the World Bank and IMF).
Political	Promotion of liberal values — democracy, human rights; after the Soviet collapse democracy wins wide acceptance; an erosion of state sovereignty despite Westphalian principle; the nation-state declines as new actors rise.
Socio-cultural	A common global language (English); the spread of Western norms — jeans, rock music, Hollywood — producing homogenisation and a shared global consciousness.

4 Theoretical Perspectives — the Three Schools

Jonathan Perraton (1999) named three schools; **David Held** and **Anthony McGrew** developed the frame in *Global Transformations*.

School	Core claim	Champions
Hyperglobalists	Real and transformative; it erodes state sovereignty. Ohmae's "borderless world" — borders matter less; politicians, bureaucrats and the military decline.	Kenichi Ohmae, Marshall McLuhan, Robert Reich
Skeptics / Realists	More concept than reality — a buzzword; it stays within the command of states, which still regulate corporations. Stress North–South inequality and regionalisation.	Robert Gilpin, Ralph Dahrendorf, Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, Alan Rugman, Robert Wade
Transformationalists	Not a zero-sum game — it reshapes societies and governance while states endure (#MeToo, Black Lives Matter, the Paris Agreement).	David Held, Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck, Peter Dicken, Roland Robertson, Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye

Other lenses

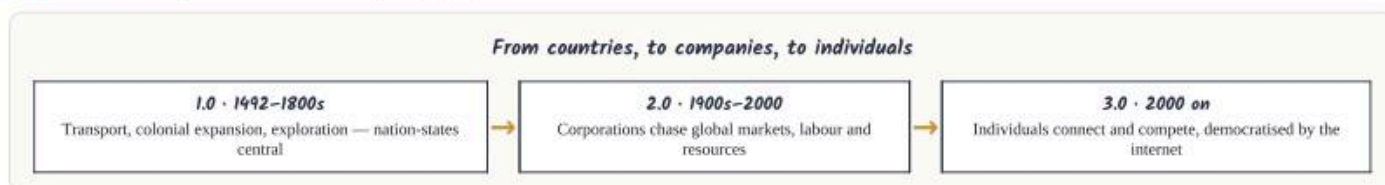
- Liberal** — **Theodore Levitt's homogeneous global products** (Apple) build a global consumer culture; **Francis Fukuyama** — globalisation promotes liberal democracy (the EU's eastward enlargement).
- New Institutionalists** (**Peter Hall & David Soskice, Geoffrey Garrett, Linda Weiss**) — domestic institutions mediate its effects. **Ideational thesis** (**Colin Hay & David Marsh**) — ideas shape its effects.
- Marxist** (**Andre Gunder Frank, Raymond Vernon, Robert Cox, Paul Kennedy**) — modern imperialism validating dependency theory; **Mick Brooks** reads it through **Lenin** as the latest attempt to sustain global capitalism.
- Post-colonial** (**Diana Brydon**) — **neo-colonialism**: exploitation of resources and marginalisation of indigenous peoples (Aboriginal communities; Coca-Cola plants in Latin America). Conceptual aids: **Benedict Anderson's** "imagined communities"; the challenge to **John Austin's** theory of sovereignty.

UPSC 2019 · 20m Explain the relevance of the Marxist approach in the context of globalization.

UPSC 2017 · 15m How has the development of Global Capitalism changed the nature of socialist economies and developing societies?

5 Friedman's Phases — The World is Flat

Thomas Friedman, in *The World is Flat* (2005), split globalisation into three:



A parallel economic timeline: **1.0** pre-WWI, falling trade costs, no global governance; **2.0** post-WWII, rule-based order (UN, IMF, World Bank, GATT/WTO, ILO); **3.0** global supply chains fusing high-tech with low wages — hyperglobalisation.

6 Globalisation 4.0 — the Industry 4.0 wave

Term coined at the **World Economic Forum** (2019, Davos). Driven by **Industry 4.0** technologies — artificial intelligence, robotics, the Internet of Things, big data.

- Services in the firing line** — earlier waves hit manufacturing; 4.0 hits services (architecture, accounting, web design) through machine translation and AI.
- New migration** — **global tele-migration**: skilled migrants who never leave home.
- Challenges** — political crises and conflict, economic exclusion, income inequality, human-resource and infrastructure gaps for countries like India, and unforeseeable ethical, legal and environmental consequences.
- Way forward** — strengthen local and regional economies; put sustainability and inclusiveness first; protect the most vulnerable; tackle climate change; reform education and skilling (by 2022, at least 54% of the global workforce needed re- and up-skilling).

II Politics, the State & Impact

7 Globalisation & the State — a transformed sovereignty

Globalisation does not end the state — it transforms it. Decision-making moves **upward** to international bodies and **sideways** to markets and civil society; policy space and welfare choices shrink, most of all in developing countries.

- Realists** read it as a challenge to **sovereignty** that erodes domestic control; **liberals** see growth and capacity-building through institutions; **constructivists** see new norms and identities unsettling traditional sovereignty.
- Joseph Nye** — MNCs exert direct, indirect and unintended pressure, eroding control over currency and foreign trade. **P. J. Simmons** — NGOs shape domestic and foreign policy by setting agendas, negotiating outcomes and conferring legitimacy.
- Rise of **non-state actors** (terror groups included) that create security dilemmas and bend domestic policy (terror attacks deterring FDI).
- States are pushed into **post-sovereign governance** and transnational collaboration to fill regulatory voids (**Dani Rodrik's** "soft underbelly of globalisation"; the Basel Committee).

UPSC 2016 · 10m Discuss the impact of globalization on the internal functioning of the state.

8 Anti-Globalisation Politics — Left vs Right

Left-wing	Right-wing
Emerges in the 1990s — the Zapatista uprising in Mexico; the internet as an organising tool.	A newer, coherent movement of nationalist groups opposing globalisation on ethnic and national identity .
Set-pieces: the Battle of Seattle (1999) against the WTO; the G8 protests at Genoa (2001).	Vehicles: UKIP (Britain), AfD (Germany), Generation Identity (Italy); figures such as Trump, Modi and Bolsonaro.
The World Social Forum against the World Economic Forum — social justice, environment, indigenous rights.	Marked by transnational nationalist solidarity , opposition to mass immigration, and ethnically defined identity.
Backs alter-globalisation ; after 2008, anti-austerity (Occupy Wall Street 2011, Syriza in Greece).	Rode the rise of social media (Web 2.0) — Twitter and the like — for transnational organising.

Divergence — both reject the present form of globalisation; the **left** centres social justice, environment and corporate domination, the **right** centres national identity, immigration and traditional values.

9 Approaches to the Pandemic — COVID-19 as test case

Lens	Reading of the pandemic
Realist	Stephen Walt — states remain the primary actors, drawing on Thucydides' plague in the <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i> ; afterwards, borders matter more.
Liberal	Joseph Nye (2020) — the crisis proved the need for global governance and the WHO; open cooperation over narrow national interest.
Postcolonial	Gurminder Bhambra — racialised minorities in the West suffered disproportionately, a colonial legacy in healthcare and frontline work.
Marxist	Mike Davis (2020) — another crisis of capitalism : neglected vaccine research, factory farming and megaslums breeding pandemics.
Constructivist / post-structuralist	Discourses of war and securitisation shaped responses — the power of language over a fixation on military threats.
Feminist	Demanded a human-security lens — the surge in domestic abuse under lockdown and gender-specific rules (Panama City) exposed the old approaches.

10 Consequences — the Double-Edged Sword

The gains

- Jim O'Neill** — inequality *between* countries fell sharply over two decades (China's rise; growth across Asia and Latin America); the UN met its Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by 2015; extreme poverty and child mortality fell, and fewer die in battle.
- Economic integration, jobs, access to resources, technology transfer, cultural exchange, and pressure to improve governance and the rule of law.

The costs

- Pratap Bhanu Mehta** — stagnation in Western living conditions; the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment, ethnic chauvinism and right-wing xenophobia.
- J. Heine** and **Ramesh Thakur** (*The Dark Side of Globalisation*) — the **soft underbelly of imperialism**, breeding a **global uncivil society** of transnational terrorism, organised crime, and drug and human trafficking.
- Rising income inequality (**Oxfam**: 82% of new wealth went to the top 1%), environmental degradation, and the erosion of local cultures.

The verdict

A double-edged sword — an ethical impulse of vast opportunity that, mismanaged, becomes elites hunting new pastures. The answer is a humane, inclusive Globalisation 4.0 built on justice, equality and fairness.

11 The Scholarly Debate — For and Against

In favour	Against
Joseph Stiglitz (<i>Making Globalization Work</i>) — a revolutionary human activity, needing reform towards transparency, participation and democracy.	Ramesh Thakur (<i>The Dark Side of Globalization</i>) — deepens poverty and inequality; an indirect capitalism of asymmetric impact.
Jagdish Bhagwati (<i>In Defence of Globalization</i>) — a powerful tool against poverty and discrimination; critics overstate the harms.	J. Heine — breeds inequality and a soft capitalism of profit over welfare. Simone de Beauvoir and feminist scholars — it has failed to empower women and sustains male dominance.
Amartya Sen — a positive link with economic performance; developing states need better infrastructure and governance to gain.	Arundhati Roy — a “ mutant variety of colonialism .” Noam Chomsky — corporate dominance, “profit over people.” Kwame Nkrumah — the road to neo-colonialism .

III The South, Deglobalisation & the Road Ahead

12 Globalisation & the Global South

Concerns — uneven impact and rising income inequality within and between countries; the IMF and WTO seen to favour industrialised nations, worsening structural poverty and external debt.

Responses — reform of trading and financial institutions (WTO rules on IPR, anti-dumping, farm subsidies); greater **market access** through tariff cuts; and seizing opportunity (Stiglitz on China's large gains).

- **Immanuel Wallerstein** — wealth drains from **periphery to core**, the **development of underdevelopment**.
- **Ramesh Thakur** — the soft state of capitalism, deepening poverty, inequality and exclusion. **Noam Chomsky** — declining health, education and nutrition; profit over people.
- **Amartya Sen** and **Jagdish Bhagwati** — with the right balance of openness, regulation, infrastructure and governance, the South can gain.
- **Joseph Stiglitz** — correcting the **democratic deficit** in the IMF, UN and WTO addresses globalisation's challenges.

UPSC 2023 · 20m Critically examine the impact of Globalisation on the developing countries of the world.

UPSC 2020 · 10m Critically examine the impact of the process of globalization from the perspective of the countries of the global south.

UPSC 2022 · 10m What are the main challenges faced by the developing countries in the era of globalisation?

13 A Global South-Sensitive Model

The **Global South** is a contested term for states marked by a colonial history and belated development — hence their under-representation in global institutions; it has grown from a synonym for the “Third World” into a geo-historical label for low- and middle-income countries and emerging powers.

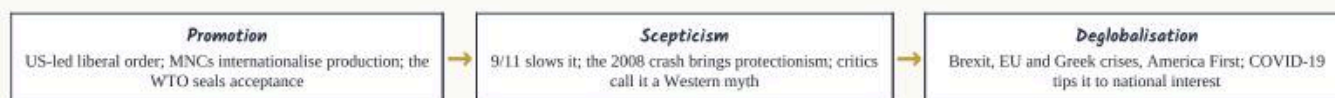
- **Rebalance power** — the rules of engagement in global policymaking must shift; the concerns of developing countries were not always met by bodies like the WTO.
- **Still-relevant goals** — growth with quality jobs and strong social protection; wider export and investment access; a cleaner, greener energy transition for climate and energy security.
- **Business-as-usual will not do** — reform or replace the instruments of globalisation: remake ageing global institutions, steer capital markets towards sustainable finance, make technological change inclusive.
- **A coherent South agenda** — a just and equitable multilateral system, finance for the SDGs, and **climate justice** (the Loss and Damage Fund). The “voice of the Global South” now sounds across Ukraine, Gaza, Sudan, climate and the SDGs.

A South-sensitive design meets the danger of **over-centralised globalisation** — uneven gains, the drain from periphery to core, democratic deficits in the IMF, UN and WTO — by decentralising rule-making and rebalancing representation.

UPSC 2025 · 15m Global South-sensitive model of globalization would prevent the danger emanating from overcentralized globalization. Discuss.

14 The Developed World's Response — Deglobalisation

Three phases of the developed-world response



Deglobalisation

A move towards a less connected world of powerful nation-states, local solutions and border controls rather than global institutions and free movement.

The 2008 crisis, a disenfranchised middle class and fear of over-reliance on single partners first produced a stagnant “**slowbalisation**,” now tilting to deglobalisation as the pandemic, the Ukraine war, ideological rifts and the green transition push states and firms to rethink external dependencies and seek **resilient** growth with trusted partners.

- Populist politics rides opposition to the WTO and NATO; the WHO stumbled on the pandemic and the UN could not answer Russia's war.
- A decade of democratic backsliding (India, Brazil, Turkey, Poland, Hungary, Hong Kong) and eroding arms-control norms; Trump shook faith in NATO; the **2021 AUKUS** pact split France from the UK and USA.
- **Baldwin** — a full collapse is unlikely; comparative advantage persists and digitally enabled services expand. Best read as a question of **balance**, not outright displacement.

UPSC 2024 · 20m “Deglobalisation is displacing globalisation.” Comment.

UPSC 2017 · 10m Critically examine the Globalisation in the past 25 years from the perspectives of the Western world.

15 Contemporary Assessments — where the argument stands

Scholar	Reading
Ashutosh Varshney	Globalisation is in retreat — erosion and rollback, feeding nationalist leaders (Trump, Boris Johnson).
Pratap Bhanu Mehta	A "Pincer movement" — attacked from both developing and developed worlds — mutating into "Glocalisation" ; opposition through electoral politics (Brexit, America First, Atmanirbhar Bharat); the depletion of Pax-Americana as China rises.
Deepak Nayyar	Gains went to a few industrialised and emerging economies (BRICS, South Korea, China the star); Africa and the LDCs fell behind. "Economics has become global, but politics remains national and local." Globalisation needs a hegemon — and US decline plus China's rise does not augur well.
Catherine Mann	The gains were never widely shared; the trouble is "not too much globalisation but too little globalisation."
Dani Rodrik	After the 1990s, MNCs took the driver's seat — market integration over shared prosperity, bought at the cost of domestic disintegration; no return to the status quo ante, only a thinner model that leaves room to rebuild domestic contracts.
Abhijit Banerjee & Esther Duflo	An inflection point — the political economy has peaked, not the economy ; the missing piece is targeted compensation for losers; immigrants do not lower wages or take jobs.
Baldwin, Evenett & Espejo	Trade will not reverse: goods trade stagnates while digital e-services surge; US-China tensions stabilise; climate change will disrupt trade; simultaneous speech translation will reshape commerce; "derisking" and the weaponising of trade grow; Africa and Asia are bright spots.

16 Future Prospects & the Many Faces

A full retreat looks unlikely, given how entrenched globalisation is. The real question is institutional reform towards a more equitable, sustainable path — a matter of balance, not displacement.

A question of balance, not displacement

Globalising forces

comparative advantage · digital services · interdependence

Baldwin — globalisation will evolve, not unwind



Deglobalising forces

reshoring · border controls · populism · derisking

Slowbalisation now tilting towards deglobalisation

- **Economic chains** — comparative advantage endures; digitalisation speeds supply chains; the pandemic showed the cost of unwinding them.
- **Wider trade rules** — room for labour and environmental standards, public health, and socially responsible production.
- **Demography** — ageing in some regions, youthful growth in others — new agreements to manage migration.
- **National security** — balance interdependence against security; reassess unreliable partners while cooperating on shared threats.

Contemporary globalisation now runs across six domains:

Economic · Military · Legal · Ecological · Cultural · Social

Global markets and production · the arms trade and transnational terrorism · transnational law and the ICC · shared ecological governance · homogenisation alongside resurgent nationalism · South-to-North migration.

IV Recall & Practice

17 Power Quotes

"Global village." — Marshall McLuhan

"Borderless world." — Kenichi Ohmae

Globalisation is a "mutant variety of colonialism." — Arundhati Roy

The problem is "not too much globalisation but too little globalisation." — Catherine Mann

"Economics has become global, but politics remains national and local." — Deepak Nayyar

18 Scholar Index

Albrow · Samir Amin · Benedict Anderson · Austin · Baldwin · Banerjee · Baylis · de Beauvoir · Ulrich Beck · Bhagwati · Bhambra · Mick Brooks · Brydon · Chomsky · Robert Cox · Dahrendorf · Mike Davis · Dicken · Duflo · Espejo · Evenett · A.G. Frank · Friedman · Fukuyama · Garrett · Giddens · Gilpin · Peter Hall · Colin Hay · Heine · Held · Hirst · Paul Kennedy · Keohane · Khor · Lenin · Levitt · Luxemburg · Mann · Marsh · Marx · McGrew · McLuhan · Mehta · Nayyar · Nkrumah · Nye · O'Neill · Ohmae · Pantuliano · Perraton · Reich · Robertson · Rodrik · Arundhati Roy · Rugman · Amartya Sen · Simmons · Steve Smith · Soskice · Stiglitz · Thakur

19 How UPSC Asks It

Theme	Years & marks
Meaning & the globalisation debate	2021 / 15m
Universalisation of capitalist modernity	2015 / 10m
Relevance of the Marxist approach	2019 / 20m
Global capitalism, socialist & developing economies	2017 / 15m
Impact on the internal functioning of the state	2016 / 10m
Globalisation from the Western world's view	2017 / 10m
Impact on developing countries / the Global South	2020 / 10m · 2023 / 20m
Challenges for developing countries	2022 / 10m
A Global South-sensitive model	2025 / 15m
Deglobalisation displacing globalisation	2024 / 20m

20 Today's Practice — write before the evening

1. "Deglobalisation is displacing globalisation." Comment. (UPSC 2024, 20m)
2. Global South-sensitive model of globalization would prevent the danger emanating from overcentralized globalization. Discuss. (UPSC 2025, 15m)
3. Critically examine the impact of Globalisation on the developing countries of the world. (UPSC 2023, 20m)

Model answers drop tonight on the Telegram channel — [@psirbyamitpratap](#). Everything above is covered in full in your **Foundation & OGP** class notes and handouts — revise it, then write. **Don't break the chain.**

See you tomorrow with Day 31 — Approaches to the Study of International Relations.