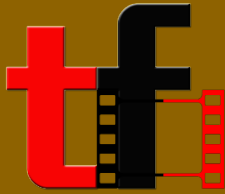


Globalization: A Criticism



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Globalization as a process of integration came in vogue mainly in the nineties with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. The Second World War accompanied by the Cold war in the world slowly and gradually raised the need for opening up of the national boundaries at the world forum for international trade, business, etc. This need made the leaders of the world gloss over their economic policies and consequently such meetings were started being arranged for the formulation of policies like GATT (General agreement on Tariffs and Trade) later developed into WTO (World Trade Organization) as per the agreements of the Uruguay Round; the Maastricht Treaty; NAFTA. Moreover, the establishments of institutions like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) and WTO lubricated the growth of international trade and business.

The process of Globalization proliferated and expanded in the aftermath of the Second World War and the Cold War when the World's politico-economic condition demanded loosening of national boundaries and their opening at the World forum. These events drove the world closer and resulted into a single World economy. The Bretton Woods's conference, establishments of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), IMF, and GATT accelerated the growth of the process, which took its real form and shape in 1990s when major countries of the world adopted the LPG model, thereby globalizing the world economies in the true sense.

It is important to make a mention of those forces that have paved way for the expansion of the globalization policies and globalization. Buckman (2004) call these forces as the ‘engines of globalization’. He (Buckman: 2004) identifies two groups of institution that aid and promote the neo liberal policies:

I. Transnational Corporations (TNCs): this is a very influential group and controls most of the investment, trade and employment decision of globalization. The neoliberal trade and investment policies of globalization created vast markets and almost limitless expansion of the TNCs. In 1970s there were about 7000 TNCs in the world and by 1997 the UNCTAD estimated that their number has grown to 53,000 with around 448,000 foreign affiliates. (Buckman: 2004). The working of these TNCs is spread throughout the world but it is very much shaped and controlled by the rich and developed countries.

II. Public International Financial Institutions: this group constitutes the organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO is a global trade bureaucracy founded on January, 01, 1995, it took over from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). It is the primary international body drawn on the rules of international trade to help and promote free trade.

The IMF and the WB were created at the international finance conference held in Bretton Woods, in the United States in 1994. These are the twin institutions providing the member governments with funds to overcome short-term credit crunches. The funding is based on the policy known as the ‘structural adjustments policies (SAPs)’. SAPs are the economic policies for developing nations reflecting the neo-liberal ideology driving globalization. They aim to achieve long- term economic growth in poorer countries by restructuring the economy with minimal government intervention. SAPs policies include currency devaluation, managed balanced of payments, reduction of government services through public spending budgets, reduction in tax on high earners, reducing inflation, wage suppression, privatization, and lower tariffs on imports, free trade and cuts in social spending.

It is in this historical setting that various social scientists (Baran: 1957, Frank: 1967, Amin: 1976, Wallerstein: 1974, Giddens: 1990, Robertson: 1992) have often held the fifteenth century Europe as the original source of globalization. Wallerstein (1974) argues that the

world is characterized by various capitalist features which began with the colonial period and thus the global economic system has evolved during different epochs of history. Dhanagare in his article entitled “*Globalization: Towards an Analytical View*” (2003), while discussing the concept of the origin of globalization considers the process as the final phase of capitalism.

The earliest Sociological reflection on some form of global interconnections and interdependence among different nations was highlighted through the dependency theory (Baran: 1957; Amin: 1976; Frank: 1967). They drew a connection between the economic development of industrial societies in the West and expropriation of an economic surplus from overseas societies and visualized global economy in terms of dependence of the periphery (underdeveloped societies) and the core (the developed societies). A.G. Frank (1967) analysed underdevelopment in terms of global network of exploitation between metropolis (the imperialist world) and satellite (the exploitative world) societies. He observes that underdevelopment is systematically caused by colonization and argues that mercantilism, capitalism, colonialism and imperialism are inextricably intertwined, where he sees Capitalism as a promise to exploit the underdeveloped periphery for the benefit of the develop metropolis (Frank: 1967). This capitalism at the global level leads to resource drain from the periphery to the centre enabling the centre to grow and develop at the cost of the periphery.

He (1974) discusses about the two forms of world-systems, one the *world-empire* based on political and military domination and the other, *the modern capitalist world economy* relying on economic domination. He opines that the world system of economy started growing with the Commercial Revolution that is, during early days of Colonialism, when the western world, initially, Spain, Portugal and later on England, Holland and France started making their colonies. Capitalism as a historical system has integrated a variety of labour forms within a functioning division of labour that operates between core, periphery and semi-periphery. The world, argues Wallerstein (1974) is characterized by various capitalist features which have evolved over a period of time from Colonialism to Imperialism, Advanced Capitalism, Monopoly Capitalism and World Capitalist System.

Thus, the world capitalist system or the global economic system does not constitute a new phenomenon rather it was slowly and gradually nurtured during different phases of history (Wallerstein: 1974).

The modern world-system originated around 1500. In parts of Western Europe, a long-term crisis of feudalism gave way to technological innovation and the rise of market institutions. Advances in production and incentives for long-distance trade stimulated Europeans to reach other parts of the globe. Superior military strength and means of transportation enabled them to establish economic ties with other regions that favoured the accumulation of wealth in the European core. During the "long sixteenth century," Europeans thus established an occupational and geographic division of labour. In the twentieth century, the world-system reached its geographic limit with the extension of capitalist markets and the state system to all regions. It also witnessed the rise of the United States as a hegemonic power-one that has seen its relative economic and political strength diminished since the last years of the Cold War.

The capitalist world-economy calls forth the accumulation of private capital, through exploitation in production and sale for profit in a market, is its driving force; it is "a system that operates on the primacy of the endless accumulation of capital via the eventual commodification of everything" (1998: 10). The capitalist world-economy has no single political centre: it "has been able to flourish precisely because [it] has had within its bounds not one but a multiplicity of political systems," which has given capitalists "a freedom of manoeuvre that is structurally based" and has "made possible the constant expansion of the world-system" (1974b: 348).

Being heavily informed, by the World-system theory, Giddens presented his views on globalization through his famous work '*The Consequences of Modernity*' (1990); with which began the explicit Sociological conceptualization and theorization of the process. He begins his analysis by attacking Wallerstein for considering capitalism as an economic aspect only instead he advocates for renaming the theory and claims that there is on-going modernization. Some people say that it began with the enlightenment but in economy it began before it. Giddens (1990) insists that various societies are passing through the process of modernization as it includes aspects like economy and technology, polity, military, society and culture. He asserts that globalization is a stage of this on-going modernity or

modernization. Globalization for Giddens (1990) mainly refers to the intensification of the worldwide social relations, which linked distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice-versa. He emphasizes on the Nation State system, World military, international division of labour and the world capitalist system as dimensions of the process and argues that each of these dimensions is an extension of societal modernity as inherently globalizing.

Robertson (1992) analyses the process in a historical framework like Wallerstein and draws out various phases in the origin and development of globalization through the World Culture Theory. The world culture theory interprets globalization as a process focusing on the way in which participants in the process became conscious of and gives meaning to living in the world as a single place. Globalization refers “both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson: 1992). It involves of the four main components of global-human circumstance; societies (nation-states); the system of societies; individuals (selves); and the humankind.

The theory argues that global interdependence and consciousness of the world as a whole precede the advent of capitalist modernity. However, globalization has been occurring for centuries, in tandem with rather than as a consequence of the risk modernity (Robertson: 1992). The present modern shape of the globe owes mainly to the ‘take-off’ phase, that is, decades after 1875, when international communications, transport and conflict dramatically intensified relations across societal boundaries. It was in this phase comments Robertson (1992), that the nation-state, individual self, World-system of societies and one humanity, often labelled as the main reference points of the fully globalized order took shape. In context to the worldwide development of the process, Dhanagare (2003) opines that owing to the standards of the industrially developed countries of the west, several developing countries like India are still supposed to be in the incipient phase.

Taking culture as the pivot of analysis the world polity theory comprehends globalization as the growth and enactment of world culture. World culture has deep roots in European tradition--the rational structure and content of medieval Christendom, the state system devised in 1648, and enlightened universalism in science and philosophy. Yet its immediate antecedents lie in the nineteenth century. By the end of the twentieth century, world culture had crystallized as the constitutive element in world society, a set of scripts to be followed

anywhere. This culture has been widely enacted and has become a common heritage being institutionalized across the globe and supported by many transnational groups.

In this manner, the Sociologists have been dealing with the different aspects of globalization, i.e., the economic, political, communicative and the socio- cultural. This has led to the formulation of four theories of globalization namely (Martell: 2010) –

1. **The World- Economy Theory (or Hyperglobalisationism):** The World- Economy theory opines that the globalization process began during the late 1400s and 1500s. It elucidates globalization as a process whereby the capitalist world- system spreads across the globe via advancement and integration of the global market place that leads to the decline in the power of the nation state. It divides the world system into the core, periphery and the semi- periphery where the core with higher skill and capital tends to exploit the periphery and the semi- periphery.
2. **The Regional bloc Theory (or global Scepticism):** The Regional Bloc theory stand in opposition to the World- Economic theory argue for the existence of a single world market. The theory claims that the growing internationalization of trade and investment in turn is the growth of regional economic blocs, e.g., European Union.
3. **The Third Way Theory (or Transformationalism):** The Third Way theory attempts to find a relationship between economic processes occurring at the global and local scales. The theory tries to look for ways of transforming the powers of the nation- state to cope with the pressures of globalization.
4. **The World- Culture Theory (or Homogenism):** The World- Culture theory aims to celebrate and preserve the difference against the cultural homogenization. In contrast to the other theories, it views globalization more broadly by not only considering the economic aspect but also the increasing uniformity of cultures across the world. It views the growth of the single world culture as an integral part of globalization.

Though different in their approach and focus these theories explained globalization as a process of integration. However, the entire analysis on the origin and expression of the process has demonstrated globalization as a process of unequal divisions in the form of developed and underdeveloped countries, core, periphery or semi-periphery. This global

integration has deeply affected the structure of the society thereby altering the nature of inter as well as intra-national relations.

There have emerged inequalities both within and among nations. It has resulted in some policies which are against some sections of people in almost all the developing societies. Globalization led economic development has proved to be dysfunctional for the peasants (like those of Peru, Philippines, Poland, India, Brazil). The members of the working and middle class have also started raising their voice against these unjust policies. These peasants by mobilizing people and critically examining the globalization policies got associated at various political and ideological platforms like World Associations of Peasants to express their protest.

RISE OF THE MOVEMENT AGAINST GLOBALIZATION

The funding policies and the procedures of the SAPs, IMF and the WTO favouring of the developed countries have played a vital role in the emergence of the movements against globalization. These funds concerned with the government activities crucial to the human and economic health of poor countries have produced devastating consequences on the growth and development of the developing countries (Buckman :2004). The outbreak of bubonic and pneumonic plague in India in 1994 ; the IMF/WB intervention in the agricultural industry of Somalia that led to its collapse causing a huge loss in agricultural self – sufficiency in Somalia with a resultant significant increase in dependency on imported grain; the escalation of the prices of essential fuel and consumer goods at the height of the Rwandan civil war in 1992, significantly worsening the impact of the war; the IMF-mandated elimination of agriculture subsidies leading to the bankruptcy of small and medium-sized farmers in Bangladesh in the early 1980s; consumer prices in Lima, Peru, in 1991, becoming higher than New York’s while, at the same time, after-inflation earnings of most Peruvians fell by 60 per cent; the war in Bosnia; the escalation of recent severe drought in Malawi through the sell-off of its national grain buffer stock stipulated by the IMF in 2001 have been outlined as the adverse consequences of these policies (Shukla: 2016). These consequences display the lopsided nature of globalization that is protecting the interests and concerns of the developed nations at the cost of the developing ones. This in turn, has raised a very serious question – whether the neoliberal policies and processes were leading to global development or producing an era of exploitation. It has led to resistance to

globalization- a resistance that is highly complex, contradictory involving ambiguous varieties of struggles that range from the radically progressive to the reactionary and conservative (Kahn and Kellner: 2007).

In this backdrop, Boswell (2003) asserts that the biased and unjust nature of globalization is promoting transnational social movements that aim to reform and restructure both national societies and global governance. He classifies these movements as anti-systemic movements or anti-globalization movements. The former seeks to democratize global governance by means of globalization from below and is therefore progressive, whereas the later attacks the powers that be in order to revitalize traditional non-democratic civilizational values (Boswell and Chase-Dunn (2002) and are thus reactionary.

Kahn and Kellner (2007) claim that the ‘the anti-globalization movement’ has emerged as the most noted form of resistance to globalization in the twentieth century. The movement attempts to form a global civil society that might produce new public spheres of political debate and cosmopolitan culture, as it upholds values of autonomy, democracy, peace, ecological sustainability, equality and social justice.

ANTI- GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENTS

The anti-globalization movement or the anti-capitalist movement stand in opposition to neoliberalism, and international institutions promoting neoliberal policies such as the World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) and the World Trade Organization (WTO); neoliberal "free trade" treaties like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS); business alliances like the World Economic Forum (WEF), the Trans-Atlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) and the Asia Pacific Economic Forum (APEC); as well as the governments, organizations or treaties facilitating and promoting free trade and freedom of capital to exploit the local communities were strongly opposed (Martell: 2010). The movement challenges the globalization practices of transnational corporations, the activities of the state and the transnational capitalist class, and the culture and ideology of consumerism. It is an effort to counter the perceived negative aspects of the current process of globalization. Dillion (2014) defines

the movement as a loose association of various groups which attempt to redefine the societal values about economic growth, socio-economic equality, and the relations of individuals to one another and their natural environment (Dillion: 2014: 485).

The major thrust of the anti-globalization movement or counter-globalization movement is a social movement critical of the globalization of corporate capitalism. These movements are against Capitalist or neoliberal globalization and stand for alternatives of human and labour rights, social justice, global equality and democratic control. These movements are anti-war, ecological and concerned about human health. (Martell: 2016). According to Buckman (2004) anti-globalization movement is not an ordinary movement; rather it is a movement of movements and a collection of many different organizations, individuals and loose coalitions of both individuals and organizations. The individuals involved are concerned about corporate power, global poverty, sustainable agriculture, global warming, the rights of the refugees, preservations of trees and whales, rights of the people working in sweatshops, and the other issue that the globalization connects with. The organizations involved in the movement represents unions, aid organizations, environment groups, non-mainstream political parties, alternative economic think-tanks, poor country development movements and many other types of organization. (Buckman: 2004)

The nature of anti-globalization movement is diverse and owing to this diversity it is natural that it would bear internal disagreements. There exists a great degree of disagreement on the name of the movement. To many social scientists the 'anti-globalization movement' tag is a media driven and does not always reflect its true character There has therefore been efforts to assign different names to it such as 'the anti-capitalist movement', 'the global justice movement', 'the civil society movement', 'the alternative globalization movement' or 'the movement against global corporatism 'alternatively stress on globalization of positive values and culture. As a corollary, they reject the nomenclature anti-globalization movement instead talk about 'globalization from below' as opposed to 'globalization from above'. Terms like anti-capitalist or anti-corporate globalization, of the 'alter-globalization movement' and of 'alternative globalizations', of the 'global justice movement' or the 'movement of movements'- are also being offered to explain the spirit of such anti-globalization movements. (Shukla: 2016).

The 1970s is the time when the origin of the movement is said to have originated along with the movements like the feminist movement, Non-aligned movement, the first United Nations environment summit (in Stockholm in 1975) and the creation of the world's first Green parties (in Australia and New Zealand in 1972). Though, it was 1980s that saw the first major rousing of the anti-globalization movement when the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) became the focus of large protest. The economic policy making institutions like World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the conferences like Davos World Economic Forum, G8 Summits are visualized as the main agents of unjust and lopsided growth of globalization. The World Bank and the IMF projects like the Narmada Dam project in India and the Transmigration project of the Suharto regime were the major targets of the anti-globalization movement (Buckman: 2004). Gumrukcu (2010) asserts that the anti-globalization movement has diffused through the effect of relational and non-relational factors, such as direct ties among the networks, media and technology.

The on-going series of protests in the name of *J16* or *June 16th, Battle of Seattle* provide the movement with a widespread recognition during the late twentieth century. In the article entitled "*Defining the Anti-Globalization Movement*", Engler (2007) asserts that the roots of the movement are traced through a 500-year history of resistance against European colonialism and U.S. imperialism. Social scientists envisage the anti-globalization movement as continuous with the anti-Vietnam war mobilizations of the 1960s and 1970s, with worldwide uprisings in 1968, and with protests against structural adjustment in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s. The uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Chiapas, Mexico on January 1, 1994 is held as the most significant moment of origin for the movement was. It was on this day that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect, the Zapatistas launched a two-week campaign of armed clashes with the Mexican military. Their effort took the shape of a nonviolent movement for land reform and indigenous rights. The EZLN eschewed traditional models of hierarchical leadership. The Internet was employed to spread poetic critiques of capitalist injustice throughout a network of international supporters. As a rebel army seeking not to claim state power but to create spaces of autonomy and direct democracy, the EZLN both paid homage to earlier models of national liberation struggle and transformed them. Their example became an influential one for the nascent

globalization movement. In 1996, the EZLN hosted an International Encounter for Humanity Against Neoliberalism in the jungles of Chiapas. Some 5,000 activists from over 40 countries attended. A follow-up meeting in Geneva in 1998 resulted in the formation of Peoples' Global Action (PGA), a network of autonomous organizations united in their rejection of capitalism, imperialism, and cultural domination. The diverse groups like the indigenous Māori of New Zealand, the Gandhian State Farmers' Association of Karnataka, India, and the Canadian Postal Workers' Union were the main participating organizations. The PGA has been a catalysing agent in organizing many of the international direct-action mobilizations associated with the globalization movement (Engler: 2007).

Since 9/11 the anti-globalization movement has increasingly become associated with targeting the militarist policies of the Bush and Blair administrations as part of a growing anti-war grassroots movement. On 15 February 2003, an anti-war/globalization protest was organized that brought together an estimated fifteen million people worldwide, which resulted in media outlets such as the New York Times referring to the unprecedented resistance as the 'other superpower'. Kahn and Kellner (2007) describe the movement as mobile having a situation-oriented style, messages and constituencies. It is marked by the convergence and collection of political and cultural organizations involving more traditional political structures such as unions and parties, as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), along with a wide-range of citizen's groups and individual persons representing what have been termed the 'new social movements' (Kahn and Kellner:2007:663) . *The anti-capitalist globalization movement has been portrayed as an evolution of modern political rights struggles in which all manner of identity and single-issue politics have become loosely linked, and to some degree hybridized, in joint contest against the rapacity of transnational neoliberalism as they fight for further extensions of universal human rights and a sustainable planetary ecology.* (Kahn and Kellner: 2007:663). They (Kahn and Kellner: 2007) link these protests to a number of historical precedents like the resistance to globalization through Latin American popular education programmes and the rise of African nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s, South-east Asia's Chipko movement, Chico Mendes's unionization against Amazonian rain forest destruction and China's Tiananmen Square democracy movement in the 1980s, the 56 'IMF riots' that occurred in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Europe and the Middle East from 1985 to 1992, and manifestations of resistance such as the formation of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People in 1991

to fight Shell Oil in Nigeria, as well as the election of a self-determining Government of National Unity in South Africa and the emergence of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994. . Some of these movements were regionalized and based their approach in local traditions, others such as the Zapatistas have demonstrated a closer resemblance to recent mass-mobilizations against capitalist globalization through their mix of violent and non-violent protest, attempts to form solidarity with a myriad of oppressed peoples and groups around the world, and their subversion of new media (e.g. the Internet) which they incorporate as weapons in the furtherance of resistant goals. Kahn and Kellner: 2007:664)

A deep analysis into the protest actions and demonstrations against globalization reveals the extent of differences among various groups and their actions. Taking into account Smith's (2001) observation Gumrucku (2010), states that these movements use new kind of protest forms like organizing in transnational networks and electronic activism. The nature, objectives and the course of these protests demonstrate that anti-globalization movements actually refer to a heterogeneous structure with a common target – capitalism. Gumrucku (2010), groups these protests into two categories: -



The Anti-G8 protests can be exemplified with the help of the Battle of Seattle and the Occupy Movement. The Battle of Seattle in 1999 is said to be the unofficial launch of the anti-globalization movement. 1999 Seattle WTO protests, sometimes referred to as the Battle of Seattle or the Battle in Seattle, were a series of protests surrounding the WTO Ministerial Conference of 1999, when members of the World Trade Organization (WTO) convened at the Washington State Convention and Trade Centre in Seattle, Washington on November 30, 1999. The Conference was to be the launch of a new millennial round of trade negotiations. The negotiations were quickly overshadowed by massive and controversial

street protests outside the hotels and the Washington State Convention and Trade Centre. The protests were nicknamed "N30", akin to J18 and similar mobilizations. The large scale of the demonstrations, estimated at no less than 40,000 protesters, dwarfed any previous demonstration in the United States against a world meeting of any of the organizations generally associated with economic globalization (such as the WTO, the International Monetary Fund, or the World Bank).

On November 29, 1999, broke a huge protest at the WTO's Third Ministerial Conference. It protested against the skewed and lopsided trade policies and agreements of the WTO. The policies made by the core states or the 'Quad' (The United States, Canada, European Union and Japan) were forced upon the Southern countries which proved a sheer disappointment for them and added to their vulnerability. Moreover, the latter's benefit from the expanding WTO trade policies was far less than the expectation and they therefore planned to review the existing trade policies and make it more favourable for their growth rather than support the WTO's Third Ministerial Conference. This division among the governments led to the ultimate breakdown of the talks in Seattle. In addition, the division between European and U.S. interests over food safety and agricultural issues worsened the situation at the Conference. This eventually led to a massive protest against the expansion of WTO. The major slogan of the protests was "no WTO" (or "hell no, WTO" if you were a steel worker or Teamster), but there was no clear consensus among protest groups about whether the WTO itself should be abolished or reformed. However, it was clear that all in all these protesters in the streets of Seattle sought the incorporation of values other than profit-making into economic decisions and the democratization of economic decision making.

The Occupy Movement started on September 17, 2011 in Zuccotti Park, New York City and has since then spread globally. It is a leaderless opposition movement and includes people of many colours, genders and political persuasions (Keohane: 2012). The Movement generated awareness on the issues of global inequality and strived to educate and encourage the people around the world to fight against the corporate greed. It protested the extreme inequality of wealth and its exacerbation by government financial policies. The Movement brought awareness to the issue of global inequality, strived to educate many around the world, and helped encourage them to fight against the corporate greed.

The Occupy slogan, “We are the 99%” entails the entire philosophy of members of the movement. The movement focuses on income inequality, income distribution, and the economic consequences of the financial system. The central aim of the protestor’s aim was the increasing gap between the wealthiest 1% and the rest of the population. It was concerned with the lack of retaliatory measures against those responsible for the financial system collapse and the declining housing market (Keohane: 2012). Thus, the Occupy involves a broad array of goals and its core values vary from unequal income distribution to the overarching theme, the system is broken.

The political mobilization against the excess of global capitalism resulted in the rising of the Occupy Movement. The initial success was achieved when the protestors occupied the Zuccotti Park - the park owned by the corporate giants. The movement was named as the Occupy Wall Street and created a stir in many of the financial centres of capitalism around the world. The protestors were against the capitalist policies and started occupying the public spaces across the U.S. and other parts of the world (Dillion: 2014).

The students, unemployed, graduates, laid-off middle aged professionals and skilled workers and other older aged individuals of a genre radically, religiously and economically diverse were the backbone of the movement (Keohane: 2012). They collectivized against the prevailing evils of global capitalism and revolts against inequalities, consumerism and environmental degradation caused by the world capitalist order.

The journalists, mass media, global means of communication like Facebook, twitter, cell phones and other forms of technology and social media played a crucial role in the expansion and popularity of the movement (Dillion: 2014).

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM

The growing international movements to neo- liberal globalization and the impact of the neo-liberal economic policies prevalent in most of the countries led to the emergence of World Social Forum (WSF). It was platform for an open meeting space for deepening the reflection, the democratic discussion of ideas, the formulation of proposals, the free exchange of experiences and the articulation of civil society organizations that are opposed

to neoliberal globalisation and the domination of the world by capital and by any other form of imperialism.

The first edition of the WSF was held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, from January 25 to 30, 2001 that was attended by approximately 20,000 people that involved the delegates from 117 countries, Youth Camp and Indigenous Nation Camp participants. It was resistant to the World Economic Forum held that has since 1971 played an important role in promoting and defending the neoliberal policies throughout the world.

The International Council (IC) of the WSF was established in 2001 to lubricate the international articulation of the WSF process. The IC worked to augment and develop the diversity of the WSF process at the global level. The IC is a group of international networks from different regions of the world. It comprises of organizations working on issues like economic justice, human rights, environmental issues, and labour, youth and women rights. The IC contributes to the WSF methodology, outreach, communication strategies as well as the local and regional organizing process. The Secretariat of the International Council was based in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

The early 2002 marked the beginning of the activities of the WSF process in India. They were designed to set up and build a World Social Forum Process in the country, towards hosting the Asian Social Forum meeting in Hyderabad in 2003, and consequently the Global Forum (World Social Forum) in 2004 and to organise and co-ordinate activities related to globalisation in the country. It was envisioned as a symbol of unity and democratic space for people to aver their rights for peace and a world free of violence, prejudice and hatred. In addition to imperialist globalisation the WSF India also focuses on the issues of religious and sectarian violence, casteism and patriarchy. It consists of the members from all sections of the society especially the marginalized and the underprivileged and enables them to articulate their struggles and visions, individually and collectively, against the threat of neo-liberal, capitalist globalisation on the one hand and uphold the secular, plural and gender sensitive framework on the other.

The working of the WSF India process led to a dialogue within and between the broad spectrum of political parties and groups, social movements and other organisations. The WSF-India process endeavours to be widespread and inclusive by allowing for a platform

for workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, Dalits, women, hawkers, all minorities, immigrants, students, academicians, artisans, artists, the media as well as parliamentarians, sympathetic bureaucrats and other concerned sections from within and outside the state. It was for the first time in recent Indian history that various mass organisations, new social movements and NGOs were brought on one stage. The WSF process is expanding via establishments of social forums in states, districts and towns of India.

The process that catered to the issues of the Indian states while keeping the standards of international perspective. The organising principle of the WSF India is that all activities initiated by the WSF process will be both serious and purposeful, dealing with the hard ground realities of the society and struggle with, and also be vibrant celebrations of life, of alternatives, of possible other worlds.

The working of the activities of the WSF has however experienced huge criticism in the recent years. At the WSF 2001, the activists invaded and destroyed an experimental genetically modified plantation of the Monsanto Company. On January 26, 2001 the activists involved in Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement/ Movimento dos Sem-Terra (MST) stood against the growing role of Monsanto in global agribusiness, that was held to be unethically using their seed patents to harm the rights of rural peoples.

In addition, the WSF has been condemned as it has replaced the popular movements of the poor with NGOs (non-governmental organization). The mass movements of the down-trodden in the countries like, Africa, question their role in the forum as they are almost completely excluded from the forum. The countries like Kenya and South Africa have protested against donor funded NGOs that, according to them, determine and dominate African representation at the forum. These NGOs are sometimes said to be standing in competition with popular grassroots movements for access to the forum and for influence there. Huge denigration emerged against the 2007 World Social Forum in Nairobi, Kenya with the phrase "NGO fair". It mainly questioned the participation in the forum as not all the attendees were properly represented and the bigger and wealthier NGOs enjoyed far more space to talk and lead the events, while others were left marginalized.

MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT

Taking into consideration these discussions and discourses on the movement and calling forth Martell's (2010), analysis on the anti-globalization movement Democracy, Labour and Social Reproduction, Human Rights, Human Health and the Environment and Development may be outlined as the major concerns of the movement. The movement opposes inequality, forced migration and inconsistency produced by globalization. The movement aims to: -

- protect the democratic control for the ordinary people. It aims at the freedom of neoliberal policies of free trade, privatization and open markets at the democratic disposal of the developing countries and should not be forced by the rich nations.
- Work for the freedom and security of the labour- the one substance that is continuously being exploited in the capitalist world market. It also aims to understand the way the globalization has impacted on social reproduction - the upbringing and support of the people beyond labour force and how the policies of SAPs and economic liberalism have adversely affected the poorer section of the society and women in particular.
- work for the human rights for those in social reproduction, for labour, or for communities in their own environments, especially indigenous people, who are faced by the power of big states and large-scale capital (Martell: 2010:242).
- Work for the food security, healthy risks, genetically modified crops, the privatization of water, and patenting. It aspires to protect the environment, as the human interference in the environment is devastating and is leading to a monoculture at the cost of the biodiversity.
- Work for the development of the developing countries. It is concerned with the issues of debt, aid, and the role of developed world governments and corporations in developing countries. It focuses on the themes of the labour rights of sweatshop workers and exploited migrant workers, the effects of SAPs, the consequences of climate change and other environmental problem.

Recalling Martell's (2010) analysis of the movement the major concerns of the movement may be summed as 'anti-debt, anti-sweat, and anti-war'. These concerns and objectives are often have been continuously discussed, debated and put forward in the meetings of entities

such as World Social Forum or European or Asian Social Forums. The movement of the Zapatistas in Mexico, the protestors at the 'Battle of Seattle' at the WTO in 1999 and similar protests at the G8 meetings, the Chipko Indian movement and the Brazilian Landless Worker's movement, Rio Earth Summit of 1992 have been the platforms for raising these concerns at the world forum (Shukla: 2016).

With these basic concerns and objectives, the Rio Earth Summit of 1992 gave a boost to the anti-globalization movement though the movement lost some of its momentum during the first half of the 1990s as it failed to stand against the creation of the World Trade Organization in 1995. The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), and the new round of global trade negotiations by the WTO in Seattle in December, 1999 were the two crucial points in the development of the anti-globalization movement.

The massive opposition at the Seattle marked the uprising of a new era in the anti-globalization debate. Series of protests took place in Washington against the International Monetary Fund (IMF)/ World Bank meeting in April 2000; in Chiang Mai against a meeting of the Asian Development in May 2000; in Quebec City against the Summit of the Americas in April 2001 and in Gothenburg against a European Union summit in June 2001. The G8 meeting held at Genoa, Italy in July 2001 was heavily criticized and protested.

Buckman (2004) considers these protests as the face of the anti-globalization movement and characterizes them as negative, one-dimensional. In this milieu, he identifies fair trade or back to Bretton woods school and the localization school as the two broad policy approaches within the anti-globalization movement.

The Fair trade or back to Bretton woods school calls for immediate reforms of the world's capitalist system. The global institutions like the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank should be modified and more democratic and transparent. They should work to contribute towards the restructuring of the world capitalist order making it more functional for the developed nations as well as for the developing ones.

The Localization School on the other hand, believes in the philosophy of self-reliance and local economic trade and governance. It stands for the complete abolition of the world capitalist order. The school asserts that the institutions like the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank should be replaced with that of a more democratic institutions focussing on local institutions and economies.

According to Dillion (2013), the Irish born activists Bob Geldof and Bone have contributed heavily in the working of the anti-globalization movement. It is due to their efforts that the movement has been able to emphasize on the issues of human rights, social justice, poverty, AIDS, women's rights, and environmental sustainability. The women have in fact, been at the forefront of the anti-globalization movement and hold a strong presence in the local movements and community organizations (Dillion: 2014).

ANTI-GLOBAL TRENDS IN ASIA

Asia has been an integral part of the on-going anti-globalization movements. It has indeed provided with a strong background for the movement. The anti-globalization or globalization-critical movements are not equally developed in the Asian countries as in the Western countries. The nature of the movement in terms of its origin, radicalism and objective many a times differ both in the developing and the developed. The international trade rules formulated by the WTO however, remain to be the center of criticism in all the movements against globalization around the globe.

According to Artner (2004), the Philippines, India and the surrounding countries (Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan) seem to have the liveliest movement and the most active civil society. The successful development of the Philippine civil organizations is partly due to the strong activity of the Philippine immigrants in the United States. In Washington, the Network in Solidarity works with the People of the Philippines (NISPOP), a supporter of the ILPS initiative, too. NISPOP joined different actions e.g. to stop the International Monetary Fund and World Bank meetings in Washington, D.C. on 16 April 2000, to build the People's Assembly Against the IMF-WB Forum on Impact of Globalization and other events. Besides NISPOP, there are other Philippine organizations based in the US, for example Philippine Forum, Philippine Information Network Services, Philippine Solidarity Committee – Chicago etc. These organizations have surely a stimulating effect on the movements in the home country.

The Asian countries stand in opposition to the neoliberal globalization, e.g. Association for Taxation of financial Transaction for the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC) Japan that was founded in 2001. Moreover, environment protection is also one of the major issues for which the movement campaigns.

The Indian Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) was started in 1980. It is an “independent, public interest organization, that aims to increase public awareness on science, technology, environment and development”. It tries to find solutions against the deterioration of the environment that can be implemented by the people in their daily life styles. It is continuously organizing campaigns for clean air, water management, clean rivers etc.

The Indian Navdanya is another example for the environment-oriented organizations in Asia is. Its main aim is to facilitate seed conservation and seed exchange of traditional varieties, that means an effort for “conservation of biodiversity, which is the basis of cultural and material sustenance of our people.” (Artner: 2004),

Another important issue that these movements cater to are the struggles of the peasants expressed via peasant movements. The peasant movements of Asia state that the underdeveloped agriculture, its biased structure (as it looks after the needs of the developed countries rather than that of the local people), the dependence on (cheap) agricultural exports (mainly in the form of unprocessed materials) on the one hand and the lack of food on the other, the concentration of land on the one hand and the marginalization of small farmers and increase of landlessness, unemployment and poverty on the other – are the consequences of the policy pursued by the developed countries and the strategy of their transnational corporations. Land reform seems to be the most urgent reform for the developing nations due to which the militant farmers movements are increasingly coordinating their struggle at international level. In 1996 peasant organizations from the Philippines, Bangladesh and Brazil convened the Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit in the Philippines that attracted 49 peasant movements and organizations from all over the world.

Apart from the issue of land reform, the peasants in India have dealt with the issues like remunerative agricultural prices, waiving off their debts, free electricity, ecology and feminism. During the 1970s, the farmers organized movements in different names like Nanjundaswamy's KRSS, Shetkari Sanghatana, Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU) etc. The peasants along with Nanjundaswamy's KRSS participated in the famous Seattle demonstration in 1999, and have taken part in every protest march against the international

institutions like IMF, World Bank, WTO etc. KRSS fought against the prevailing economic system that opposed peasantry. The KRSS (Karnataka State Farmers' Association) activities may in fact, be taken as an example to the emerging voices of the farmers at the global front. These activists in 1995 collectivized and dismantled the local Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) Franchise in Bangalore as they believed that its entry would adversely affect the local agriculture business in the state. The KRSS' action against the KFC inspired the other activists to wage their opposition against the food chains like McDonalds or Starbucks as they were visualized as an icon to the growing capitalism and American corporate culture around the globe. (Graeber: 2013)

The movement also focuses on the issues like women safety and concerns as reflected by the working of organizations like Working Women Organization (WVO) and world peace. One of the important issues that the movement addresses to is the issue of environment protection. The environmentalists opine that the increased globalization has adversely affected the environment. The increasing environmental problems like the loss of forests and the greenery to encroaching farmlands and housing needs are responsible for the deteriorating environment. These concerns gave birth to the Green Peace- the world's largest environmental activist organization that strives to protect biodiversity and environment. A small group of people with a vision of a green and peaceful world founded it in the basement of the Unitarian Church in USA. Based on the principles of non-violence, political independence and internationalism the organization aims to ensure the ability of the earth to nurture life in all its diversity.

The organization became famous for its activism, where volunteers visited the sites of activities that were harmful to the earth or threaten the life of a group to extinction. Greenpeace operated all around the world and emerged as a powerful voice against the growing threat to the planet. In 1971, the volunteers, on a small boat sailed to Amchitka in Alaska with a mission to "bear witness" US underground nuclear testing. The test laid the groundwork for green peace in the later activities consequently nuclear testing in Amchitka ended that same year and the island was later declared a bird sanctuary.

Apart from nuclear tests, the focus of the organization also switched to other environmental issues like bottom trawling, global warming and genetic engineering. Green peace also

gained international attention for its efforts to save whales and for its opposition to the killing of baby seals off the coast of Newfoundland in Canada. In 1985, Green peace members planned to use their ship Rainbow warrior to protest against French nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

Green peace has become is an international organization that prioritizing in global environmental campaigns. In 2005, Green peace had 2.8 million supporters worldwide along with national and regional offices in 41 countries, affiliated to green peace international based in Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Displacement is another important issue that the protestors have addressed to in the developing countries. In recent years, displacement has intensified due to the conditions created by globalization and economic liberalization. The World Bank reports that the development projects every year involuntarily displace one million people in the developing countries from their land and homes (World Bank: 1994). In India between 1951 and 1990 around 21.3 million persons constituting mainly of tribal and indigenous people were displaced by development projects favouring the growth of many mineral-based industries set up by the MNCs and large Indian corporate houses (ICHs) in the mineral rich tribal regions of the country (World Bank: 1994). This development induced displacement projects have invoked resistance to globalization in the past decades (Meher: 2009). The subaltern (Adivasi) resistance movement against global capitalism in the state of Odisha can be cited as one of the classic examples to this resistance. This movement emerged in the early 2000s due to the growing neoliberal model of development in the post-globalisation era in a mineral resource rich yet poverty-stricken tribal area of Odisha. The tribal protest arose due to the bauxite mining rights given by the Odisha government to the Indian subsidiary of the London-based transnational, Vedanta Resources Plc.- the Vedanta Aluminium Limited (VAL). The affected Dongria Kondh and other tribes were among the most vulnerable and isolated communities in India. There arose conflict of interest, power and administration among the tribals and the VAL.

They used the internet and information technology as a medium to wage their voice against the growing capitalist tendencies and eventually the resistance movement led to an ending to Vedanta's mining operations in Niyamgiri Hills after intervention of the Supreme Court of India in 2013.

CONCLUSION

In this manner, it can therefore, be stated that like anti-globalization movement everywhere, the nature and concerns of the movement in Asia also revolves around the issues like democracy, Labour and Social Reproduction, Human Rights, Human Health and the Environment, Development, World Peace. It is indeed a broad coalition of smaller (anti-sweatshop, debt relief, fair trade, etc.) and larger (human rights, organized labor, international hunger, etc.) movements and comprising participants and participating organizations of diverse ideologies. It stands against the neo-liberal economic policies, the anti-democratic nature of international financial institutions (the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank in particular) and the increasing power of transnational corporations.

Electronic media has played vital role in the growth and expansion of the movement and allowing for intercontinental simultaneous discussion and global mobilization. The movement is committed to non-hierarchical and consensus based decision-making processes ensuring that all the concerned groups are able to participate in decision-making, thus preventing schisms from developing into obstacles to their coordinated actions.

The movement has touched almost all the aspects of the social life. It has stood against the exploitative capitalist tendencies and fought for the rights of the marginalized section of the society. Peasants, women, tribals, labors, NGOs, environmentalists have utilized the momentum of the movement to raise their issues and concerns. The movement has been depicted as an image of the political rights struggles in which the identity and single-issue politics have become loosely linked; to some degree hybridized, in joint contest against the acquisitiveness of transnational neoliberalism fighting for the extension of universal human rights and a sustainable planetary ecology.

The movement has however, faced problems of organizational structure, ideological coherency, multiple competing discourses, and strategic choices. Many argue that the movement has faced the problem of its focus. There exists a dilemma of the selection of its emphasis- whether to emphasize on the groups in the North that are concerned with the

employment and environmental benefits of restructuring or disabling the institutions of globalization or to emphasize on the global social justice agenda of reducing North-South economic inequalities (Buttel and Gould: 2006).

Nevertheless, the movement has achieved significant amount of success in its objectives. It has forced the financial institutions like the IMF and WTO to restructure their policies and focus on the mitigation of the global poverty. The movement has worked to counter and reform the unfavourable neoliberal policies and that establish democratic and a representative political structure that addresses the needs of the developing nations. (Kahn and Kellner: 2007).

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