

## PREFACE

In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. *core, general elective, ability and skill enhancement* for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits.

UGC (Open and Distance Learning (ODL) Regulations, 2017 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Bachelors Degree Programme (BDP) level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme.

Self Learning Material (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs.

I wish the venture a grand success.

**Professor (Dr.) Ranjan Chakraborty**  
Vice-Chancellor

**NETAJI SUBHAS OPEN UNIVERSITY**  
**Under Graduate Degree Programme**  
**Choice Based Credit System (CBCS)**  
**Subject : Honours in Political Science (HPS)**  
**Course : Global Politics**

**Course Code : CC-PS-10**

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**: Board of Studies :**

**Members**

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*Netaji Subhas Open University*

**Professor Sital Prasad Nag**  
*Associate Professor*  
*Netaji Subhas Open University*

**Dr. Utathya Bandyopadhyay**  
*Associate Professor*  
*Netaji Subhas Open University*

**: Course Writer :**

**Module-I**

**Dr. Soumen Roy**  
*Associate Professor*  
*Department of Political Science*  
*Sidho-Kanho-Birsha University*

**Module-III**

**Smt. Mahua Basu**  
*Associate Professor*  
*Department of Political Science*  
*Banipur Mahila Mahavidyalaya*

**: Course Editor :**

**Professor Manash Chakraborty**  
*Senior Fellow, ICSSR*  
*Department of Political Science*  
*University of North Bengal*

**Module-II**

**Dr. Chitrita Choudhury**  
*Associate Professor*  
*Department of Political Science*  
*Vidyasagar College, Kolkata*

**Module-IV**

**Smt. Anuja Saha**  
*Doctoral Research Scholar*  
*Department of International Relations*  
*Jadavpur University, Kolkata*

**: Editorial Assistance, Formatting  
Language, Editing and Coordinate :**

**Dr. Utathya Bandyopadhyay**  
*Associate Professor*  
*Netaji Subhas Open University*

**Notification**

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**NETAJI SUBHAS  
OPEN UNIVERSITY**

**UG : Political Science  
(HPS)**

**Course : Global Politics  
Course Code : CC-PS-10**

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# **Block-I:**

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## **Unit 1 □ Understanding Globalization**

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### *Structure*

- 1.1 Objective**
- 1.2 Introduction**
- 1.3 Globalization: Meaning and Definition**
- 1.4 Different aspects to the emergence of Globalization**
- 1.5 Features of Globalization**
  - 1.5.1 Integration**
  - 1.5.2 Commodification**
  - 1.5.3 Competition**
  - 1.5.4 Universalization**
  - 1.5.5 Westernization**
  - 1.5.6 Labour Flexibility**
- 1.6 Conclusion**
- 1.7 Summing Up**
- 1.8 Probable Questions**
- 1.9 Further Reading**

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### **1.1 Objective**

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This unit will help the learners to:

- Understand the meaning and concept to the study of globalization
- Know different aspects to the emergence of globalization
- Realise basic features of the globalization

## **1.2 Introduction**

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Globalization is a widespread concept and a multi-dimensional process. It has become a very important phenomenon at the beginning of the 21st century. It is a process of development which has brought about far-reaching consequences in the social, political, cultural, institutional and ideological spheres throughout the world. At present the whole world has been influenced by the dynamic force of globalization. All nation states and ethnic groups are influencing by the process of globalization in many ways. The term globalization is a recent entrant in the realm of discourses on politics, society and economics. In essence, it is a process of worldwide integration of economics. Though economic contracts between the nations have been evident since the time immemorial, an ideal globalization is comparatively a new phenomenon. The accumulatively effect of unprecedented development of science, information technology and communication has given effect to this trend. In its political economy manifestation, globalization has also been labelled as a cyber capitalism, mediated through communication technology and media network where in capital moves on a global scale. Free market and free flow of capital and information making a greater integration of the world today are being portrayed as the new mantras of development promising to open the doors of yet another level of advancement of human civilization. The phenomenon of globalization is so overwhelming that it has raised hopes and awe in the minds of citizens of the world in equal measure. While economic development, trade and commercial intercourse have become rapid to the point of being instant due to technological innovations, at the same time, large space of poverty and deprivation are yet to be eliminated. Globalization has integrated the world economically and ideologically, yet at the same time, it has raised important questions—is the process of globalization benefiting every state and everybody of the world? In this unit the meaning and definition, emergence and the basic features of the globalization has been discussed.

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## **1.3 Globalization: Meaning and Definition**

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Globalization is a comprehensive term which refers to the emergence of a global society where social, economic, political, cultural and environmental activities in a



part of the world at once affects people living in others parts of the world. It lays emphasis on the fact that world has become so inter-dependent economically that it is very difficult for the nation-states to take any independent decision in the economic sphere. It seeks to connect individuals, communities and governments around the world on the basis of economic, technological, political and cultural linkages. Globalization represents four main pillars—flow of information, flow of technology, flow of capital and flow of know-how throughout the world. Globalization is the act of globalizing; from the noun ‘global’ meaning ‘Pertaining to or involving the whole world’, ‘worldwide’, ‘universal’. Globalization, as a concept, refers both to the ‘shrinking’ of the world and the increased consciousness of the world as a whole. It is a term used to describe the changes in societies and the world economy that are result of dramatically increased cross-border trade, investment, and cultural exchange. Globalization is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. There are nearly as many definitions of globalization. One review provides a classification of at least five broad sets of definitions:

- **Globalization as Internationalization:** The ‘global’ in globalization is viewed as simply another adjective to describe cross-border relations between countries. It describes the growth in international exchange and interdependence.
- **Globalization as Liberalization:** Removing government-imposed restrictions on movements between countries.
- **Globalization as Universalization:** Process of spreading ideas and experiences to people at all corners of the earth so that aspirations and experiences around the world become harmonized.
- **Globalization as Westernization or Modernization:** The social structures of modernity (capitalism, industrialism, etc.) are spread the world over, destroying cultures and local self-determination in the process.
- **Globalization as Deterritorialization:** Process of the reconfiguration of geography, so that social space is no longer wholly mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders.

Globalization is defined as the elimination of barriers to trade, communication, and cultural exchange. The world today has become very different from what it was

previously, because of globalization. With advances in technology and communications, the becomes deterritorialized, the constraints of geography shrink and the world becomes more singular and unified. Globalization is a cover term for a number of the significant social transformations people have experienced : new information and communication technologies, reduced transportation costs, and as a consequence of both the compression of space and time, resulting in an intensification of cross-border economic processes, the weakening of the sovereignty of the national state, and a restructuring of spatial and social conditions (Haberland, 2009). Covering a wide range of distinct political, economic, and cultural trends, the term globalization has quickly become one of the most fashionable buzzwords of contemporary political and academic debate. In popular discourse, globalization after functions as little more than a synonym for one or more of the following phenomena :

- **Economic Liberalization:** The pursuit of classical liberal or free market policies in the world economy.
- **Westernization:** The growing dominance of western forms of political, economic, and cultural life.
- **Internet Revolution:** The proliferation of new information technologies.
- **Global Integration:** The notion that humanity stands at the threshold of realizing one single unified community in which major sources of social conflict have vanished.

According to Andrew Heywood, ‘globalization is the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us...it highlights the deepening as well as the broadening of the political process, in the sense that local, national and global events (or perhaps local, regional, national, international and global events) constantly interact.’ Actually, globalization makes a new wave of capitalism wherein capital flows in the role of market for generating financial assets. The global institutions govern the mechanics of trade and commerce. The economic relations between the states in the age of contemporary globalization is being carried on within the purview of following three institutions—(i) World Bank, (ii) International Monetary Fund and (iii) World Trade Organization. The concept of globalization has made a close relation between the people of the almost all countries of the world.

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## 1.4 Different aspects to the emergence of globalization

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According to some writers, the process of globalization appeared by the end of the 20th century. But others like Deepak Nayyar feel that globalization is nothing new. The process of globalization took place by the last quarter of the 19th century as well and ended with the outbreak of the First World War. Nayyar opines that, there are three dimensions of the process of globalization—international trade, international investment and international finance. There has been an enormous expansion of world trade, relative to that of the world product as a result of globalization. With the emergence of Trans National Corporations (TNC) there is now international production of goods and services and not mere exchange of goods and services. There is transnationalization of production. According to Baldev Raj Nayyar, ‘....the TNC has become the driving force behind contemporary globalization and its acceleration.’. Globalization is the end result of a technological revolution, an ideological change and an economic structural change. By the closing of the 20th century there had occurred significant technological developments.

Several factors may be identified as the emergence of present day globalization. These are following:

- **Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)**—is a bundle of free market oriented policies that call for increasing de-participation of government in the economic and social spheres that the developing countries are expected to follow in order to qualify for a restricted amount of loans from international agencies.
- **Collapse of the Soviet-style Socialist System**—is a reason to the emergence of contemporary globalization. The fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) symbolized the new beginning. In 1991 Gorbachov himself was ousted from power by Boris Yeltsin who called for the dismantling to the Soviet system itself and setting not only the fourteen Soviet socialist republics but its East European allies free to go their own way. The state-owned command economy was replaced by the capitalist system in the erstwhile Soviet Union (since then the Russian Federation), its former republics who became independent countries and Eastern Europe.
- **Assertion of Neo-liberalism and Rejection of Welfarism:** The majority of the western countries have been colonial powers at one point of time in history or

other. The decline of the socialist system in Soviet Union and its east European allies gave a further boost to the demand for dismantling the welfare state; after all, this too was an offshoot of theories of socialism. This point of view was also endorsed by the IMF which came to believe that market forces, liberalized trade and trade, and general freedom in economic matters would lead to more efficiency and greater prosperity and better allocation of resources compared to a system full of restrictions and control.

- **Revolution in Information Technology:** This is something that speeded up the process of globalization rapidly. This revolution has created a borderless and seamless world and shorn off restrictions that territory of land might impose. This new technology has become a handy tool for all those engaged in the spread of globalization process that transcends territoriality and territory.

All these have led to better integration and synergy of the world that serves the interests of the forces of globalization, namely, the businesses, the industry, the world knowledge and the service sector.

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## 1.5 Features of Globalization

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Globalization is, therefore, as much a political as an economic phenomenon with certain cultural manifestation and as such as it has certain distinct features.

### 1.5.1 Integration

This denotes economic, political, socio-cultural and ideological weaving together of the entire world into a single entity. This is a necessary for the boundless appropriation of the world's wealth produced by its citizens and all its resources.

### 1.5.2 Commodification

Commodification entails that commercial worth of everything that the earth and human civilization have to offer be measured, priced and accordingly put to use to serve the interests of global business and capital.

### **1.5.3 Competition**

Competition leads to infinite growth and growth is projected to be the key to the survival of capital and in solving problems of poverty, unemployment and underemployment. A self-regulated market and not regulated by the state determines the best objectives for the economy and its growth.

### **1.5.4 Universalization**

The above argument would logically lead to the belief in the benefits of the present global process; that there is something for everybody. Thus, globalization accompanied by liberalization and privatization of the economy seeks to standardize the market and its products. In this way, globalization is a universalizing process leading to the world's economic, political, legal and cultural homogenization.

### **1.5.5 Westernization**

It is one of the important features of globalization. Sometimes globalization is identified as the westernization of the whole world. Globalization is regarded as a particular type of universalization; the one in which the social structures of modernity such as capitalism, industrialization, urbanization and rational thinking are expected to spread the world over. All these would ensure a more speeds absorption of globalization in the non-western world.

### **1.5.6 Labour Flexibility**

The process of globalization is not possible without engaging a sufficient number of workforce in manufacturing, trade or service. Yet unlike in the case of the welfare state, labour in a prvatized, globalized system is not supposed to enjoy an upper hand.

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## **1.6 Conclusion**

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Globalization has been an ongoing process and it has been so since more than the last two and a half decades. The process poses to be all-encompassing, overarching and of massive dimensions. It has left no aspect of human life untouched although the scale and the level of involvement of countries and individuals in it differe.

Certain phenomena and problems that can not be solely attributed to globalization, have today become inextricably an important part of the global discourse such as ecological crisis, terrorism, human security or migration. According to Amartya Sen, globalization is not a new phenomenon, it had its manifestations through travel, migration, trade and cultural interactions throughout ages. In his opinion what we speak about globalization at present ‘basically an extension of what has been going on for thousands of years.’ The whole world could benefit from globalization in the past and it continues to do so now. But at the root of any policy there should be the importance of human security.

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## 1.7 Summing Up

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Globalization has become an extremely crucial phenomenon at the dawn of the 21st century. Globalization is a process of development which has brought about far-reach consequences in the social, political, cultural institutional and ideological spheres throughout the world. It brings about economic, political and social-cultural changes not only within a state but also in the international setting. It creates economic bonds that tie people living in different parts of the world through trade, investment and migration. Globalization is a comprehensive term which refers to the emergence of a global society where economic, political, cultural and environmental activities in one part of the world at once affects people living other parts of the world. Present day globalization arose at a particular juncture of recent history. Its rise was caused as much by coincidence as by design. Several factors can be identified in this context. These factors are—(a) Debt crisis in developing countries, (b) Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), (c) Collapse of the Soviet-style socialist system, (d) Assertion of Neo-liberalism and rejection of welfarism, (e) Revolution of information and communication technology. Globalization is, therefore, as much a political as an economic phenomenon with certain cultural manifestations and as such it has certain distinct features. These are—(a) economic, political, socio-cultural and ideological integration between the countries of the whole world, (b) commodification—which is a logical outcome of the process of integration, (c) competition—which allows each company to develop its productive forces to the maximum, (d) universalization—globalization is an universalizing process leading to

the world's economic, political, legal and cultural homogenization, (e) privatization—the argument is that when private interests are allowed to be expressed freely it takes care of the public interest, (f) westernization—globalization promotes western culture and modernity around the whole world, (g) labour flexibility—the process of globalization is not possible without engaging a sufficient number of workforce in manufacturing, trade or services. Globalization has led to serious changes in the behaviour of nation-states as actors in the international stage. The form and functions of the nation-states gradually change. Globalization determines the end of the nation-state. Under its impact, no state can claim to be a self-sufficing entity. Globalization reduces the economic, political and cultural importance of nation-states. Though, globalization does not imply end of territoriality.

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## 1.8 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Explain the meaning and concept of globalisation.
2. Discuss the major emerging factors of globalisation.
3. Analyse the major features of globalisation.

### Short Questions:

1. Define the concept of globalisation.
2. Briefly discuss the impact of globalisation of Nation-State.
3. How new liberal ideology promote the process of globalisation.

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Globalisation is a \_\_\_\_\_ process
  - (A) one dimensional
  - (B) two dimensional
  - (C) three dimensional
  - (D) multi-dimensional.

**Ans.:** (D) multi-dimensional

2. Full form of LPG is
  - (A) liberalization privatization and globalisation

- (B) low power gas
- (C) long public group
- (D) none of the above

**Ans.:** (A) liberalisation privatisation and globalisation.

3. Full form of SAP is

- (A) Structural Adjustment Programme
- (B) State agriculture policy
- (C) State arms policy
- (D) None of the above

**Ans.:** (A) Structural Adjustment Programme

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## 1.9 Further Reading

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## **Unit 2 □ Alternative Perspectives of Globalization**

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### *Structure*

- 2.1 Objective**
- 2.2 Introduction**
- 2.3 Alternative Perspectives on Globalization**
  - 2.3.1 Hyperglobalists**
  - 2.3.2 Sceptics**
  - 2.3.3 Transformationalists**
- 2.4 Marxist and Neo-Marxist Perspective**
- 2.5 Economic Perspective**
- 2.6 Conclusion**
- 2.7 Summing Up**
- 2.8 Glossary**
- 2.9 Probable Questions**
- 2.10 Further Reading**

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### **2.1 Objective**

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This unit will help the learners to:

- Understand the alternative perspectives on globalization
- Know Marxist and Neo-Marxist perspectives on globalization
- Explain economic perspective on globalization

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### **2.2 Introduction**

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Globalization can be defined as ‘a process that is created and disseminated by large-scale forces such as the nation-state and the MNCs, especially those associated

with the North (advanced nations), and imposed on the South (developing countries), especially their nation states and businesses.’ When looked at in this way, globalization is to a large degree imposed on individual actors in both the North and the South. There is no single definition of globalization and at the same time there is a big debate about its characteristics, classification, its impacts and causes. It is possible to differentiate the following schools of thoughts:—

the Hyperglobalists, the Sceptics and the Transformationalists. The goal of each of the following schools is to characterise distinctive features of globalization from different points of view.

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## **2.3 Alternative Perspectives on Globalization**

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The globalization debate has also thrown alternative perspective to look at the process. These are primarily three—Hyperglobalists, Sceptics and Transformers. There are other perspectives also such as Marxist and Neo-Marxist.

### **2.3.1 Hyperglobalist**

Regarding the concept of globalization itself, Hyperglobalists, maintain that the world has extensively integrated into a single unit and this has been supported by ‘intensive rapid flows, movements across region and continents.’ They are given to believe that the Westphalian state system has become irrelevant given the ascendance of non-state actors such the TNC-MNCs, NGOs and de-territorialization and the internet. Sceptics, on the other hand, believe that there is ‘internationalization and regionalization’ and that nation-states do retain power, sovereignty and autonomy as against the globalist argument that power of the state has eroded and there is a rise of multilateralism. As far as culture is concern, Hyperglobalist assert that, a universal global popular culture is identifiable that also shows signs of ‘hybridization’, whiel Sceptics emphasize the existance of nationalism and national identity. To put it more simply, Hyperglobalists believe that there is such a thing as globalization and that it encompasses virtually the entire globe. In fact, they would believe what Ritzer says, ‘globalization is inexorable’ that is, there is no stopping it once the process is on.

### **2.3.2 Sceptics**

The Sceptics such as P. Hirst and G. Thompson suggest that ‘globazation is largely a myth.’ They believe that, the extent of existing globalization is exaggerated and that the increase of global trade has happened only in major developed economics—in Europe, Asia-Pacific and North-America. ‘The international economy is one in which processes that are determined at the level of national economics still dominate and international phenomena are outcomes that emerge from the distinct and differential performance of the national economics. The International economy is an aggregate of nationally located functions’ Sceptics, however, feel that global domination of the market and worldwide economic activities that integrate the world is at the most a myth. That the nation-state has continued to reassert itself is exemplified by the 2008 financial crisis in the USA. And of course, it is the national states that negotiate and sign all international or biliteral agreements and accords such as those on the recent environmental issues. Thus, while the Hyperglobalists emphasize on multilateralism and multilayered global governance that involves apart from governments or nation states, the inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations; Sceptics highlight inter-governmentalism and believe in international order of nation-states and international governance.

### **2.3.3 Transformationalist**

According to David Held, in reality transformationalists believe that ‘changes to the international economy are taking place but the globalization process is not inevitable. Governments still have the capacity to have an impact on global trading patterns and states work together to exercise control over global economic institutions and multi-national corporations. States can and do co-operate to establish mutually beneficial rules. The strength of regional economic groupings shows how state can benefit from economic activities without submitting to unfettered global pressures’. According to Andrew Heywood, Transformationalists believe that ‘much has changed, but not everything’ and that this has become the ‘most widely accepted view of globalization, as it resists both the temptation to over-hype the process and to debunk it.’

Heywood maintains that major transformations have been taken place in the world in the following manner:

- Globalization has indeed developed into a single worldwide system and the interconnectedness established through it spreads across national borders in economic, political and cultural activities.
- Interconnectedness has become intense due to the magnitude and volume of transworld activities ‘ranging from migration surges and the growth of international trade to greater accessibility of Hollywood movies or US television programmes.’
- Due to huge flows through the digital and electronic media, money transfers and information dissemination and speeded up with instant response to any event or activity.

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## **2.4 Marxist and Neo-Marxist Perspectives**

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A glimpse of the international can be discerned from the call ‘Workers of the world unite....’ by Karl Marx. The entire theory of Marxism comprised of an analysis and a critique of the bourgeois or capitalist society as pertained in Western Europe and United States; The world for Marx was exactly these geographical areas as most of the other parts of the world were under their colonial occupation. Yet, Karl Marx never set about to write any theoretical work on world politics. It was Lenin in his pamphlet ‘Imperialism—the highest stage of capitalism’ talked about the operation of international capitalism based on the worldwide spread of finance capital.

More scholarly and academically sound work on interpreting the nature of world politics came from the Neo-Marxists in the period 1950s to 1980s. It was argued that capitalism has entered the ‘monopoly’ stage that was concretized in the post Second World War era with American and Western European big business expanding into newer parts of the world.

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## **2.5 Economic Perspective**

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An important economic aspect of globalization is that, the capacity of the national governments to manage and regulate their economics has been reduced and they are increasingly coming to have negligible impact on restructuring of their economics along the free market lines. The success of the globalization process lies

in its ability to absorb a maximum number of economies under its fold. By the late 1980s, globalization was already underway. A major part of the developing countries had already come under its way due to reasons discussed earlier and almost all advanced countries had become its advocates and practitioners.

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## **2.6 Conclusion**

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As a live and dynamic phenomenon aiming to transform the world from every angle—economic, cultural, technological and social the process of globalization has invited supporters in the form of Hyperglobalists and critiques known as Sceptics. A moderate view on globalization is held by the transformationalists. The Neo-Marxist have taken a critical perspective on the new developments and have maintained that the exploitative nature of capitalism has not changed under globalization as it exists in the form of dependency, world system or empire.

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## **2.7 Summing Up**

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There is no single definition of globalization and at the same time there is a big debate about its characteristics, classification, its impacts and causes. It is possible to differentiate the following three schools of thought—the Hyperglobalists, the Sceptics and the Transformationalist. The goal of each of the following schools is to characterise distinctive features of globalization from different points of view. The Hyperglobalists, such as K. Ohmae and R. Reich believe that global economy has an important impact on humanity and politics; they argue that the market is borderless and economy is single, global and integrated. The Sceptics, such as P. Hirst and G. Thompson suggest that ‘globalization is largely a myth.’ The international economy is an aggregate of nationally located functions. The third group is defined by Held and Mc Grew as transformationalists, which includes such as Rosenau or Giddens. They assume that, globalization plays an essential role in fast economic, political and social changes that are restructuring world order and modern societies nowadays. Marxists consider capitalism as a worldwide monopolization of production, trade and capital under the control of influential capitalist class of the developed country.

Neo-Marxist was argued that capitalism has entered the 'monopoly' stage that was concretized in the post Second World War era with American and Western European big business expanding into newer parts of the world.

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## 2.8 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss the different alternative perspectives of globalisation.
2. Comparative note between the different perspectives of globalisation.
3. Write a note on Marxist and Neo-Marxist perspective of globalisation.

### Short Questions:

1. Briefly point out the economic dimension of globalisation.
2. How Hyper Globalists explain the concept of globalisation.
3. How transformationalists view the globalisation.

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. A moderate view on globalisation is held by
  - (A) Marxist,
  - (B) Transformationalist,
  - (C) Hyperglobalist,
  - (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (B) Transformationalist.

2. Full form of ICT is
  - (A) information and communication technology,
  - (B) international communication technology,
  - (C) integrated child teaching,
  - (D) none of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) information and communication technology.

3. What is the full form of MNC?
  - (A) Multinational corporation,

- (B) Multi news corporation,
- (C) Multi notional corporation
- (D) None of the above

**Ans.:** (A) Multinational corporation,

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## 2.9 Further Reading

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## **Unit 3 □ Global Economy: It's significance and Anchors of Global Political Economy: IMF**

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### *Structure*

- 3.1 Objective**
- 3.2 Introduction**
- 3.3 Significance of Global Economy**
- 3.4 Anchors of Global Political Economy**
- 3.5 IMF: Structures of IMF**
- 3.6 IMF: Objectives of IMF**
- 3.7 Conclusion: Role of IMF**
- 3.8 Summing Up**
- 3.9 Probable Questions**
- 3.10 Further Reading**

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### **3.1 Objective**

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This unit will help the learners to:

- Understand the global economy and its significance
- Understand about the anchors of Global Economy
- Know about the structure, objectives and functions of the IMF

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### **3.2 Introduction**

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Ever since the process of Globalization gained momentum around two decades ago scholars have debated as to whether it is mainly economic in nature or is it political. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, discredit of the Maxian socialist ideology, reassertion of capitalism together with communist-ruled China and later Vietnam embracing the market economy and the idealization of the neo-liberal ideology that called for shrinking of the state and its activities led to the belief that



rather than politics, it is economics and economic activities that hold key to prosperity of the posterity. It is the free market, worldwide business, commerce and privatised world, that have come to occupy centre stage in the life of global citizens. Therefore, it is the global economy that has assumed more significance in the present times.

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### 3.3 Significance of Global Economy

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Since the economy has become the hub of all important activities, it has gradually taken precedence over the political arena in a society. The State as a political entity possessing sovereignty is constrained by its own boundaries and relationship with other states. It is a state in nature and has a fixed territorial existence that can not be transported or replicated elsewhere. But the process of globalization is seamless in its character. Capital that drives the markets can be shifted from one place to another and any where around the globe. It is dynamic. this very fact puts limitations on the role of politics in contemporary societies. Therefore, the votaries of globalization believe that markets can deliver better due to the spirit of competition and the motive of profit. How the economy is to be managed should be left to its pundits—the CEOs, CMDs, investors, planners and consultants. Global economy holds endless possibilities for its citizens whereas the state is limited in its scope.

**Futility of Politics:** For a long time, economics remained subordinate to politics, especially after 1930s economic crisis when the prevalent classical liberal principles in politics and a free unregulated market economic system untouched by the interference of the state came in for a lot of criticism as being too constrained in its capacity to be able to be inclusive in nature. Capitalist development in Europe and in the United States was unable to bridge the increasing gap between the richer sections of society and those who were left at its margins. In order to maintain social harmony and equality and to thwart a radical takeover of society, British economist like John Maynard Keynes drew up details of an entirely new economic system that not only ensured socio-economic welfare and justice for the downtrodden but also paved the way for increased state involvement in the economic affairs of a country. What ensued from this was the ‘welfare state’, an elaborate public sector and a

greater role for politics and bureaucracy. Therefore, the state and its machinery were also called upon to regulate the market to guarantee equity in society. Thus, wherever there is state, politics cannot but assume primacy (Dattagupta, 2020, p. 46-47). This arrangement continued till the appearance of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the British political scene in mid-1970s. She stood for reassertion and resurrection of free, deregulated and maximum privatized economy with very little participation of the state. In fact, she set the ball rolling among all those politicians, economists and theorists everywhere who were critical of welfarism and the welfare state as a drain on the economy of a country and considered trade unions and workers' union as parasites. In the U.S.A., President Ronald Reagan too was speaking in similar tones in the 1980s when he demanded cuts in social welfare and reduction of taxes on the rich. Such view-points were a precursor to what appeared later as neo-liberalism that believed that necessities of life and aspirations for maintaining a decent standard of living can be fulfilled through individuals' efforts, industry and competition in the market rather than depending on funds and subsidies doled out by the state (Duttagupta, 2020). The role of the state will be mainly confined within the affairs of politics, state is no longer will not be able to control the economic affairs. The economic affairs of the state will be managed by the international market system.

**Development of Information and Communication Technology (ICT):** On the other hand, community feeling that still prevailed in western societies and societies of other advanced countries has been replaced by extreme individualism, self-indulgent consumerism and an achievement orientation arising out of compulsions of market competition. Today new kind of communities and loyalties that transcend ones' real social existence have appeared. The vast cyber world runs parallel to any state in the world. More than the political processes and institutions, the social media and the virtual world run by transnational organization have been able to capture the attention and interest of a whole new generation. Citizens of the world can connect to one another instantly through electronic mail or text messages on the mobile phones or through popular sites as Facebook or LinkedIn that exist over and above the state-run postal department and political borders of the state (Duttagupta, 2020, p. 47). The unprecedented development of information and communication technology (ICT) make the world as a global village, where people from one part of the world can communicate with people of another part of the world at a glance.

**Limited role of the State:** The state as a political entity possessing sovereignty is constrained by its own boundaries and relationship with other states. It is static in nature and has a fixed territorial existence that cannot be transported or replicated everywhere. But the process of globalization is seamless in its character. Capital that drives the markets can be shifted from one place to another and anywhere around the globe. It is dynamic. This very fact puts limitations on the role of politics in contemporary societies. Moreover, politics is viewed as partisan in nature, fraught with issues of ideology and disputes arising from it. Political outcomes are also seen as unpredictable. Although definite projections can be made about the future behaviour of markets. It is argued that developmental goals and targets set by governments often become difficult to achieve due to controversies. Therefore, the votaries of globalization believe that markets can deliver better due to the spirit of competition and the motive of profit. How the economy is to be managed should be left to its pundits—the CEOs, CMDs, investors, planners and consultants. Global economy holds endless possibilities for its citizens whereas the state is limited in its scope (Dutttagupta, 2020, p. 48). State has no control over the economy. State economy as well as the global economy is now control by the global market.

**Globalized culture:** If everything in the globalization process is viewed from the perspective of its marketability and as a commodity, so is culture. Culture and contemporary global culture symbols have become subtle tools in which the global economy embeds itself in society and influences the life of the people and the choices they make. Today there are more takers of cultural consumerism than before. We find that there are more entertainment channels on the television and on FM radio than exclusive political news channels. Although as long as states exist as sovereign nation-states and as long as the highest decisions affecting peoples' lives are made in the political arena, the importance of politics cannot be overlooked. Yet, it is the technology-driven, demand-oriented globalized culture whether in the field of clothing, changes in eating habits or lifestyle preferences that have come to preoccupy the minds of the young and the old in our society. Global economic forces perpetuate their interest through the culture of consumerism (Dutttagupta, 2020, 48). So culture also an important determining factor of global economy today.

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### 3.4 Anchors of Global Political Economy

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In July 1944, as the eventual end of the Second World War (1939-45) became imminent, representatives of forty-four nations met at the International Monetary and Financial Conference of Bretton Woods, a resort village in New Hampshire in the east coast of US. The Participants were mainly the capitalist countries as the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union decided to stay out of it. The highlight of the conference was the creation of three governing institutions to oversee, coordinate and supervise the world economy each having a distinct role to play. The international institutions created at the Bretton Woods conference were mainly the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Popularly known as the World Bank), and the third body in the Bretton Woods agreement—General Agreement for Trade and Tariffs (GATT) which functioned in the form of a continuous dialogue process between the advanced, and developing countries for five decades, focused mainly on trade-related issues and pricing of commodities—raw materials and manufactured goods. This process ended with the formation of the World Trade Organization in 1995. The Bretton Woods institutions have been guided by the philosophy of ‘embedded liberalism’—the maintenance of essential principles of liberalism and market economy interspersed with a high dose of welfare.

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### 3.5 Structure of IMF

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International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established on December 27, 1945 to promote international monetary cooperation. It is a specialized agency of the United Nations. Its purpose is to help the member states in balance of payment crises and ensure international monetary stability.

- **Structure**

The highest decision-making body of the IMF is the Board of Governors. At its head is the office of the Managing Director. By an agreement between the Americans and Europeans, the Managing Director (MD) of the IMF is always to be a European. MD remains in office for a term of five years. Below the MD, there is the Executive Board or the Board of Executive Directors who are elected

for a period of two years. It composed of twenty four directors appointed or elected by the member countries. The MD is the topmost official of the IMF and he/she appoints the staff and is the chair of the Executive Board. In the Board of Governors, every IMF member country appoints one governor to the board. The person could be either the finance minister of the member country or the head of its central bank.

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### **3.6 Objectives of IMF**

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According to ‘Articles of Agreement’ of the IMF, its main objectives are as follows:

- To promote international monetary cooperation.
- To ensure balanced in international trade.
- To ensure exchange rate stability.
- To eliminate or to minimize exchange restrictions by promoting the system of multi-lateral payments.
- To grant economic assistance to member countries for eliminating the adverse imbalance in balance of payments.
- To minimize imbalance in quantum and duration of international trade.

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### **3.7 Conclusion: Role of IMF**

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As mentioned earlier, an important purpose of creating the IMF was to stabilize exchange rates among currencies of the world and to provide the member countries with short-term loans for getting over problems arising out of balance of payments. The most famous task for which the IMF come to be known is its role as a ‘lender of last resort’. The IMF would provide loans to countries that required them due to short-term cash flow problems or balance of payment deficits. The IMF finances its activities by lending from the countries. The borrowing countries are obliged to follow Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which includes cutting down subsidies, encouraging private investments and devaluation of currencies, IMF also provides assistance under Compensatory Contingency Fund Facility (CCFF) in view of

contingent situations. Special Drawing Rights (SDR) are designed to help a number country to meet the problem of Balance of Payment.

A key lesson from financial crisis of the past few years is that crisis prevention must stand at the center of the IMF's mandate. The main starting point for this task is the IMF's bilateral and multilateral surveillance work, that is the regular examination and assessment of economic developments and policies at the national and international level.

The most famous task for which the IMF came to be known is its role as a "lender of last resort". The IMF would provide loans to countries that required them due to short-term cash flow problems or balance of payment deficits. Initially, this was meant for the war-devastated British and European economies after the Second World War. But as these countries prospered within a few years after the war, the focus shifted to the newly independent colonies of the European powers that needed money to carry out development activities. But it was not easy for them to draw loans from the IMF; they were given only a limited access to the amounts asked for, determined by a system of quota, based on country's relative position in the world economy and the amount of money and gold it contributed to the IMF's fund for being a member. The quota is assigned to a particular country on the basis of a calculation termed Special Drawing Rights (SDR). This meant that the more powerful a country's economic positioning and the more its contribution, the more quotas it will have and thereby, more political clout and votes in the IMF's deliberations. This has made the US and the European nations occupy pre-eminent positions in the IMF's hierarchy. Less powerful and developing countries in order to avail the loans are required to fulfill certain strict terms and conditions. If the country is already a debtor nation, it will be even more difficult for it to get IMF loans (Duttgupta, 2020, pp. 55-56). Actually IMF is controlled by the capitalist developed country and through the IMF these developed countries want to control the world economic system and the loan receiver countries.

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### **3.8 Summing up**

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The IMF had helped sustain the economic growth and post Second World War development of the industrialized nations especially of Western Europe during 1950s

and 1960s. In 1970s, a change came to its important function in that fixed exchange rate gave way to floating exchange rate. To monitor financial markets and find means of stabilizing them in the era of globalization marked by untamed capital flows, the IMF has set up a Capital Markets Department. This way, it reviews and recommends about economic conditions and stability of the members states. IMF is criticized for still continuing to be under the influence of domination of a handful of developed nations so much so that the emerging BRICS nations has planned to set up an alternative financial institution at world level to address the problems of a multi-polar world. The IMF also came in for reprimand as it was accused of not preventing the 2007-09 global economic crises by cautioning about the instabilities and imbalances that led to it. Demands have been made for its reforms especially in strengthening the global financial system.

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### 3.9 Probable Questions

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#### Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss the significance of global economy.
2. Discuss the structure and role of IMF.
3. Discuss about the anchors of global political economy.

#### Short Questions:

1. Write a short note on the Structure of IMF.
2. Discuss the objectives of IMF.
3. Discuss the major functions of IMF.

#### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the full form of IMF
  - (A) International monetary fund,
  - (B) International mutual fund,
  - (C) Indian monetary fund
  - (D) Of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) International monetary fund,

2. In which year IMF was establish:
  - (A) 1945

- (B) 1947
- (C) 1950
- (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) 1945

2. What is the full form of GATT

- (A) General Agreement for Traiff and Trade
- (B) General Agreement for Traiff and Transport
- (C) General Agreement on Trade and Tourism
- (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) General Agreement nfor Traiff and Trade

3. Objectives of IMF—

- (A) To ensure balanced international trade.
- (B) To ensure exchange rate stability.
- (C) To promote international monetary corporation.
- (D) All of the above.

**Ans.:** (D) All of the above.

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### 3.10 Further Reading

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## **Unit 4 □ Global Economy: Anchors of Global Political Economy: World Bank**

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### *Structure*

- 4.1 Objective**
- 4.2 Introduction**
- 4.3 Emergence of the World Bank**
- 4.4 Structure of the World Bank**
- 4.5 Objectives of the World Bank**
- 4.6 Functions of the World Bank**
- 4.7 Conclusion**
- 4.8 Summing Up**
- 4.9 Probable Questions**
- 4.10 Further Reading**

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### **4.1 Objective**

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This unit will help the learners to:

- Understand the emergence of World Bank as an anchor of Global Political Economy
- Know the Structure and objectives of World Bank
- Realise the role of World Bank in Worldwide monetary control

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### **4.2 Introduction**

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The World Bank in its initial stages, it was entrusted with the task of financing the reconstruction of post-Second World War Europe. But after the European economics recovered in the mid-1950s due to the American economic help and funds under the Marshall Plan (1948), it begun focusing upon the newly independent and less developed nations, promoting socio-economic development and foreign investment. As these countries sought to develop and industrialize, the World Bank

began to provide loans, sometimes at much below rates than the commercial banks did to fund infrastructural projects, agriculture, health and education. But problems arose when many developing countries found loan repayment difficulty. The World Bank loans to have not been without conditionalities on the ways in which the loans have to be utilized.

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### **4.3 Emergence of the World Bank**

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World Bank also called International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) was created in 1945 and started functioning in June, 1946. It functions through two agencies. Firstly, there is International Development Association (IDA), established in 1960 and Secondly, there is International Finance Corporation (IFC), established in 1956. It provides long term financial assistance to member countries in their task of reconstruction and development.

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### **4.4 Structure of the World Bank**

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Like the IMF, the World Bank (WB) is also located in Washington DC and in the same building as the former. But it is actually a bank group consisting of five institutions of which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) is the most prominent. Apart from this there are—International Development Association (IDA), International Finance Corporation (IFC), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). the World Bank which has more than 186 members is headed by a President. He or she is elected for a five-year renewable term. The World Bank has a Board of Governors as the main policy-making body.

Here is also a voting system, based on weightage. Each member has a capital subscription known as quota based on its economic strength and this determines its financial contribution to the bank and the number of votes it has in the policy-making bodies. It should be noted that the member states contribute only ten percent of their subscription to the IBRD and the rest ninety percent is kept reserved to meet any shortfall in its financial obligations and on such, the IBRD receives most of its funds for development loans from borrowing on capital markets and not often members' contributions. Each country elects a Governor to the Board of Governors

but the number of votes they have depends upon how much weightage a country has been given. Obviously, the five big (G-5) nations—the USA, Japan, Germany, Britain and France together have around forty percent votes. Below the Board of "Governors, there is a twenty-four member Board of Directors of Executive Board which again follows a weighted voting system. The Executive Board is elected for a two-year term and is responsible for the Bank's general and day to day policies and approves of the loan demands by the member countries.

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#### **4.5 Objectives of the World Bank**

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According to the Clause-I of the Agreement made at the time of establishment of World Bank, it was assigned the following objectives:

- To provide long-run capital to member countries for economic reconstruction and development.
- To induce long-run capital investment for assuring balanced development of international trade.
- To promote capital investment in member countries.
- To promote guarantee for loans granted to small and large units and other project of member countries.
- To ensure the implementation of development projects so as to bring about a smooth transference from a war-time to peace economy.

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#### **4.6 Functions of the World Bank**

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The World Bank was conceived as the 'development pillar' under the Bretton Woods system. The World Bank, functioning under the auspices of the United Nations. The World Bank however, remained a chief policy formulator regarding the path of development of the developing countries should take. In such capacity, it has an essential redistributive function. The World Bank provides low-interest loans to governments in support of large investment projects like infrastructure development, education or shelter as well as poverty alleviation, especially in developing countries. The World Bank also comes up with the annual World Development Report regarding major data and information on the state of development in various countries of the world and ranking them accordingly.

## **4.7 Conclusion**

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World Bank is still a global force and remains a forum for a vast number of nations to discuss development and development financing. It still is a significant source of funds for developing countries and an important source of information on development and provides valuable support and advice to the member nations. Cohn feels that the World Bank has been a dependable source of financial aid, as a non-profit lender, as research and idea-generating unit and as a provider of advice to the Third World. Hence in relevance cannot be ruled out.

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## **4.8 Summing Up**

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World Bank is a chief votary of privatization and liberalization of the economics and globalization. Critics point out that from its earlier development funding orientation, the World Bank has moved towards a narrowly focused concern with IMF style structural adjustment that stresses upon privatization, deregulation and export-led growth. The World Bank has been accused of following the policy diktats of developed nations and aggressively supporting the neo-liberal agenda since the process of liberalization-globalization started. The loans that World Bank provides do come with strings attached which means that any member seeking them have to conform to certain conditionalities.

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## **4.9 Probable Questions**

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### **Essay Type Questions:**

1. Discuss the structure and functions of World Bank.
2. Explain the role of World Bank in the development of developing countries.
3. Discuss the process and perspective of emergence of World Bank.

### **Short Questions:**

1. Briefly discuss the objectives of World Bank.
2. Mention major limitations of World Bank.
3. Mention some development role of World Bank.

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. In which year bank established

- (A) 1945
- (B) 1950
- (C) 1990
- (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) 1945

2. World Bank is also called

- (A) International Bank for reconstruction and development.
- (B) International Bank for restructuring and development.
- (C) Indian Bank for reconstruction and development.
- (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) International Bank for reconstruction and development.

3. What is the full form of IDA

- (A) International development association.
- (B) Indian development association
- (C) Indian dental association.
- (D) One of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) International development association.

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**4.10 Further Reading**

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## **Unit 5 □ Global Economy: Anchors of Global Political Economy WTO & Transnational Corporation**

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### *Structure*

- 5.1 Objective**
- 5.2 Introduction**
- 5.3 Emergence and Structure of WTO (World Trade Organization)**
- 5.4 Objectives of WTO**
- 5.5 Various Dimensions of WTO Programmes**
- 5.6 Functions of WTO**
- 5.7 Transnational Corporations (TNCs)**
- 5.8 Features of the Transnational Corporations (TNCs)**
- 5.9 Different types of Transnational Corporations (TNCs)**
- 5.10 Conclusion**
- 5.11 Summing Up**
- 5.12 Probable Questions**
- 5.13 Further Reading**

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### **5.1 Objective**

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This unit will help the learners to:

- Understand the emergence and structure of WTO
- Knew objectives, functions and various dimentions of WTO
- Understand the emergence of Transnational Corporations and their role

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### **5.2 Introduction**

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The WTO is a multilateral trade organization which was formed in 1995 in Marrakesh (Morocco), when a meeting in this regard was participated by seventy

countries of the world (India is a founding member). With 157 full members and 28 observers, it is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations.

On the other hand TNCs are a phenomenon of the late 20th century, in the 1980s when global capital is said to have reached its transnational stage.

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### **5.3 Emergence and Structure of WTO**

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WTO was created in 1995 at the Uruguay round of GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Trade—which was created in 1947—as the most important institution for international trade) negotiations. It implement 28 treaties related with the international trade. It is the ‘watchdog’ of world trade. It has 158 (till February, 2013) members. Any country, big or small, rich or poor can become a member. A country that wants to engage in full-scal international trade and commerce is expected to become a member. Its headquarters is at Geneva. There are two committess—‘Dispute Settlement Body’ and ‘Trade Policy Review Body’, that play significant role in the organization.

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### **5.4 Objectives of WTO**

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- To improve standard of living of people in members countries.
- To ensure production and Trade of goods.
- To ensure full employment and broad increase in effective demand.
- To enlarge production and trade of services.
- To ensure optimum utilisation of world resources.
- To accept the concept of sustainable development.
- To protect environment.

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### **5.5 Various Dimensions of WTO Programmes**

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- Trade Related Intellectual Property Right (TRIPRs): To enforce patent laws commensurate with WTO.

- Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS): To remove quantitative restrictions and ensure equal treatment of foreign investors.
- General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).
- Multi Fibre Agreement (MFA): To phase out or dismantle restrictions or quotas.
- General Agreement on reduction of Average level of import duties.
- Agreement on Agriculture.

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## 5.6 Functions of WTO

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- To provide facilities for implementation, administration and operation of multilateral and bilateral agreements of the world trade.
- To provide a platform to member countries to decide future strategies related to trade and tariff.
- To administer the rules and processes related to dispute settlement.
- To implement rules and provisions related to trade policy review mechanism.
- To assist IMF and IBRD.
- To ensure the optimum use of world resources.

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## 5.7 Transnational Corporations

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A Transnational Corporation (TNCs) is a company that owns or controls production facilities—manufacturing or services in more than one or two countries through direct or indirect foreign investment. Today, TNCs are the most important drivers of global industry and important agents of global economic change. The TNCs retain ownership and managerial control over their subsidiaries as well as sales activities throughout the world. TNCs possess enormous economic power and sufficient financial independence. TNCs are ‘geo-centric’ in that they are world-oriented. The process of globalization and existence of TNCs and the operation of finance capital are today inseparable.



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## 5.8 Feature of the Transnational Corporations (TNCs)

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(i) Transnational Corporations (TNCs) possess enormous economic power and sufficient financial independence.

(ii) TNCs depict a degree of separation of ownership and control in so far as ownership is vested in a large number of stock and shareholders. Top level board of directors exercise control over the organization with the help of a hierarchy of management executives.

(iii) TNCs enter the foreign markets through direct investment in the national economics.

(iv) TNCs are not apolitical, they carry tremendous political clout through which they can influence the decision-making process in the host countries in their own favour. They uphold the ideology of neo-liberalism.

(v) In present times, the TNCs operate more widely and intensely in the developing countries which are perennially in need of finance and technology. The TNCs on their part require markets for their products.

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## 5.9 Different types of Transnational Corporations (TNCs)

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TNCs are geo-centric in that they are world-oriented. Basically TNCs are three types. These are:

(i) **Vertical Integration:** This type of TNCs may be registered or headquartered in one country, but their production units are spread over various other countries producing different components required for turning out the finished product.

(ii) **Horizontal Integration:** In this case, the TNCs have the same type of production units or subsidiaries in many countries manufacturing and selling almost the same or similar types of goods and services.

(iii) **Conglomerate:** This may be a company based in any advanced nation but the area of its operation may be another country or a region. Such a company may manufacture a wide range of goods locally or engage in large scale distribution of imported products and provide varied services.

## **5.10 Conclusion**

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Free trade advocated by the WTO leading to privatization and liberalization policies may benefit industrialist, indigenous capitalist and business community, rich farmers and even the middle-class in the developing countries, but large sections of society which are not able to be part of this will have to cope with poverty, hunger and destitution.

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## **5.11 Summing Up**

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The WTO, however, proving to be slightly less effective in recent years in promoting its ideals as there appear to be many differences between the developed and the developing world. At the end of the GATT negotiations, the developing countries did not have many options, but to join the WTO. The WTO has playing some positive role in international level to the settlement of disputes. Moreover, decisions in the WTO are generally arrived at through consensus thereby establishing its commitment to democratic functioning. On the other hand TNCs are possess enormous economic power and sufficient financial independence.

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## **5.12 Probable Questions**

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### **Essay Type Questions:**

1. Discuss the structure and functions of the WTO.
2. Explain the role of WTO in World Market Economy.
3. Write a note on the role and significance of TNCs.

### **Short Questions:**

1. Deeply discuss the objective of the W.T.O.
2. Mention some major functions of the W.T.O.
3. Mention various dimensions of the W.T.O. programmes.

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. What is the full form of the W.T.O.
  - (A) World Trade Organization
  - (B) World Tourism Organisation
  - (C) Western Trade Organisation
  - (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) World Trade Organization.

2. In which year W.T.O. created
  - (A) 1995
  - (B) 2000
  - (C) 2005
  - (D) None of the above

**Ans.:** (A) 1995.

3. What is the full form of TNC
  - (A) Trans-National Corporation
  - (B) Territorial National Corporation
  - (C) Two Nations Corporation
  - (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) Trans-National Corporation

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**5.13 Further Reading**

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## **Block-II:**

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### **Unit 6 □ Political Dimension of Globalization**

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#### *Structure*

- 6.1 Objective**
- 6.2 Introduction**
- 6.3 Decline in state autonomy**
- 6.4 Consequences of Privatization**
- 6.5 Impact of Globalization on Democracy**
- 6.6 A jolt for Social Welfare State**
- 6.7 Change in Authoritarian Regime**
- 6.8 Globalization and New Political Actors**
- 6.9 Globalization and New Political Culture**
- 6.10 Globalization and Human Rights**
- 6.11 Conclusion**
- 6.12 Summing Up**
- 6.13 Probable Questions**
- 6.14 Further Reading**

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#### **6.1 Objective**

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This unit attempts to deal with the nature and understanding of globalization and its impact on the political arena. After studying this unit, learners would be able to :

- Explain the meaning of globalization
- Learn the political dimension of globalisation which has effected the role of the state significantly
- Know the impact of globalisation on the functioning of the developing states
- Understand the ethical and moral issues raised by globalisation

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## 6.2 Introduction

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To-day the term globalization has become immense popular. It is derived from the term “global” which means covering the globe. The term globalization indicates something which covers or relates the whole world instead of being confined in a particular country. In other words, globalization refers to the widening and deepening of the international flows of trade, capital, technology and information within a single integrated market. These economic activities have created a profound impact on political institutions nationally and internationally. In the political field, globalization has had many positive and negative consequences such as; increase of power and liberty of nations, groups and nongovernmental parties, expand of new political culture, weaken and washy of the role and hegemony of states in illegitimate controlling of nations, change and redefinition of political theories in national and international scopes, inter new political actors into scopes of regional, national and global decision making.

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## 6.3 Decline in state autonomy

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It is alleged that globalisation undermines the essentials requirements of state autonomy. For this reason, one could argue that political globalization could be a contradiction in terms and it causing the decline of the nation state. In other words, it is argued that political globalization is a salvation of state domination. Governments are loosing their control over their economy, trade and their border. National governments are forced to work in coalitions with each other, with regions, with non-governmental organizations and transnational corporations to provide a form of “governance” over society and economy, which is no longer the prerogative of government. This supports the argument that globalization is reducing the power of democracy and the state resulting in hollow democracy. Sceptics opine that globalization creates opportunity for economic growth and increase in wealth but it has led to socio-economic discrepancy among the people. The role of Multinational corporations and Transnational Corporations have also been growing in national and local politics as they play a major role in shaping the state decisions and policies.

Their key objective behind influencing the state decision and policy-making is to promote their vested interests.

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## **6.4 Consequences of Privatization**

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Globalization stands for keeping the state away from ownership of the means of production and strongly advocates privatization of public enterprises. Some serious questions related to political, economic and ethical issues have arisen regarding rationales of privatizing public enterprises. It is often alleged that public enterprises are sold not on the market value but sometimes at a very cheap rate and the price may be termed as a political price. Generally investors have a link with the political regime and as a result earn benefit from the privatization. It often appears that corruption on an unprecedented manner has accompanied the process of privatization. Privatization has seriously polarised the class structure to a great extent. Buyers of public enterprises have earned huge profit, even some have changed their status from millionaire to billionaire whereas the public employees fired by the new owners are pushed to a new class of urban poor. Workers, once enjoyed the job and social security now face serious erosion of living standards. The increased prices of services, goods, electricity, transport has decreased the living standards for wage and salary workers.

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## **6.5 Impact of Globalization on Democracy**

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Democratization and globalization are the two most important developments of our period. In the last part of the 20th century world witnessed an explosive spread of democracy. From 1975 to 2000 a large number of countries in Southern Europe, East Asia and Eastern Europe and Latin America shifted from authoritarian regime to democratic system of government. Meanwhile, global trade as a share of global GDP (Gross Domestic Product) has more than doubled from 8 to 20 per cent, while the share of countries fully open to international capital flows, as calculated by the International Monetary Fund, has risen from 25 to 38 per cent. It is argued that democracy and globalization are mutually supportive.

Globalization refers to the spread of the flow of financial products, goods, technology, information, and jobs across national borders and cultures. In economic terms, it describes an interdependence of nations around the globe fostered through free trade. It is only the democratic system which creates a suitable environment for functioning of globalization. This globalization always favours democratic set up for smooth functioning of the commercial activities. Then there is positive feedback from economic and financial globalization to political democratization., the exchange of goods and services is a conduit for the exchange of ideas, and a more diverse stock of ideas encourages political competition.

But there are also signs that democracy and globalization are not always so compatible. Globalization is widely regarded as a complex and controversial process. It has changed the world in many ways and brought the countries together. The most controversial change it has made is the political culture of many countries around the world. Due to globalization different governments of the world to a great extent have lost their control over their economy, trade and commercial activities which they have in the past. Global economy has created a discrepancy in the socio-economic field between the people and making nations less democratic and progressively more controlled by the multinationals. This indicates that governments now are running for foreign capital and adopt their policies to please global investors and firms, who are not accountable to the voters. It follows that the level of democracy declines. Even in the international arena globalization has created a wide gap between the developed countries and the developing countries. In the field of international organizations such as the United Nations it is witnessed that the elite wealthy countries always have the final say in crucial issues. Discussion ends up swaying the domestic politics of less developed countries to their favour.

Active participation of citizens is necessary for a stable and successful functioning of democracy. Globalization has transformed the common citizen into an individual who is more willing to pursue his own economic purposes. As a result, citizens are less interested about the public policy matters. This attitude of the people is weakening democracy.

Globalization undermines the national state, not only by shrinking the resources under national control for shaping economic and social outcomes, but also by

reducing government's legitimacy and authority in the eyes of the public. There has been erosion of public confidence in central governments. This further, makes democratic structure feeble.

With the onset of globalization and liberalism role of the civil society has been changed drastically in the different countries. A number of civil society groups and associations concerned with human rights, freedom of speech and press contributed to the movement for democracy in the countries of eastern Europe and Central Europe in the last part of the 20th century. Civil society had played a crucial role in ensuring the fall of authoritarian regimes by generating protest movement against the state.

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## **6.6 A Jolt for Social Welfare State**

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In the first three quarters of the 20th century there was considerable expansion of social security and welfare programmes by the states. In many countries this was the result of prolonged struggles by workers and others. The growing power of trans-border capital has contributed significantly reversal of the trend during the last decades of the 20th century. At a time when the financing of many social security systems was coming under strain in any case, the added pressure from global capital for reduced taxes and labour costs has driven many governments to cut back welfare programmes. In the context of globalisation most governments have curtailed social welfare programmes. Such 'shrinkages' have been a cornerstone of many 'adjustment' packages in the south, 'reform' programmes in the north and 'transition' policies in the former Soviet bloc.

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## **6.7 Change in Authoritarian Regime**

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As economic links among states expand, authoritarian countries experience an increase in pressure from trans-national companies for political liberalization. Globalization encourages authoritarian states to decentralize power as they hand over their control to make progress for the market, which is essentially democratic. In other words, this is an accepted fact that free market economy is so much powerful



that authoritarian regimes are more likely to introduce free market neo liberal reforms and create the political conditions for rapid economic growth. People have access to a lot more information not only from their government but from around the globe. This means democracies can promote their values and ideals to autocratic countries, as autocracies have less and less control over information. Globalization is encouraging democratic institutions and International Non Government Organizations which promote democracy. As a result, democracy had expanded drastically over the past decades.

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## **6.8 Globalization and New Political Actors**

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Appearance of new political actors at the national, regional and international level is another impact of globalisation on political arena. These political actors include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), major transnational companies (TNCs) and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs). They play a regular role in global politics and interact with the governments. These non state actors sometimes attempt to influence the decision making body of a country.

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## **6.9 Globalization and New political Culture**

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Another main and important output and consequences of globalization is its influence on political culture in national, regional and international level. Gabriel Almond defines political culture as set of norms, values, emotions, information and political technique. Almond argues political culture has three basic dimensions; 1) knowledge dimension (the measure of information and knowledge of citizens about political roles and system). 2) Sentimental dimension (emotion of loyalty, dependence and relation to political system). 3) Value dimension (judge about function of political system). Before globalization age the culture and identity of nations have been defined by intervention of state, but in globalization age due to decrease of influence of states, the political culture of people has changed independently. Globalization has created a kind of common political culture among people throughout the world, and has caused similarity in political culture. So, common values like

pace, justice, equality, freedom, democracy, competition and free election as common humanity values, are publishing by globalization. Nowadays, the insight and knowledge of people about political system and political behavior of governors have been changed, and they only and without any fear are evaluating the function of system officers.

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## **6.10 Globalization and Human Rights**

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Globalization has an adverse effect on human rights particularly right to equality and other socio economic rights. It is often argued that global development is considered to be responsible for disenfranchisement, exploitation, and other forms of human rights abuses. The fact is that its benefits are very unevenly shared and its costs unevenly distributed represents an aspect of the process that affects the full enjoyment of all human rights, in particular in developing countries. Inequality has risen during this present globalization period. The negative effects of corporations on human rights in development can be divided into two categories. First, the corporation may directly violate human rights by itself or in conjunction with another actor. This typically involves civil and political rights, such as the right to personal security. The second category concerns indirect effects. This involves the corporation's influence on host governments. Corporations can undermine the state's ability to fulfill human rights law. They use their influence to encourage governments to adopt policies of liberalization, deregulation and privatization that ignore human rights consequences. This second effect concerns mostly economic, social and cultural rights, which are vital in developing states. Some authors of globalization opine that globalization resulted in the violation of the fundamental right to work. In 1995, the International Labour Organization announced that one third of the world's willing to work population was either unemployed or underemployed. Globalization has led labour force to informal sector. For example only 8% of the labour force in India is in the formal economy while 90% work in the informal economy with no legal protection or security and are subject to ruthless exploitation. It is an accepted fact that in the period of globalization, the struggle for human rights has become more complex and challenging.

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## 6.11 Conclusion

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Globalization is a complex and controversial process. It has changed the world in many ways and has brought several countries together. One of the most controversial changes it has done is in the political field. The political dimension of globalisation raises important political issues related to the principle of state sovereignty, the growing impact of intergovernmental organizations, and the future prospects for regional and global governance. One of the key aspects of the political globalization is the declining importance of the nation-state and the rise of other political actors on the political scene. Political globalization can be noticed when we see democratization of authoritarian regimes in many parts of the world. Some writers argue that continuing political globalization may lead to the creation of a world government-like cosmopolitan democracy, though this vision has also been criticized as too idealistic.

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## 6.12 Summing Up

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Globalisation is a process of interaction and integration of people, companies and governments of different nations. It has an effect on the economy, culture, politics and environment of a country. Globalisation has immensely influenced political affairs of a state. Globalization poses a threat to the democratic state instead of aiding its expansion. It is believed that it undermines the essential requirements of state autonomy, previously nation state maintains a control over their trade, border, market and capital. To-day government of nation state has lost their control in all these respects. It is argued that globalization is reducing the power of democracy and the state. As a result level of democracy is going to be declined. Further, with the increasing disinvestment of public sector, privatisation has been encouraged. The process of liberalisation- privatisation has led the state to play a very limited role. Increasing international inter-dependence has been compelling each state to accept limitations on its external sovereignty. Most states appear committed to reducing social expenditure on public welfare programs. The growing pressure from international trade, investment, production and financial flows appears to be curtailing the

autonomy of individual nation states. In particular, globalisation appears to encourage curtailing of social spending on public welfare programs and policies. Globalization has led the authoritarian regimes to adopt democratic norms for introduction of free market economy. Globalization has opened the path for new political actors so that these new actors may inter act with the government of nation states in order to influence the decision making body in their favour. Due to globalization a new common political culture has emerged throughout the world which encourages common values like peace, justice, equality, freedom, democracy, competition and free election. Globalization has brought a change in the nature of the state as a result of which response of the state in dealing with the human rights has raised some debatable questions. The state is regarded as the guarantor of human rights. It is the duty of the state to implement human rights for its citizens. Therefore any change in the nature of the state or its authority directly affects its capacity for implementation of human rights. It has become true that in the period of globalization, the struggle for human rights has become more complex and challenging. Presently, state retreats from the interests of the people and moves forward to protect the interests of the global market.

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### 6.13 Probable Questions

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#### Essay Type Questions:

1. What do you understand by globalisation in political sphere?
2. Discuss the political dimension of globalisation.
3. How the sovereignty of the state is being eroded by the process of globalisation?
4. Discuss the negative effect of the globalisation on the state.

#### Short Questions:

1. Discuss the consequences of privatisation.
2. Discuss the impact of globalisation on authoritarian regime.
3. What is the impact of globalisation on human rights?

#### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the full form of NGO?

- (A) Non Governmental Organization
- (B) Non Government Office
- (C) Non Government Ordinance
- (D) Non Government Orientation

**Ans.:** (A) Non Governmental Organization

2. What is the original word from which the term globalization is derived?
- (A) Globe
  - (B) Glove
  - (C) Glory
  - (D) Global

**Ans.:** (D) Global

3. Globalisation affects International Relations by
- (A) Increasing the importance of borders between countries
  - (B) Reducing the importance of borders between countries
  - (C) Increasing migration between countries
  - (D) Reducing migration between countries

**Ans.:** (B) Reducing the importance of borders between countries

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## 6.14 Further Reading

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2. James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer ; Globalization Unmasked. New York, 2001.
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## **Unit 7 □ Cultural Dimension of Globalization**

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### *Structure*

#### **7.1 Objective**

#### **7.2 Introduction**

#### **7.3 Globalization and culture**

#### **7.4 Cultural Globalization**

##### **7.4.1 Examples of Cultural Globalization**

##### **7.4.2 Factors responsible for Cultural Globalization**

#### **7.5 Interaction between Globalization and Culture**

##### **7.5.1 Homogenization**

##### **7.5.2 Heterogenization**

##### **7.5.3 Emergence of Hybrid Culture**

##### **7.5.4 Resurrection of Cultural Nationalism**

#### **7.6 Conclusion**

#### **7.7 Summing Up**

#### **7.8 Probable Questions**

#### **7.9 Further Reading**

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### **7.1 Objective**

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After going through this unit learners will be able to:

- Realise the meaning of globalization and culture
- Understand the interaction between Globalization and culture
- Explain the impact of globalization on culture

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## 7.2 Introduction

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To-day the term globalization has become immense popular. It is derived from the term “global” which means covering the globe. The term globalization indicates something which covers or relates the whole world instead of being confined in a particular country. In other words, globalization refers to the widening and deepening of the international flows of trade, capital, technology and information within a single integrated market. It is a process of global economic, political and cultural integration. It has made the world a small village; the borders have been broken down between countries. “The history of globalization goes back to the second half of the twentieth century, the development of transport and communication technology led to situation where national borders appeared to be too limiting for economic activity” Globalization is an overwhelming world trend. Multinational Corporations manufacture products in many countries and sell to consumers around the world. Money, technology and raw materials move over more speedily across national borders. Along with products and finances, ideas and cultures circulate freely. This is an opened fact that globalization is today a determining factor in the world’s economic, Political and cultural development. It covers the most important processes of social and economic development in the world, helping to accelerate economic growth and modernization, cultural exchange. To-day, all countries of the world are covered in varying degrees of globalization. One of the areas which actively showed the impact of globalization is culture. Globalization and cultural identity is a very debated subject in the academic field. People are searching for their cultural roots. Subaltern groups and indigenous peoples are affirming and defending their cultural and social identities in the new global era. It makes the situation about globalization and cultural identity quite complex. Thus an analytical study is necessary. On the one hand we should understand the globalization more precisely; on the other hand we also need to have a clear idea of culture.

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## 7.3 Globalization and Culture

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Globalization is a process that seeks to overcome all borders and boundaries and brings the world closer economically and culturally. It raises a challenge that how the

different nation states will cope with globalization in the economic as well as in the cultural field. Due to universalizing nature of globalization world is witnessing the establishment of a borderless global economy and the eradication of economic nationalism. With the rapid expansion of global capitalist market, the nation state is rapidly losing its hold. A dramatic change is noticed in the field of information technology. With the audio visual transmissions, digital television, satellites, faxes and portable phones global communication has become much easier as a result of which culture of a nation state has been drastically changed. Further with widespread tourism, migration and rising diasporic communities cultures are continually overlapping and under the umbrella of economic globalization a hybrid culture has emerged. The whole world is witnessing a dramatic socio-cultural transformation like the steady growth of middle class with global aspirations, the spread of consumptionist culture, revolution in mass media and the changing mode of entertainment, leisure and life style. In fact, globalisation is responsible for a significant change in the cultural landscape of developing countries. Global aspirations and symbols are seen everywhere. Today Pepsi, Coca-cola are available at a village tea shop, Cable TV has become a part of slum culture and Cyber Café are seen in remote places. Nation states have to find out meaningful ways to cope with these new challenges.

Economy has a significant influence on culture. It is argued that economic globalization leads to cultural globalization because economic globalization would require a consumptionist/market oriented/competitive culture. If a person constantly lives amidst the continual flow of foreign goods then his habits may be changed. He may not confine in purchasing traditional lemon water or lassi rather he may switch over to drink Pepsi or Coke. It is noticed that economic globalization does not spare the domain of education. To-day a culture sensitive education promoted in a welfare state is vanishing. Instead, economic globalization has led market oriented education like management, information technology and data analysis. However, it can be argued that both economy and culture can retain their autonomy. In spite of expansion of science, technology and industry specific cultural values of a nation state may be retained. In other words, culture is often considered as a sacred domain not to be touched by the changes in the economy. It is observed that techno economic progress and cultural heritage, could go together.



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## **7.4 Cultural Globalization**

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‘Cultural globalisation refers to the rapid movement of ideas, attitudes, meanings, values and cultural products across national borders. It is a process of spreading a culture’s values around the world. This process is marked by common consumption of culture that have been diffused by the internet popular culture media, and international travel. The circulation of cultures enables individuals to partake in extended social relations that cross national and regional borders. The creation and expansion of such social relations is not merely observed on a material level. Cultural globalization involves the formation of shared norms and knowledge with which people associate their individual and collective cultural identities.

### **7.4.1 Examples of Cultural Globalization**

While some people tend to find it kind of funny, or perhaps scary, that American fast food restaurants and clothing brands are just about everywhere in the world, cultural globalization is by no means a one-way street. In the U.S., lots of great things have been adopted from other cultures and traditions, including lots of foreign cuisine, like Chinese, Thai, and Mexican food. In Europe, music from various European countries will, despite different languages, be heard in clubs and restaurants. Business leaders from around the world gather in China, Japan, the U.S., and the U.K. to exchange ideas about the direction of their particular field, business culture, and technology. Cultures around the world have also exchanged words or phrases. ‘Ok’ or the thumbs up sign is now used all over the world

### **7.4.2 Factors responsible for Cultural Globalization**

In respect of cultural globalization question arises how are the ideas, values, beliefs, and commodities that contribute to cultural globalism actually spread? Some of them are pretty direct. Tourists, as well as businessmen travelling from one country to another, bring their own particular set of ideas and beliefs that can influence another culture over time. Other factors that contribute to cultural globalization include various means of communication, such as social media, especially Western celebrities who reach an audience of millions around the world with their opinions on fashion or pictures of what the latest style of clothing is.

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## **7.5 Interaction between Globalization and Culture**

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As a result of globalization, the world is becoming more connected and more dependent on all his subjects. It covers the most important processes of social and economic development in the world, helping to accelerate economic growth and modernization, culture exchange. Today, all countries of the world are covered in varying degrees of globalization. One of the areas in which activities showed the impact of globalization is culture. Globalization of culture is accelerating the integration of the nations in the world system with the development of modern means of transport and economic relations, and the formation of transnational corporations and the global market. The term “globalization of culture” appeared in the late 80’s of twentieth century in connection with the problem of convergence of nations and the expansion of cultural relations of the peoples. It has positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, it allows people to communicate more with each other and learn about each other. Globalization describes the acceleration of the integration of nations into the global system with the development of modern means of transport and economic links. It contributes to the expansion of cultural ties between the peoples and human migration. Interactions between globalization and culture can not be regarded as a recent phenomenon. In fact, they constitute, particularly with the influence of globalization on culture, a contention point in the literature as various theoretical standpoints have been developed to examine these interaction.

In a growing economic world, culture has become a forerunner of change. It can direct two ways. one is heterogenization and other is homogenization. This can be explained in the following ways.

### **7.5.1 Homogenization**

In this period of global era, exchanges and flows of goods, services, capitals, technology transfer and human movements are leading the world towards a unique world culture. In other terms, Globalization contributes in creating a new and identifiable class of individuals who belong to an emergent global culture. People living in different parts of the world to-day watch the same entertainment programs, listen to the same music, use common global brand products and services and wear the clothes of same multinational companies. There is a growing trend among the

people to follow a consumerist way of life and system of values that emphasises on the material world and on physical comfort. General observation shows that consumer goods are becoming homogenous all over the world and as a result, world is being homogenized. Homogenization is basically something imposed on people by market forces. Local cultures are thus being shaped by other more powerful cultures which are termed as global culture. This process according to some scholars is known as cultural globalization which is leading the world towards a westernized consumer culture. This westernization is also termed as Americanization. In fact, global influence of American products, business and culture in different countries of the world has been referred to as Americanization. American Multinational companies like McDonald, Coca cola, Amazon have played a major role in spreading American culture throughout the world. In other terms, this is also known as corporate culture. In fact this corporate culture with the removal of all obstacles by the trade agreements and liberalisation of telecommunication, is ruling the world. In the field of media industry, profit making attitude has driven media corporations to enlarge media and space markets, and to break down the old boundaries and frontiers of national communities. According to some scholars this may lead to homogenized global culture because this mass culture is destroying local cultural traditions and practices diluting even eliminating the uniqueness of national culture. Further, supporters of anti globalization argue that this Americanization appears as a threat to cultural identity of several nations and this may be called as cultural imperialism. Finally, this globalization is nothing but a replication of American/Western culture which may be considered as a destructive force, a recipe for cultural disaster and an assault on local cultures. Finally, this homogenization, based on global communication technologies may undermine the traditional institutions and values of life. For reference, in India it has ended the tradition of story telling through which old generation used to teach their experience, traditional values, culture and way of life to the younger generation and these are embedded in the minds of the young people. But presently, computers become the substitutes for human interactions.

### **7.5.2 Heterogenization**

Fundamental problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization. While some scholars advocate

that globalization emerges from Westernization which is leading the world towards homogenization, other global theorists reject such concept and argue that globalization generates rather a state of heterogeneity which means a network structure in which nodes tend to connect with each other in regard to certain cultural dimensions. Heterogenization is one of the aspects in cultural globalization which implies that different cultures can coexist and play a certain role in the world. Heterogenization appears when regional culture is widely disseminated and accepted by the societies and cultures. Such adaption enhances cultural diversity in local society. This depicts that concept of heterogenization leads to preserve minor culture from being dominated by major cultures. And indeed, in today's world, culture exactly is diverse and mixed. In other words, it creates obstacles and barriers that prevent cultures to become more alike or similar. From this perspective, it can be argued that cultures remain different from one another. For example, Russian peoples emphasise on values based on tolerance, religion and understanding. They strongly oppose same sex relationship and gay marriage. Foreigners that openly support LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community) may even get 15 days of prison or even deportation from the country. Presence of *heterogenization* in daily life is observed in everywhere even within so called 'western' culture itself. Followings are particular examples of this phenomenon; the incorporation of Eastern and African beats within American rap and pop music in the US, the increased use of the Indian curry spice in English recipes amongst Anglo-Saxons in England, and the increased popularity of ancient Eastern philosophy such as Buddhism, in contemporary 'modern' psychology. Local cultures face continuous transformation and reinvention due to globalization, but deeply rooted and inherent aspects of a culture are not subject to the blending or fusion. It appears that only the superficial elements of a culture are being mixed together. Crux of the regional or local culture remains intact and unperturbed.

### **7.5.3 Emergence of Hybrid Culture**

Single world culture or a homogenised culture, it is also likely to lead to new combinations, new options and new cultures. Thus global encounters and interactions may produce inventive new cultural forms. In this sense there emerges a third culture or hybrid culture. Many scholars argue that cultural globalization is a long term historical process and plays a very important role in bringing different cultures into

interrelation. Due to an interactions between internal and external flows a unique culture is created known as hybrid culture. Though some barriers exist to protect local cultures from external influence but they are not strong enough to block external flows. As a result, cultural hybridization emerges due to continuous process of mixing or blending cultures. In other words, hybrid culture is the consequences of the integration of both the global and local cultures. It is neither global nor local. Some scholars describe it as glocal. And thus the mixtures of cultures have become a part of world narrative. Hybridization advocates that culture is a dynamic phenomenon Peoples make culture and culture makes people. A culture of a particular region may be changed due to influence of other cultures with which it is brought into contact through social, commercial or political relations. However, hybridization stands for convergence and assimilation. It advocates cultural mixing and integration without the need to give up one's identity. Several examples of hybrid culture may be cited. A Creole language developed from the mixture of different languages that come into contact within particular population, at a specific point of time. In this connection, we may refer to Louisians Creole which is a combination of African, French, and English languages. Another example is the American Global restaurant chain Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) or McDonald's which modify their menus to suit the tastes of different cultures. In India due to religious restrictions in eating beef, the Maharaja Mac is a Mcdonald's Big Mac made with a chicken or veggie patty.

#### **7.5.4 Resurrection of Cultural Nationalism**

Globalisation has created a great impact on the cultural behaviour of the people. In several parts of the world people started campaigning to defend local identities. People are not passively accepting everything advised by the global culture as they have great freedom to select the way of their own lives. In this sense people choose their own favourites, regardless of the external factors. People in Europe, Asia and in other parts of the world have refused to accept American culture. For example, Shiv Sena activists have protested against the celebration of Valentine, days. The global campaigning could not eliminate cultural diversity because people have the right to stick to their own culture. In the present era of globalization, people become much more concerned about the uniqueness of their own culture. In other words, globalization has led to a sense of "deeply-rooted-in-one's culture and the global significance of local knowledge.

## 7.6 Conclusion

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Globalization is a process which has created an impact throughout the world not economically but also culturally. But globalization does not mean simply homogenization. If we explain globalization in terms of science and technology it is to be noted that people are not passively accepting the influence of globalization. They become much more concerned about their cultural identity. They are constantly searching for their cultural roots and defending them. It is an accepted fact that culture no longer be considered as local in the traditional sense, yet it is different and plural.

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## 7.7 Summing Up

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Cultural globalization is equally important like economic globalization because culture represents ideas, symbols, rituals and festivals. Even it is argued that culture defines our humanity. Interactions between culture and globalization hold considerable complications. As globalization promotes the flow of cultural practices and norms with along cross border exchanges of products and goods, both societies and organizations need to understand cultural implications of these flows with hopes for better interactions with others. It is noticed that globalisation has deleted the segmentation of the edges of the cultural impact and as a result different cultures have not only come closer but intermingled. If we can respect diversity of peoples and their cultures in new era, it can lead to global community marked by unity in pluralism.

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## 7.8 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss in details the relationship between globalization and culture.
2. Explain the interactions between culture and globalization.
3. Define Heterogenization.

### Short Questions:

1. Explain the meaning of homogenization.
2. What is Hybridization culture?
3. Define Cultural Nationalism.

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. What do you mean by cultural globalization?  
(A) It is a process of spreading cultural values.  
(B) It is a process of spreading technology.  
(C) It is a process of spreading business.  
(D) It is a process of spreading legal advices.  
**Ans.:** (A) It is a process of spreading cultural values.
2. What is the negative effect of cultural globalization?  
(A) It is a threat to local cultures.  
(B) It makes an economic disparity.  
(C) It has changed the traditional lifestyle of people.  
(D) It has increased inequality in the society.  
**Ans.:** (A) It is a threat to local cultures.
3. What is hybrid culture?  
(A) It is a coexistence of different ultures.  
(B) It is the consequences of the integration of both the ocal and global cultures.  
(C) It is a culture imposed by the market forces.  
(D) It is a minor culture dominated by the major cultures.  
**Ans.:** (B) It is the consequences of the integration of both the ocal and global cultures.

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**7.9 Further Reading**

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## **Unit 8 □ Technological Dimension of Globalisation**

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### *Structure*

- 8.1 Objective**
- 8.2 Introduction**
- 8.3 Definition of Technological Globalisation**
- 8.4 Examples of Technological Globalization**
  - 8.4.1 Growth of Multinational Technology Companies**
  - 8.4.2 Mobile Banking**
  - 8.4.3 Mechanization of Manufacturing**
  - 8.4.4 Media Globalisation**
- 8.5 Advantages of Technological Globalisation**
  - 8.5.1 Easier International Trade**
  - 8.5.2 One World Economy**
  - 8.5.3 Economic Growth**
  - 8.5.4 Reducing Poverty**
  - 8.5.5 Faster Technological Innovation**
  - 8.5.6 Rise of Online Communities**
- 8.6 Disadvantages of Technological Globalisation**
  - 8.6.1 Digital Divide**
  - 8.6.2 Replacement of Workers by Machines**
  - 8.6.3 Cultural Homogenization**
  - 8.6.4 Rise of Fake News**
- 8.7 Impact of Technological Globalisation**
- 8.8 Conclusion**
- 8.9 Summing Up**
- 8.10 Probable Questions**
- 8.11 Further Reading**



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## 8.1 Objective

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This unit deals with the important aspect of Technological Dimension of Globalisation. After going through this unit, learner will be familiar with:

- Meaning of Technological Dimension of Globalisation
  - Advantages and disadvantages of Technological Globalisation
  - Impact of Technological Globalisation all over the world
- 

## 8.2 Introduction

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Technology has the potential to be a valuable asset in the promotion of globalization. Technology innovation and application has broadened the world's borders and promoted economic, political, and cultural globalization. Additionally, recent technological advances have aided in the acceleration of global development. Consistent technological improvements have contributed to the rising globalization of the modern world.

Technology is transforming the world into a global community with technological advancements greatly facilitating globalization. Correspondingly, globalization is a means to further technology. Many are that globalization has increased the spread of technology across borders. Globalization has accelerated the dissemination of knowledge and technology across borders. The dissemination of technology between countries is critical to the generation and distribution of global growth.

Also it can be said that, globalization has accelerated the spread of technology across borders by making it easier for countries to obtain access to foreign expertise. It also increases worldwide rivalry, which increases enterprises' incentives to innovate and absorb foreign technologies. Technology leaders gain from one another's innovation. Knowledge and technology do not flow in a straight line.

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## 8.3 Definition of Technological Globalisation

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Technological globalization can be defined as the increasing speed of technological diffusion across the global economy. It refers to the spread of technologies around the globe, and particularly from developed to developing nations.

The global flow of technologies has been extensively researched by Arjun Appadurai who considered technological globalization to be one of five ‘spheres of globalisation’. He labelled technological globalization the ‘technosphere’ and explained that it’s both an effect and cause of globalization.

As an effect of globalization, we can see that technologies spread more easily thanks to political globalisation (the increased interconnection of nations) and economic globalization (the rise of a global economy facilitated by liberalization of trade). For example, free trade agreements can make it easier to move technological innovations across borders; and manufacturing in the developing world can make it cheaper to produce those technologies.

But it’s also a cause of globalization because new technologies like the internet and cell phones make it easier to conduct cross-border trade and interactions. Similarly, technologies that have made air flight more efficient have helped increase the flow of people around the world. Also it can be said that, technological globalization is speeded in large part by technological diffusion, the spread of technology across borders. In the last two decades, there has been rapid improvement in the spread of technology to peripheral and semi-peripheral nations, and a 2008 World Bank report discusses both the benefits and ongoing challenges of this diffusion. In general, the report found that technological progress and economic growth rates were linked, and that the rise in technological progress has helped improve the situations of many living in absolute poverty (World Bank 2008). The report recognizes that rural and low-tech products such as corn can benefit from new technological innovations, and that, conversely, technologies like mobile banking can aid those whose rural existence consists of low-tech market vending. In addition, technological advances in areas like mobile phones can lead to competition, lowered prices, and concurrent improvements in related areas such as mobile banking and information sharing.

However, the same patterns of social inequality that create a digital divide in the United States also create digital divides within peripheral and semi-peripheral nations. While the growth of technology use among countries has increased dramatically over the past several decades, the spread of technology within countries is significantly slower among peripheral and semi-peripheral nations. In these

countries, far fewer people have the training and skills to take advantage of new technology, let alone access it. Technological access tends to be clustered around urban areas and leaves out vast swaths of peripheral-nation citizens. While the diffusion of information technologies has the potential to resolve many global social problems, it is often the population most in need that is most affected by the digital divide. For example, technology to purify water could save many lives, but the villages in peripheral nations most in need of water purification don't have access to the technology, the funds to purchase it, or the technological comfort level to introduce it as a solution.

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## **8.4 Examples of Technological Globalization**

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### **8.4.1 Growth of Multinational Technology Companies**

Liberalization of trade and economic globalization have facilitated the growth of multinational corporations like Microsoft, Apple and Sony. Traveling around the world, chances are the televisions in all the airports are from one of the four or five major television brands. Anywhere in the world, chances are the phones will be made by Samsung, Apple, or another of the major multinational mobile phone corporations.

### **8.4.2 Mobile Banking**

Mobile banking has allowed people to access money both at home and around the world at a faster pace than ever. In particular, smartphone stock trading apps allow for the ownership of capital to be shuffled around the world faster than ever, helping to speed up globalization and lower the cost of start-up capital to facilitate new business development.

### **8.4.3 Mechanization of Manufacturing**

While not the first thing we think about when considering examples of technical globalization, this is one factor that has an enormous impact on our lives. Using machines for manufacturing lowers labour costs which has two competing effects: downward pressure on labour costs (leading to cheaper goods) and loss of traditional manufacturing jobs.

#### **8.4.4 Media Globalisation**

One effect of the spread of technologies and technological knowledge (primarily from the developed to developing world) has been to also globalize the media that is presented on technologies like computers and cell phones. The United States has become a big exporter of media culture (through Hollywood films, for example). Some worry that this can dilute indigenous cultures and develop one world culture (called cultural homogenization).

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### **8.5 Advantages Of Technological Globalization**

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#### **8.5.1 Easier International Trade**

With digital technologies we can speed up customs at nation-state borders, move money more efficiently and even move goods faster as air flight innovation improves. A clear example is the rise of international currency conversion apps like TransferWise.

#### **8.5.2 One World Economy**

Technologies that automate trade can help create a more cohesive globalized economy. This will speed up the development of market efficiencies and economies of scale (such as those discussed in my article on economic globalisation). One example of this is if one nation has a competitive advantage in producing a particular good, they can produce it en masse and make it cheaply available to the whole world.

#### **8.5.3 Economic Growth**

The World Bank found that technological globalization has “contributed to rising domestic productivity levels in advanced and emerging economies.” Technologies can help us produce good more efficiently and with less man power, which in turn makes those goods cheaper and allows businesses to scale faster.

#### **8.5.4 Reducing Poverty**

The World bank <sup>[1]</sup> also found that technological globalization has overall reduced poverty rates around the world. They state: “Rapid technological progress in developing countries has been central to the reduction of poverty in recent decades”. Despite this

excellent outcome, there are also clear losers from globalization, which is discussed below.

### **8.5.5 Faster Technological Innovation**

The global spread of technology has also enabled scientists and engineers around the world to engage in global competition. Each nation observes other nations' innovations and builds on them, enabling technology to be developed faster and faster.

### **8.5.6 Rise of Online Communities**

Those with access to the internet are able to develop contacts with others who share their own hobbies and interests around the world. This has allowed people to 'find their tribe' and helped people to develop their identities in unique new ways, rather than around traditional nationalistic or regional identity formations.

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## **8.6 Disadvantages Of Technological Globalization**

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### **8.6.1 Digital Divide**

The digital divide is a phenomenon that occurs when wealthier people have better access to technology than poorer people. The inequality in the distribution of technology gives a comparative advantage to wealthier developed nations. While technological globalization has allowed technologies to spread around the world faster, the digital divide still exists between and within nations around the world.

### **8.6.2 Replacement of Workers by Machines**

New technologies have been implemented in factories to replace workers in menial tasks. While this has been good for making cheaper goods, many worry that it will destroy entire industries and leave people unemployed and disillusioned. For example, Andrew Yang warns of the impact of automated driverless trucks on the trucking industry:

### **8.6.3 Cultural Homogenization**

As people around the world get access to global media technologies, the dominant media producers (namely, the United States and in particular Hollywood)

spread their cultures around the world. This has led to people blaming globalization for the “Disneyfication of culture” while indigenous and local cultures become diluted.

#### **8.6.4 Rise of Fake News**

As internet technologies have enabled anyone to develop their own podcast, YouTube channel or blog, control over the spread of information has been diluted. There are concerns that new technologies have allowed for conspiracy theorists and extremist organizations to spread their nefarious messages online.

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### **8.7 Impact of Technological Globalisation**

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Different Impact of technological globalization can be observed, These are discussed below:

1. Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Machine Learning (ML). AI was created with the goal of making computers more useful and capable of autonomous reasoning (Thompson et al., n.d.). The science and engineering of creating intelligent machines, particularly intelligent computer programs, is known as artificial intelligence (AI). It is analogous to the similar goal of utilizing computers to study human intellect, but AI does not have to limit itself to biologically observable ways (McCarthy, 2007). ML is concerned with the subject of how to build computer programs that improve on their own over time (Mitchell, 1997).
2. Robotic Process Automation (RPA). RPA is the use of software to automate business operations such as application interpretation, transaction processing, data handling, and even email response. RPA automates manual tasks that people used to accomplish (Duggal, 2021; UIPath. n.d.).
3. Edge Computing (EC). EC is intended to assist solve some of these issues by avoiding the latency imposed by cloud computing and delivering data to a datacenter for processing. With the expansion of IoT devices and the introduction of 5G fast connectivity, the case for EC is being made by locating computation and analytics close to where data is generated (Shaw, 2019).
4. Quantum Computing (QC). A computing method that makes use of quantum phenomena such as superposition and quantum entanglement. Because QC quickly queries, monitors, analyzes, and acts on data, it aided in the prevention of COVID-19 and the development of possible vaccinations. In banking and

finance, quality control is used to manage credit risk, as well as for high-frequency trading and fraud detection (Duggal, 2021; Haase, 2021; Saurabh, 2021).

5. **Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality.** Augmented Reality enriches the user's environment while Virtual Reality immerses them in it. Although this technology trend has so far been mostly employed for gaming, it has also been used for training, entertainment, education, marketing, and even injury rehabilitation. Either can be used to train surgeons on how to perform surgery, to provide museum visitors with a more immersive experience, to improve theme parks, or even to improve marketing (Duggal, 2021; Haase, 2021; Saurabh, 2021).
6. **Blockchain.** Blockchain technology is a framework that maintains public transactional records, also known as blocks, in numerous databases, referred to as the "chain," in a network connected by peer-to-peer nodes (Simplilearn, 2021).
7. **Internet of Things (IoT).** WiFi is being used in the construction of many "things." IoT has already enabled devices, home appliances, automobiles, and other items to connect to and exchange data via the Internet. According to projections, about 50 billion of these IoT gadgets would be in use worldwide by 2030, resulting in a huge web of interconnected items ranging from smartphones to kitchen appliances (Duggal, 2021; Haase, 2021; Saurabh, 2021).
8. **5G.** Whereas 3G and 4G technologies allowed us to access the internet, use data-driven applications, and enhance bandwidths for streaming on Spotify or YouTube, 5G services are predicted to alter our lives. 5G services are scheduled to be available globally in 2021, with more than 50 operators supplying services in around 30 countries by the end of 2021 (Duggal, 2021; Haase, 2021; Saurabh, 2021).
9. **Cyber Security.** The field that assists businesses and organizations in defending devices, computers, and services ("C.I.A.") against malicious actors such as hackers (Simplilearn, 2021). This will continue to be a popular technology because it will constantly advance to guard against hackers, and the number of cybersecurity jobs is expanding three times faster than another tech employment (Duggal, 2021; Haase, 2021; Saurabh, 2021).

## 8.8 Conclusion

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Of the many types of globalization, technological globalization is one that touches on all the others. Technology helps speed up economic and cultural globalisation, for example. In this sense, the ‘types’ of globalization aren’t self-standing concepts, but each one impacts the other. Technological globalization has had wide-reaching consequences for our world. The jury is still out on whether the spread of technology around the world (what we often call ‘technological diffusion’) has had positive or negative impacts. And the truth is it’s had good impacts in some senses and negatives in others.

The conceptual dimension of technology as well as the technological dimensions of globalization has shown its prowess and impact with the economy, politics, security, society, culture, and environment among others. However, few researches have established these observations. Most information reported were found through blogs and online articles (but not books or journals). With these, in conjunction with the challenges it posed to the educational sector, encourages researches and advanced innovations to be conducted to prepare and produce learners who possess “techniques and globalized character” and are ready for the threats and opportunities provided by advancement in technology and globalization. These further suggest that, educators, as catalyst of change of the challenging times, must do researches to cater concerns and adapt with trends and issues on global education posed by different technological dimensions.

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## 8.9 Summing Up

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Technology is regarded as valuable asset in the promotion of globalization. Technological innovation and application has broadened the world’s borders and promoted economic, political, and cultural globalization (Rifai, 2013). Additionally, recent technological advances have aided in the acceleration of global development. Consistent technological improvements have contributed to the rising globalization of the modern world (Weisblat, 2019). Technology is transforming the world into a global community. Globalization is a means to further technology. Globalization has increased the spread of technology across borders. Three important aspects of relationship between globalization and technology may be highlighted. (a) Globalization has accelerated the dissemination of knowledge and technology across borders. (b)



Globalization has accelerated the spread of technology across borders by making it easier for countries to obtain access to foreign expertise. (c) Technology leaders gain from one another's innovation.

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## 8.10 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss the impact of technological globalisation in different fields.
2. Define the relationship between technology and globalization.
3. Explain the advantages of Technological Globalisation.

### Short Questions:

1. What are the disadvantages of technological globalisation?
2. Give examples of Technological Globalisation.

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the main force behind globalisation?  
(A) Changing technology  
(B) Faster internet connections  
(C) Worldwide companies  
(D) Agreement among the several countries.  
**Ans.:** (A) Changing technology
2. Who are benefited from information and communication technologies?  
(A) People in Asian countries  
(B) People in developed countries  
(C) People in African countries  
(D) People in Middle East countries.  
**Ans.:** (B) People in developed countries
3. Which technical device has allowed people to access money both at home and around the world?  
(A) Robotic Process Automation  
(B) Quantum Computing  
(C) Artificial Intelligence  
(D) Mobile Banking  
**Ans.:** (D) Mobile Banking

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## 8.11 Further Reading

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## Unit 9 □ Global Social Movements

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### *Structure*

- 9.1 Objective
- 9.2 Introduction
- 9.3 Definition and Different Levels of Social Movement
- 9.4 Globalisation and Social Movements
- 9.5 Definition of Global Social Movement
- 9.6 Characteristics of Global Social Movements
- 9.7 How Social Movement becomes Global
- 9.8 Conclusion
- 9.9 Summing Up
- 9.10 Probable Questions
- 9.11 Further Reading

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### 9.1 Objective

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This unit deals with the important aspect of Global Social Movement. After going through this unit, Learners will be familiar with:

- Meaning of Social Movement and Global Social Movement
- Causes of Social Movement
- Relationship between Globalization and Social Movements
- Characteristics of Global Social Movement

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### 9.2 Introduction

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**Social movements** are purposeful, organized groups that strive to work toward a common social goal. While most of us learned about social movements in history classes, we tend to take for granted the fundamental changes they caused—and we may be completely unfamiliar with the trend toward global social movements. But

from the antitobacco movement that has worked to outlaw smoking in public buildings and raise the cost of cigarettes, to political uprisings throughout the Arab world, movements are creating social change on a global scale. The process of globalization and its consequences has profoundly affected social movements. A social movement starts when a feeling of dissatisfaction among people spreads and institutions were not able to respond. While on the one hand it gives huge opportunities for growth and development through capitalism, the challenges emerge out of the capitalist profits, human costs and environmental problems harms social development. Social movements have influenced the political landscape and directly attack global capital's economic and political infrastructure with a radically democratic politics and a strategy of confrontation. This paper explores the complexities and potential for change inherent in a new wave of social movements concerned with contemporary process of development and globalization. The paper focuses among other things, some of the aspects of the social movements which resist and expresses concern over the growing inequalities of global economic and trade regimes in the name of globalization. It also examines the emergence, form, discourse and dynamics of social movements in the wake of the growing campaigns and movements against the impact of globalization.

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### **9.3 Definition and Different Levels of Social Movement**

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Generally we say that, social movement means when a group of people comes together in an organised way in order to bring change in the society. Social Movements are different in nature, features, pace, and operations. In other words, it can be said that, social movement, a loosely organized but sustained campaign in support of a social goal, typically either the implementation or the prevention of a change in society's structure or values. Although social movements differ in size, they are all essentially collective. That is, they result from the more or less spontaneous coming together of people whose relationships are not defined by rules and procedures but who merely share a common outlook on society.

Collective behaviour in crowds, panics, and elementary forms (milling, etc.) are of brief duration or episodic and are guided largely by impulse. When short-lived

impulses give way to long-term aims, and when sustained association takes the place of situational groupings of people, the result is a social movement

- **Levels of Social movements**

Movements happen in our towns, in our nation, and around the world. Let's take a look at examples of social movements, from local to global. No doubt you can think of others on all of these levels, especially since modern technology has allowed us a near-constant stream of information about the quest for social change around the world.

- **Local**

Chicago is a city of highs and lows, from corrupt politicians and failing schools to innovative education programs and a thriving arts scene. Not surprisingly, it has been home to a number of social movements over time. Currently, AREA Chicago is a social movement focused on “building a socially just city” (AREA Chicago 2011). The organization seeks to “create relationships and sustain community through art, research, education, and activism” (AREA Chicago 2011). The movement offers online tools like the Radicalendar—a calendar for getting radical and connected—and events such as an alternative to the traditional Independence Day picnic. Through its offerings, AREA Chicago gives local residents a chance to engage in a movement to help build a socially just city.

- **State**

At the other end of the political spectrum from AREA Chicago is the Texas Secede! social movement in Texas. This statewide organization promotes the idea that Texas can and should secede from the United States to become an independent republic. The organization, which as of 2014 has over 6,000 “likes” on Facebook, references both Texas and national history in promoting secession. The movement encourages Texans to return to their rugged and individualistic roots, and to stand up to what proponents believe is the theft of their rights and property by the U.S. government (Texas Secede! 2009).

- **National**

A polarizing national issue that has helped spawn many activist groups is gay marriage. While the legal battle is being played out state by state, the issue is a national one.

The Human Rights Campaign, a nationwide organization that advocates for LGBT civil rights, has been active for over thirty years and claims more than a million members. One focus of the organization is its Americans for Marriage Equality campaign. Using public celebrities such as athletes, musicians, and political figures, it seeks to engage the public in the issue of equal rights under the law. The campaign raises awareness of the over 1,100 different rights, benefits, and protections provided on the basis of marital status under federal law and seeks to educate the public about why these protections should be available to all committed couples regardless of gender (Human Rights Campaign 2014).

A movement on the opposite end is the National Organization for Marriage, an organization that funds campaigns to stop same-sex marriage (National Organization for Marriage 2014). Both these organizations work on the national stage and seek to engage people through grassroots efforts to push their message. In February 2011, U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder released a statement saying President Barack Obama had concluded that “due to a number of factors, including a documented history of discrimination, classification based on sexual orientation should be subject to a more heightened standard of scrutiny.” The statement said, “Section 3 of DOMA [the Defense of Marriage Act of 1993], as applied to legally married same-sex couples, fails to meet that standard and is therefore unconstitutional.” With that the Department was instructed not to defend the statute in such cases (Department of Justice, Office of Public Affairs 2011; AP/Huffington Post 2011).

- **Global**

Social organizations worldwide take stands on such general areas of concern as poverty, sex trafficking, and the use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) in food. **Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** are sometimes formed to support such movements, such as the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movement (IFOAM). Global efforts to reduce poverty are represented by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM), among others. The FairTrade movement exists to protect and support food producers in developing countries. Occupy Wall Street, although initially a local movement, also went global throughout Europe and, as the chapter’s introductory photo shows, the Middle East, then that’s OK too.

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## 9.4 Globalisation and Social Movements

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Globalization is the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness in which, the day-to-day life of individuals are shaped by the events that occur and decisions that are made, at great distance from us. The process of globalization reflects the idea that the modern world is rapidly being moulded into a shared social space by economic and technological forces and the developments in one region have had profound consequences for the life of individuals on the other side as well. The framework of the current process of globalization enables poor countries to depend more on rich countries and also increases their dependence on international monetary organizations. This detrimental nature of globalization influences the development process of developing societies and further widens the gap between rich and the poor inside and between countries. The central feature of globalization is that geographical distance is of declining relevance and that territorial boundaries, such as those of nation states, are becoming less significant. Globalization also implies 'the local' and the 'national' as subordinate to 'the global' and rather, it highlights the deepening as well as the broadening of political process, in the sense that local, national and global events constantly interact.

The process of globalization reflects a situation where the factors of production have become increasingly mobile. Capital moves freely and technology and information diffuse almost instantly across national boundaries. Raw materials are rapidly transported from their source to processing and production sites which are too far. States, especially developing States, with varying degrees of intensity, are participating or in other words, are compelled to do so in this process of integration of the national economies into a global world economy. Openness to the international market and the harnessing of foreign investment and trade, in connection with new technologies, promise a new momentum for development and growth. On the contrary, the integrating part of the globalizing process results in large scale displacement and exclusion of ordinary people. There is also a popular apprehension that large groups of people are being left out while global civil society and liberalization engulf the world. The globalized struggles or the anti-globalization movements with the uncompromising message of opposition to globalization, under the broad camps of the social movement's gain considerable significance in this context. It further unites

the diverse concerns into a singularly forceful assertion of the need for alternatives to today's dominant political and economic paradigms.

The rise of globalization marked a qualitative change from the earlier approaches and raised the question of the point at which changes in quantity, in the essence of scope, depth and pace, constitute a change in quality. Arjun Appadurai provides the element of an answer when he highlights two meanings of the term globalization, first as a socio-economic formation and second as a term of folk ideology in journalism and in the corporate world. Both these senses mark a set of transitions in the global political economy since the 1970s. The decades that followed witnessed the replacement of multinational forms of capital organization by transnational, flexible and irregular forms of organizations. Labour, finance, technology and technological capital began to be assembled in ways that treated national boundaries as mere constraints or fictions. Diffusion of knowledge and technology characterizes the current globalization process and it further strengthened the social relations between states and societies across the globe to experience a profound change.

It is a fact that globalization is a multi-dimensional process, including economic, technological, ecological, political, social and cultural aspects. It is also a proven fact at least for developing countries, that globalization has more negative side effects for people across the world than positive effects. Globalization of the modern times is associated with the new patterns of global stratification in which some States, societies and communities are becoming increasingly enmeshed in the global order, while others are becoming increasingly marginalized. Globalization also challenges sovereignty of nation states, poses a threat to state power and territoriality and reduces them to the status of more complex concepts. Further, the threat associated with the idea of global culture eventually results in a homogenous world culture, which in turn erases existing differences between local cultures and leaving in its path an impoverished, Westernized culture. These factors emphasize the argument that globalization is not only associated with a new sovereignty regime, but also with the emergence of powerful new territorial forms of economic and political organization in the global domain, such as multinational corporations, transnational social movement, international regulatory agencies etc. In this sense, the present world order can no longer be conceived as purely State-centric or even primarily State



governed, as authority has become increasingly diffused among public and private agencies at the four levels of social organization: local, national, regional and global levels.

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## 9.5 Definition of Global Social Movement

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Global social movements (GSMs) are networks that collaborate across borders to advance thematically similar agendas throughout the world and in doing so have become powerful actors in global governance. Example, global movements-social movements with global (transnational) objectives and goals. Movements such as the first (where Marx and Bakunin met), second, third and fourth internationals, the World Social Forum, the Peoples' Global Action and the anarchist movement seek to change society at a global level.

Social scientist Kaldor said that, the Global Social Movement are “new forms of civic participation and involvement in a globalising world” and “located in some transnational arena notbound or limited by nation-states or local societies” are being interpreted as a distinct phenomenon of the emergence and consolidation of “Global Civic Society”.

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## 9.6 Characteristics of Global Social Movements

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From the above discussion the following features of the Global Social Movement can be mentioned:

- The contradictions and complexities of globalisation have forced the non-state actors (particularly those operating at global level) including non-governmental organisations and social movements to shift their focus from the local or national issues to the emerging global issues like environmental problems, economic exploitation of poor nations, migration, gender inequality, and labour rights among others.
- The 1990s, the social movements have acquired the ‘global’ character to address the emerging global issues and problems resulting from the uneven and exploitative globalised world order.

- Global social movements (GSMs), in general, refer to those collective actions that bring the people together from around the world to advance their shared agendas and consolidate their efforts.
- Global Social movements use the different global platforms (such as international summits, workshop and conferences) to promote their agenda, ideas and action plans. Particularly, in recent years, regional and multinational gathering of World Social Forum (WSF) have used not just to decide an action plan to address various global issues, but also to popularise their campaign.
- GSMs primarily demand for decentralisation of power, democratisation of international institutions, and more inclusive decision-making at the global level.
- The post-globalised economic and political structure have produced a new category of social movements to mobilize the peoples against the new practices of exploitation and subjugation, thereby leading to consolidation of global social movements.
- In recent years, global social movements—also popularised as ‘alter-globalisation’ campaign in the contemporary literatures—have succeeded in bringing people with distinctive national identities and cultural backgrounds, together in a common cause of resisting the globalisation practices and globalised world order.

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## 9.7 How Social Movement becomes Global?

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To know how the social movement turned into a global social movement, one has to know the characteristic features of the social movement.

### **Characteristic features of social movements:**

- Emerging identity
- Involved in conflictual issues
- Use unconventional forms of participation usually
- Loose network of formal and informal organisations and groups
- Anti-systemic: seek to bring an overall change in the system
- By definition they are fluid and large. They evolve, transform and usually lack a permanent institutional structure. There is no single core as such but broad

tendencies. For example, one can talk about environmentalism broadly but there is no single core one can look at to study environmental movement.

**So, what makes them global? We can say the answer:**

- Global social movements are the ones that operate in a global as well as local, national and international space.
- ‘Global’ here refers to that area of interaction which is less bounded by barriers of time and space as compared to local or national. Beyond the interstate relations. Transnational connections of people and places that were formerly distant or seen as separate.
- GSM refers to groups of people around the world working on the trans-world plane pursuing far reaching social change.

Now the question naturally arises, how do we understand whether a social movement is a global social movement or not? If you want to know about this, you need to know about Identifying Features of Global Social Movement.

**Identifying features of Global Social Movement:**

- They are less cohesive than their national counterparts yet they share a sense of common identity and the need for coordinated action.
- Despite sharing a broad commitment to an issue, different strands within a GSM may differ over policy issues, programmes and means of achieving the set goal. For example, the conservationists like Sierra Club and rejectionists like Deep Ecology activists share a commitment to environment but differ on means of achieving their goals. Sierra club seeks to conserve the environment within the present system but Deep Ecology activists reject the existing industrial structure of human existence.
- People involved in a GSM may consciously identify themselves as part of the process critical of globalization and see themselves as global citizens.
- May develop a global organisational structure, especially through use of technology (more details later).
- Defining conflicts as global in scope.
- Could be categorised as ‘old’ and ‘new’. Old: class based. New: issue based, cutting across other categories.

## 9.8 Conclusion

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Finally, it can be said that rolling back globalisation does not seem to be a plausible option because an overwhelming consensus exists today in its favour both among political parties and intellectuals. Globalisation seems to be perpetuating old inequalities and also creating new kind of inequalities. That is why there is a need for what has been called shaping globalisation. The wealth and opportunities which are created should benefit every section of society. The state policies should aim at imparting education and other technical skills to the disadvantaged sections like dalits and women. This can help them to develop a sense of partnership in progress. There is a greater need of powerful social movements in present context more particularly because state appears to be on the retreat. There is also a need of coordination and networking among social movements both on national and global levels to ensure sustainable and equitable development.

Also Said that, the process of globalization is geographically unlimited and it has numerous implications and repercussions associated with it. The protest movements under the notion of new social movements will provide a stable platform for uniting diverse concerns into a singular forceful assertion of the need for alternatives to today's dominant political and economic paradigms. The inequalities of the global economic and trade regimes form the focus of the broader agenda of issues involved in the social movements of the present times and it, in turn, functions as the safety valves for the discontents of globalization. Social movements can also perform the institutional reform at the global level that would engender a new policy environment, in which multilateral agencies would not interfere into the sovereign space of a nation to decide on the social security system best equipped to address its needs. Unlike the earlier movements which are not fundamentally organized, these new movements seek to define a novel relation to the political realm. In the era of increasing globalization, the new social movements serve as a critical response to the advancement of neo-liberal globalization. On the whole, social movements of wider framework help to break down all the barriers that affect the welfare of humanity and perform the role of bringing the global community closer in order to attain the new reality of radical social change.

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## 9.9 Summing Up

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Globalization is a set of processes that are weakening national boundaries. Both transnational and local social movements develop to resist the processes of

globalization—migration, economic interdependence, global media coverage of events and issues, and intergovernmental relations. Globalization not only spurs the creation of social movements, but affects the way many social movements are structured and work. Globalization has created new inequalities. Globalisation seems to be perpetuating old inequalities and also creating new kind of inequalities. That is why there is a need for what has been called shaping globalisation. The wealth and opportunities which are created should benefit every section of society. The state policies should aim at imparting education and other technical skills to the disadvantaged sections like dalits and women. This can help them to develop a sense of partnership in progress. There is a greater need of powerful social movements in respect of present situation because nation state is loosing its sovereignty.

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## 9.10 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss the characteristics of global social movement.
2. Define the relationship between globalisation and social movent.
3. Explain the causes of social movement.

### Short Questions:

1. Analyse the impact of social movement on Multinational Companies.
2. How Social Movement becomes Global?
3. What are the different levels of social movement?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the name of the Social Scientist who said that “Global Social Movements are new forms of civic participation and involvement in a globalising world”?  
(A) Kaldor  
(B) David Easton  
(C) Alan Ball  
(D) Almond and Powell  
**Ans.:** (A) Kaldor
2. Why a social movement starts?  
(A) When authorities are ready to meet the demands of the people.  
(B) When a feeling of dissatisfaction among the people spreads.

- (C) When people are satisfied with the activities of the authorities.
- (D) When authorities create huge opportunities for the growth and development of the country.

**Ans.:** (B) When a feeling of dissatisfaction among the people spreads.

3. What is Texas Secede?

- (A) A movement that campaigns to stop same – sex marriage.
- (B) A social movement which propagates to reduce poverty in the world.
- (C) A movement that protects and support the food producers in developing countries.
- (D) An organization that promotes the idea that Texas can and should secede. From the United States to become an independent republic.

**Ans.:** (D) An organization that promotes the idea that Texas can and should secede

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## 9.11 Further Reading

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## **Unit 10 □ Global Resistances: Role of NGO**

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### *Structure*

#### **10.1 Objective**

#### **10.2 Introduction**

#### **10.3 Meaning of Global Resistances**

#### **10.4 Resisting Globalization**

#### **10.5 Social Movements**

#### **10.6 Types of Resistance Movements**

##### **10.6.1 Local Movements**

##### **10.6.2 National Movements**

##### **10.6.3 Global Movements**

#### **10.7 Social Movements and the Role of NGOs**

#### **10.8 Differences between Social Movements and NGO.**

#### **10.9 Politics of Accountability**

#### **10.10 Conclusion**

#### **10.11 Summing Up**

#### **10.12 Probable Questions**

#### **10.12 Further Reading**

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### **10.1 Objective**

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This unit explains globalization, global resistance, global social movements and role of AGOs. After reading this unit, learners will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of global resistance
- Have an idea on the phenomenal rise of the social movements and resistance politics currently going on all over the world
- Evaluate the critical role of NGOs in the global social movements

## **10.2 Introduction**

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Globalization is a dynamic process having its impact left on all aspects of human life. Broadly speaking globalization means increased interconnectedness between the nations or the peoples in terms of social, economic, cultural, political, ecological dimensions of human life. In the course of daily activities, individuals increasingly come into contact with people from different backgrounds with unlike beliefs and values. They began to live and work in a globalized world. It has affected the way we talk, we behave, we eat, we wear, we think.

In fact globalization is trying to give a new shape to modern civilization or we may say that civilization is becoming more and more globalized.

But just like there is no one understanding of Globalization, people have come to react to it in different ways. There are people who have come to oppose the very process of globalization. They believe that globalization has weakened the very system of cultural identities. It has infringed upon the sovereignty and integrity of the nations. It is a process of empowering something from above in the name of unity, uniformity and integrity. Instead of creating an universal civilization it is destroying a lot at the macro and micro level. Hence the very essence of democracy is being jeopardized.

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## **10.3 Meaning of Global Resistance**

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Resistance means protest. Resistance to ‘Globalization’ is a movement that tries to counter the intensifying impact of ‘Globalization’. There is a growing demand for participatory democracy which calls for maintaining distinct cultural autonomy of people of different communities. Against this backdrop the anti-globalization movement is gradually increasing in the form of social movement particularly after the end of cold war. People are targeting the policies of the USA and the west. Even individuals, groups and communities in these countries have raised voices for ‘democratizing globalization’, for global justice for global rule of law. Global Civil Society (GCS) as coined by Mary Kaldor has come up with a motive to give ‘space’ for ideas, values, beliefs located primarily outside the institutional complexes of government



organizations, financial and corporate institutions. It throws direct challenge to the perceived domination of corporate interests within the globalization process.

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#### **10.4 Resisting Globalization: Meaning and Nature**

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There are scholars who view resistance as political actions which have the potential to transform the political situation and produce a real alternative. There are others who perceive resistance as cultural reaction to globalization. But according to Md. Nuruzzaman social resistance is neither exclusively “a form of political action nor as an outright “cultural reaction” but as a “struggle for survival” fought in the wider political, economic and social contest.

As a result of resistance the state is forced to take steps to cope with the challenges of neo liberal globalization. According to some, global resistance is about contesting the accepted ideology or faith that legitimates the common sense of neo-liberal globalization and its faith in the capitalist market economy. It calls upon to resist ‘hegemony’ of culture, economy, governance, technology, legal system. This perspective is inspired by Karl Polanyi’s notion of “counter movement”.

Resistance to globalization refers to the whole aeries of struggles, movements and actions of various social groups and individuals in response to the destructive consequences of neo liberal reforms and its effects in the sphere of economy, politics and culture. These resistance movements inculcate values like social justice, democratic practice, peace,-solidarity, gender equality. It may be local, it may be national or even international. Techniques used for such resistance may range from information, persuasion, moral pressure to active social movements against the competent authorities. One such example is Narmada Bachaon Movement in India. It was the result of combination of the local, national and international non-state organizations which finally stalled the construction of huge dam over River Narmada. It was basically a protest against dislocation of human beings and protection for bio-diversity.

We have seen the manifestation of resistance in the form of various movements in 1980’s and 1990’s in different parts of the world e.g Africa, Middle East, Latin

America, Asia, China. While some movements were localized and regionalized in approach, others are mass-mobilizations against capitalist globalization. There have been attempts to form solidarity with the groups of oppressed peoples all over the world. And here technology which once helped in smooth selling of globalization also helped the resisters to unite (via internet, social media etc.). To name a few such movements China's Tiananmen Square democracy movement in 1987, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni people of Nigeria in 1990, Battle for Seattle in 1999, the emergence of the emergence of Zapatista, Army of National liberation in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994. All these movements and many more thereafter (occupy Wallstreet Demonstration in 2004) emerged as the anti globalization movements at the time of 21<sup>st</sup> century against a model of globalization based on the promotion of unfettered markets and free trade.

Scholars see social movements as sources of alternative hopes. They try to justify as to how the world can be made differently. World Social Forum (WSF), established in 2001, is one such notable organization for anti-globalization movement. The WSF has provided a suitable platform for reflection on the possible alternatives to neoliberal globalization. It fights for global social justice with the motto of "Another World is Possible". Some times such resistance movements are highly radical in their demands and attitudes. Members search for ways to make their views known and voices heard. They can even resort to violence in order to achieve their goals. There are religious fundamentalists such as Taliban ISIS, Al-Quida who try to establish an orthodox version of their religion. And so resist global processes that they think are a threat to their religious purity.

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## 10.5 Social Movements

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The essence of social movements is resistance. It could be resistance against the government for the violation of their basic human rights such as food, shelter, land and access to services. Or it could be resistance against the status quo. Sometimes they oppose government projects like large scale dam buildings, roads and bridges or excavation made in the earth for the purpose of extracting ores, coal or precious stones. People protest because all these violate their daily livelihood.

The relationship between such resistance movements and governments is a very complicated one. Movements oppose government, but at the same time they depend on it for the redressal of their grievances. Such movements also get politicized in their attempt to change the political institutions.

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## **10.6 Types of Resistance Movements**

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There are various types of resistance movements which are active in different parts of the world. They vary with respect to areas covered, purpose, methods of protest.

### **10.6.1 Local Movements**

Local people, particularly people living in remote areas are being deprived of their livelihood, displaced from their homeland and local markets due to the adverse effects of globalization. The struggle of the Adivasis-Dalits needs to be mentioned here. A good example of this can be traced to Plachimada Movement to conserve and protect the sources of drinking water at Palghat in Kerala in early 2000s. The resistance struggle by the local adivasis forced the Coca-Cola company to close down their factory.

### **10.6.2 National Movements**

Some important national level movements have been organized by various trade unions, peasants' organizations to resist globalization process. The resistance to Special Economic Zones may be cited as example of this kind. We may also mention the recent farmers' movements in Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh against the Corporate Sector as a result of which Government of India was forced to repeal the Farmers' Law.

### **10.6.3 Global Movements**

A number of movements and demonstration are taking place in different parts of the world to counter neoliberal globalization policy particularly at venues where heads of the government are meeting to discuss same global issues. WTO's (World Trade Organization) Ministerial Meeting at Seattle and Cancuno, G-8 meeting at

Genoa, IMF/ World Bank Meeting at Davos. Greta Thunberg's protest in 2018 for the protection of climate before World Social Forum (WSF) is another such example of anti-globalization movement. All such movements clearly reveal global level resistance.

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### **10.7 Social Movements and the Role of the NGOs**

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In order to create a just, transparent, accountable and inclusive social and economic order the role of the NGOs today is well recognized. Usually NGO is considered as a non-profit making group that functions independently of any government. They serve even the governments and other organizations through dissemination of information, formations of forums for dialogue and debates. Today NGOs like Amnesty International, Oxfam International, Greenpeace are seen as actors in the creation of globalised world. But at the same time there are NGOs who have posed challenge before the power of market economy and transnational institutions. They have built up resistance against unjust global economic order. They have become stronger advocates for citizens and better representatives of their interests. Side by side with social movements they have taken the citizens out in the streets to denounce a particular issue which appears to be unfair, derogatory, discriminatory and exclusionary. Increase in the number and presence of NGOs can mostly be attributed in the advent of civil society. Civil society has provided for an extended public sphere to counterbalance the power of the market economy. And it is here that the NGOs have emerged as powerful actors. They are now challenging the discriminatory anti-people neo-liberal reform policies of the governments and suggesting alternative pro-people policies and programmes. NGOs contested the spaces previously held by trade unions and political parties. The prevalent image of the NGOs is that of entities independent and mostly critical of governments. But reality could be something different. Powerful governments do turn to the NGOs in order to further the interests of the State. For example, the US government does not hesitate to proclaim that they use NGO –delivered humanitarian aid which also serves Washington's political and military objectives. The so called independence and neutrality of the NGOs are thus sometimes exposed. Andrew S. Narsis, an US based administrator explicitly declared that NGO relief entities that received US funds were 'an arm of the US government. 'Even there are reports of corporate

created NGOs or NGOs created by powerful multinational institutions. To name a few, The Foundation for Clean Air Progress which is funded by the petroleum, trucking and chemical companies; The Coalition for Animal Health which is again funded by cattle, dog and agri-business concerns. So much so, even some university research centres enjoy substantial corporate support. Therefore academia is also not immune.

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### **10.8 Differences between Social Movements and NGO**

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Social movements are judged very much by their membership. Movements must ensure a high level of loyalty and commitment from their members who in turn bestow legitimacy to the movement. Again social movements tend to be ad-hoc and evolutionary in nature. By contrast, NGOs tend to be more structurally organized. They work within the system via conventional methods like lobbying, campaigning. They have their fixed set of priorities based on official mission and organized goals. On the other hand, social movements often work outside the system by engaging in various kinds of protests including resorting to outright violence. Social movements target the governments and the authority. They try to bring about a significant change in the system.

Today any form of regime, whether national or international while formulating a policy must try to set up links with NGOs which deal with the related issues. Today no authority can afford to ignore the flow of information across the border of the country or within. Infact many of the services provided by the NGOs relieve the governments of its own responsibilities. So far as the 'development' agenda is concerned the national and international 'donor' agencies look upon the NGOs for relevant data and information. Infact NGOs have forced modifications in the official policy framework and implementation methods. The World Bank's Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, for example, carried out consultations with concerned NGOs. Surprisingly, social movements or movements raising opposition voices are excluded from such dialogue in the name of 'building consensus' in favour of neo-liberal development. A cleavage emerges between the intellectual, urban based NGOs and poor urban and rural majorities.

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## **10.9 Politics of Accountability**

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The prevalent image of the NGOs is one of independent entities. But question arises “Are they really independent?” NGOs are increasingly becoming the targets of criticism precisely for the confused line of accountability. Accountable to whom and how? Who is to judge the success of the NGOs: the donor or the recipients? At the end of the day accountability is very much related to politics. More accountability to the donor, the greater the dependence on towing the donor’s political line. In 1998, Action Aid International, an NGO while acknowledging it’s accountability to 150,000 donors, governments declared that it’s primary accountability was the poor people, especially women and children, that it served. In fairness NGOs are subject to political pressures and attacks by the governments as well as the civil society organizations as unwelcome intruders into what they regard as their exclusive political domain.

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## **10.10 Conclusion**

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World wide resistance to globalization process is one of the most important political developments of the present day. Perhaps the most noted form of resistance to globalization at the end of the twentieth century was first popularly termed as the anti globalization movement. This new movement against globalization demands global justice, economic equality, social justice, indigenous culture and environmental protection. Functions of the IMF, WTO, World Bank have been profoundly criticized. In this respect, NGOs have no doubt come to occupy a large space in global affairs. They have brought the states to respect areas like Human rights, poverty, health, labour rights, rights of the children and the under privileged and environment. They have successfully transformed the norms of capitalist globalization.

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## **10.11 Summing Up**

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The above discussion reveals that just as Globalization reflects the projection of a globalized market economy willingly or unwillingly imposed on all of us, it

simultaneously reflects the globalized voice of resistance, struggle and movements. It insists on the rights of the people, democratization of governance. Development of civil society organizations, non-governmental organisations along with various types of social movements have contributed significantly in empowering the citizens, in raising their voices of protest against all kinds of injustices. All these have strengthened the democratic values like social justice, autonomy, peace, ecological balance etc. It has created a new public sphere, a mechanism for global collaboration for resolving global problems. But the real challenge in this new wave of resistance is to identify and distinguish between true global social movements and politically manufactured movements with narrow vested interests.

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## 10.12 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. “If globalization defines the present century, so does the global resistance.” Do you agree with the view? Justify your answer.
2. What role do the NGOs play in representing the voices of the people?
3. Discuss in brief the factors for the spread of Resistance Movements all over the world.

### Short Questions:

1. What do you mean by Global Resistance Movement?
2. What are the various types of global resistance movements?
3. Define NGO.

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. In which year world Social Forum was established?  
(A) 2001  
(B) 2002  
(C) 2004  
(D) 2006

**Ans.:** (A) 2001

2. What is the full form of WTO?
- (A) World Tourism Organization
  - (B) World Trade Organization
  - (C) World Tele-Communication Organization
  - (D) World Teachers' Organization
- Ans.:** (B) World Trade Organization
3. What is NGO ( Non Governmental Organization)?
- (A) NGO is a profit making organization which serves people against money.
  - (B) NGO is a business organization which sales goods.
  - (C) NGO is a trade union organization which deals with the problems of workers.
  - (D) NGO is a non-profit making organization which functions independently.
- Ans.:** (D) NGO is a non-profit making organization which functions independently.

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### 10.12 Further Reading

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## **Block-III:**

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### **Unit 11 □ Gender Issues and Global Politics**

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#### *Structure*

- 11.1 Objective**
  - 11.2 Introduction**
  - 11.3 Empirical and Analytical feminism**
  - 11.4 Gendered States and Gendered Nations**
  - 11.5 Gendering Security, War and Armed Conflict**
  - 11.6 Gender, globalization and development**
  - 11.7 Conclusion**
  - 11.8 Summing Up**
  - 11.9 Probable Questions**
  - 11.10 Further Reading**
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#### **11.1 Objective**

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This unit deals with the different issues of Gender. After going through this unit learners will be able to:

- Understand the feminist perspective of various global issues
- Realize the gendered character of states and nations
- Explain how the feminists are theorizing economic issues related to exploitation of women.

In this section the learner will become acquainted with the feminist perspective of various global issues and how the gender lens is applied to it.

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#### **11.2 Introduction**

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Feminist theories have only been widely applied to the study of international and global issues since the late 1980s; some twenty years after feminism had influenced

other areas of the social sciences. Since then, however, gender perspectives have gained growing prominence, alongside other critical theories that have, in their various ways, challenged mainstream realist and liberal approaches. Feminism has made a particular contribution to the so-called ‘fourth debate’ in international relations, which has opened up questions about the nature of theory and the politics of knowledge generally. These newer perspectives have generally accepted that all theory is conditioned by the social and historical context in which the activity of theorizing takes place. But what does it mean to put a ‘feminist lens’ or ‘gender lens’ on global politics? How can issues such as nationalism, security, war and so on be ‘gendered’? There are two main ways which take account of how prevailing gender relations alter analytical and theoretical approaches to global politics. These are sometimes called empirical feminism and analytical feminism.

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### **11.3 Empirical and Analytical feminism**

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Empirical feminism is primarily concerned to add women to existing analytical frameworks. This perspective, influenced in particular by liberal feminism, has an essentially empirical orientation because it addresses the under-representation or misrepresentation of women in a discipline that has conventionally focused only on male-dominated institutions and processes. Analytical feminism, by contrast, is concerned to highlight the gender biases that pervade the theoretical framework and key concepts of mainstream international theory, and particularly realism. It is analytical in that it addresses the issue of how the world is seen and understood, drawing on the ideas of difference feminism.

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### **11.4 Gendered States and Gendered Nations**

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Issues of identity in global politics are generally dominated by an emphasis on identification with the nation-state. Such identification is particularly strong because the overlapping allegiances of citizenship (membership of a state) and nationality (membership of a nation) are focused on a territorially defined community. Moreover, the supposedly homogeneous character of the nation-state helps to explain why alternative forms of identity, such as those based on social class, gender, religion and

ethnicity, have traditionally been politically marginalized. The rise of the modern women's movement has, to some extent, countered nation-state loyalties by trying to foster a rival sense of 'international sisterhood', based on transnational gender allegiances, although, as with attempts by the twentieth-century socialist movement to inculcate a sense of 'proletarian internationalism', this has had little serious impact. Of greater significance, however, have been feminists' attempts to demonstrate the extent to which both the state and the nation are entangled with gender assumptions and biases.

Feminism does not contain a theory of the state as such. Furthermore, feminists have usually not regarded the nature of state power as a central political issue, preferring instead to concentrate on the 'deeper structure' of male power centered on institutions such as the family. Nevertheless, radical feminists in particular have argued that patriarchy operates in, and through, the state, meaning that the state is in fact a patriarchal state.

The instrumentalist approach views the state as little more than an 'agent' or 'tool' used by men to defend their interests and uphold the structures of patriarchy. This line of argument draws on the core feminist belief that patriarchy is upheld by the division of society into distinct public and private spheres of life. Quite simply, in this view, the state is run by men for men. Whereas instrumentalist arguments focus on the personnel of the state, and particularly the state elite, structuralist arguments tend to emphasize the degree to which state institutions are embedded in a wider patriarchal system. Modern radical feminists have paid particular attention to the emergence of the welfare state, seeing it as the expression of a new kind of patriarchal power. Welfare may uphold patriarchy by bringing about a transition from private dependence (in which women as homemakers are dependent on male breadwinners) to a system of public dependence in which women are increasingly controlled by the institutions of the extended state. For instance, women have become increasingly dependent on the state as clients or customers of state services (such as childcare institutions, nurseries, schools and social services) and as employees, particularly in the so-called 'caring' professions (such as nursing, social work and education).

The gendered character of the state is not only significant in consolidating, and possibly extending, the internal structures of male power, but also in shaping the

external behavior of states and thus the structure of the international system. Here, patriarchy dictates that states will be competitive and at least potentially aggressive, reflecting the forms of social interaction that are characteristic of male society generally. A patriarchal state-system is thus one that is prone to conflict and war. Moreover, such tendencies and behavior are legitimized by the conceptual framework through which the international system has conventionally been interpreted.

Gendered perspectives on nations and nationalism have also been developed. These have adopted a number of approaches, but one important aspect of gendering nationalism has focused on the extent to which women have been used to symbolize the cultural heritage of an ethnic, religious or national group. As such, gender becomes entangled with issues of national or cultural difference. This can be seen in the common tendency to depict the nation in explicitly gendered terms, usually as a ‘motherland’ but sometimes as a ‘fatherland’. In a sense, such images merely reflect parallels between the nation and the family, both being viewed, in some sense, as ‘home’ and both being fashioned out of kinship or at least kinship-like ties. The rhetoric of nationalism is also often heavily sexualized and gendered, as, for instance, in the idea of patriotism as a love of one’s country. Gender images are nevertheless particularly prominent in the case of regressive forms of ethnic, religious or national identity. As these tend to stress the role of women as ‘mothers of the nation’, reproducers of the ethnic or national group itself as well as transmitters of its distinctive culture, they place a special emphasis on female ‘purity’. This can be seen in the tendency for religious fundamentalism to be closely linked to attempts to re-establish traditional gender roles, religious revivalism being symbolized by ‘idealized womanhood’. However, such tendencies can also have wider implications, not least in linking nationalist conflict to the possibility of violence against women. The notion that women embody the symbolic values of chastity and motherhood can mean that aggressive forms of nationalism target women through rape and other forms of sexual violence.

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### **11.5 Gendering Security, War and Armed Conflict**

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Feminist analysis has placed particular emphasis on developing a gendered conception of security and war. Conventional approaches to security present it as ‘the

highest end' of international politics. In this view, states have prime responsibility for maintaining security, as reflected in the notion of 'national security'. The major threats to security are therefore external, coming in particular from other states. In this way, the threat of violence and other forms of physical coercion are intrinsically linked to the prospect of interstate war. National security is thus closely linked to the prevention of such wars, usually through a build-up of military capacity to deter potential aggressors.

Feminists, for their part, have criticized this view of security on two grounds. First, it is premised on masculinist assumptions about rivalry, competition and inevitable conflict, arising from a tendency to see the world in terms of interactions among a series of power-seeking, autonomous actors. Second, the conventional idea of national security tends to be self-defeating as a result of the security paradox. This creates what has been called the 'insecurity of security'. Feminist theorists, by contrast, have embraced alternative conceptions of security, most commonly the notion of 'human security'. Nevertheless, the parameters of human security are sometimes unclear. While some argue that it should be confined to 'freedom from fear' (in which case the key threats to security would be armed conflict and human-made physical violence), others extend it to include 'freedom from want' (in which case poverty, inequality and structural violence become key threats).

Further controversies have arisen from attempts to make the concept of human security measurable, in order to make it easier for researchers and policy-makers to apply it in practice. For some feminists, such tendencies implicitly privilege physical security and military threats over threats such as rape, loss of property, inadequate food and environmental degradation, which may not result in death, but which nevertheless leads to profound insecurity and, sometimes, vulnerability to further violence.

For feminists in particular, war is closely associated with masculinity. Such an association may operate on several levels. In the first place, the dominance of men in senior positions in political and military life may mean that decisions about war and peace are made by people whose world-view acknowledges that armed conflict is an inevitable, and perhaps even a desirable, feature of world politics. This stems from a tendency amongst men to see the world in terms of conflict, rivalry and

competition, whether this arises from the influence of masculine gender stereotypes or from deeper, biologically-based drives. As women, in this analysis, are less warlike than men, having a greater inclination towards cooperation, consensus-building and the use of non-confrontational strategies, the increased representation for women in positions of political or military leadership can be expected to lead to a reduced use of force in world affairs. This, indeed, may lead to a feminist alternative to the 'democratic peace' thesis, favored by liberals, which would assert that societies become more peaceful not to the extent that they embrace democracy but to the extent that they practice gender equality at all levels. A matriarchal society would, from this perspective, certainly be more peaceful than a patriarchal one. The empirical evidence to support such thinking is nevertheless mixed, with some evidence suggesting that, while empowering women at the domestic level often translates into peaceful international politics, the presence of a female leader may at times increase the severity of violence used in a crisis.

However, gendering war is concerned not only with exploring links between the causes of war and masculinity, but also with recognizing the differing implications of war and armed conflict for women and men. Armed conflict has traditionally been thought of as a 'man's world', the traditional exclusion of women from military life meaning that fighting, killing and dying has been carried out by male combatants. Insofar as women played a significant role in warfare, it was in maintaining the 'home front', as was evident in the large-scale recruitment of women into the workforce in developed countries during WWI and WWII. The distinction between male combatants and female non-combatants nevertheless conceals the extent to which women affect, and are affected by, armed conflict in a wide variety of ways. This certainly applies in the sense that women and girls have increasingly become the victims of war and armed conflict. The advent of 'total' war in the twentieth century meant that women were as likely to be casualties of war as men.

A particular concern has been the use of rape and other forms of sexual violence as a systematic, organized tactic of war. War rape is by no means simply a modern phenomenon. Indeed, random rape by soldiers has probably been a feature of all wars and armed conflicts, particularly prevalent when there has been a lack of military discipline. However, rape has also been used as a military strategy, designed to

demoralize, punish or shame the enemy, with examples including the German advance through Belgium in WWI, the Rape of Nanking by the invading Japanese army in 1937–38, and the Russian Red Army's march to Berlin towards the end of WWII. Nevertheless, modern armed conflict appears to be particularly characterized by the systematic and widespread use of rape.

A final link between women and armed conflict is the relationship between military bases and prostitution. In one sense, history is filled with examples of women as 'war booty' or 'camp followers' that the phenomenon of military prostitution is seldom analyzed or even recognized. However, since the 1980s there has been a growing recognition of the systematic character of military prostitution and of its implications for national and personal security. In the early 1990s, the Japanese government apologized for the sexual enslavement of so-called 'comfort women' in Korea during WWII. The extent of military prostitution around US bases in Okinawa, the Philippines, South Korea and Thailand has increasingly been understood to have been facilitated by local and national government as well as by the connivance of military authorities. US military deployments in the Gulf War, the Afghan War and the Iraq War have reinvigorated prostitution and the trafficking of women in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the significance of military prostitution perhaps goes beyond the physical, sexual and economic exploitation of women and has implications for international politics as well.

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## **11.6 Gender, Globalization and Development**

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There has been a long tradition of feminist theorizing about economic issues, particularly undertaken by socialist feminists. The central idea of socialist feminism is that patriarchy and capitalism are overlapping and interlocking systems of oppression. The sexual division of labor, through which men dominate the public sphere while women are customarily confined to the private sphere, has served the economic interests of capitalism in a number of ways. For some socialist feminists, women constitute a 'reserve army of labor', which can be recruited into the workforce when there is a need for increased production, but easily shed and returned to domestic life during a depression, without imposing a burden on employers or the state. At the

same time, women's domestic labor is vital to the health and efficiency of the economy. In bearing and rearing children, women are producing the next generation of capitalist workers. Similarly, in their role as housewives, women relieve men of the burden of housework and child-rearing, allowing them to concentrate their time and energy on paid and productive employment. The traditional family also provides male workers with the necessary cushion against the alienation and frustrations of life as a 'wage slave'. However, such gendered processes are largely ignored by conventional theories of political economy which concentrate only on commercial exchange and paid labor, thus rendering much of women's contribution to productive activity invisible. This is further accentuated by gender biases that operate within the conceptual framework of conventional political economy, and especially economic liberalism. This can be seen, in particular, in the feminist critique of the notion of 'economic man'. The idea that human beings are rationally self-seeking creatures who pursue pleasure primarily in the form of material consumption, a foundational idea of market capitalism, has been constructed in line with masculinist assumptions about egoism and competition. Feminists, in other words, suggest that 'economic woman' would behave otherwise.

The restructuring of the economy as a result of globalization has had a number of further implications for gender relations. In the first place, it has brought about the global 'feminization of work'. In the developing world, this has been evident in the expansion of employment opportunities for women. The developed world has also witnessed the growth of new 'feminized', or 'pink-collar', jobs through the expansion of the service sectors of the economy, such as retailing, cleaning and data processing. Although the number of women in paid work has grown, such trends have also been associated with vulnerability and exploitation. Not only are women workers usually cheap (in part because of an abundant supply of labor) but they also tend to be employed in economic sectors where there are few workers' rights and weak labor organizations. Women workers therefore suffer from the double burden of low-paid work and continued pressure to undertake domestic labor, often, thanks to the advance of neo-liberal globalization, in the context of a reduction of state support for health, education and basic food subsidies. Economic globalization has also unleashed dynamics that have led to the 'feminization of migration'. Pressures in both developed and the developing countries have contributed to this trend.



The pressures of globalization have therefore combined to redefine the sexual division of labor in both global and ethnic terms, creating a dependency of a particularly intimate kind, as affluent and middle-class families in the developed world come to rely on migrant women to provide childcare and homemaking services.

The era of globalization has substantially boosted the sex industry on both a national and global level, with alarming numbers of women and girls being trafficked by smugglers and sold into bondage.

As far as development is concerned, a number of competing gender perspectives have emerged. Modernization theorists have associated economic development with the emancipation of women from their traditional roles. In this view, patriarchal control and the subjugation of women is one of the key hierarchies that flourishes in traditional societies. The growth of market-based, capitalist relations brings with it, by contrast, a powerful drive towards individualism, valuing people less in terms of status and tradition and more in terms of their contribution to the productive process. This is reflected in the emergence of more egalitarian family structures in which all family members participate more widely in the family's functions. Opportunities for women to gain an education and enter careers also expand, as modernization creates the need for a more skilled and literate workforce. From a feminist perspective, however, this conception of 'modernity' is constructed on the basis of essentially masculine norms. As already examined, this applies to economic liberalism, and it is therefore also evident in the idea of 'development as growth'. A further feminist concern has been that orthodox approaches to development have failed to recognize the extent to which poverty is 'feminized'. As Abbott et al. (2005) put it: 'Women make up half the world's population, perform two-thirds of the world's working hours, receive one-tenth of the world's income and own only one-hundredth of the world's property'.

On the other hand, postcolonial feminists in particular have criticized the image of women in the developing world as victims – poor, under-educated, oppressed and disempowered. Women, they argue, often play a leading role in development and poverty reduction initiatives, especially when these initiatives are based on local ownership and reject top-down, technocratic models of development.

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## 11.7 Conclusion

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Thus, the gendered analysis of global politics focuses on the various issues like the state, war, and globalization and offers a different perspective from the prevalent masculine analysis.

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## 11.8 Summing Up

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- The ‘gender lens’ of empirical feminism is primarily concerned to ‘add women’ to existing analytical frameworks.
- The ‘gender lens’ of analytical feminism is concerned, by contrast, to highlight the gender biases that pervade the theoretical framework and key concepts of mainstream international theory.
- Feminists have drawn attention to the gendered character of states and nations.
- Feminists have been critical of the conventional notion of national security.
- Feminist theorizing on economic issues has tended to stress the ways in which the sexual division of labor serves the economic interests of capitalism

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## 11.9 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Why have feminists argued that war and gender are intrinsically linked?
2. Has economic globalization benefited, or harmed, the lives of women?

### Short Questions:

1. What implications do feminists draw from the gendered character of nations and states?
2. Why and how have feminists criticized the conventional idea of national security?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Feminist theories have only been widely applied to the study of international and global issues since—
  - (A) 1950
  - (B) 1960

(C) 1970

(D) 1980

**Ans.:** (D) 1980

2. Modern radical feminists have paid particular attention to the emergence of the—

(A) welfare state

(B) marxist state

(C) democratic state

(D) none of the above

**Ans.:** (A) welfare state

3. The restructuring of the economy as a result of globalization has had a number of implications for—

(A) Family relations

(B) Personal relations

(C) Gender relations

(D) None of the above

**Ans.:** (C) Gender relations

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### 11.10 Further Reading

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1. Tickner, J. A. *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* (2001).
2. Heywood Andrew, *Global Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
3. Aga Khan Foundation (2001), *Understanding Women's Experiences in Natural Resource Management*, Aga Khan Foundation, New Delhi.
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## **Unit 12 □ Ecological Issues: Historical Overview of International Environmental Agreements**

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### *Structure*

#### **12.0 Objective**

#### **12.1 Introduction**

#### **12.2 Historical Overview**

#### **12.3 Major International Environmental Agreements**

##### **12.3.1 The Stockholm Conference**

##### **12.3.2 United Nations Environment Program (UNEP)**

##### **12.3.3 Montreal Protocol (1987)**

##### **12.3.4 Rio Conference (1992)**

##### **12.3.5 Declaration on Environment and Development**

##### **12.3.6 The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)**

##### **12.3.7 Statement of Principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests**

##### **12.3.8 Agenda 21**

##### **12.3.9 Kyoto Protocol**

##### **12.3.10 Paris Agreement**

#### **12.4 Conclusion**

#### **12.5 Summing Up**

#### **12.6 Probable Questions**

#### **12.7 Further Reading**

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### **12.0 Objective**

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The objective of this unit is to enable the learners to:

- Know the need for environmental agreements
- Understand the importance of international environmental agreements
- Realize how to preserve the natural resources

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## 12.1 Introduction

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Since at least the late 1800s and with increasing regularity in the past half century, countries have negotiated hundreds of international legal agreements to address environmental problems they cannot resolve alone. Conventions addressing ozone depletion, climate change, and biodiversity are well-known, but governments have also concluded global, regional, and bilateral agreements to mitigate pollution of oceans, regional seas, rivers, and lakes; reduce over-exploitation of numerous species of fish, birds, and land and marine mammals; and slow the degradation of wetlands, deserts, and other habitats.

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## 12.2 Historical Overview

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The issues of ecological imbalance and environmental degradation were not completely unknown in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The need for the preservation of the natural resources was felt even then. The states' efforts to achieve rapid industrialization and modernization have caused numerous environmental problems such as global warming, deterioration of the ozone layer, resource depletion, industrial pollution, deforestation, air pollution, and ocean pollution among others. These issues are not local or national in nature but global, transnational, and trans-boundary which demands collective actions by all countries to achieve desired common objectives. Countries including developed ones cannot effectively cope with major environmental problems by acting alone, and this fact has been well acknowledged by all countries. However, the people were not very aware about the threats to our environment at that time. After the Second World War, this situation changed and for the first time, environmental crisis reached serious proportions. As a result, thinkers, scientists, philosophers, researchers and administrators expressed their concern for the crisis along with the common people. The pollution levels of air, water and land reached serious proportions that endangered the life of the human species. Rachel Carson's book *The Silent Spring* published in June 1962 documenting the adverse environmental effects caused by the indiscriminate use of pesticides created quite a stir.

To address the problem of growing environmental degradation, over the years, a number of international environmental agreements have been signed at the global level to address different ecological problems. Such agreements include important inter-governmental policies, initiatives and measures taken collectively on global environmental issues. International environmental agreements are significant since they enable countries, belonging to different contexts, to come together on common platform and work collectively to deal with complex ecological issues. In other words, the countries (including developed) have soon recognized the fact that environment issues are transnational in nature, and, therefore, they are to be addressed collectively. The beginning of international agreements on ecological issues can be traced back to the latter half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, when they primarily focused on two issues: preservation of natural resources and impacts of pollution on environment and human health. In this regard, the international community attempted to regulate and control the limitless exploitation of maritime resources. For example: the 1946 International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling is widely considered as the first international agreement in the domain of environmental protection. However, those attempts did not yield any success. Post-second World War global economic recovery brought about the evidences. Since then, its scope has been considerably expanded as ecological issues acquired a trans-boundary character that is evident in the growing numbers of international environmental conferences and agreements emerged with the support of international organizations like UN. In that sense, international environmental agreements, in the beginning, focused on very limited issues and problems while the recent agreements do not only address a wide range of issues but also binding upon a greater number of states than earlier of sea pollution, atmosphere pollution and marine pollution on a massive scale. However, it is the Stockholm Conference (1972) which had marked the announcement of international environmental agreements on a large scale.

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## **12.3 Major International Environmental Agreements**

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### **12.3.1 Stockholm Conference (UNCHE, 1972)**

The United Nations Conference on Human Environment (UNCHE)—held in June 1972 in Stockholm, Sweden—marked the beginning of the modern era of

environmental governance, introducing more inclusive and comprehensive international agreements and regulations on environmental issues. This conference is also widely known as the Stockholm Conference. The event is broadly considered the first major worldwide attempt to address the global environmental problems and preserve the human environment. The conference was also the first international environmental agreement recognizing the fact that environmental problems of broad international significance fall within the competence of the United Nations system. In other words, Stockholm conference placed the environmental problems at the center of global debates, particularly those occurring within the domain of international organizations like UN. As a result, the international organizations were compelled to take appropriate measures to deal with the environmental problems— particularly those are global in nature. Since then, the international organizations have not only successfully organized international events, but also signed a number of environmental agreements aiming at the preservation and enhancement of the human environment.

### **12.3.2 United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)**

The establishment of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) was one of the greatest achievements of the Stockholm Conference. This international environmental body was primarily set up, in December 1972 by the General Assembly, to coordinate the environmental activities within the United Nations system. UNEP—headquartered in Nairobi, Kenya—was labeled to be the environmental conscience of the UN system. The main tasks of this organization are to promote global cooperation on ecological issues, guide other UN's environmental agencies, coordinate UN activities related to the environment, monitor global environmental management and encourage scientific research and projects among others. Also, it intends to raise public awareness about the dangers of environmental change and deterioration, and attempts to inculcate environmental education through sponsored television and radio programs. It is estimated that more than 10,000 educators in over 140 countries have been involved in UNEP's educational activities. Besides, UNEP does not only encourage the states' agencies but also the private actors like NGOs, TNCs, multinational voluntary organizations and civil society groups to promote the sustainable use of the natural resources. Since its origin,

UNEP has been one of the biggest proponents of the environmentfriendly and sustainable model of development. It has supported the varied scientific researches, training programs and projects aiming to develop an environment sensitive development agendas and models. It has also facilitated worldwide cooperation among the states in global politics, particularly in the context of international environmental agreements and policies. Therefore, the role of Stockholm Conference or UNCHE in placing the environmental issues at the center of global discourse is noteworthy. This event did stimulate the international agencies and governments along with the people to take appropriate measures to protect and enhance the human environment.

### **12.3.3 Montreal Protocol (1987)**

The Montreal Protocol entitled as the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer', was initially signed in 1987 by the twenty-four countries and the European Community at the Headquarters of the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal, Canada. Later, the same treaty was ratified by more than 180 countries. This global agreement is the first of its kinds in the history of environmental protection which was designed to protect the stratospheric ozone layer by reducing the global production, emission and usage of ozone-depleting chemical substances within the stipulated time period. However the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer (1985)—that recognizes the responsibility of states to protect the environment and human health from the adverse effects of ozone depletion—set out the framework under which the Montreal Protocol was negotiated. The protocol was thus adopted on September 16, 1987 but it came into force on January 1, 1989 and subsequently amended many times. The Montreal Protocol recognized the world wide emission of certain chemical substances that could deplete or substantially modify the earth's ozone layer in a way that was assessed to adversely impact the environment and human health. Hence, it was aimed at regulating the production and consumption of Ozone-Depleting Substances (ODSs) such as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), carbon tetrachloride, halons and methyl chloroform among others. The Parties to the Protocol agreed to reduce the manufacture and usage of CFCs by half of their baseline by 1998 and to phase-out usage of Halon



by 1992. However, ten years of relaxation was granted to the developing countries, unlike developed countries, in order to comply with the Protocol phase-out targets. The Protocol also delimited trade of controlled substances (ODSs) in the countries not party to the protocol. Moreover, a unique adjustment provision is also included in the protocol which enables the Parties (signatory countries of the protocol) to quickly respond to new scientific information in an effort to accelerate the reductions required on chemicals already covered by the Protocol. These adjustments are then automatically applicable to all countries that ratified the Protocol. Since the enactment of Montreal Protocol, the Parties adjusted and amended the Protocol not just to regulate the ODSs, but also to provide finance resources to help developing countries in complying with the Protocol's provisions. In addition to the adjustment provision, the signatory countries meet to share important scientific information and monitor the implementation of phase-out resolutions.

#### **12.3.4 Rio Conference (1992)**

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also popularly known as the Earth Summit or Rio Conference, was convened in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. This global event marked the twentieth anniversary of historical Stockholm Conference held in 1972. The Rio Conference, the largest environment conference in UN history, was attended by over 170 government representatives, 35000 environmental activists, politicians and business representatives, along with thousands of journalists and representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from around the world. The conference negotiated on a wide range of environmental issues ranging from biodiversity, climate change, pollution, forest management, poverty and sustainable use of resources. The foremost purpose of the conference, however, was to reconcile the worldwide developmental goals with the need for environmental protection by evolving a sustainable model of development. The sustainable development is broadly defined as the development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The conference, therefore, laid down the principles or action plan to enable individuals and the nations to adopt a more environmentalfriendly behavior and policies. And, the attendees nominally committed to promote industrialization and development in harmony with the nature.

### **12.3.5 Declaration on Environment and Development**

The Declaration on Environment and Development' adopted at the Earth Summit is also widely known as Rio Declaration comprising of 27 principles that reaffirmed the Stockholm Declaration and defined the responsibilities of state and non-state actors in safeguarding the planet. In other words, it has urged the nations to pursue a sustainable and environment sensitive developmental agenda on the one hand and encouraged the individuals to live a more eco-friendly lifestyle on the other. It has further highlighted the need of evolving new levels of global corporation to deal with the emerging environmental challenges, and preserve and restore the earth's ecosystem.

### **12.3.6 The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)**

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), also called Biological Treaty, is another significant achievement of the Rio Conference. The convention was opened for signatures in 1992 at the Earth Summit and entered into force on December 29, 1993. The biodiversity exists on Earth in the many forms of life including ecosystem, plants, animals, microorganisms, fungi to genetic diversity. The convention recognizes the central role of biological diversity in maintaining the life sustaining systems of the biosphere, and thus it requires the states to initiate measures for the protection and the sustainable use of biological diversity (UN 1992). In other words, the CBD affirms that the preservation of biodiversity is a common concern of humankind demanding collective efforts at all levels (global, national, local and societal levels). This multilateral binding agreement has today been approved by over 190 countries and the European Union. The Biological Treaty requires all countries to develop their national strategy to protect biodiversity, particularly endangered species. In fact, there are the three key objectives the CBD has set out (for nations) to achieve: first, the sustainable use of biological diversity; second, the conservation of biodiversity; and the last is the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources. Overall, the objective is to initiate measures to conserve the biodiversity and also ensure its sustainable use for the benefits of present and future generations. In order to achieve the objectives, the CBD underlines the significance of global technical and scientific corporation amongst the Parties to the Convention. Hence, the international and national institutions are endowed with responsibility to promote corporation in the field of conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity

by facilitating the exchange of relevant information, techniques and scientific and socio-economic research. It is also stated in the Convention that the affluent nations (developed countries) are to be provided additional financial aid and resources to enable the poor nations (developing countries) to be in compliance with the obligation. In other words, the developed countries were encouraged to share their green technology with developing countries for the better compliance of convention's principles. The CBD also recognizes the significance of the role of indigenous groups and nongovernmental organizations in ensuring the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity. In other words, the informal sector or non-state actors like media, civil society, NGOs and educational institutes should be involved to make people aware about the importance of biodiversity so they should also participate in achieving the objectives of CBD. In order to monitor the progress and continuously revive the plan, the Parties ratified the Convention and agreed to come together every two years.

### **12.3.7 Statement of Principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests**

The Statement of Principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests is a non-binding declaration aimed at conserving and protecting the world's rapidly vanishing tropical forests. It urged the nations to monitor and observe the impact of their development process on forest resources and also encouraged them to take immediate step to recover the damage done to the latter as well as draft policy to minimize the harmful impact of development on forest resources. The mode of development is to be in harmony with nature.

The following key points are contained in the Statement of Principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests:

- All nations should contribute in the greening of the world through plantations program and conservation policies.
- The state and non-state actors have the responsibility to ensure the sustainable forest management.
- Forest resources should be protected and preserved to meet the social, economic, cultural and ecological needs of both present and future generations.

- A special attention should be given to those forest resources which has unique historical, religious, spiritual and cultural importance.
- Nation should initiate proper measures to regulate and control those pollutants that harm forests.

### **12.3.8 Agenda 21**

Agenda 21 is the most significant agreement signed at the Earth Summit. It is widely recognized as an international blueprint or global plan of action for achieving sustainability in the twentieth century. Over 180 governments agreed to Agenda 21 in 1992 at the Earth Summit. The countries approved the same are to be monitored by the International Commission on Sustainable Development, and are encouraged to promote the agenda 21 at all levels (local, regional, national and global levels). Agenda 21 outlines the actions that international community, governments, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, civil society, and the communities can take to realize the aim of sustainable world. It also recognizes the importance of everyone included the governmental agencies, NGOs, civil society, and local organizations among others in building a sustainable future. Agenda 21 is primarily divided into

Section 1: Social Economic Dimensions.

Section 2: Conservation and Management of Resources for Development

Section 3: Strengthening the Role of Major Groups

Section 4: Means of Implementation

### **12.3.9 Kyoto Protocol**

The Kyoto Protocol operationalizes the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change by committing industrialized countries and economies in transition to limit and reduce greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions in accordance with agreed individual targets. The Convention itself only asks those countries to adopt policies and measures on mitigation and to report periodically.

The Kyoto Protocol is based on the principles and provisions of the Convention and follows its annex-based structure. It only binds developed countries, and places a heavier burden on them under the principle of “common but differentiated

responsibility and respective capabilities”, because it recognizes that they are largely responsible for the current high levels of GHG emissions in the atmosphere. The Kyoto Protocol was adopted on 11 December 1997. Owing to a complex ratification process, it entered into force on 16 February 2005. Currently, there are 192 Parties to the Kyoto Protocol. In Doha, Qatar, on 8 December 2012, the Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol was adopted for a second commitment period, starting in 2013 and lasting until 2020. As of 28 October 2020, 147 Parties deposited their instrument of acceptance; therefore the threshold of 144 instruments of acceptance for entry into force of the Doha Amendment was achieved. The amendment entered into force on 31 December 2020.

### **12.3.10 Paris Agreement (2015)**

The Paris Agreement, also known as Paris Climate Accord or Paris Climate Agreement, was adopted on 12 December, 2015 by 195 nations at the twentieth-first Conference of Parties (COP 21) to UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Agreement is another noteworthy attempt to enhance the implementation of UNFCCC. It offers a new universal legally-binding framework to combat the global threat of climate change and strengthen the globally coordinated efforts towards a sustainable future beyond 2020. In other words, the Paris Climate Agreement is tended to replace the Kyoto Protocol after its second commitment period ends in January 2020. The agreement is primarily aimed at keeping the rise in global temperature to well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, and limiting the temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius. Also, the agreement intends to strengthen the global capability of dealing with the potential impacts of climate change.

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## **12.4 Conclusion**

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Thus, the various international agreements are important since they enable the different countries of the world with diverse background to collectively deal with the growing threats to the environment. However, the efficacy of these agreements has been questioned by many. Nevertheless, it can be viewed as an effort in the right direction required for the preservation of the world for the generations to come. The

international forums provide a platform to all the countries where they can deliberate and discuss on environmental issues and decide the common action program through multinational agreements.

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## 12.5 Summing Up

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- After the Second World War for the first time, environmental crisis reached serious proportions. Thinkers, scientists, philosophers, researchers and administrators expressed their concern for the crisis along with the common people. Various agreements were enacted for this purpose. They are:

### **Major International Environmental Agreements:**

- Stockholm Conference
- United Nations Environment Program (UNEP)
- Montreal Protocol (1987)
- Rio Conference (1992)
- Declaration on Environment and Development
- The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)
- Statement of Principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests
- Agenda 21
- Kyoto Protocol
- Paris Agreement

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## 12.6 Probable Questions

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### **Essay Type Questions:**

1. Discuss any three international environmental agreements.
2. Examine the importance of the Rio Conference.
3. What is the importance of the Stockholm Conference?

### **Short Questions:**

1. Analyse the Kyoto Protocol.

2. What is the necessity of International environmental agreements?
3. Examine the Paris Agreement

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Who is the writer of Silent Spring?
  - (A) Karl Marx
  - (B) Rachel Carson
  - (C) David Easton
  - (D) none of the above**Ans.:** (B) Rachel Carson
2. The United Nations Conference on Human Environment (UNCHE) is popularly known as—
  - (A) The Paris Conference
  - (B) The Rio Conference
  - (C) The Stockholm Conference
  - (D) None of the above**Ans.:** (C) The Stockholm Conference
3. The Paris Agreement is also known as—
  - (A) Paris Climate Accord
  - (B) Paris Peace Accord
  - (C) Paris Peace Treaty
  - (D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) Paris Climate Accord

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**12.7 Further Reading**

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## **Unit 13 □ Climate Change**

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### *Structure*

#### **13.1 Objective**

#### **13.2 Introduction**

#### **13.3 Measurement of Climate Change**

#### **13.4 Causes of Climate Change**

##### **13.4.1 Natural Causes of Climate Change**

##### **13.4.2 Anthropogenic Causes of Climate Change**

#### **13.5 The Effects of Global Climate Change**

##### **13.5.1 Extreme weather**

##### **13.5.2 Dirty air**

##### **13.5.3 Health risks**

##### **13.5.4 Rising seas**

##### **13.5.5 Warmer, more acidic oceans**

##### **13.5.6 Imperiled ecosystems**

#### **13.6 Conclusion**

#### **13.7 Summing Up**

#### **13.8 Probable Questions**

#### **13.9 Further Reading**

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### **13.1 Objective**

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This unit explains the different aspects of climate change and its effect on the whole world. After studying this unit learners will be able to:

- Obtain knowledge about the global climate and its effect on the human lives.
- Know the ways to protect human beings from the disaster caused by the climate.
- Understand the causes which lead to climate change



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## 13.2 Introduction

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Climate change is generally defined as a significant variation of average weather conditions—say, conditions becoming warmer, wetter, or drier—over several decades or more. It’s the longer-term trend that differentiates climate change from natural weather variability. Climate change refers to long-term shifts in temperatures and weather patterns. These shifts may be natural, such as through variations in the solar cycle. But since the 1800s, human activities have been the main driver of climate change, primarily due to burning fossil fuels like coal, oil and gas.

Humans are accustomed to climatic conditions that vary on daily, seasonal and inter-annual time-scales. Accumulating evidence suggests that in addition to this natural climate variability, average climatic conditions measured over extended time periods (conventionally 30 years or longer) are also changing, over and above the natural variation observed on decadal or century time-scales. The causes of this climate change are increasingly well understood. Climatologists have compared climate model simulations of the effects of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions against observed climate variations in the past, and evaluated possible natural influences such as solar and volcanic activity.

Record floods, storms, Deadly heat- Climate change manifests itself in myriad ways and is experienced by every living being, although not equally. Throughout the world, the economically disadvantaged and people of color—those who have contributed the very least to the root causes of climate change—are the most likely to suffer from its worst impacts.

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## 13.3 Measurement of Climate Change

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Climate refers to the general weather conditions of a place as measured over many years. Earth-orbiting satellites, remote meteorological stations, and ocean buoys are used to monitor present-day weather and climate, but its paleo-climatology from natural sources like ice cores, tree rings, corals, and ocean and lake sediments that have enabled scientists to extend the earth’s climatic records back millions of years. These records provide a comprehensive look at the long-term

changes in the earth’s atmosphere, oceans, land surfaces, and cryosphere (frozen water systems). Scientists then feed this data into sophisticated climate models that are able to predict future climate trends with impressive accuracy.

It’s worth noting that while climate change and global warming are often used interchangeably, global warming—the recent rise in the global average temperature near the earth’s surface—is just one aspect of climate change.

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## **13.4 Causes of Climate Change**

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The mechanics of the earth’s climate system are simple. When energy from the sun is reflected off the earth and back into space (mostly by clouds and ice), or when the earth’s atmosphere releases energy, the planet cools. When the earth absorbs the sun’s energy, or when atmospheric gases prevent heat released by the earth from radiating into space (the greenhouse effect), the planet warms. A variety of factors, both natural and human, can influence the earth’s climate system.

### **13.4.1 Natural Causes of Climate Change**

The earth has gone through warming and cooling phases in the past, long before humans were around. Forces that can contribute to climate change include the sun’s intensity, volcanic eruptions, and changes in naturally occurring greenhouse gas concentrations. But records indicate that today’s climatic warming—particularly that which has occurred since the mid-20th century—is happening at a much faster rate than ever before, and it can’t be explained by natural causes alone. According to NASA, “these natural causes are still in play today, but their influence is too small or they occur too slowly to explain the rapid warming seen in recent decades.”

### **13.4.2 Anthropogenic Causes of Climate Change**

Humans—more specifically, the greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions that human activity generates—are the leading cause of the earth’s rapidly changing climate today. Greenhouse gases play an important role in keeping the planet warm enough to inhabit. But the amount of these gases in our atmosphere has skyrocketed in recent decades. The atmosphere’s share of carbon dioxide—the planet’s chief climate change contributor—has risen by 46 percent since preindustrial times.

The burning of fossil fuels like coal, oil, and gas for electricity, heat, and transportation is the primary source of human-generated emissions. A second major source is deforestation, which releases sequestered (or stored) carbon into the air. It's estimated that logging, clear cutting, fires, and other forms of forest degradation release an average of 8.1 billion metric tons of carbon dioxide per year, accounting for more than 20 percent of all global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Other human activities that generate air pollution include fertilizer use (a primary source of nitrous oxide emissions), livestock production (cattle, buffalo, sheep, and goats are major methane emitters), and certain industrial processes that release fluorinated gases. Activities like agriculture and road construction can also change the reflectivity of the earth's surface, leading to local warming or cooling.

Though our planet's forests and oceans absorb greenhouse gases from the atmosphere through photosynthesis and other processes, these natural carbon sinks can't keep up with our rising emissions. The resulting buildup of greenhouse gases is causing alarmingly fast warming worldwide. It's estimated that the earth's average temperature rose by about 1 degree Fahrenheit during the 20th century. If that doesn't sound like much, consider this: When the last ice age ended and the northeastern United States was covered by more than 3,000 feet of ice, average temperatures were just 5 to 9 degrees cooler than they are now.

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## **13.5 The Effects of Global Climate Change**

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According to the World Economic Forum's Global Risks Report 2021, the failure to mitigate and adapt to climate change is "the most impactful" risk facing communities worldwide—ahead of even weapons of mass destruction and water crises. Blame its cascading effects: As climate change transforms global ecosystems, it affects everything from the places we live to the water we drink to the air we breathe.

And though climate change affects everyone in some way, it is indisputable that its most negative impacts are borne disproportionately by certain groups: women, children, and people of color, indigenous communities, and the economically marginalized. Climate is a human rights issue.

Many people think climate change mainly means warmer temperatures. But temperature rise is only the beginning of the story. Because the Earth is a system, where everything is connected, changes in one area can influence changes in all others.

The consequences of climate change now include, among others, intense droughts, water scarcity, severe fires, rising sea levels, flooding, melting polar ice, catastrophic storms and declining biodiversity.

### **13.5.1 Extreme weather**

As the earth's atmosphere heats up, it collects, retains, and drops more water, changing weather patterns and making wet areas wetter and dry areas drier. Higher temperatures worsen and increase the frequency of many types of disasters, including storms, floods, heat waves, and droughts. These events can have devastating and costly consequences, jeopardizing access to clean drinking water, fueling out-of-control wildfires, damaging property, creating hazardous-material spills, polluting the air, and leading to loss of life.

### **13.5.2 Dirty air**

Air pollution and climate change are inextricably linked, with one exacerbating the other. When the earth's temperatures rise, not only does our air get dirtier—with smog and soot levels rising accordingly—but it also becomes filled with more allergenic pollutants, such as circulating mold (thanks to damp conditions from extreme weather and more floods) and pollen (due to longer, stronger pollen seasons).

### **13.5.3 Health risks**

According to the World Health Organization, “climate change is expected to cause approximately 250,000 additional deaths per year” between 2030 and 2050. With the rise in global temperatures, the number of fatalities and illnesses also rises from heat stress, heatstroke, and cardiovascular and kidney disease. And as air pollution worsens, so does respiratory health—particularly for the 300 million people living with asthma worldwide; there's more airborne pollen and mold to torment hay fever and allergy sufferers too. Extreme weather events, such as severe storms and flooding, can lead to injury, drinking water contamination, and storm damage that may compromise basic infrastructure or lead to community displacement.

Indeed, historical models suggest the likelihood of being displaced by a disaster is now 60 percent higher than it was four decades ago—and the largest increases in displacement are being driven by weather- and climate-related events. (It's worth noting that displacement comes with its own health threats, such as increases in urban crowding, trauma, social unrest, lack of clean water, and transmission of infectious diseases.) A warmer, wetter world is also a boon for insect-borne diseases such as dengue fever, West Nile virus, and Lyme disease.

### **13.5.4 Rising seas**

The Arctic is heating up twice as fast as any other place on the planet. As its ice sheets melt into the seas, our oceans are on track to rise by anywhere from 0.95 to 3.61 feet by the end of this century, threatening coastal ecosystems and low-lying areas. Island nations face particular risk, as do some of the world's largest cities, including New York City, Miami, Mumbai, and Sydney.

### **13.5.5 Warmer, more acidic oceans**

The earth's oceans absorb between one-quarter and one-third of our fossil fuel emissions and are now 30 percent more acidic than they were in preindustrial times. This acidification poses a serious threat to underwater life, particularly creatures with calcified shells or skeletons like oysters, clams, and coral. It can have a devastating impact on shellfisheries, as well as the fish, birds, and mammals that depend on shellfish for sustenance. In coastal communities where fishing and seafood production sustain the local economy, this impact extends to human populations as well, destroying livelihoods and opening the door to economic ruin. Rising ocean temperatures are also altering the range and population of underwater species and contributing to coral bleaching events that are capable of killing entire reefs—ecosystems that support more than 25 percent of all marine life.

### **13.5.6 Imperiled ecosystems**

Climate change is increasing pressure on wildlife to adapt to changing habitats—and fast. Many species are seeking out cooler climates and higher altitudes, altering seasonal behaviors, and adjusting traditional migration patterns. These shifts can fundamentally transform entire ecosystems and the intricate webs of life that depend on them. As a result, according to a 2020 study, one-third of all animal and plant species could face extinction by 2070. Another study showed that mammals, fish, birds, reptiles, and other vertebrate species are disappearing many times faster than

they should be, a phenomenon that has been linked to climate change, pollution, and deforestation—all interconnected threats. In early 2021, climate and biodiversity experts issued a joint report illustrating these interconnections and urging simultaneous action on both fronts. On the flip side, milder winters and longer summers have enabled some species to thrive, including tree-killing insects that are endangering entire forests.

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### **13.6 Conclusion**

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People are experiencing climate change in diverse ways. Climate change can affect our health, ability to grow food, housing, safety and work. Some of us are already more vulnerable to climate impacts, such as people living in small island nations and other developing countries. Conditions like sea-level rise and saltwater intrusion have advanced to the point where whole communities have had to relocate, and protracted droughts are putting people at risk of famine. In the future, the number of “climate refugees” is expected to rise.

In a series of UN reports, thousands of scientists and government reviewers agreed that limiting global temperature rise to no more than 1.5°C would help us avoid the worst climate impacts and maintain a livable climate. Yet based on current national climate plans, global warming is projected to reach around 3.2°C by the end of the century.

The emissions that cause climate change come from every part of the world and affect everyone, but some countries produce much more than others. The 100 least-emitting countries generate 3 per cent of total emissions. The 10 countries with the largest emissions contribute 68 per cent. Everyone must take climate action, but people and countries creating more of the problem have a greater responsibility to act first.

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### **13.7 Summing Up**

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We face a huge challenge but already know many solutions. Many climate change solutions can deliver economic benefits while improving our lives and protecting the environment. We also have global frameworks and agreements to guide progress, such as the Sustainable Development Goals, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Paris Agreement. Three broad categories of action are: cutting emissions, adapting to climate impacts and financing required adjustments.

Switching energy systems from fossil fuels to renewables like solar or wind will reduce the emissions driving climate change. But we have to start right now. While a growing coalition of countries is committing to net zero emissions by 2050, about half of emissions cuts must be in place by 2030 to keep warming below 1.5°C. Fossil fuel production must decline by roughly 6 per cent per year between 2020 and 2030.

Adapting to climate consequences protects people, homes, businesses, livelihoods, infrastructure and natural ecosystems. It covers current impacts and those likely in the future. Adaptation will be required everywhere, but must be prioritized now for the most vulnerable people with the fewest resources to cope with climate hazards. The rate of return can be high. Early warning systems for disasters, for instance, save lives and property, and can deliver benefits up to 10 times the initial cost.

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### 13.8 Probable Questions

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#### Essay Type Questions:

1. What are the anthropogenic causes of Climate Change?
2. What steps can be taken to limit the effects of climate change?
3. Discuss the effects of Climate Change.

#### Short Questions:

1. What is Climate Change?
2. What are the causes of climate change?
3. How do we measure climate change?

#### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What types of disasters are brought by higher temperatures?  
(A) flood and draughts  
(B) earthquake and tsunami  
(C) war and recession  
(D) violence and revolution

**Ans.:** (A) flood and draughts

1. What is the Green House effect?  
(A) It indicates a decrease in the surface temperature on Earth.  
(B) It indicates a rise in the surface temperature on Earth.

(C) It is caused by oxygen shortage.

(D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (B) It indicates a rise in the surface temperature on Earth.

3. What is the right view about the reported hydro-meteorological hazards in recent decades? (droughts, floods, wind storms , forest fires or landslides)

(A) It has increased.

(B) It has decreased.

(C) It has remained the same.

(D) None of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) It has increased.

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### 13.9 Further Reading

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## **Unit 14 □ Ecological Issues: Global Common Debate**

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### *Structure*

- 14.1 Objective**
- 14.2 Introduction**
- 14.3 The Global Commons**
  - 14.3.1 Sea**
  - 14.3.2 Air**
  - 14.3.3 Space**
  - 14.3.4 Cyberspace**
- 14.4 Significance of Commons**
  - 14.4.1 Globally**
  - 14.4.2 In India's Context**
- 14.5 Issues Related To Global Commons**
- 14.6 Steps that can be Taken**
- 14.7 Further Possible Challenges**
- 14.8 Conclusion**
- 14.9 Summing Up**
- 14.10 Probable Questions**
- 14.11 Further Reading**

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### **14.1 Objective**

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This unit attempts to deal with the issues related to commons which means natural resources of the earth. After reading this unit learners will be able to:

- Know the elements constitute the global commons
- Understand how these global commons are managed
- Identify the steps to be taken for protection of commons

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## 14.2 Introduction

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Global commons is a term typically used to describe international, supranational, and global resource domains in which common-pool resources are found. Global commons include the earth's shared natural resources, such as the high oceans, the atmosphere and outer space and the Antarctic in particular. Cyberspace may also meet the definition of a global commons.

Rapid economic development and increasing international trade are leading to a more crowded international stage and raising new challenges in the 'global commons'—those domains that are not under the control or jurisdiction of any state but are open for use by countries, companies and individuals from around the world. Their management involves increasingly complex processes to accommodate and integrate the interests and responsibilities of states, international organizations and a host of non-state actors. Shared rules regarding the usage of - and access to - the global commons encourage their peaceful and cooperative use.

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## 14.3 The Global Commons

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Security analysts generally identify four domains as global commons: high seas, airspace, and outer space and, now, cyberspace. From a security perspective, the primary concern is safeguarding 'access' to these domains for commercial and military reasons. It is important to highlight that this language differs from the discourse on commons developed by environmental analysts: their arguments focus on damage to the 'condition' of the commons from overuse by actors who do not have to pay direct costs. They worry about the depletion of shared resources such as ocean fish stocks, or the damage to shared domains such as Antarctica or the atmosphere. A third strand of analysis looks not at the need for 'access' to or preservation of the 'condition' of the commons, but at the capacity of the commons to provide 'global public goods'. As there is no accepted definition of a global public good (a functioning trading system, peace, clean water, electricity, the internet, and many other things are often included), it may be wiser to focus on the four global commons relevant to security analysts mentioned above. While there are major

differences between the ‘access’ views of security analysts and the ‘condition’ views of environmentalists, both are concerned about how the rules for use of the commons are set and enforced. In today’s interconnected world, any limitations on access to the commons would be highly disruptive. Militaries rely on access to the commons to pursue security goals in domains outside their sovereign control. Economic actors rely on the commons to trade and conduct business. Changes to the condition of the commons can therefore disrupt commerce and security, not to mention the status of the global environment.

### **14.3.1 Sea**

As the primary avenue for international commerce since ancient times, norms for access to and passage on the seas have developed and evolved over many years. Only in recent decades, however, have there been agreed regulatory frameworks and institutions to manage them. The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), first initiated in 1956 though not legally in force until 1994, is the primary international treaty regarding the sea, laying out rules for territorial boundaries (22km from shore), resource management and the rights of states within their exclusive economic zones (370km from shore). The International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS), created by UNCLOS, has the power to resolve disputes by States Parties. Except for the US, most countries and all global powers - including the EU-27 - have signed and ratified UNCLOS. The UN International Migratory Organization (IMO), created in 1948, regulates international shipping and rulings on safety, environmental and technical cooperation issues (the EU has observer status).

Environmental ‘condition’ issues in the sea commons are disconnected from ‘access’ issues. No single international treaty or body addresses pollution, overfishing or the various challenges in the melting Arctic. A confusing patchwork of sea basin cooperation groupings, regional fisheries management organizations and pollution monitoring agreements is in place. The integrated marine policy of the EU recognizes the need to improve governance of the seas while avoiding treaty congestion. While no unifying treaty or body to manage maritime issues is likely to appear, years of patient discussion in a variety of venues (of the type that the EU excels at) may lead to greater coherence and cooperation in managing environmental threats.

### **14.3.2 Air**

International air travel requires the use of national airspace for continuous transit and involves detailed agreements that define transit rights. The UN International Civil Aviation Organization, established in 1947, is the leading institution for regulating air travel. All EU countries are members, while the EU has observer status. As with piracy at sea, any potential disruption of access to the air commons is likely to come from non-state actors. While terrorist events can disrupt air traffic, however, intergovernmental cooperation between national police and security agencies is well established. Any systemic threat to the air commons appears so unlikely that some security analysts do not even include air as a one of the commons. Also like the sea commons, issues of management of environmental ‘condition’ are disconnected from ‘access’ issues. The accumulation of greenhouse gases is a form of pollution of the atmosphere, but the alarm stems from their effects on the biosphere rather than from the risk that the atmosphere may become un-breathable or inaccessible. The EU is a global leader on climate change, with the world’s most comprehensive emissions trading scheme and intense efforts to regulate and limit emissions. The Union has set the tone at the international level but has been unable to win agreement for an internal carbon tax or stronger emissions targets from external partners.

### **14.3.3 Space**

More than a thousand orbiting satellites facilitate communications in both the military and the civilian spheres, regulated by a mix of UN guidelines, bilateral Cold War agreements and industry standards. The UN International Telecommunications Union (ITU) allocates radio spectrum and satellite orbits and develops international technical standards. Established in 1869, the ITU has almost universal membership among existing states, including all EU countries - though not the EU itself. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty, signed by all space faring nations, provides the minimal framework for activities in space, banning weapons of mass destruction and preventing states from claims to celestial bodies. The Treaty does not establish infrastructure for coordination, and consultation among party states is ad hoc. Following China’s destruction of one of its own satellites in 2007, there has been increasing concern about protection of satellites from attack. During the later stages of the Cold War, the US and the USSR tacitly agreed to a moratorium on testing anti-satellite weapons (ASAT) - but there are no binding rules in place. The satellite’s destruction also created a debris cloud which could have damaged other satellites or spacecraft.

Unlike the sea and air domains, the problem of debris management in space indicates an overlap between ‘access’ and ‘condition’ issues. While access to space has previously been limited to a small number of states, the increasing role of new actors (including from the private sector) suggests that the creation of comprehensive and binding regulations for the space commons may become more difficult.

#### **14.3.4 Cyberspace**

Cyberspace differs from the other commons because it is not a physical domain and because of the preponderant role of the private sector in both the infrastructure and the management of the domain. All of the physical nodes of the internet also exist within states and are subject to national law, rather than existing physically outside of national control as for the other commons. The American and security-related roots of the internet are reflected in how technical internet standards are managed. The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), a private non-profit entity under contract with the US government, has ensured the coordination of internet addresses and registries since 1998. While ICANN operations have been stable - and their inclusive governance style has won imitators for handling technical issues - many countries prefer a formal international body to manage technical internet issues. The ITU has been suggested as a neutral management body, but this idea has been resisted by most Western states. Interestingly, non-Western states are pushing for international management of the internet within a framework that provides individual countries with rights and roles, rather than leaving it to the nonprofit sector to decide how the internet works. All EU-27 countries are members of the ITU and, following a European Parliament deliberation, voted as a bloc against the measures granting more power to the ITU, concerned over states wishing to regulate, control, and limit internet use. The UN Internet Governance Forum (IGF) has become the leading multi-stakeholder platform for states and other actors to debate internet governance. Regardless of the ICANN/ITU issue, states can filter and censor within their territories, and for the time being, efforts to protect against cyber attacks remain within the national sphere. Cyberspace allows for the spread of information, creating pressures for transparency in both democratic and non-democratic states. Discussions on the management of cyberspace, therefore, have become connected with those on the power of states to control information. Finally, although there is no environmental constituency for cyberspace, there are constituencies of users and providers - private and public - who play a similar role

in pushing for the protection of certain conditions in cyberspace. Unlike for sea and air domains, therefore, there is overlap between ‘access’ and ‘condition’ discussants. With worries about Cold War-style espionage and cyber conflict between states, cyber security problems are expected to grow worse and are unlikely to be addressed through multilateral fora. Problems with hackers of various types make problems of attribution, response and coordination of policing very difficult. Cyber conflict involving states will ebb and flow along with the quality of the relationship between those states and competing states will continue to test each other’s cyber defense.

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## 14.4 Significance of Commons

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### 14.4.1 Globally

- **Area:** A third of the global population depends on ‘Commons’ for their survival; 65% of the global land area is under ‘Commons’, in different forms.
- **Carbon storage:** At least 293,061 million metric tonnes of carbon are stored in the collective forestlands of indigenous peoples and local communities.
- **Pollination:** The significance of ‘Commons’ in supporting pollination (the cost estimated to be worth \$224 billion annually at global levels) cannot be overlooked.

### 14.4.2 In India’s Context

- **Area:** In India, the extent of ‘Common’ land ranges between 48.69 million and 84.2 million hectares, constituting 15-25% of its total geographical area.
- **‘Common’-pool resources:** They contribute \$5 billion a year to the incomes of poor Indian households.
  - Around 77% of India’s livestock is kept in grazing-based or extensive systems and dependent on ‘Commons’ pool resources.
  - And 53% of India’s milk and 74% of its meat requirements are met from livestock kept in extensive ‘Common’ systems.

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## 14.5 Issues Related To Global Commons

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According to a report by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the biodiversity has been mismanaged so badly that 60% of the lost resources can never

be recouped. The spread of diseases like Covid-19, Greenhouse Gas Emissions, biodiversity reduction, overfishing; and the accumulation of plastic waste are some of the problems within the scope of global commons. Multilateral Negotiations on Climate Change and other global commons over decades have had limited success.

- Although we have a good idea of what kind of governance might be successful at the local community level, these insights do not directly address the challenges we face on a global scale.
- Another possible reason is that countries are selfish to their own cause. Hence, they do not pay much heed to the alarming conditions of global commons.
- **At local level:** Community members may have more knowledge about the local ecological and social context, but they could also lack expertise or may be ruled by powerful factions within the community, or may not perceive sufficient incentives to sustain the local commons.
- The urge of the rich and powerful to privatize these resources for individual prosperity in the form of property management principles, intellectual property rights and others has also led to the decline in the availability of ‘commons’.
- **In India:** Despite their significance, ‘Commons’ have suffered continued decline and degradation.

This has jeopardized the health of systemic drivers such as soil, moisture, nutrient, biomass and biodiversity, in turn aggravating food, fodder and water crises.

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## 14.6 Steps that can be Taken

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- In order to manage shared resources, a balance between both private and public interests needs to be maintained.
- **Coordinated Activities:** Coordinates activities at different scales should be performed.
- For example, local irrigation communities could monitor the state of infrastructure and water use and adapt their watering scheme or cropping patterns to changes in water availability.
  - **Managing both the global and local commons:** To manage our global commons, we need to facilitate and accommodate the self- governance of local commons, but provide safeguards at different levels to avoid exploitation and manage risks.

- **Rural and Urban Communities:** Facilitate the rural and urban communities to self-govern their shared resources.
  - However, there will be risks involved for which the cities and nations will have to take up the responsibilities.
- **The two Specific Approaches:** In addition to seeking more money, time and capacities to deal common resources management, we need to focus on two specific approaches:
  - To re-introduce more strongly, the management and governance principles of ‘Commons’ approaches into decision-making and implementation of conservation, use and benefit sharing action.
  - To use the approach of **creative destruction** to put resource management in the hands of the people.

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## 14.7 Further Possible Challenges

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Governing the global commons is the defining challenge for current and future generations:

- The opposing and dominant world view of the ‘**developmentalists**’ is predicated on the value of built infrastructure, and requires the constant colonisation of open land and resources.
- Failures will be inevitable if we stimulate local-level experimentation, and higher-level authorities need to provide insurance for those cases.
- If local initiatives are successful, higher-level authorities need to provide insurance that the outcomes of those successes will not be grabbed by outsiders.
- While the state can have oversight over resource management, keeping people away from using and managing ‘Commons’ is against effective governance of ‘Commons’.

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## 14.8 Conclusion

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- Commons are the resources relevant not only for rural communities but are now a major provider of livelihood options for both urban and peri-urban populations as well.



- The relevance of ‘Commons’ impacting urban dwellers cannot be overlooked with more urbanization happening.
- What is desperately needed at this moment is a manifesto for the protection of the commons and open lands, and for the re-creation of economies that derive value out of healing wounded landscapes and covering open lands with diverse vegetation, water and life.

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## 14.9 Summing Up

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Human well-being and the global economy depend entirely on a stable, resilient planet with two permanent ice caps, clean flowing rivers, a cloak of forests, reliable weather and a diverse abundance of life.

These tightly woven, interconnected Earth-systems – our global commons – which are vital for all life and civilization are in crisis. We have pushed the global commons to breaking point, and the impacts are already hitting hard: failed harvests; unhealthy air; poisoned rivers; deadly heat, and extreme wildfires and floods.

Now is the moment to harness this knowledge, take action with the tools we have to do so, and to prioritize deep collaboration with each other: across sectors, disciplines and communities to accelerate effective stewardship of the global commons.

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## 14.10 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Discuss the challenges faced by the global commons.
2. What steps should be taken to protect the global commons?
3. Discuss in details the various elements of Global Commons

### Short Questions:

1. What do you understand by global commons?
2. Name the elements of global commons?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Global commons include  
(A) the earth’s shared natural resources.

(B) the earth's water resources.

(C) the earth's land resources.

(D) none of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) the earth's shared natural resources.

2. Security Analysts generally identify

(A) four domains as global commons.

(B) three domains as global commons.

(C) two domains as global commons.

(D) none of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) four domains as global commons.

3. Cyberspace differs from the other commons since

(A) it is a physical domain.

(B) it is not a physical domain.

(C) it is fixed.

(D) none of the above.

**Ans.:** (B) it is not a physical domain.

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### 14.11 Further Reading

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3. Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action, Canto Classics, September 2015, Elinor Ostrom.
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## **Unit 15 □ Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

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### *Structure*

- 15.1 Objective**
- 15.2 Introduction**
- 15.3 Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**
  - 15.3.1 Horizontal Proliferation**
  - 15.3.2 Vertical Proliferation**
- 15.4 Nuclear and Conventional Weapons**
- 15.5 Proliferation during the Cold War**
- 15.6 Proliferation in the Post-Cold War Era**
- 15.7 Arms Control and Anti-Proliferation Strategies**
- 15.8 Nuclear Free World**
- 15.9 Conclusion**
- 15.10 Summing Up**
- 15.11 Probable Questions**
- 15.12 Further Reading**

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### **15.1 Objective**

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This unit made an in depth study of the different dimensions of nuclear weapons. After going through this unit learners will be able to:

- Know about the details of proliferation of nuclear weapons,
- Understand the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons
- Realize how nuclear weapons have effected national as well as domestic politics

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### **15.2 Introduction**

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In 1939, Albert Einstein and Leo Szilard warned of developments in Nazi Germany and urged President Franklin D. Roosevelt to begin a research program on nuclear fission for military use.

The Manhattan Project was established in 1941 to develop, produce, and test the first “atomic bombs,” and J. Robert Oppenheimer was appointed director. On July 16, 1945, the first “atomic bomb” was tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico, and on August 6 and 9 of the same year, US military aircraft dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. These bombs, based on nuclear fission, each had an explosive power equivalent to about 20 000 tons (20 kilotons) of TNT. Together, they caused the immediate deaths of approximately 200 000 people and the subsequent deaths of thousands more from blast and thermal injuries, radiation sickness, and malignancies.

Despite opposition by Oppenheimer and other physicists, President Harry Truman ordered development work on bombs based on nuclear fusion—termed “thermonuclear weapons,” “hydrogen bombs,” or “H-bombs”—in 1951.

The first hydrogen bomb test took place in 1952 at Eniwetok Atoll in the Marshall Islands. The blast had an explosive power equivalent to 10 400 000 tons (10.4 megatons) of TNT—500 times greater than the power of each of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In 1953, the Soviet Union, which had exploded its first fission bomb in 1949, exploded its first fusion bomb. In 1961, the Soviet Union detonated a fusion bomb with a yield equivalent to 50 megatons of TNT—over 2000 times greater than the yield of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs and greater than the total destructive power of all the bombs and explosives used in World War II. The development of these weapons led to the initiation of a worldwide movement for nuclear disarmament.

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## **15.3 Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

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### **15.3.1 Horizontal Proliferation**

The United States and the Soviet Union remained the only states with nuclear weapons until 1952, when the United States provided nuclear weapons to the United Kingdom. Other nations then began to acquire nuclear weapons: France, China, and, it is believed, Israel. South Africa initiated, but later terminated, a nuclear weapons program. India and Pakistan each conducted explosive tests of nuclear weapons in 1998. In 2003, The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea) unilaterally

withdrew from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and expelled the international inspectors who had been monitoring its stockpile of fissile materials. Despite attempts by a 6-nation group to get North Korea to end its development of nuclear weapons, North Korea announced in 2006 that it had the capability to construct nuclear weapons and apparently tested one. In the same year, North Korea unsuccessfully tested several ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear war-heads, and the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that it suspend its missile program and banned all UN member states from (1) selling material or technology for missiles or weapons of mass destruction to North Korea, and (2) receiving missiles, banned weapons, or related technology from North Korea. North Korea immediately rejected the Security Council's decision. In July 2007 North Korea agreed to permanent disabling of a nuclear reactor complex at Yongbyon.

In 2003, Iran, which is a member of the NPT, had begun to build a uranium-enrichment facility that could have the capability to produce uranium suitable for use in nuclear weapons. In mid-2006, a 6-nation group presented Iran with a set of proposals that called for a halt in uranium enrichment in return for economic and diplomatic incentives and warned that if Iran failed to respond, they would refer the case to the UN Security Council. Iran continues to insist that its enrichment plans are purely for civilian use. Although analysts believe Iran is still some years away from building nuclear weapons, there is concern that the United States may stage a military attack on Iran's nuclear capabilities.

### **15.3.2 Vertical Proliferation**

Several of the nations with nuclear weapons have worked to develop new types of nuclear weapons and to improve and maintain existing ones. The Bush administration is pursuing development of a range of new war-heads under the Reliable Replacement Warhead program and is implementing plans for a complete renewal of nuclear weapons complex infrastructure. The United States has proposed development of new nuclear weapons, such as small tactical nuclear weapons ("mini-nukes"), but Congress has blocked funding for these projects. The United Kingdom is planning to invest £1 billion to update its Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston and to maintain its Trident warhead stockpile. The British Parliament may be asked to replace 1 or more of its 4 Trident submarines, each of which can

carry 48-kiloton nuclear warheads. Russia has also announced plans to maintain or improve its nuclear arsenals, and Pakistan may be expanding its nuclear program.

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## 15.4 Nuclear and Conventional Weapons

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The massive destructive capacity of nuclear weapons means that they have affected international and domestic politics in a way that no other weapons ever have. They are the archetypal example of a new category of weapons, recognized by the United Nations since 1948: ‘weapons of mass destruction’, or WMD.

The category of WMD now also covers chemical and biological weapons (CBW) sometimes grouped together as atomic, biological and chemical weapons (ABC). They are distinguished from conventional weapons in three main ways:

1. As the name suggests, they are weapons that have potential to inflict massive collateral damage, having devastating implications for civilian populations.
2. Their mass impact has raised important moral questions, notably through the suggestion that these weapons are ‘non-legitimate, inhuman’ forms of warfare.
3. They have a particularly powerful deterrent effect, making attacks on states which possess WMD almost unthinkable.

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## 15.5 Proliferation during the Cold War

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The unprecedented destructive potential of nuclear weapons explains why the issue of nuclear proliferation has been at the forefront of the international security agenda since 1945. During the Cold War, sometimes seen as the ‘first nuclear age’, nuclear proliferation was primarily vertical rather than horizontal. Greatest attention was given to restricting the spread of nuclear arms beyond the ‘big five’, particularly through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which was introduced in 1968 and extended indefinitely in 1995. Almost all states have signed the NPT, with the notable exceptions of India, Pakistan and Israel. By contrast, during this period, the USA and the Soviet Union built up the capacity to destroy the world many times over. By 2002, the joint USA and Russian nuclear capacity accounted for 98 per cent of all the nuclear warheads that had been built. Both sides quickly developed massive

first-strike capability, (: A pre-emptive or surprise attack on an adversary; ‘getting one’s retaliation in first’) but also acquired second-strike capabilities (: A retaliatory attack on an adversary in response to a first-strike attack) that would enable them to withstand an enemy’s attack and still destroy major strategic targets and population centers. By the early 1960s, both superpowers had an invulnerable second-strike capability which ensured that nuclear war would result in Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), thus completing what Jervis (1990) called the ‘nuclear revolution’. This system of nuclear deterrence led to a ‘balance of terror’ that some have viewed as the most powerful evidence of the capacity of the balance of power (see p. 268) to maintain peace and security. Nuclear war, indeed, threatened such environmental devastation that it created the possibility of the extinction of life itself, not least through a nuclear winter (The theory that the smoke and dust created by nuclear explosions would extinguish the sun’s rays and dramatically lower temperatures on the earth.)

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## **15.6 Proliferation in the Post-Cold War Era**

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The end of the Cold War produced early, optimistic expectations that the issue of nuclear proliferation would be of declining relevance. If East–West rivalry had fuelled the nuclear arms race and created a balance of terror, its end surely opened up the possibility that nuclear proliferation could also be ended, if not reversed. Such expectations were fuelled by the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and by START II in 1993, through which the USA and Russia agreed, for the first time, to reduce the number of their nuclear warheads and to eliminate certain categories of weapons, such as land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads. Such early optimism quickly faded, however. The post-Cold War era, sometimes seen as the ‘second nuclear age’, has been characterized by heightened anxiety about nuclear proliferation. This has happened for at least four reasons:

1. Established nuclear powers continued to use nuclear strategies.
2. The incentives for states to acquire nuclear weapons have increased.
3. Proliferation is easier, as nuclear weapons and nuclear technology are more readily available.
4. Fears have heightened that nuclear weapons may get into the ‘wrong’ hands.

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## **15.7 Arms Control and Anti-Proliferation Strategies**

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Nuclear arms control has been seen as a central means of containing conflict and ensuring global security. Arms control is, nevertheless, a less ambitious goal than nuclear disarmament, which aims to decrease the size and capability of a state's armed forces, possibly depriving it of weapons. The objective of arms control is therefore to regulate arms levels either by limiting their growth or by restricting how they can be used. There is nothing new about arms agreements: for example, in 600 BCE a disarmament league was formed amongst Chinese states. However, formal bilateral agreements and multilateral agreements to control or reduce arms were rare before the twentieth century. What changed this was the advent of industrialized warfare through the development of technologically advanced weapons. It is therefore no surprise that since 1945 the arms control agenda has been dominated by attempts to limit the spread of WMD and particularly nuclear weapons. The principal means through which this has been attempted are treaties and conventions of various kinds, which attempt to establish security regimes to counter the uncertainty, fear and paranoia that are generated by the security dilemma. The Partial Test Ban Treaty went a long way to ensuring the elimination of atmospheric nuclear testing. Similarly, the NPT, the single most important nuclear arms control treaty, has made a major contribution to slowing the pace of horizontal proliferation, especially amongst developed states that clearly possess the economic and technological capacity to acquire nuclear weapons. However, nuclear treaties and conventions singularly failed to prevent the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons during the Cold War, as the USA and the Soviet Union each built up nuclear arsenals of staggering proportions. START I and START II were, for example, simply 'dead letters', even though they set out only to reduce the increase in nuclear weapons, not to reduce them.

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## **15.8 Nuclear Free World**

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The idea of a post-nuclear world has long been advanced by the peace movement, for whom anti-nuclear activism has often been its most prominent cause. In a sense, the campaign against nuclear weapons was born at the moment that the world's first



atomic bomb was tested. As the nuclear arms race accelerated during the Cold War period, large-scale peace movements were mobilized focusing on anti-nuclear protest. The UK-based Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was founded in 1958, with the aim of ridding the world of nuclear weapons and other WMD, and European Nuclear Disarmament (END) emerged in the early 1980s as an attempt to extend anti-nuclear activism across Europe. The campaign against nuclear weapons has also been advanced through the establishment of nuclear-free zones in many parts of the world. The earliest of these were in the Antarctic (1959), Latin America and the Caribbean (1967) and the South Pacific (1985). The Treaty of Pelindaba (1996) declared Africa to be a nuclear-free zone, as did the Bangkok Treaty (1997) in relation to Southeast Asia.

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## 15.9 Conclusion

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There are some who argue that even if the elimination of nuclear weapons is possible, it may not be desirable. Concerns, for example, have been expressed about the impact the strategy of nuclear disarmament may have, if successfully implemented, on the likelihood of war. To the extent that the decline in inter-state war since 1945, especially between major powers, has been a consequence of the fear that conventional wars may escalate into nuclear wars, a reduction in (or, worse, the elimination of) nuclear arsenals may only create conditions that allow such wars to break out again.

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## 15.10 Summing Up

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The massive destructive capacity of nuclear weapons means that they have affected international and domestic politics in a way that no other weapons ever have. Despite the development of an extensive non-proliferation regime, effective arms control has been difficult to bring about because states tend to place concerns about national security above their obligations under bilateral or multilateral agreements. The idea of a nuclear-free world has been advanced by both peace activists and, more recently, senior politicians in the USA and Russia.

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## 15.11 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. What is meant by arms control and nuclear nonproliferation?
2. What are the types of nuclear proliferation?
3. Discuss nuclear proliferation during the cold war and the post cold war era.

### Short Questions:

1. Are WMD a distinct category of weapons, and are nuclear weapons the only genuine example of WMD?
2. Is a nuclear free world possible?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. In which year Manhattan Project was established?  
(A) 1942  
(B) 1940  
(C) 1941  
(D) 1939

**Ans.:** (C) 1941

2. In which year first hydrogen bomb test took place?  
(A) 1962  
(B) 1942  
(C) 1952  
(D) 1954

**Ans.:** (C) 1952

3. What do you mean by nuclear weapons?  
(A) weapons of mass destruction.  
(B) conventional weapons.  
(C) modern weapons.  
(D) none of the above.

**Ans.:** (A) weapons of mass destruction.

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## 15.12 Further Reading

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8. The consequences of nuclear proliferation, Devin T. Hagerty

## **Block-IV:**

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### **Unit 16 □ International Terrorism: Non-State Actors and State Terrorism**

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#### *Structure*

- 16.1 Objective**
  - 16.2 Introduction**
  - 16.3 Terrorism: Definition**
  - 16.4 Causes of Terrorism**
  - 16.5 Types of Terrorism**
  - 16.6 Terrorism and Non-State Actors**
  - 16.7 State Terrorism**
  - 16.8 Conclusion**
  - 16.9 Summing Up**
  - 16.10 Probable Questions**
  - 16.11 Further Reading**
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#### **16.1 Objective**

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After studying this unit the learners will be able to:

- Learn the definition of terrorism
  - Explain the causes and types of terrorism
  - Understand terrorism and non-state actors
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#### **16.2 Introduction**

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In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, among other menacing issues, terrorism is a complex one. The issue of terrorism needs political approach to be resolved. Unfortunately, it is often executed to expand the political gains and it is tremendously brutal in nature.

The sole aim of terrorism is to intimidate people and administration for mere political ends. The United Nations (UN) echoes the necessity to fight this menace by tackling the acutely felt grievances. It could be done through endorsement of good governance and sustainable economic progress. People compassionate about terrorist causes often argue that violence appear to be the remaining option to grab attention to the miseries of the aggrieved. The causes of grievances could be ideological, religious and ethnic persecution or isolation.

Terrorism is a phenomenon experienced across the globe and affects the stability and peace of the world as a whole. A terror activity is capable of causing huge harm to an individual as well as to the society at large owing to its surprise and shock tactics. Over the past half century and even more, terrorism has become the tool for small groups aiming at achieving political change.

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### **16.3 Terrorism: Definition**

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Terrorism as a concept is said to be first used by the British statesman Edmund Burke. He used the term in the context of the ‘reign of terror’ during the French Revolution. During those times, terror was considered to be an implement of dictatorship and as a sign of power. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the term terrorism began to have a revolutionary meaning in the process of identifying the perpetrators of cruelty as well as their victims or objectives. With nationalism and nationalistic interests coming into the premise of terrorism in the second half of the 19th century, terrorism started symbolizing a sort of yearning to liberate a country from colonial subjugation through fierce means. During the 1930s, Hitler’s Nazi Government resorted to dreadful state terrorism when thousands of Jews were brutally eliminated.

Though this complex phenomenon of terrorism has varied definitions, however, all of them begin from the common departure point that terrorism is characterized, originally and primarily by the exercise of violence. Terrorists exercise violence in various forms and in most cases arbitrarily target non-combatants. In terms of the degree of political legitimacy, terrorism differs from criminal violence. The meaning of the term terrorism, beginning from ‘reign of terror’ – a regime of terrorism used as a tool of governance is now usually used to depict terrorist activities committed by non-state or sub-national actors against a state and its people.

According to the *Oxford Advanced Dictionary*, terrorism is the exercise of violent action so as to accomplish political aims or to compel a government to take steps. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines terrorism as an organized use of terror or impulsive cruelty against governments, people or individuals, to achieve a political purpose. The *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* describes terrorism as a means by which an organized faction or party seeks to attain its determined aims essentially through the systematic exercise of violence. Hence, terrorism can be largely defined as violent actions designed to cause fear in the community or a considerable section of it in order to attain political gains or aims. It is the exercise of cruelty or violence on the part of non-governmental factions to accomplish the desired political purpose. The various methods used by terrorists to generate panic and terror among people include hostage crisis, hijack, political assassination, suicide bombing or *fidayeen* attack, abduction, and intimidation in the form of explosions and bombing. There are other means of carrying out terrorist attacks on people and property like using Improvised Explosive Devices (IED), advanced weapons, grenades, landmines etc. These are, however, conventional ways of attack. Other means, i.e., the non-conventional means include resort to use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) – nuclear, chemical, biological), cyber terrorism and environmental terrorism. Instances of suicide attack or *fidayeen* attack include the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by the LTTE on May 21 1991. Other acts of terror include the 26/11 Mumbai terror attack (2008), attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001, the November 2015 Paris attacks, Christchurch mosque shooting in New Zealand in March 2019, among others.

In simple terms, terrorism means intentionally and violently targeting innocent civilians for political objectives. It has certain crucial characteristics:

- (1) a terrorist act is politically motivated;
- (2) in case the act does not entail violence or threat of violence, it cannot be called terrorism;
- (3) the aim of terrorism is not to defeat the adversary but to convey a message;
- (4) the act and the victim of terrorism generally have symbolic importance;
- (5) the victims of the violence and the audience the terrorists aim to reach are not the same; and

(6) the most vital feature of terrorism is the intentional targeting of civilians.

However, terrorism is the weakest kind of irregular warfare that is aimed to alter the political landscape. It is a weak form because terrorist groups generally do not hold broader support of the people by characterizing revolution and insurgency. The terror groups generally fall short of broader support for their objectives as their goals are dependent on radical ideas that do not have extensive appeal. With the intention to influence change, it has been noticed that terrorist groups incite extreme responses that become the channel for change or weaken their adversary's moral determination. Such an example could be cited with the bombings in Madrid in 2004 that influenced the electoral outcome in Spain in a drastic manner. There are many terrorist leaders who feel that their actions will result in disproportionate response by a state, which would in turn, impact popular and international judgment, hence increasing support for their cause. Some leaders want immediate impact and through terror activities they reflect the shortcomings of their opponent; they use their reach and power to intimidate the opponent using tool of media.

Though by definition, terrorism is the action of sub-state groups but it is often perceived as an implement of foreign policy that provides many benefits for governments. It is often argued that relatively weak states often endorse terror activities to thump against their powerful adversaries.

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## **16.4 Causes of Terrorism**

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Terrorism has quite a few causes which could be historical, social, cultural, economic, religious and psychological. These aspects behind the cause of terrorism are discussed below:

### **16.4.1 Historical factor**

History has shown us that often long-standing conflict leads to terrorist activities. Long-drawn conflicts over control of a territory or resources by diverse ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural groups; struggle for freedom from foreign rule; imposition of a particular kind of government, like theocracy, democracy, oligarchy, or autocracy; and real or perceived occurrences of injustices.

### **16.4.2 Social factor**

Often the lack of an organized and appropriate redressal system can lead to continued terrorist activities. When reasonable grievance redressal is not available owing to sloth, corruption; or exorbitant cost, the socially and culturally wounded population will get tempted to find solution by themselves. Terrorist activities, hence, can crop up from a sense of denial of legal right of a certain section of people, for which they have been asking firmly.

### **16.4.3 Cultural factor**

If a section of the population feel hurt or their grievances regarding their cultural belief or customs are not heard or solved, they could resort to violent means of protest. Such protests could take the form of riots or rebellion. In the history of Indian struggle for independence, such an instance occurred during the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny.

### **16.4.4 Economic factor**

Young people from needy families are often involved in terrorist activities, many a times without their knowledge, in lieu of financial gains. Sometimes, financially distressed people are left with no other option but to even work as informers to earn some money. Terrorist groups, in fact, target these people in executing their actions. Poverty and terrorism, hence, has a considerable link.

### **16.4.5 Religious factor**

Terrorist organisations train young minds to take up arms for their religion. The young minds are motivated on the grounds that their religion is at risk and they must protect it. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the commonly used term related to terrorism has been 'jihad'. The concept of 'global jihad' is understood by scholars as a response to the perceived repression of the Muslims across the globe and the spiritual impoverishment of the West. It is on these lines that Islamic militancy has spawned; in fact, all other religious extremist forces are based on this idea.

### **16.4.6 Psychological factor**

According to psychologists, the key to understand the cause of terrorist activities lies in understanding people. This perspective says that terrorism is simply the



consequence of psychological forces, not a well-thought-out plan intended at achieving reasonable, strategic goals. Hence, psychologists lay emphasis on the study of the psyche of the terrorists. Accordingly, various attempts in studying the psyche have shown a person performs such acts with no qualm of conscience. Another psychological analysis argues that the terrorists are regular individuals, who because of their profound emotional requirement and a high order of stimulus on the grounds of nationalism or religious sentiment, are forced to adopt the course of violence. There is another explanation, which says that to overcome loneliness, acts of violence are carried out; many terrorists, like common people could have been rejected in some way by society and tend to be loners. Since the basic human instinct is to stay in a group, an alienated person could be drawn towards any group that will accept him, offer him a sense of mission, and provide him the ways and means of achieving it, together with monetary gains too.

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## 16.5 Types of Terrorism

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The concept of terrorism needs to be analyzed on the basis of its different types rampant in the world today. Terrorism can be largely classified into five types: political, religious, ethnic, state, and international terrorism. However, all these types have very thin lines of demarcation amongst each other. For example, religious, ethnic or international terrorism may be executed to achieve political objectives. In that sense, each type of terrorism may have clandestine political intentions. Moreover, political terrorism could involve ethnic or religious issues. Hence, this classification of terrorism cannot be an absolute one; it rather offers a complete understanding of the issue of terrorism. A detailed elaboration of each type of terrorism is given below:

### 16.5.1 Religious Terrorism

When structured and motivated brutality is exercised in the name of protecting the 'dignity' of a religion and its supporters, such acts may be called religious terrorism. The Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Hizbollah, Abu Nidal, Lashkar-e-Toiba and many such groups choose the path of terrorism to defend the 'dignity' of their religion. The Al-Qaeda, which was headed by the Saudi oil baron Osama Bin Laden, vowed numerous times to chastise those people and states that undermined Islam. Terror attacks of 9/11 was carried out by Al-Qaeda, where nearly ten thousand people

died, making it the biggest attack in the American history since the Second World War. The Lashkar-e-Toiba and similar other terrorist groups are active in India's Kashmir valley in order to 'liberate' Kashmir.

These groups often target the Indian army and ordinary people to generate panic and to draw attention of the people, media, the Indian government and the global community. Thus, political motives like these certainly act as key forces behind religious terrorism. This type of terrorism is argued to be a post-modern or new form of terrorism. Religious terrorists often choose the path killing self or *fidayeen* to obtain rewards in the afterlife. In the current times, we find that the predominant wave of terrorism uses religion as the motivating factor, hence providing justification for attacking or killing non-combatants.

### **16.5.2 Ethnic Terrorism**

Organized brutality perpetuated for ascertaining ethnic domination or to ensure ethnic demands could be called ethnic terrorism. The demand of LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam) for a separate Tamil state and its assault on the civilians in Sri Lanka that executed thousands of common Sinhalese people is an apt example. During the 1990s, ethnic problem in Bosnia took the form of ethnic terrorism where the Muslim Albanians and Croats were tried to be wiped off by the Serbs. Such ethnic terrorism was carried out in an attempt to establish Serb dominance over the region (known as former Yugoslavia) by the Serb leaders. The repression carried out by Hitler over the Jews in Europe in the 1930s stands out as another instance of ethnic terrorism. All these instances clearly point out that ethnic terrorism holds specific political motivations leading to extensive organized violence.

### **16.5.3 Political Terrorism**

Often it is found that a faction or a political party resorts to structured violence to destabilize the current political order, with the intention to set up a new one. Such kind of violence may be termed as political terrorism. However, terrorism here is a subjective term again; those in favour of the new political order may consider this act of brutality as a battle for justice and call it the right to self-determination. In this case, the actions of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were considered political terrorism by the British. Similarly, the activities of Palestine Liberation Organization

(PLO) were treated the same by the Israelis. The actions of the Kurdish groups in Turkey or the 'Basque Fatherland' in Spain are also instances of political terrorism.

#### **16.5.4 State Terrorism**

When any national government takes refuge of organized violence to remove the 'opponent' in order to establish its control, such violent acts are called state terrorism. Earlier, it has been observed that rulers like Robespierre and Hitler resorted to state terrorism to eliminate their targeted opponents. Later, rulers like Pol Pot of Cambodia and Idi Amin of Uganda took the same refuge of terrorizing people to obey their governments' dictates. A military dictator and President of Uganda (1971-79), Idi Amin, carried out severe oppression, especially against the Asians who lived in Uganda. Amin's government was part of mass execution of 'opposition forces', harsh human rights abuses, and persecution that led to the death of about five hundred thousand people.

In the present times, democratically elected governments are occasionally accused of pursuing state terrorism when they crush on human rights and engage in political killing of their opponents. In different parts of the world, human rights organizations have levelled charges against several democratic for the breach of basic human rights and elementary freedoms of the people. Also, a state may obliquely, or directly, help out terrorist groups stir up trouble in another country, primarily its adversary. These acts also fall in the grouping of state terrorism.

#### **16.5.5 International Terrorism**

When a terror activity involves citizens of more than one country, and having transnational impacts, it amounts to international terrorism. It is also known as cross-border terrorism. If people from any other country join hands with Indians to execute terrorist activities in India, that would amount to international terrorism. The 9/11 terror attacks on the US was undoubtedly aided and crafted by people across territories, but it had a weighty impact on US security and foreign policies, and also on international politics. The Al-Qaeda was sponsored by splinter terrorist groups in Europe and America, and also by the Talibans, for its 9/11 attacks on the United States.

## 16.6 Terrorism and Non-State Actors

Terrorism is now a global fact posing major danger to global peace, stability and security. Interestingly, since its inception, it has an evolving character, which makes it all the more threatening. With the advent of globalisation, the role of non-state actors have become all the more complicated. The perpetrators of terror can be individuals, states or groups. Some say clandestine or partly clandestine state actors may execute terrorist acts beyond the structure of a state of war. The most familiar image of terrorism is that it is executed by small and mysterious cells, highly enthused to serve a specific cause and surprisingly, many of the most brutal acts in the recent history, like the 9/11 attacks, the 2002 Bali bombing, the London underground bombing, and 2008 Mumbai attacks were intended and conducted by a close faction with good network. These groups were benefited by the free flow of information and resourceful telecommunications to successfully carry out their operation that other groups might have failed.

Non-state actors, in International Politics, are individuals or groups that are entirely or partly autonomous of governments and which intimidate or use violent means to realize their goals. They vary in size, goals and means. They could comprise of religious and ideological organizations, narcotics cartels, popular liberation movements, corporations and self-defence militias. Some non-state actors are structured like paramilitary groups, implementing methods and configurations like that of state armed forces. Others may be informally organised and they may exercise violence in other ways, like hacking into computer systems, kidnapping, using advanced explosive devices. These groups are generally backed by mysterious but well-organized financial networks; they may also have clandestine access to biological, chemical and nuclear supplies, and illegal drug trafficking. It has been also noticed that there is an innate nexus between arms dealers, drug mafias and money launderers for sponsoring terrorism.

Some examples of non-state actors carrying out terrorism are Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Al-Qaeda, Talibans, Boko Haram, insurgent groups like United National Liberation Front (UNLF), United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA). Pirates of Somalia are also included in the category of non-state actors.

## 16.7 State Terrorism

The phenomenon of state terrorism is difficult to define; it neither has an academic nor a global authorized consensus regarding a suitable definition. Broadly, state terrorism refers to the terror activities which a state carries out against another state or sometimes against its own citizens. According to Noam Chomsky, state terrorism is the terrorism carried out by states (or governments) and their agents and allies. There are scholars who argue that state terrorism is a form of terrorism carried out by governments and quasi-governmental agencies and persons against alleged threats, which can be focused against domestic as well as foreign targets. Examples of state terrorism include the police state measures used by the Soviet Union during the 1930s and by Germany's Nazi regime in the 1930s and 1940s. North Korea has been accused of state terrorism on many occasions, like the Rangoon bombing (1983) or the Gimpo International Airport bombing in 1986.

The United States of America has coined the term 'state sponsors of terrorism' to designate those countries, which the US Department of State alleges to have repeatedly offered support for acts of global terrorism. As of 2021, the list of 'state sponsors of terrorism' includes North Korea, Cuba, Iran and Syria. Previously, countries like South Yemen, Iraq, Libya and Sudan were on the list.

Both India and Pakistan have kept accusing one other of sponsoring terrorism in their lands. In fact, both have insisted on the international community to pronounce the other state a 'state sponsoring terrorism'.

There are lot of counter-narratives regarding state terrorism. However, all sides have agreed to the fact that the issue of terrorism is deadly and cannot be acceptable. While at office, Kofi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary-General, said it is "time to set aside debates on so-called 'state terrorism'. Despite the differences between governments on the question of the definition of terrorism, what is clear and what we can all agree on is any intentional assault on innocent civilians or non-combatants, regardless of one's cause, is unacceptable and belongs to the category of terrorism."

## **16.8 Conclusion**

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Today, terrorism has a huge impact on international relations. The concern of terrorism may lead to strengthening or dwindling relations among nations. In addition, it may bring about changes in security and foreign policy arrangements of states. It could also push modifications and changes in policies and agenda of regional and international organizations. We have the glaring examples of relations between Israel and Palestine or India and Pakistan. The fact that states alter their foreign policy settings owing to the concern of terrorism had been well noticeable when the US launched the policy of Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) after the 9/11 attacks.

On the contrary, the issue of terrorism can bring states closer towards joint collaboration to combat the menace. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the US sought help from many states, particularly the states of the South Asian region, to defy terrorist organizations like the Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Talibans and others. Even regional organizations like the ASEAN, SAARC, AU, EU and others are very much concerned about the issue of terrorism.

Globalization has made possible terrorist groups or entities to acquire, produce and use advanced technology and means to carry out destructive assaults. Thus, to combat terrorism, the global community must address the underlying factors that inspire them to carry out such brutality.

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## **16.9 Summing Up**

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- I. Terrorism can be fundamentally defined as violent actions designed to cause fear in the community or a sizeable section of it so as to accomplish political gains. It is the exercise of cruelty or violence by non-state or sub-national actors to achieve the intended political purpose.
- II. The act of terrorism has quite a few causes which could be historical, social, cultural, economic, religious and psychological. In fact, there are five types of terrorism: political, religious, ethnic, state, and international terrorism. However, all these types have very thin lines of demarcation from each other.

- III. With the advent of globalization, the role of non-state actors have become all the more complicated. Non-state actors are individuals or groups that are entirely or partly autonomous of governments and which terrorize or use violent means to realize their goals. Their size, goals and means vary.
- IV. State terrorism refers to the terror activities which a state carries out against another state or sometimes against its own citizens. Scholars argue that state terrorism is a form of terrorism carried out by governments and quasi-governmental agencies and persons against alleged threats, which can be focused against domestic as well as overseas targets.

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## 16.10 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. Define terrorism in detail and the causes that lead to terrorist activities.
2. Do causes and types of terrorism influence each other? Argue your case with suitable examples.
3. How do you differentiate between terrorism perpetrated by non-state actors and any particular state?
4. What is state terrorism? Justify your answer with examples.
5. How do non-state actors carry out terrorist activities? Explain with instances.

### Short Questions:

1. Name any three causes of terrorism.
2. Which are the global terrorist organizations that fall into the category of religious terrorism?
3. Name the countries listed by the US, as of 2021, as 'state sponsors of terrorism'?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. When did the Bali bombing take place?  
(A) 2001  
(B) 2002

(C) 2004

(D) 2008

**Ans.:** (B) 2002

2. Which terrorist organization claimed the responsibility of the assassination of Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi?

(A) Boko Haram

(B) Lashkar-e-Taiba

(C) LTTE

(D) Irish Republican Army

**Ans.:** (C) LTTE

3. Which country coined the term 'state sponsors terrorism'?

(A) India

(B) United Kingdom

(C) France

(D) United States

**Ans.:** (D) United States

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### 16.11 Further Reading

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1. Baylis, John, and Steve Smith. *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014.
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## **Unit 17 □ International Terrorism: Post 9/11 development**

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### *Structure*

#### **17.1 Objective**

#### **17.2 Introduction**

#### **17.3 International Terrorism: Definition**

##### **17.3.1 Motives of International Terrorism**

#### **17.4 The September 11 Attacks: An Overview**

#### **17.5 Global Fight against Terrorism**

##### **17.5.1 United Nations and the Battle against Terrorism**

##### **17.5.2 International Coalition against Terrorism**

#### **17.6 Conclusion**

#### **17.7 Summing Up**

#### **17.8 Probable Questions**

#### **17.9 Further Reading**

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### **17.1 Objective**

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After reading this unit learners will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of international terrorism
- Know September 11 terror attacks in the US
- Explain how global bodies and organizations came together to fight against terrorism
- Realize the shift in policies of states' in the aftermath of 9/11

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### **17.2 Introduction**

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The issue of terrorism is complex as well as sensitive. The issue is complex as it includes so many diverse aspects of human understanding, including subjects such as politics, psychology, history, military strategy, etc. Terrorism is equally emotive

because while experiences of terrorist activities provoke tremendous feelings, those who find terrorists justified often have strong opinions regarding the legitimacy of the exercise of violence.

Terrorism is broadly understood as a means of coercion that uses or threatens to use violence for spreading fear and thereby achieving political or ideological aims. Modern day terrorists utilize different forms of violence, and randomly target civilians, military establishments, state officials, etc. International terrorist activities include the use or danger of use of chemical weapons, poisonous gases and utilisation of aircrafts as arsenal for terrorist attacks.

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### **17.3 International Terrorism: Definition**

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The form of terrorism that has its roots in country A and it operates with the assistance of the country of its origin, i.e., country A, but it uses violence to generate terror in country B, is called cross-border terrorism. The supporters of cross-border terrorism are backed and trained by a country other than its victims. The classic example of this could be what terror activities India faces from Pakistan. However, the difference between cross-border terrorism and international terrorism is diminutive. In case of the former, terrorists get training in one country to function in just one other country. The victims of international terrorism are in a number of countries. Al-Qaeda, for instance, has not restricted its activities in any one country or region. Its adversaries are present worldwide, though its key targets may be a few specific countries.

The kind of terrorism concerning two or more countries may be, largely speaking, referred to as international terrorism. The terrorist organisation, Al Qaeda seeks the preponderance of Islamist values and those nations, who come in its way, are on its target list. Thus the US and the UK today are the general victims of international terrorism. Countries like India, Sri Lanka, Russia, Nepal and several other countries are also victims of international terrorism.

#### **17.3.1 Motives of International Terrorism**

Terrorism is a tool used by the powerful against the powerless. Terrorist groups are difficult to recognize as their motives, tactics, and membership vary widely.

There are many motives leading to international terrorism. One such motive is oppression, whereby those in search of independence like the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), who demanded a separate state by dividing Sri Lanka till they expressed their willingness for maximum autonomy early in 2002. Those seeking sovereign statehood also include the Basques in Spain, and Chechen rebels in Russia. Religion is another motive that leads to terrorism. The Hamas tried to subvert Israel in the name of religion, and in November 1995 right-wing Jewish fanatics in the Kach religious terrorist group executed the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The other motive is the sense of deprivation – political freedom and rights. Interestingly, terrorist to one person may be another person's liberator. The classic example is the vengeful terror activities of Al-Qaeda. It was originally designed to assist the Taliban fanatics in Afghanistan, turned its fire against the United States and its allies. The latter are held to be killers of Muslims and thus deserve punishment of being executed.

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## **17.4 The September 11 Attacks: An Overview**

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The September 11 or the 9/11 attack became a defining incident for international extremists and terrorists. It is widely considered as the most dreadful act of international terrorism; it killed about 3000 people (2,977 victims and 19 Al-Qaeda terrorists) and wounded an estimated 25,000 people. The incident involved a string of airline hijackings and suicide attacks carried out in 2001 by 19 Al-Qaeda militants against targets in the US. The main planner of the operations of September 11 attacks was Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (also referred to as KSM), who met Osama bin Laden in 1996 in Tora Bora, Afghanistan. The 9-11 Commission, established in 2002 by President George W. Bush and the US Congress to investigate the September attacks, mentioned that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed presented a plan for an action that would entail training pilots who would crash planes into buildings in the United States. Al-Qaeda supplied the workforce, money, and logistical support to implement the operation and Laden wove the attacks on New York and Washington into a larger strategic agenda of attacking the “far enemy”—the United States of America—to facilitate a regime change across the Middle East.

The 9/11 attacks demonstrated that Al-Qaeda was an organization with a global reach. The plot of the attack played out across the world with meetings scheduled in Malaysia, operatives taking flight lessons in the US, synchronization by plot leaders based in Germany, money transfers from Dubai, and enrolment of suicide operatives from countries around the Middle East. All these activities were ultimately supervised by Al-Qaeda's leaders based in Afghanistan. The lead perpetrator of the 9/11 attacks, later identified as Mohammed Atta, was an Egyptian militant Islamist and Al-Qaeda operative. The planning for the dreadful attacks in the morning of September 11, 2001 went through months and finally attacks were executed at four pre-determined sites in the US. While the initial two planes hit the two towers of the World Trade Centre in an interval of 17 minutes, the other two flights struck at the southwest side of the Pentagon and Shanksville in the Pennsylvania. These series of suicide attacks on the American soil not only shook the sense of security in the minds of the American people but also exposed the next level of international terrorism.

Besides the emotional trauma of the attacks, the world markets also faced a huge blow. The New York markets were kept shut for four trading days and afterward they suffered record losses. The September 11 attacks were a colossal tactical accomplishment for Al-Qaeda. There were well coordinated that hit several targets in the heart of the enemy; the attacks were puffed up by being televised across the world to innumerable viewers. The allies of the US showed their support and even thousands of people in Iranian capital of Tehran came out on the streets for a candlelight vigil.

However, the September 11 attacks opened the lid of terrorist activities that frequently affected different parts of the world. The 9/11 incident inspired attacks in Djerba, Bali, London, Madrid, Mumbai and elsewhere. In short, it extensively altered the global security set up.

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## **17.5 Global Fight against Terrorism**

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The dreadfulness of 9/11 spurred the world to unite to try to beat terrorism. To deal with the common threat, law enforcement authorities, military forces and intelligence services assembled common databases, exchanged personnel, carried out

joint exercise and operations, shared intelligence, technology, knowledge, and experience. The driving force behind all this initiative had the United States of America, the victim and advocate against global terrorism. In response to 9/11-attacks, the US-led coalition in Afghanistan dismantled the Taliban and Al-Qaeda infrastructure in 2001, arrested 9/11 operational leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (KSM) in 2003, and exterminated 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden in 2011.

Immediately after the September 11 attacks, the US launched the counterterrorism campaign known as the Global War on Terrorism (GWOt) in 2001. This counterterrorism plan was aimed to characterize a new chapter in global political relations and has had significant consequences for human rights, security, international law, governance and cooperation. The war on terrorism campaign was multidimensional of unlimited scope. Its military facet comprised of major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, clandestine operations in Yemen and elsewhere, extensive military assistance programmes for cooperative regimes, and major boosts in military expenditure. As a part of the campaign, it was first in the history of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that it invoked Article 5 of the Charter, permitting its members to react collectively in self-defence. On October 7, 2001, the US and allied military forces initiated an attack against Afghanistan and within months thousands of belligerents were executed or arrested; the Taliban and Al-Qaeda leaders went into hiding. In mid-October, NATO launched its first-ever operation against terrorism, known as Operation Eagle Assist. It was the first time that NATO military assets had been deployed in support of an Article 5 operation. On 26 October 2001, NATO launched its second counterterrorism operation in response to the 9/11attacks on the United States. It was called Operation Active Endeavour. Elements of NATO's Standing Naval Forces were sent to patrol the eastern Mediterranean and observe shipping to identify and put off terrorist activity, including unlawful trafficking.

In the initial years of the campaign, the accomplishments included the arrest of hundreds of terror suspects throughout the world, the avoidance of further major terrorist attacks on the American mainland, the collapse of the Taliban regime and following shutting down of terrorist training safe havens in Afghanistan, the arrest or elimination of many of Al-Qaeda's senior members, and augmented levels of global cooperation in counterterrorism efforts. The closure and dismantling the terrorist camps in Afghanistan, where three dozen terror outfits were housed, prevented

myriad attacks across the world. In November 2001, the Taliban fell to the Northern Alliance and the United States but bin Laden fled Afghanistan. It was nearly after a decade, in May 2011, that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) could find Osama bin Laden hiding in Abbottabad in Pakistan and was exterminated.

It was during this time that the hollowing out of the Iraqi military and the disintegration of the Saddam Hussein administration resulted in a civil war, promoting an environment for the rise of Al-Qaeda in Iraq. With this argument, the US forces invaded Iraq in 2003 – which later was proved to be a serious mistake. This American drawdown led to the creation of self-proclaimed Islamic State, a movement that swept across Iraq and Syria. Consequently, this had an impact on the situation in Afghanistan. Afghanistan, which remained under control for several years, soon followed a similar course, and by 2006 the US faced a full-scale uprising there directed by a reconstituted Taliban.

### **17.5.1 United Nations and the Battle against Terrorism**

The United Nations had been gravely anxious with the spread of international terrorism after the September 11 attacks. The resolve of the UN to overpower this menace was reflected in the Security Council Resolution No.1373 adopted following the September 11 attacks. The resolution had called upon the global community to fight this bane through international cooperation by political, diplomatic, economic and other means. Under the UN Security Council Resolution 1373, 1(c) states are obliged to freeze, with no delay of funds, other financial assets of persons who perpetrate, or attempt to commit terrorist acts or partake in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts, or of entities they own, control or direct, as well as of persons and entities acting on their behalf or direction and to forbid their nationals or any persons and entities within their territories from making any funds, financial assets or economic resources or financial or other related services available, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of persons who commit or attempt to commit or facilitate or participate in the commission of terrorist acts. Many states, as a result, have in place, at a national level, legal and institutional frameworks for the designation of individuals or groups, whom their governments consider to be terrorists, that are on the United Nations list, or are designated for national or multilateral (e.g., European Union) purposes.

In 2011, under Security Council Resolution 1989, the Council divided the so-called “Consolidated List” of individuals and entities connected with the Taliban and Al-Qaeda into two separate lists: the “Al-Qaeda, or 1988 List”, and the Taliban List, which includes those individuals and entities associated with the Taliban who are considered to pose an ongoing threat to the peace and security of Afghanistan. Finally, under Security Council Resolution 2253 (2015), the Al-Qaeda List was further expanded to include ISIL and Al Nusrah Front (ANF).

The UN General Assembly also took up the matter and authorised conventions to be ratified by member states for the humankind to come together and fight the evil. However, the General Assembly was mindful of the fact that while fighting terrorism, violation of human rights must not be allowed to occur, though at times the compromise between the two may be a tricky terrain. The campaign that was initiated by a coalition led by the US in 2001 against terrorist activities and its mastermind was in agreement with the authorisation from the United Nations. In fact, then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, while accepting the Nobel Prize for Peace in December 2001, said that the UN General Assembly and the Security Council had laid down a solid base for the battle against terrorism. Here it is important to note that often getting conventions signed and ratified by member states is not an easy task because there are states who endorse terrorism either by providing safe havens, monetary aid, weaponry and other assistances.

### **17.5.2 International coalition against Terrorism**

The 9/11 attacks had shook the ethics of the world as it progressed to put together a worldwide coalition to get rid of international terrorism. But even before this incident, international terrorism had grappled countries like India and Israel. While India was in its struggle to resist terrorism, it got the promise of complete support from several countries like UK, Russia, France, Vietnam and others both before and after 11 September. Israel, another victim of terrorism, joined the coalition to fight the evil, including terrorism in India. Russia had been suffering the Chechen crisis for a long time now and has supported India in the fight against terrorism. After September 11 attacks in the United States, the Bush Administration adopted a very hard line against international terrorism, and created a coalition to execute terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. The periodic terror attacks in India such as the

Indian Parliament attack in December 2001 or the Mumbai attack in 2008, the terrorist killings of large number of foreign terrorists in Bali or the alleged plan to attack London metro are some of the many instances of terror activities that still continues even after the US successfully dismantled the Taliban and Al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan. Interestingly, Pakistan, which joined the international coalition, is known for being a major hotbed of international terrorism. It was, however, reported in late 2002 that few Al-Qaeda training camps are still present in Pakistan.

International terrorism is a threat that affects every country of the world. The danger to humanity that it poses is now a serious concern. The ASEAN came forward late in 2002 issuing a declaration to underscore its commitment to fight this evil. The efforts by ASEAN were entirely endorsed by Japan, China and South Korea. This commitment by ASEAN was thoroughly welcomed by India. As a matter of fact, the Asia-Pacific Rim countries extending from Japan to Australia are headstrong to get rid of terrorism. It is not an easy task as often some countries act as terrorist sympathisers. For example, a Pakistani national Aimal Kansi who had shot two CIA detectives in the US in 1993 was finally executed by the US authorities in 2002. He was, however, considered as a hero by a section of Pakistani youth, just as the hijackers of Indian Airlines plane in December 1999 were allowed free movement in Pakistan and spew out hatred against India.

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## 17.6 Conclusion

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While explaining the history of terrorism, Kegley Jr. and Wittkopf said, “terrorism was known in ancient times, as seen in the assassination of tyrants in ancient Greece and Rome, and by the Zealots of Palestine and the Hashashim of medieval Islam. In the 19th century, terrorism became associated with the anarchist bombings and murders and destruction of property by nationalist groups such as the Armenians and Turks.” This reflects how terrorism as a tactic has evolved over the span of history. Besides ethnic or political reasons, it is generally noticed that religion also sometimes rationalises terrorist activities and that often turns out to be the most prevalent reason.

The 9/11 attacks shook global security arrangement and showed how vulnerable are states in front of such a menace. Since then the fight against terrorism has not



only been the responsibility of the United States. The Global War on Terrorism was a sustainable campaign to strengthen the global counterterrorism efforts. China and Russia must need to do their bit, protect their interests from terrorists at home and abroad. In the contemporary times, the return of Taliban regime in Afghanistan in late 2021 has again made the entire region insecure. It is the responsibility of all global players—a collective responsibility of states—to resist the menace of terrorism. In fact, international and multilateral organisations have a great deal of responsibility in getting rid of international terrorism.

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### **17.7 Summing Up**

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- I. International terrorism refers to the form where terrorists get training in one country to function in several countries. The kind of terrorism concerning two or more countries may be, referred to as international terrorism. Al-Qaeda, for instance, has not restricted its activities in any one country or region. Its adversaries are present worldwide, though the key targets may be a few specific countries.
- II. The 9/11 attacks are considered as the most dreadful act of international terrorism; it killed about 3000 people (2,977 victims and 19 Al-Qaeda terrorists) and wounded an estimated 25,000 people. The incident involved a string of airline hijackings and suicide attacks carried out in 2001 by 19 Al-Qaeda militants against targets in the US.
- III. In response to the attacks, the US-led coalition in Afghanistan dismantled the Taliban and Al-Qaeda infrastructure in 2001, arrested 9/11 operational leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (KSM) in 2003, and exterminated the mastermind Osama bin Laden in 2011. Soon after the attacks, the US launched the counterterrorism campaign known as the Global War on Terrorism.
- IV. The United Nations Security Council Resolution No.1373 was adopted following the September 11 attacks, which called upon the global community to fight terrorism through international cooperation by political, diplomatic, economic and other means.

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## 17.8 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. What is the September 11 attack? How did the attack influence the UN action?
2. What is Global War on Terrorism? How did the UN and international coalition react to 9/11?
3. Define international terrorism and its motive. How was the global fight against terrorism orchestrated?

### Short Questions:

1. What is international terrorism?
2. What are the motives of international terrorism?
3. How did the NATO act after the 9/11 terror attack?
4. What was the UN Security Council Resolution No.1373?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. When was Osama Bin Laden killed?  
(A) May 2011  
(B) June 2011  
(C) July 2011  
(D) September 2011  
**Ans.:** (A) May 2011
2. Who launched Operation Eagle Assist?  
(A) United States  
(B) United Nations  
(C) North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
(D) India  
**Ans.:** (C) North Atlantic Treaty Organization
3. Who was the lead perpetrator of the 9/11 attacks?  
(A) Osama Bin Laden  
(B) Mohammed Atta

(C) Al Nusrah

(D) Mohammad Azrah

**Ans.:** (B) Mohammed Atta

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## 17.9 Further Reading

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## **Unit 18 □ Human Security**

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### *Structure*

- 18.1 Objective**
- 18.2 Introduction**
- 18.3 Human Security: Origin and Evolution**
- 18.4 Debates over Human Security**
- 18.5 Contemporary Threats to Human Security**
- 18.6 International Community and Human Security**
- 18.7 Conclusion**
- 18.8 Summary**
- 18.9 Probable Questions**
- 18.10 Further Reading**

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### **18.1 Objective**

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This unit will help the learners to explain:

- The origin and evolution of the concept of human security
- The debates and controversies regarding human security
- The threats posed to human security today
- The efforts of the international community to promote human security

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### **18.2 Introduction**

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Traditionally, the term ‘security’ refers to the protection of territorial integrity and sovereignty of states from external military threats. This idea of national security dominated security analysis and policy-making up to 1990. However, from 1970’s onwards world began to think of security in broader, non-military terms. This led to a situation where human security was being contemplated to be a concept focusing on the individual as the main referent of security, challenging the traditional state-

centric notion of security. As opposed to national security, in its broadest sense, human security refers to the security of people rather than of states. The concept of human security was an attempt to expand and intensify the perception of threat, influenced by ideas like human development.

The concept of human security is, however, surrounded by debates. One group of critics argue that such concepts would enlarge the scope of security studies too much and equally doubted the idea of securitizing the individual. The advocates of human security pointed out that it is a critical step towards underscoring the dangers of human survival and safety from environmental stress, poverty, diseases, and human rights abuses, among others. It is a matter of fact that under globalisation, the broadened scope of security will address the challenges and concerns, instead of simply defending the state from external military aggression.

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### 18.3 Human Security: Origin and Evolution

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The origin of the idea of human security can be traced to the publication of the Human Development Report of 1994, issued by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 1994). According to the Report, the scope of human security involved seven key areas, such as economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security.

- **Economic security**, where the major threat is poverty, requires a guaranteed basic income—either from productive and remunerative work (through public or private sector employment, wage employment or self-employment) or from government-financed social safety nets.
- **Food security**, where the threats are of hunger and famine, requires that all people at all times should have both physical and economic access to basic food—that they should be entitled to food, by growing it for themselves, by buying it, or by using the public food distribution system. The accessibility of food is an essential but not a sufficient condition for food security. People often go hungry because they cannot afford to buy food, not because food is unavailable.
- **Health security**, where the threats involve injury and disease, requires access to healthcare and health services, including safe and affordable family planning.

The threats to health security are far more for poor people in rural areas, particularly for women and children, who are more exposed to diseases.

- **Environmental security**, where the threats emanate from pollution, environmental degradation and resource depletion, requires a healthy physical environment, security from the degradation of the local ecosystems, air and water pollution, deforestation, desertification, salinization, natural hazards (e.g. cyclones, earthquakes, floods, droughts or landslides) and man-made disasters (e.g. due to road or nuclear accidents or poorly built slum buildings).
- **Personal security**, where the threats involve different forms of violence, it requires securing people from physical violence, whether from within or beyond the state, from violent individuals or sub-state elements, from domestic violence and from predatory adults.
- **Community security**, where the threat is to the integrity of cultural diversity, requires security from oppressive traditional practices, discriminating against ethnic or indigenous groups and refugees, group rebellion and ethnic conflicts.
- **Political security**, where the threat is political repression, requires respect for human rights, protection from military dictatorships or abuse, from political or state repression, from the practice of torture, ill-treatment or disappearance, and from political detention and imprisonment.

Human security was the handiwork of a collection of development economists like the late Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq, who was at the helm of conceptualizing the UNDP's Human Development Report. They were ever more disgruntled with the conformist perception of development, which deemed it as a function of economic growth. In its place they proposed a notion of human development that stresses on building human potential to tackle and defeat poverty, illiteracy, diseases, bigotry, limitations of political freedoms and the risk of violent conflict. In order to create a larger paradigm for development, closely related to the increasing concern about the negative impact of defence expenditure on development, or the so-called 'guns versus butter' argument.

Human security means the protection of the individual more than the security of the states. States are made out of people. Human security and state security should be and frequently are considered to be the same thing. But states do not involuntarily

mean to secure people. Protecting citizens from the foreign attack may be an indispensable condition for the security of the individuals, but it is definitely not an adequate one. According to the Brundtland Commission Report (Report on the World Commission on Environment and Development) published in 1987, the original sources of insecurity include unsustainable development and its outcomes can get intertwined with conventional forms of conflict in a way that extend and intensify the latter.

All proponents of human security have the same opinion that its primary end is the security of individuals. However, there are differences about exactly what risks individuals should be safeguarded from. Proponents of the 'narrow' notion of human security stress on violent threats to individuals or, as former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan points it, "the safety of communities and individuals from internal violence". Proponents of the broad notion of human security argue that the threat agenda should comprise of hunger, sickness and natural disasters as they kill far more people than warfare, genocide and terrorism combined.

The concept of human security has been influenced by four developments:

- I. The denial of economic growth as the main indicator of development and the accompanying idea of 'human development' as empowerment of people.
- II. The rising cases of internal conflicts.
- III. The impact of globalization in dispersal transnational dangers such as terrorism and pandemics.
- IV. The post-cold war prominence on human rights and humanitarian intervention.

Due to rising occurrences of civil wars and inter-state conflicts during the post Cold War era, that involved huge losses of life, displacement of people within and across borders, ethnic cleansing and outbreak of diseases, the significance of human security has come under spotlight. Traditional security approaches was not able to be adequately sensitive to clashes or conflicts that emerge out of ethnic, cultural or religious differences, like the ones in Africa or Asia. Also, with the advent of democratization, the concepts of humanitarian intervention and human rights have further emphasized on the need for the global community to intervene in internal matters of states that are accused of gross human rights violation. In fact, human security became more and more vulnerable with accelerating globalization in terms

of growing poverty, inequality, unemployment and social displacement, like in the case of the Global Financial Crisis of 2008.

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## **18.4 Debates over Human Security**

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Debates over human security fall into two categories. First, supporters and sceptics of the concept differ over whether human security is a new or essential notion and what are the costs and benefits of adopting it as an intellectual tool or a policy framework. Second, primarily among the supporters, there have been debates over the scope of the notion.

The critics of human security argue that the concept is too broad to be methodically meaningful or a constructive tool for policy-making. Another school of critics point out that the concept could bring more harm than good. They argue that the definition of human security is perceived to be extremely moralistic in comparison to the conventional perception of security and therefore unfeasible and impractical. The other criticism and probably the most powerful one argue that human security disregards the role of the state as the security provider. This line of criticism has been echoed by many other scholars with a realistic orientation. Barry Buzan pointed out that states are an indispensable condition for individual security because without the state it is not clear what other agency is to act on behalf of individuals. However, to counter this criticism, advocates of human security argue that the concept have never outrightly discounted the importance of state as a guarantor of individuals' security. They also put forth that human security also does not claim traditional and human security concerns are always opposing. Nevertheless, if there is a conflict between conventional state security and human security, it very much rests on the regime that presides over the state.

Another significant debate that had surfaced regarding the scope of the concept is whether it should be predominantly about 'freedom from fear' or 'freedom from want'. The former point of view being advocated by the former Canadian External Affairs Minister, Lloyd Axworthy, stresses protecting people from violent conflicts through measures such as a ban on landmines, child labour, child soldiers, etc. The other view advocated by Japan, underscores the ability of the people and societies to



be free from a broad range of non-military dangers like diseases, environmental degradation, poverty, etc. The latter view has close similarities with the original UNDP formulation.

However, the differences between the two conceptions of human security can be overstated, since both consider the individual as the referent object of security and both recognize the role of globalization and the changing nature of armed conflict in creating new threats to human security. Furthermore, both perspectives stress safety from violence as a key objective of human security and both call for a rethinking of state sovereignty as a needful part of promoting human security.

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## **18.5 Contemporary Threats to Human Security**

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There are controversies around trends in human security parameters in armed conflicts. The first Human Security Report published in 2005 claimed a 40 percent fall in global armed conflicts since 1991, as well as 98 percent drop in the average number of battle deaths per conflict per year (Human Security Report 2005). The report listed a number of reasons for this, such as rising economic interdependence, increasing democratization, a growing number of global institutions, the impact of international norms against violence, including war crimes and genocide, the end of colonialism and the end of cold war. The report also pointed out an explicit cause behind this development: the dramatic boost in the UN's role in areas such as preventive diplomacy and peacemaking activities, post conflict peace building, the willingness of the Security Council to employ military action to enforce peace agreements, the preventive effects of International Criminal Court (ICC), and the greater resort to reconciliation and addressing the core causes of conflict.

Unfortunately, this optimistic report did not continue to last long. The Human Security Report for 2009-10 reflected a 25 percent rise in armed violence between 2003 and 2008. During the stated period, the world witnessed a rise in major political violence such as the US invasion of Iraq. The war on terror played a significant part in the growing number and deadliness of conflicts. The share of civilian casualties in armed violence has increased since World War I. Civilians accounted for 10 percent of the victims in World War I and 50 percent in World War II.

Furthermore, some of the grimmest issues of human security in armed conflicts still need to be overcome, such as the use of child soldiers and landmines. Child soldiers are involved in 75 percent of the 21<sup>st</sup> century armed conflicts. Land mines cause 15000-20000 casualties each year. According to the UN office for Disarmament Affairs 2012, there were 80 million live mines undetected—someone steps on a landmine in every 28 minutes, and 80 percent of those killed or injured by landmines are civilians.

Many armed conflicts have oblique impact on human life and well-being. Wars are a key source of economic disorder, disease, and ecological obliteration, which in the process undermines human development. It, thus, creates a violent cycle of conflict and underdevelopment. Conflict undermines nutrition and public health, destroys education systems, ruins livelihoods and hinders prospects for economic well-being. Environment is equally damaged by warfare. Examples are many such as the use of Agent Orange defoliant by the US during the Vietnam War or Saddam Hussein's burning of Kuwaiti oil wells in Gulf War (1990-91), leading to enormous air and land pollution. In a similar way, violence and outbreak of diseases are related; disease and malnutrition destroy far more people than missiles, bombs and bullets. In the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, outbreaks of diseases have been the cause behind the death of about 3.9 million people.

While one cannot establish direct link between poverty and terrorism, terrorists often make use of poverty and exclusion in order to tap into popular discontent, taking benefit of fragile states such as Somalia, or undemocratic regimes. Orissa in India is a classic example of how poverty, deprivation, and lack of economic opportunity can activate insurgency and acts of terrorism, suggesting how freedom from fear and freedom from want are inextricably connected. Warfare and violent conflicts have indirect consequences in causing ecological damage and environmental decay; environmental degradation and climate change are also another source of conflict. Population explosion and resulting resource shortage and environmental stress often lead to conflict. For instance, South Asian countries like India and Nepal have water dispute over Mahakali River Treaty. The matter of climate change has become as a security concern, although most countries of the world consider it as a national security threat instead of a human security concern, in which people's

livelihood and well-being are compromised. But climate change can be related to people's human security issues, such as growing poverty, food shortage, water crisis, and diseases, which are genuine human security issues. Natural disasters also have an effect on the course of conflicts, either aggravating or mitigating them.

In fact, the relationship between human security and gender has multiple scopes. According to the UN Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality, there are five aspects:

- I. Gender inequalities in control over resources
- II. Violence against women and girls
- III. Gender inequalities in power and decision making
- IV. Women (and men) as actors, not victims.
- V. Women's human rights

Women play an important role in armed conflicts either as victims or actors. For instance, between 250,000 and 500,000 women were raped during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Rape and other forms of sexual violence against women increasingly appear as a war apparatus and are now considered as crimes against humanity. Another facet of the gender dimension of human security is the role of women as actors in conflicts. Securing women's participation in the combat probably gives the conflict a chance to raise the legitimacy of the cause of the combatants. In recent years, there has been a greater awareness of the need to secure greater participation of women in peacekeeping operations. In this direction, the UN and other organizations have responded optimistically, in having more and more women participating in peacekeeping operations.

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## **18.6 International Community and Human Security**

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The broad and contested nature of the notion of human security makes it difficult to estimate policies undertaken by the international community that can be particularly regarded as human security measures. But the most significant multilateral actions consist of the establishment of numerous War Crimes Tribunals, the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the Anti-Personnel Landmines Treaty. The ICC was

established on 1 July 2002 with its headquarters in The Hague, although its proceeding can take place anywhere. It is a permanent body with power to exercise its jurisdiction over persons for the most serious crimes of international concern. Such crimes include genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and the crime of aggression, although court would not exercise its jurisdiction over the crime of aggression until the state parties have agreed on a definition of a crime and set out the conditions under which it might be prosecuted. The ICC is a 'court of last resort'. Human security mechanisms such as War Crimes Tribunals and ICC have been involved in the indictment and prosecution of few high-profile war crime cases. Crimes of former president of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, former Liberian President Charles Taylor, and the former President of Ivory Coast Laurent Gbagbo and his wife were investigated by ICC and War Crimes Tribunal.

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, signed in Ottawa on 3-4 December 1997, prohibits the development, production, acquisition, stockpiling, transfer and use of anti-personnel mines. It also obliges signatories to destroy existing stockpiles. China, USA and the Russian Federation are yet to sign the treaty.

The UN specialized agencies play a significant role in promoting human security. For instance, the UNDP and WHO have played a leading role in fighting poverty and disease respectively. Other UN agencies such as UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) have played an important role in getting particular issues, such as refugees and the rights of children and women onto the agenda for discussion. They have also offered a platform for advocacy and action.

In addition, the rise in UN peacekeeping and peace building operations has contributed to the drop in conflict and enhanced prospects for human security. A UN peace building commission was inaugurated in 2006; its goal is to assist in post conflict recovery and reconstruction, including institution building and sustainable development in countries emerging from conflict. The UN has also been at the centre of promoting the notion of humanitarian intervention, a central policy element of human security. In fact, non-governmental organizations also contribute to human security in a number of ways – being a source of information, issuing early warning

about violence, supporting rehabilitation missions, etc. A leading NGO with a human security mission is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which protects the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence, including the war wounded, prisoners, refugees, civilians, and other non-combatants, and to provide them with assistance. Other NGO's include Médecins Sans Frontières, Save the Children and Amnesty International.

The international community also face challenges to carry out their task of promoting human security. Whether seen as freedom from fear or freedom from want, the notion of human security has not replaced national security. There is continued significance given to national security over the human security. One can notice the high defence expenditure compared to the spending on diseases, like AIDS/ HIV which claims 3 million lives each year. For every country and more particularly developing ones, state sovereignty and territorial integrity take priority over security of the individual. Human security is thwarted by the shortage of political space for alternatives to state ideologies and restrictions on civil liberties imposed by authoritarian regimes and sometimes even by democratic regimes to guarantee their own survival instead of providing security for their citizens. In the developed as well as the developing world, one of the most powerful challenges to human security has come from the war on terror led by USA in response to 9/11 attacks. These have revived the traditional stress of states on national security.

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## **18.7 Conclusion**

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The concept of human security reflects several developments that have gradually challenged the traditional perspective of security as the protection of states from military attack. Today, wars in Syria or Ukraine, political tensions in Afghanistan or Sri Lanka have grabbed attention of the global community in understanding the impact of such developments on people besides the impact on their national security. The international community has been talking about refugees, displacement, vulnerabilities of women and children in these tensions, employment issues, among others. The notion of human security represents an ongoing effort to put the individual at the centre of national and global security concerns while expanding our

conception of the range of challenges that can intimidate individual safety and well-being. To be sure, human security has a long way to go before being accepted universally as a conceptual framework or as a policy tool for national governments and the international community.

The connection between armed conflict, poverty, disease and environmental stress are poorly understood and require amplification and explanation. However, there can be little doubt that threats to human security, whether understood as freedom from fear or freedom from want, are real world challenges which cannot be wished away or dismissed because of a lack of agreement over the concept and meaning of human security. Notwithstanding debates about the utility and scope of human security, there is an increasing acceptance that the traditional notion of security, focusing on state sovereignty, will no longer be sufficient, and that the global community must develop new responses to guarantee the protection of people from transnational dangers in an era of globalization.

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## 18.8 Summing Up

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- I. The origin of the idea of human security can be traced back to the publication of the Human Development Report of 1994, issued by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 1994). The Report suggests that the scope of human security involves seven key areas, such as economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security.
- II. The critics of human security argue that the concept is too broad to be methodically meaningful or a constructive tool for policy-making. Another very strong criticism against the concept is that human security disregards the role of the state as the security provider.
- III. The significant debate that had surfaced regarding the scope of the concept is whether it should be predominantly about ‘freedom from fear’ or ‘freedom from want’. While the former stresses on protecting people from violent conflicts through measures such as a ban on landmines, child labour, child soldiers, etc. The latter underscores the ability of the people and societies to be free from a

broad range of non-military dangers like diseases, environmental degradation, poverty, etc.

- IV. The most significant multilateral actions towards human security consist of the establishment of numerous War Crimes Tribunals, the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the Anti-Personnel Landmines Treaty. The UN specialized agencies like the WHO and UNDP also play a significant role in promoting human security. NGO's like the Médecins Sans Frontières, ICRC, Save the Children and Amnesty International contribute towards the promotion of human security.

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## 18.9 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions

1. What do you understand by the concept of human security? Discuss the origin and evolution of the concept.
2. What are the debates and contemporary threats surrounding human security?
3. How is human security different from national security? How does the international community respond to the demands of human security?

### Short Questions:

1. Which four developments have influenced the notion of human security?
2. What impact do environmental degradation and climate change bring on human security?
3. How has the ICC contributed towards the progress of human security?
4. Which UN specialized agencies have played a critical role in promoting human security?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. When was the Brundtland Commission Report published?  
(A) 1985  
(B) 1986  
(C) 1987  
(D) 1989

**Ans.:** (C) 1987

2. Who among the following advocated the idea ‘freedom from fear’?
- (A) Lloyd Axworthy
  - (B) Kofi Annan
  - (C) Mahbub ulHaq
  - (D) Charles Taylor

**Ans.:** (A) Lloyd Axworthy

3. When was the International Criminal Court (ICC) established?
- (A) 1 March 2001
  - (B) 1 July 2002
  - (C) 1 July 2001
  - (D) 1 June 2002

**Ans.:** (B) 1 July 2002

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### 18.10 Further Reading

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1. Acharya, Amitav. “Human Security: East versus West.” *International Journal* 56.3 (2001): 442-60.
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5. Haq, Mahbub ul. *Reflections on Human Development*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.
6. Naidu, M. V. *Perspectives on Human Security: National Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention*. Brandon, MB: CPREA, 2001.



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## **Unit 19 □ Migration**

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### *Structure*

- 19.1 Objective**
- 19.2 Introduction**
- 19.3 Migration: Significance, Concept, Features, Forms**
  - 19.3.1 Social Significance**
  - 19.3.2 Concept**
  - 19.3.3 Features**
  - 19.3.4 Forms**
- 19.4 Migration: Causes**
  - 19.4.1 Socio-cultural Factor**
  - 19.4.2 Political Factor**
  - 19.4.3 Economic Factor**
- 19.5 Effects of Migration**
- 19.6 Issues related to Refugees and Displaced Persons**
- 19.7 Conclusion**
- 19.8 Summary**
- 19.9 Probable Questions**
- 19.10 Further Reading**

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### **19.1 Objective**

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This unit deals with migration as a demographic process and after going through this unit the learners will be able to explain:

- What does the concept of migration signify?
- The various features and forms of migration
- The different reasons behind migration
- The various effects of migration

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## 19.2 Introduction

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Migration is generally defined as a people's geographical movement involving a shift from their standard place of residence. But it is different from provisional and very short distance moves. Migration can be internal (within the national boundaries) or international (across the international borders). People move for several reasons and that those reasons are called push and pull factors (to be discussed in details in the later sections). The push factors mean leaving a place due to issues, such as food shortage, war, or flood. The pull factors include moving to a place because of positive developments like better climate, better job opportunity, or better living standards.

There are various types of migration leading to a host of effects on the people and the social demographics. Migration is closely related to the refugee problem and the issue of displacement. Today, the issue of migration has become a global issue affecting the entire world.

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## 19.3 Migration: Significance, Concept, Features, Forms

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In this section, the important discussion on the various aspects of the issue of migration will be dealt with.

### 19.3.1 Social Significance

After mortality and fertility, migration is the third element of population change. Migration is different from the other two elements. While mortality and fertility are biological elements operating in a biological framework, though influenced by social, cultural and economic aspects, migration is a response of human organisms to economic, social and demographic forces in the environment. The study of migration holds a central place in population studies, because, along with fertility and mortality, it concludes the size and rate of population growth along with its structure and characteristics.

Migration has an important role in the distribution of the population of any country, and determines the augmentation of labour force in any given area. Migration is, hence, an important indicator of social change in society.

### 19.3.2 Concepts

The world 'migration' refers to the movements of the people from one place to another. According to *Demographic Dictionary*, "migration is a type of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical space and another, usually concerning a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival." Such migration is called permanent migration. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) uses an umbrella definition, which is not described under international law – reflecting the common lay perception of a person who moves away from his or her usual place of residence, may be within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a host of reasons. Everett Lee, a renowned demographer, defines migration broadly "as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". There is no restriction on the distance of the move or upon the deliberate and unintentional nature of the act. Migration, according to Eisenstadt is the physical shift of an individual or a group from one society to another and this transition generally involves discarding one social-setting and adapting to another and different one.

Migration is preceded by decision-making on the part of the individual or the group migrating. They evaluate and judge sets of values in two comparative situations, leading to changes in the interactional system of the migrants. In brief, when a person leaves his native place or village, comes to an urban area or a city, takes up a job, and starts living there, he is known as a migrant and his move is referred to as migration (pull factor).

### 19.3.3 Features

There are some important characteristic features of the migrants and migration. A key characteristic is the age selectivity of the migrants. Generally, young people are more mobile. Most migration studies, especially in developing countries, have noticed that rural-urban migrants are primarily young adults and reasonably better educated than those people who remain at the place of origin. It is palpable that job-oriented migration takes place mainly at a young age. Also, a foremost part of the female migration due to marriage happens at a young adult age. Thus people tend to move when they are between their teens and their mid-thirties (15-35 years) than at other ages.

The other important feature is that the migrants tend to move to those places where they have contacts and where migrants who have moved earlier serve as links for the new migrants, and this chain is thus formed in the process, and is generally called chain migration. There have been a number of studies reflecting that people do not blindly go to a new place. They usually have kinship chains and networks of relatives and friends who lend a hand to them in different ways. In certain cases, the migrants not only tend to have the same destination but also tend to have the same occupation. A research reveals that in certain hotels in Jaipur almost all the workers hail from one particular sub-region of Kumaon.

#### **19.3.4 Forms:**

People may move within a country between different states or between different districts of the same state or they may move between different countries. Hence, different terms are used for internal and external migration. Internal migration means the kind where migration takes place from one place to another with a country, while external migration or international migration refers to migration from one country to another.

- I. **Immigration and Emigration:** ‘Immigration’ refers to migration into a country from another country and ‘emigration’ refers to migration out of the country. These terms are used only in connection with international migration. For instance, migrants leaving India to settle down in the United States or Canada or any other country are immigrants to the United States or Canada or the other country and emigrants from India.
- II. **Inmigration and Outmigration:** These terms are used only in relation with internal migration. ‘Inmigration’ means migration into a particular area while ‘outmigration’ refers to moving out of a particular area. Thus, migrants who come from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh to Punjab are considered to be inmigrants for Punjab and outmigrants for Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The term ‘inmigration’ is used to mean the area of destination of the migrants and the term ‘outmigration’ is used in connection to the area of origin or place of departure of the migrant.
- III. **Types of internal migration:** In India, the migration is classified into four streams, namely, rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural. Rural to rural migration has been the overriding migration stream since 1961.

Substantial increase in the share of rural to urban and urban to urban migration has been noticed with the passage of time. An important point is that the share of the female migration is much higher in rural to rural stream, while in the other three streams the share of the migration of males is relatively higher. This is purely because women change their residence on getting married and new location could be in the neighbouring districts. Also, according to the National Sample Survey, over 46 percent migration to urban areas happens due to marriage. The custom of women moving to urban areas is also due to marriage. These movements accounts for major internal migration.

While in case of Indian census, there is fourfold typology, in some developed and extremely urbanized countries migration from cities to the suburbs are also found. In such developed countries such migration from cities to suburbs are primarily noticed among retired people who tend to spend their post-retirement life far from the crowds, engaging in farming or countryside activities. Migration typology is also based on time – long range migration and short range or seasonal migration. When a move is made for a longer period (for pursuing higher education or PhD), it is called long range migration and when people shift to temporary work sites and residence for some weeks or months (construction site workers), it is known as periodic or seasonal migration. However, when there is permanent shift of people from one region to another (permanent change in work location), it is known as permanent migration. Besides, migration could be voluntary or involuntary or forced brain drain (migration of young skilled persons or researchers) and migration of refugees and displaced persons.

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## **19.4 Migration: Causes**

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To know all about migration, it is crucial to understand the causes behind people migrating. The important factors, therefore, which lead to migration or which motivate people to move may broadly be classified into three categories: socio-cultural factors, economic factors, and political factors.

### **19.4.1 Socio-cultural factor**

Individuals, who migrate, do so for multiple stresses that impact their mental well being. These socio-cultural factors include increase in the population, with

unfavourable effects on existing social institutions, urge to connect with family members, push for the homeland, etc. The differences in cultural practices and customs also enhance possibilities of migration, particularly internal migration. The problem in getting accustomed to a new cultural setting also leads to migration, however, in that case its known as reverse migration, meaning moving back the native location from where one came. At times family conflicts also cause migration. Improved communication facilities, such as, transportation, impact of the radio and the television, the cinema, the urban-oriented education and resultant change in attitudes and values also encourage migration.

### **19.4.2 Political Factor**

Political reasons play a great role in people's migration. Many people are forced to migrate owing to a war, civil war or state policies which discriminate against particular categories of its citizens or the political opponents of those in power. Political instability (like in the cases of Sri Lanka, Afghanistan), ethnic cleansing (the case of Rohingyas in Myanmar), political division of a state or country (Partition of Bengal) promotes migration. Besides, religious clashes, riots or violence and political persecution become a push factor for migration, particularly the internal one.

### **19.4.3 Economic factor**

The reason for voluntary migration is usually economic. In most of the developing countries, low agricultural income, agricultural redundancy and underemployment are the major factors pushing the migrants towards areas with greater job opportunities. Even the pressure of population resulting in a high man-land ratio has been extensively considered to be one of the important reasons of poverty and rural outmigration. The most vital economic factors that motivate migration may be termed as 'push factors' and 'pull factors'. In simple words, it is to see whether people migrate because of the forceful conditions at the place of origin which pushed them out or whether they are pulled by attractive conditions at the new destination. Interestingly, sometimes migration happen not only by push or pull factors alone but as a result of the combined effect of both.

- **Push factors:** The push factors are those that compel or force a person, due to different reasons, to leave the place of origin and go to some other place. For

example, unpleasant economic conditions caused by poverty, low productivity, unemployment, exhaustion of natural resources and natural calamities may compel people to leave their native place in search of better economic opportunities. A study by the International Labor Organization (ILO) reveals that the main push factor causing a worker to leave agriculture is the lower levels of income, as income in agriculture is generally lower than the other sectors of the economy. Rapid population explosion encourages migration; the per capita availability of cultivable land declines and the numbers of the unemployed and the underemployed in the rural areas significantly rise pushing rural people to the urban areas. The non-availability of alternative sources of income in the rural area is also another factor for migration. In addition, the reality of the joint family system and laws of inheritance, which do not allow the division of property, could also push many young men to migrate to cities in search of jobs. Even subdivision of holdings leads to migration, as the holdings become too small to support a family.

- **Pull factors:** It refers to those factors which exert a pull on the migrants to an area, such as, opportunities for better employment, higher wages, better working conditions and better amenities of life, etc. There is usually city ward migration, when rapid expansion of industry, commerce and business takes place. In recent years, the high rate of movement of people from India as well as from other developing countries to USA, Canada and now to the Middle-East is due to the better employment opportunities, higher wages and better amenities of life, variety of occupations to choose from and the possibility of attaining higher standards of living. Sometimes the migrants are also attracted to cities in search of better cultural and entertainment activities or bright city lights. However, pull factors function not only in the rural-urban migration, but also in other types of internal as well as international migration.

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## 19.5 Effects of Migration

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The consequences of migration are varied; it includes economic, demographic, social and emotional ones. These consequences can be positive as well as negative.

Some of these have an effect on the place of exodus while others influence the place of destination. Migration from a region characterised by labour surplus helps to increase the average productivity of labour in that region, as this encourages labour-saving devices and/or greater work participation by the remaining family workers, thus improving their living conditions. On the other hand, there is an observation that migration adversely impacts the emigrating region and favours the immigrating region and that migration would broaden the development inequality between the regions because of the drain of the resourceful persons from the relatively underdeveloped region to the more developed region. But the exodus of the more enterprising members of a community cannot be considered a loss, if there is lack of work choices in the rural areas. As long as migration draws upon the surplus labour, it would facilitate the emigrating region. It will have unfavourable effects only if human resources are drained away at the cost of the development of the region. Nonetheless, the labour-sending regions may achieve economically by the money brought in by the emigrants. In India, the arrival of the rural migrants to cities and towns has led to a steady outflow of cash from the urban to rural areas.

Migration has serious effects on the demography of a region. It directly impacts on age, sex and occupational composition of the sending and receiving regions. Migration of the young unmarried males results in imbalances in sex ratio. The dearth of young men in the villages boosts the share of other groups, such as, women, children and old people. This tends to trim down the birth rate in the rural areas.

Migration also impacts the social and psychological set up of an individual. Those migrants who intermittently return or remain in direct or indirect contact with the households of their origin are also likely to transmit some new ideas back to the areas of origin. Many studies attribute technological change to the dynamism of the return migrants, who bring money as well as knowledge and experience of different production techniques, and this may lead to mechanisation and commercialisation of agricultural activity. Besides, migration negatively impacts the psyche of the people who have moved to a new place. Differences in culture, customs or lifestyles can hamper the mental well-being of an individual, if the person cannot cope with the new setting.



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## **19.6 Issues related to Refugees and Displaced Persons**

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According to the United Nations, a refugee is every person, who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons like race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is living outside the country of his nationality and is incapable or due to such fear, is averse to avail himself of the security of that country. The Partition of the Indian subcontinent probably made the largest movement of people in that century. In the history of forced international migration, Asia has witnessed many such instances: Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 produced a flow of refugees which has led to some 2.7 million being temporarily settled in Pakistan and 1.5 million in Iran. The Tamil problem in Sri Lanka during the 20<sup>th</sup> century has led to a huge movement of refugees into India.

On humanitarian grounds, refugees are often given shelter by the governments of various countries. However, the unexpected influx of the refugees creates massive pressure on the native society. It leads to short supply of vital commodities, ecological imbalances and health hazards in the countries of asylum. Also, many a times, the receiving country faces serious political complications.

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## **19.7 Conclusion**

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The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recognizes, for the first time, the contribution of migration to sustainable development. 11 out of the 17 SDGs comprise of targets and indicators pertinent to migration or mobility. The core principle of 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is to “leave no one behind,” not even migrants, hence reflecting a holistic approach by the global community. Large-scale movements of refugees and migrants concern all UN member states and they need closer collaboration and responsibility-sharing. The UN member states adopted a set of commitments, known as the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, which acknowledges the constructive contribution of migrants to sustainable and inclusive development and commits to protecting the safety, dignity and human rights and elementary freedoms of all migrants, regardless of their migratory status.

Migration could be beneficial for host communities, migrants and place of origin. Nevertheless, when the issue is poorly regulated it can generate significant challenges. These challenges include overwhelming social infrastructures with the sudden arrival of large numbers of people and the deaths of migrants undertaking dangerous journeys. Thus, international migration requires a holistic and all-inclusive approach at all levels.

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## 19.8 Summing Up

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- I. The world ‘migration’ refers to the movements of the people from one place to another. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) uses an umbrella definition, reflecting the common lay perception of a person who moves away from his or her usual place of residence, may be within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a host of reasons.
- II. The important factors, which lead to migration or motivate people to move, are broadly classified into three categories: socio-cultural factors, economic factors, and political factors.
- III. The consequences of migration are varied; it includes economic, demographic, social and emotional ones. These consequences can be positive as well as negative. Some of these have an effect on the place of exodus while others influence the place of destination.
- IV. Sometimes forced movements of people take place due to political and religious disturbances or wars. Such movements shift people to the neighbouring countries as refugees. On humanitarian grounds, refugees are often given shelter by the governments of various countries.

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## 19.9 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. What do you understand by migration? Discuss the different forms of migration.
2. What are the reasons and effects of migration?

3. Discuss the concepts and features of migration. How does the issue of refugees affect the world?
4. Who is a refugee? How does the issue of refugee impact the global population?

**Short Questions:**

1. What is the difference between immigration and outmigration?
2. What are the push factors responsible for people's migration?
3. Define the concept of migration.
4. Who is a refugee?

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

1. Which among the following cases is an example of migration due to ethnic cleansing?  
(A) Sri Lankan Tamil crisis  
(B) Rohingya crisis  
(C) Nepalese migrants  
(D) Afghanistan crisis  
**Ans.:** (B) Rohingya crisis
2. How many goals do the Sustainable Development Goals consist of?  
(A) 11  
(B) 15  
(C) 16  
(D) 17  
**Ans.:** (D) 17
3. Which all states adopted the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants?  
(A) US and UK  
(B) UK, France and Germany  
(C) UN member states  
(D) NATO members  
**Ans.:** (C) UN member states

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## 19.10 Further Reading

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1. Koser, Khalid. *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Vancouver, B.C.: Langara College, 2017.
2. Nawyn, Stephanie J, and Gold, Steven J. *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*. United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013.
3. Khadria, Binod, Inglis, Christine, and Li, Wei. *The SAGE Handbook of International Migration*. United Kingdom: SAGE Publications, 2019.
4. Money, Jeannette, and Lockhart, Sarah P. *Introduction to International Migration: Population Movements in the 21st Century*. United States: Taylor & Francis, 2021.

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## **Unit 20 □ Global Shifts: Power and Governance**

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### *Structure*

**20.1 Objective**

**20.2 Introduction**

**20.3 The Immediate Post-Cold War Global Order: An Overview**

**20.4 Emergence of Global Governance**

**20.5 Emergence of New Powers**

**20.6 New Global Governance: Emerging trends**

**20.7 Conclusion**

**20.8 Summary**

**20.9 Probable Questions**

**20.10 Further Reading**

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### **20.1 Objective**

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With the effective influence of globalization on the global world order, there have been distinctive shifts in global power politics and governance. This unit will help the learners to elucidate:

- The shift in the world order immediately after the end of the Cold War
- How the notion of global governance consolidated as a new approach to world affairs
- How the new powers alter power relations?
- The trends in new global governance

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### **20.2 Introduction**

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As the Soviet Union disintegrated, the Cold War contestation between the United States of America and Soviet Union came to an end. With this, the world entered into a brand new phase – the US enjoyed the supreme power in the world, establishing

an unipolar world order. Consequentially, the focus shifted towards international institutions, human rights, promotion of democracy, and economic liberalization. Gradually with the contemporary need of the period, ‘global governance’ began to appear as an outlook on world politics as well as a new attitude towards managing international affairs. It represented a target to deal with the issues that grappled the world in a collaborative fashion.

However, today things do not seem to go the way it was targeted. In the corridors of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Geneva, in the backrooms of the United Nations in New York, universal multilateralism has taken a hit and power politics appears to be on the climb. China have experienced quick economic growth, India and South Africa have been much more self-reliant than before and are increasingly challenging Western dominance. In developed democracies, new right-wing political movements have appeared that confront outward-oriented pro-globalization policies. China and Russia appear to offer political alternatives to liberal democracy. The great-power club of systemically significant countries have become more diverse and that creates a changing global order and impacts its governance.

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### **20.3 The Immediate Post-Cold War Global Order: An Overview**

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The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union defined the Cold War period. The disintegration of the European imperial system, the emergence of new states and a struggle between the Soviets and Americans for supremacy and control also defined the confrontation. That era ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Many shifts in the international system accompanied the end of the Cold War. In fact, 1991 was an extraordinary and defining year. The Japanese economic miracle ended. China after Tiananmen Square inherited Japan’s place as a rapidly growing, export-based economy, one defined by the continued pre-eminence of the Chinese Communist Party. The Maastricht Treaty was formulated, creating the structure of the subsequent European Union. A vast coalition dominated by the United States reversed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Precisely, three things defined the post-Cold War world. The first was the American power. The second was the rise of China as the centre of global industrial

growth based on low wages. The third was the re-emergence of Europe as a massive, integrated economic power. Meanwhile, Russia, the main remnant of the Soviet Union, reeled while Japan shifted to a considerably different economic form. In fact, the post-Cold War world had two phases. The first phase lasted from 31 December 1991 to 11 September 2001. The second lasted from 9/11 until now.

The United States had entered into the new phase with what is still the largest economy in the world with the fewest economic problems amongst the other developed countries in the post-Cold War world. It had also emerged as the greatest military power. But it has emerged far more mature and cautious than it entered the period. The US became the dominant power in the world – a unipolar hegemon. Both Europe and China viewed the world in the post-Cold War period similarly. Each believed that geopolitical questions and even questions of domestic politics could be suppressed and sometimes even ignored. They believed this because they both thought they had entered a period of permanent prosperity. 1991-2008 was, in fact, a period of extraordinary prosperity, one that both Europe and China simply assumed would never end and one whose prosperity would moot geopolitics and politics. However, periods of prosperity, of course, always alternate with periods of austerity. Today's Europe is at least a classic example.

It is interesting to recall the exaggerated claims about the future of Japan in the 1980s. Observers remained awestruck by growth rates and the Westerners did not anticipate the hollowing out of the financial system as growth rates were sustained by cutting prices and profits. Japan's miracle seemed to be eternal but it was not. Today Japan exists, but behaves in a different way than it did before.

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## **20.4 Emergence of Global Governance**

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Since the 1990s, the outburst of liberal optimism has permeated the study and practice of international politics. In the context of a deepening world market and the denationalization of policy fields such as trade, investment, health, and the environment, global governance appeared as the only course through which conflicting or different interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. For the first time since the Russian Revolution, capitalism reigned almost unchallenged throughout

the world. Resources previously denied to the investor were integrated into the world market: in the former Soviet bloc under shock therapy, in China as a result of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and in Latin America under the tutelage of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programmes. Even a social democratic addendum to capitalism began to appear old-fashioned, and ‘third alternative’ social democracy, largely adapted to neoliberal economic prescriptions, emerged. This became the context for the emergence of a governance system that was, for the first time, actually global. Thus began a phase of multilateral institution building that is only comparable in its scope and ambition with the foundation of the UN system after World War II.

Developing countries were forced to take on new obligations to protect the ‘intellectual property’ of big Northern corporations and to commit new economic sectors such as services and investment to the multilateral liberalization agenda. In return, developing countries got the incorporation of agriculture and textiles into the multilateral regime—but not much in the way of liberalizing them. The conception and consolidation of the WTO represented only the most motivated attempt to constitutionalize the foundation of a liberal global economic order. The WTO came into force in 1995 and more ambitious developed countries embarked on exploring the prospect of extending the multilateral approach to investment liberalization, supported by an effective dispute settlement mechanism.

The Washington Consensus reflected liberal principles of neo-classical economics, providing an authoritative and articulate set of policy prescriptions based on privatization, trade and financial liberalization, and fiscal conservatism. Lending conditionalities and political pressure diffused this policy paradigm around the developing world and contributed to the perception that economic policy could be standardized into a ‘best practice’. In the European context, the Maastricht Treaty (1992) paved the way for one of the most ambitious supranational institutions in history, creating a European Union based on common liberal economic criteria and eventually creating a single European currency (Euro).

The Ottawa Treaty on Landmines (1997) had already demonstrated the capacity for multilateral action even where some major powers rejected it. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the core geopolitical association of the liberal democratic



states, was expanded through the decade and by 2004 incorporated a total of 26 countries, expanding further behind the former Iron Curtain. The operation of a globalized economy and the expansion of modern industry would, of course, generate its proportion of externalities, especially for the earth's biosphere. The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was consecrated in 1992 and the Kyoto Protocol adopted in 1997 as the most ambitious attempts of global governance to limit the prospects of runaway global warming.

In sum, the 1990s displayed a burst of multilateral treaty making and thriving new global initiatives to intensify economic liberalization, expand human rights, and take care of some of the most egregious externalities of global capitalism. The international system became profoundly institutionalized and, for the first time, these initiatives were truly global. In order to gradually increase the normative ambition, the concept of humanitarian intervention paved way for the 'responsibility to protect'. Global governance could be executed not only in the common interest, but in the quest for a better society.

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## **20.5 Emergence of New Powers**

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With global governance, there has been the new addition of emerging powers. The onset of the 21<sup>st</sup> century witnessed the emergence of regional groupings which influenced global power shifts. The contemporary global governance in many significant respects reflect the preferences and social purposes widespread among dominant social groups in Western, developed, and liberal democracies. Since the 1980s, this social purpose has taken on a particularly neoliberal dimension. By externalizing features of their domestic societies into international institutions and other transnational actors, Western states have shaped global governance in their own image. In contrast, new powers are economically, politically, and culturally different from established powers. Economically, the emerging powers remain poorer in per capita terms and much more unequal than the established powers; their forms of capitalism are more organized, less free and usually less liberal than those of the established powers. Far from seeking neoliberal economic credentials, most emerging economies have developed pragmatic alliances with local and foreign investors that

have breathed new life into economic regimes that hardly approximate Washington Consensus norms.

Emerging powers are also politically diverse from established powers: China is governed by a one party regime defined in its constitution as “a socialist state under the people’s democratic dictatorship,” and Russia has developed a personalized form of rule that has been theorized as ‘sovereign democracy’. While countries such as India and Brazil are committed to multiparty democracy, their political systems are characterized by weaker rule of law and weaker voice and accountability than established powers. Interestingly, these differences appear to expand to the cultural sphere. As the new powers are economically, politically, and culturally different from established powers, they are expected to have different preferences regarding international rules and to pursue different social purposes in their foreign policies. Due to a more diffused distribution of state power, these preferences are more readily translated into international outcomes. In short, the rise of new powers augment the heterogeneity of preferences weighed by power that underpins the international system.

The international institutions are sticky and do not acclimatize well to new distributions of power and preferences. Established powers preserve their privileges in existing institutions because emerging powers may find it ever more attractive to explore exit options. The impact of emerging powers on global governance will be an effect not only of a new heterogeneity of power and preferences, but also of the path-dependent development of the existing order.

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## **20.6 New Global Governance: Emerging trends**

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The creation of strong and encompassing international institutions mean that emerging powers are pursuing their interests in a system not of their making but which they cannot ignore. Under the pressure of increased systemic heterogeneity and their own path dependency, many existing regimes cannot adapt. The new global governance is a product of both increased systemic heterogeneity and the path-dependent trajectory of the status quo. By observing the processes currently manifest within various multilateral institutions, it is possible to identify the trajectories of change that have emerged and appear likely to continue in the near future:

- I. Long-lasting global governance:** Despite the turmoil of global governance in recent years, there are strong reasons to believe that the challenges posed to existing institutions are taking place within certain limits, that opposition is selective rather than total, and that conflicts are internal to the existing order rather than existential. Emerging powers are rendering parts of global governance dysfunctional, layering onto it and complicating it, but not overthrowing it. The emerging global governance order is growing out of the existing one. A major reason for global governance's durability consists of the global economic context within which current conflicts are being played out. This is usually referred to as "globalization" and designates the processes of social and economic denationalization that have taken place especially since the 1970s. This is reflected in an exponential increase of trade, investment, and financial flows.
- II. Fragmented global governance:** As the existing international institutions tend to be sticky, the changes and challenges currently affecting global governance are of a gradual nature. New powers are coming into an already institutionalized order. Neither emerging nor established powers can simply wipe the slate clean. Because of this, new initiatives are likely to be "layered" on top of existing ones, contributing to institutional complexity and fragmentation. Creating new institutions, however, can be a costly exercise and may diminish the utility of established institutions. Along with informalization, fragmentation may arise in response to persistent deadlocks that block emerging powers from achieving their goals through existing institutions. The same is true for established powers. The most developed form of fragmentation in the existing global governance order is the creation of new formal institutions alongside, and partly competing with, established ones. In development finance, the pursuit of a New Development Bank (NDB) by the BRICS countries has been widely interpreted as a result of their frustration with the reform for deadlock at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Fragmentation in the form of institutional layering is likely to provide states with increased forum for shopping opportunities and to erode the universal character of global governance.
- III. Increasing informalization:** Informalization denotes a move away from codified norms and explicit rules, away from formal legal agreements and contracts and

towards loose agreements, common understandings, implicit rules, flexibility, and pragmatism. Informalization is likely to increase in response to a more even international distribution of power, as binding agreements become harder to reach, even if there may be countervailing tendencies in particular areas. Because informalization reduces certainty and erodes the level of obligation and precision of formal rules, it is likely to be more favored by the larger, more powerful states than the smaller powers. The reinvigoration of ‘G-groups’ is one of the most prominent traits of informalization in global governance today, with the G-20 representing an expanded Aereopagus designating itself as the major forum for economic collaboration among the biggest countries. By restricting the participation of smaller powers and leaving implementation up to individual members, groups such as the BRICS or G7 represent the reassertion of a great power system in the new global governance—in practice, also eroding the norm of sovereign equality and marginalizing forums such as the UN General Assembly.

**IV. Struggle within global governance:** Precisely because all major powers need to use international institutions to achieve their goals, the rise of new powers has unleashed a contest over leadership and privileges within global governance. The demand for a heightened say over global governance is central for rising developmental states for which traditional Listian autonomy has become unfeasible. But securing leadership and privileges within global governance is important not just for economic reasons. As the regulatory reach and enforcement capacity of international institutions has expanded, it has increased the constraints on autonomous sovereign decision-making and increased the salience of value conflicts between diverse societies. The purview of international institutions, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other global governors has expanded beyond the functional cooperation of standard setting or foreign economic policy coordination. It now includes issues of fundamental ethical value such as human rights, domestic political and economic orders, and minority rights. These principles, norms and rules then become the common standards to adjudicate who is worthy of praise or blame, who is to be named and shamed, and who is to be deemed morally superior or inferior. As such, global governance has become critical in the allocation of fundamental social recognition such as prestige, status and respect.

- V. Increased deadlock in existing multilateral institutions:** Although multilateral institutions are clearly more durable than the US hegemony that sponsored many of them, one virtue of hegemonic stability theory is that it emphasizes the difficulty of collective action in the absence of a dominant state powerful enough to bring the others into line. As a result of the international diffusion of state power, the number of major international players has increased, and the interests of the group of systemically significant countries have become more diverse. International institutions have become more intrusive and authoritative than they were in the past, raising the stakes of international cooperation. Simultaneously, the major multilateral institutions have become more inclusive and more diverse positions need to be accommodated. The major result is that global agreements are much harder to achieve than in the past. In the absence of the G7 countries' capacity to cajole major developing states into agreeing to new common rules, as they have done in the past, one outcome for existing institutions is a tendency toward stalemate and deadlock. Deadlock has already manifested in the keystone institutions of liberal global governance. Despite the declared intentions of the G-20 major economies in 2009, the protracted refinancing and quota and voice reforms at the IMF have exacerbated differences between established and emerging powers. The climate change negotiations to renew the Kyoto Protocol have also exhibited a tendency toward deadlock of existing institutions, leading to a far less demanding impact in Paris in 2015.
- VI. Liberal social purpose of global governance:** While emerging powers seek to extend their influence over the various mechanisms of global governance, they remain significantly different from established powers in their social, political, and cultural traditions. The differing contours of emerging powers' state-society relations provide the foundations for conflicts with Western powers over the features of global governance that most explicitly embody its liberal and neoliberal social purpose. The kinds of capitalism emerging are very different than those of the developed countries; moreover, countries such as China, India, and Russia are deeply suspicious of the ways in which liberal political demands have been used to criticize their domestic political systems and human rights practices. The fallout of the global financial crisis and the simultaneous growth of emerging powers pursuing non-liberal roads to capitalist development have

challenged neoliberal ideas of economic management and development (privatization, autonomous markets and open capital accounts). This has reinvigorated the pursuit of export-oriented interventionism (managed currencies and active industrial policies) as the standard road to capitalist catch up development in the emerging world.

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## 20.7 Conclusion

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The emergence of new powers with different multilateral preferences has reduced the tendency toward consolidation of a universal liberal global governance project. The new powers have raised questions about the adaptability of existing institutions. A new introspection appears to have affected the exponents of liberal global governance; its further deepening can no longer be taken for granted.

The risk for global governance is not that emerging powers will disengage from or seek to overthrow the existing order. It is more likely that the pursuit of competing multilateral projects with different social purposes and different leading states will fragment the institutional landscape and lead to new forms of geo-economic-institutional rivalry. In this respect, the new global governance is likely to be more institutionally diverse and polycentric, with more signs of overt conflict compared to the recent past as emerging powers are able to afford to openly disagree with established powers.

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## 20.8 Summing Up

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- I. With the contemporary need of the period, 'global governance' began to appear as an outlook on world politics as well as a new attitude towards managing international affairs. It represented a target to deal with the issues that grappled the world in a collaborative fashion.
- II. In the context of a deepening world market and the denationalization of policy fields such as trade, investment, health, and the environment, global governance appeared as the only course through which conflicting or different interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken.

- III. The contemporary global governance in many significant respects reflect the preferences and social purposes widespread among dominant social groups in Western, developed, and liberal democracies.
- IV. Under the pressure of increased systemic heterogeneity and their own path dependency, many existing regimes cannot adapt. The new global governance is a product of both increased systemic heterogeneity and the path-dependent trajectory of the status quo.

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## 20.9 Probable Questions

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### Essay Type Questions:

1. How does the global power shift and governance impact the world order?
2. Discuss the emergence of global governance and new powers.
3. Explain the trends in new global governance.

### Short Questions:

1. What does informalization refer to?
2. What does fragmented global governance mean?
3. How was the immediate post-Cold War world order?

### Multiple Choice Questions:

1. When was the Kyoto Protocol adopted?  
(A) 1992  
(B) 1995  
(C) 1997  
(D) 1999  
**Ans.:** (C) 1997
2. When was the Maastricht Treaty formulated?  
(A) 1989  
(B) 1992  
(C) 1996  
(D) 1998  
**Ans.:** (B) 1992

3. In which among the following cities do we find the headquarter of the United Nations?

(A) Geneva

(B) Paris

(C) Washington

(D) New York

**Ans.:** (D) New York

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### 20.10 Futher Reading

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1. Babb, Sarah. "The Washington Consensus as Transnational Policy Paradigm: Its Origins, Trajectory and Likely Successor." *Review of International Political Economy* 20.2 (2013): 268-297.
2. Kahler, Miles. "Rising Powers and Global Governance: Negotiating Change in a Resilient Status Quo." *International Affairs* 89.3 (2013): 711-729.
3. Schweller, Randall L. "Emerging Powers in an Age of Disorder." *Global Governance* 17.3 (2011): 285-297
4. Stephen, Matthew D. "Rising Powers, Global Capitalism and Liberal Global Governance: A Historical Materialist Account of the BRICs Challenge." *European Journal of International Relations* 20:4 (2014): 912-938.