Traditional
and
Political Economic System

Cody Cook

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Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

Society, Economy and State Structure

Social Structures And Stratification

Social structure is a term used in the social sciences to refer to patterned social arrangements in community that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals. The usage of the term "social structure" has changed in excess of time and may reflect the several stages of analysis within differing sub-meadows of sociology. On the macro level, it can refer to the organization of socioeconomic stratification, social organizations, or, other patterned relations flanked by big social groups. On the level, it can refer to the structure of social network ties flanked by individuals or institutions. On the micro level, it can refer to the method norms shape the behavior of actors within the social organization.

These meanings are not always kept separate. For instance, recent scholarship through John Levi Martin has theorized that sure macro-level structures are the emergent properties of micro-level cultural organizations at used through anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. Marxist sociology also has a history of mixing dissimilar meanings of social structure, however it has done therefore through basically treating the cultural characteristics of social structure as epiphenomena of its economic ones.

Since the 1930s, the term has been in common use in social science, especially as a variable whose sub-components needed to be distinguished in connection to other sociological variables.

The notion of social structure *as relationships flanked by dissimilar entities or groups* or as *enduring and comparatively stable patterns of connection* emphasizes the thought that community is grouped into structurally related groups or sets of roles, with dissimilar functions, meanings or purposes. One instance of social structure is the thought of "social stratification", which refers to the thought that community is separated into dissimilar strata, guided through the underlying structures in the social organization. This approach has been significant in the academic literature with the rise of several shapes of structuralism. It is significant in the contemporary revise of institutions, because an organization's structure may determine its flexibility, capability to transform, and several other factors. So, structure is a significant issue for management.

Social structure may be seen to power significant social systems including the economic organization, legal organization, political organization, cultural organization, and others. Family, religion, law, economy and class are all social structures. The "social organization" is the parent organization of those several systems that are embedded in it.

Community: Self contained, self enough population united through social relationships, surrounded from other populations through geographic sites

Stratification: Unequal sharing of valued goods or holdings in a population health, positional goods, etc.

Network: Pattern of relationships in a population of actors

Social structure variables: Pattern of relationships, size of institution, income sharing, and concurrency of social relationships

Perspectives On Social Structures

Structuralism

Structuralism is a theoretical paradigm emphasizing that elements of civilization necessity be understood in conditions of their connection to a superior, overarching organization or structure. It works to uncover all the structures that underlie all the things that humans do, think, perceive, and feel. Alternately, as summarized through philosopher Simon Blackburn, Structuralism is "the belief that phenomena of human life are not intelligible except for by their interrelations. These relations constitute a structure, and behind regional variations in the surface phenomena there are consistent laws of abstract civilization".

Structuralism originated in the early 1900s, in the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure and the subsequent Prague, Moscow and Copenhagen schools of linguistics. In the late 1950s and early '60s, when structural linguistics was facing serious challenges from the likes of Noam Chomsky and therefore fading in importance, an array of scholars in the humanities borrowed Saussure's concepts for use in their

respective meadows of revise. French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss was arguably the first such scholar, sparking a widespread interest in Structuralism.

The structuralism mode of reasoning has been applied in a diverse range of meadows, including anthropology, sociology, psychology, literary criticism, economics and architecture. The mainly prominent thinkers associated with structuralism contain Lévi-Strauss, linguist Roman Jakobson, and psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan. As an intellectual movement, structuralism was initially presumed to be the heir evident to existentialism. Though, through the late 1960s, several of structuralism's vital tenets came under attack from a new wave of predominantly French intellectuals such as the philosopher and historian Michel Foucault, the philosopher and social commentator Jacques Derrida, the Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, and the literary critic Roland Barthes. However elements of their work necessarily relate to structuralism and are informed through it, these theorists have usually been referred to as post-structuralisms.

In the 1970s, structuralism was criticized for its rigidity and a historicism. Despite this, several of structuralism's proponents, such as Jacques Lacan, continue to assert a power on continental philosophy and several of the fundamental assumptions of some of structuralism's post-structuralism critics are a continuation of structuralism.

The origins of structuralism connect with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure on linguistics, beside with the linguistics of the Prague and Moscow schools. In brief, de Saussure's structural linguistics propounded three related

concepts. De Saussure argued for a distinction flanked by *langue* and *parole*. He argued that the "sign" was collected of a *signified*, an abstract concept or thought, and a "signifier", the perceived sound/visual image.

Because dissimilar languages have dissimilar languages to define the similar objects or concepts, there is no intrinsic cause why a specific sign is used to express a given signifier. It is therefore "arbitrary".

Signs therefore gain their meaning from their relationships and contrasts with other signs. As he wrote, "in language, there are only differences 'without positive conditions.'"

As summarized through philosopher John Searle, de Saussure recognized that 'I understand the sentence "the cat is on the mat" the method I do because I know how it would relate to an indefinite—indeed infinite—set of other sentences, "the dog is on the mat," "the cat is on the couch," etc.'

The term "structuralism" itself emerged in the works of French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. This gave rise, in France, to the "structuralist movement", which spurred the work of such thinkers as Louis Althusser, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, as well as the structural Marxism of Nicos Poulantzas. Mainly members of this movement did not define themselves as being a section of any such movement. Structuralism is closely related to semiotics.

Blending Freud and de Saussure, the French structuralist Jacques Lacan applied structuralism to psychoanalysis and, in a dissimilar method, Jean Piaget applied structuralism to the revise of psychology. But Jean Piaget, who would bigger

describe himself as constructivist, considers structuralism as "a way and not a doctrine" because for him "there exists no structure without a construction, abstract or genetic".

Michel Foucault's book *The Order of Things* examined the history of science to revise how structures of epistemology, or episteme, formed the method in which people imagined knowledge and knowing any affiliation with the structuralist movement.

In much the similar method, American historian of science Thomas Kuhn addressed the structural formations of science in his seminal work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. However less concerned with "episteme", Kuhn nonetheless remarked at how coteries of scientists operated under and applied an average praxis of 'normal science,' deviating from an average 'paradigm' only in instances of irreconcilable anomalies that question an important body of their work.

Blending Marx and structuralism was another French theorist, Louis Althusser, who introduced his own brand of structural social analysis, giving rise to "structural Marxism". Other authors in France and abroad have since extended structural analysis to practically every discipline.

Proponents of structuralism would argue that a specific domain of civilization may be understood through means of a structure—modeled on language—that is separate both from the institutions of reality and those of ideas or the imagination—the "third order". In Lacan's psychoanalytic theory, for instance, the structural order of "the Symbolic" is distinguished both from "the Real" and "the Imaginary"; likewise, in Althusser's Marxist theory, the structural order of

the capitalist mode of manufacture is separate both from the actual, real mediators involved in its relations and from the ideological shapes in which those relations are understood. Just as to Alison Assiter, four ideas are general to the several shapes of structuralism. First, that a structure determines the location of each element of an entire. Second, that every organization has a structure. Third, structural laws trade with co-subsistence rather than transform. Fourth, structures are the "real things" that lie beneath the surface or the appearance of meaning.

Functionalism

Functionalists, sometimes described as structural-functionalists, underplay individual human initiatives and prefer social structures. The mainly significant representatives of this trend are Emile Durkheim, A.R. Radcliffe Brown and Talcott Parsons. They see social structures as external to individual actors. These structures modify from one community to the other and mainly explain the parallel and differences flanked by one community and another. The behavior of individuals in social life is to be explained with them in view. They emphasize cautious scrutiny of social facts and identifying the patterns of interaction holding them jointly. They see in community a normative order that assigns duties and responsibilities, prevents deviant behavior and ensures value consensus.

This trend definitely underplays the role that actors plays in the functioning of the social structures and advancing alternatives. It marginalizes or ignores the role that social agent play in understanding the relations they are involved in

and engages with them in markedly dissimilar methods. This trend does not adequately distinguish the working of the social structures and natural procedures. Although it proclaims value-neutrality, it has strong bias towards maintenance of the existing social order and seeing social transform as reorganization existing social structures.

Marxian

Marxian: Importance to Class-Structure and Economic Relations as Vital

Marxists have accentuated class-structure as the key to understanding societies. Classes are shaped on the foundation of the relation of social mediators to the means of manufacture and to social produce as a entire and the resultant solidarity or bonds that they produce. In Marxist understanding of class-structure there is an overt emphasis on economic relations. It is expressed in the metaphor of 'foundation' and 'superstructures'. While the economy constitutes the foundation, the political, cultural, ideological and legal spheres form the superstructure.

The class structure of a community primarily rests on the relation flanked by two vital classes and the role that other classes play is marked through these vital classes. In a capitalist community, for example, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are the vital classes. There might be other classes such as the peasantry craftsmen, professionals, landlords etc. but the role that these classes can play is demarcated through the vital classes. Marxists understand Classes as those that are shaped by class thrash about. It is in and by political

struggles that classes realize their allies and demarcate their enemies. Marxism does admit the autonomy of political, cultural and ideological structures in relation to the economic procedure. But they are not clear in relation to the nature and scope of this autonomy. Marxists do admit the subsistence of autonomous social strata and factions but they are encapsulated within classes. They discover it hard to explain cross-class and trans-class phenomena such as identity and gender issues. While Marxists do recognize the autonomy of human agency, its relation to class-structure is highly debatable. Besides, Marxists have not adequately conceptualized the relation flanked by class-structure. the moral domain and the persistence of social continuity. In India the relation flanked by class structure and caste structure has been an extremely intricate one to be explained.

Weberian

Max Weber: Multi-dimensional and Integrated Approach

Max Weber, accentuated a multi-dimensional approach to understand social structures. He attempted to integrate structure and agency, material and normative dimensions. He highlighted the role of the knowing subject and did not see him/her as passive receptacles of the operation of the social structures. He argued that meaning is not intrinsic to the social world staying to be exposed by rational inquiry. Human actors interpret and construct the meaning of the social world approximately them. Dissimilar viewpoints embodying dissimilar values and interests, may, so, mean dissimilar readings of the social structures. Weber argued that 'unintended consequences of action' beget social structures

such as markets. money and language. The rise of capitalism, he suggested, was the outcome of the Protestant Ethic which urbanized in the middle of its adherents self-discipline and moral accountability for their actions to God in view of personal salvation.

Max Weber distinguished flanked by Power and Power. Power is legitimate power. Legitimate power involves an element of voluntary compliance. He recognized three sources of power: traditional, legal-rational and charismatic. Traditional power is a scripture and inherited; legal-rational power is based on calculability, intellectualization and impersonal logic of goal-directed action; and charismatic power is extraordinary personal power recognized in and with a scrupulous individual. Weber preferred the State, and particularly the bureaucracy as the fountain of power. Power symbolizes action likely to succeed even against opposition and resistance of those to whom it is applied. Bureaucracy embodies legal-rational power which he saw as undermining other shapes of power such as traditional and charismatic. He idea that the procedure of rationalization, understood as calculability, intellectualization and impersonal and goal-directed action, are increasingly overtaking human action. This affects all organizations. He uses the metaphor of iron-cage to denote a situation where concern for means and instruments drives nut the concern for human ends.

Although Weber's conception of structure attempts to relate agency and subjectivity with external reality, it suggests little inter-subjective bond flanked by social actors. In its absence rational-legal domain of the state alone becomes the normal social bond, suggesting the metaphor of 'iron-cage'. Weber

accords little consideration for democracy and active citizenship to sustain social relations. His understanding of the social structure under the contemporary circumstances conception constantly calls for charismatic spells of one type or another to sustain people's engagement with the social order. But charisma cannot be anticipated, calculated and predictable. It's a double-edged sword. So, rational-legal power wills always effort to stay it at bay. Weber does not adequately engage with the in excellence of wealth, power and status. There is little to suggest that he idea that it was the responsibility of the state to promote an equalitarian order. A shared moral domain cannot arise in a Weberian framework.

Weberian and Marxian—Integration-Habermas

One of the significant thinkers of our times who have accepted the Weberian conception further, while maintaining an interface with Marxism, is Jurgen Habermas. He recognizes the role of social structures and the calculative and predictive orientation they suggest but he also takes into explanation the dimension of power and power built into them. At the similar time he takes seriously the potentiality of arriving at meaning built into language communication.

Social Stratification

Marx employs ownership and manages in excess of the means of manufacture and connection of social mediators to the procedure of manufacture as the criteria for social stratification. Marx also uses the concepts of strata and factions to indicate the casting interests establish in a class.

In a country like India, Marxists would identify the following classes:

- The bourgeoisie who own and manage the means of manufacture and appropriate surplus;
- the landlords who own or enjoy title in excess of land, play little role in the manufacture procedure but obtain a share of the produce for themselves;

The workers who do not own or manage the means of manufacture but depend on their laboring capability for their living;

- the peasantry, distinguishable into diverse strata and possessing dissimilar extent of land and other means of manufacture but who at the similar time directly participate in the procedure of manufacture. strata in this class/category. In some compliments he is akin to the industrial bourgeoisie but in other compliments to the peasant. This stratum is also inclusive of the rural proletariat made of landless workers and marginal peasantry who usually live off through working for others; and
- the petit bourgeoisie made of professionals, the traders and the craftsmen who are not directly involved in the manufacture procedure but play a variegated set of roles in conditions of extending services and imparting skills.

Class Consciousness

In information even if a group held a number of objective aspects akin to a class but which does not possess consciousness, to that extent it could not be measured as a class. Manx distinguished dissimilar members of a class. First, members of a class who are least conscious of being members and whose practices, other than the economic, have little to do with their class location. Secondly, there is a class-in-itself. Here, a class collectively pursues events to bigger its lot in existing class structure through promoting its scrupulous demands such as workers fighting for bigger wages. Thirdly; there is the class-for- itself. A class pursues its class interests without being intimidated through the prevailing class-structure.

One of the mainly significant contributions in the understanding of social stratification from the Marxist perspective has been the work of Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist theoretician. He asked the question how dominant classes continue to control in excess of societies based primarily on class stratification. One of the concepts: that he used to explain it was 'hegemony'. It denotes not merely power out leadership wherein the consent of the dominated is elicited by many methods.

The Weberian Approach

While Marx based social stratification on class, Weber introduced a model of stratification based on CLASS, STATUS AND POWER. He understood class extremely differently. For him a class is collected of people who have life chances in

general as determined through their power to dispose of goods and skills for the sake of income: 'The crucial aspect of class is its situation in the market. Class consciousness is not a requirement for the creation of a class.

Status refers to the social ranking, honor and esteem that a group is held in. These are attributes attached to scrupulous styles of life and groups are ranked as high or low accordingly. Ranking, styles and avocations in conditions of status modify from one community to the other. So, while class is universalistic, status tends to be more particularistic. For instance in India the caste organization is a specific mode of expression of status. Ritual ranking attached to caste becomes one of the biggest factors of stratification. Weber saw power as chance of a man or group to realize their will even against opposition of others. He thereby dispersed power crossways individual mediators. This was extremely much unlike Marx who saw power primarily as a class-relation. At the similar time Weber attributed the monopoly of coercive power to the state. In this conception there was little lay for intermediary organizations flanked by the state and individual social mediators.

For Weber all the three shapes of stratification. Class. Status and Power may converge in conditions of some social mediators or they require not. Further, sometimes anyone of them could affect the other two or could be translated into the other. They though, cannot be reduced to a single form. Weber also saw stratification in conditions of two models: ascriptive and attainment. Ascriptive stratification, be it class, status or power is based on inherited aspects. Attainment is the successful achievement of the concerned individual or group.

The Functionalist Approach

The functionalist approach to stratification is associated with such thinkers as Emile Durkheim, Kingsley Davis, Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton. Functionalists seem at modem community as an intricate of highly differentiated organization of robs. Dissimilar men and women have to be persuaded to assume these roles. Stratification is based on role allocation. Roles set dissimilar goals for individuals and groups.

Functionalists see stratification as the mechanism by which community encourages men and women to seek to achieve the diverse positions necessary in an intricate organization. The positions need dissimilar skills and are endowed with dissimilar rewards. By stratification motivation is provided to social mediators to perform their roles. The status corresponding to the roles imparts recognition. Talcott Parsons has pointed out three sets of aspects which are used as the foundation of ranking:

- Possessions: i.e. those attributes that people own
- Qualities belonging to individuals including race, lineage or sex
- Performances: i.e. evaluation of the method roles are fulfilled

Dissimilar societies emphasize dissimilar aspects: Feudal community stressed on ascribed qualities; a capitalist community values possessions and a communist community on performance. Functionalists feel that industrial community with its division of labour encourage only one set of values those involving individual success. It results in anomie or

alienation. A stable community they feel is a prerequisite for integrated personality. Further as stratification based on role allocation involves in excellence it calls for ideological justification that explains, justifies and propagates the organization of inequality. So functionalists accord a great trade of importance on patterns of social solidarity embodying moral consensus and normative regulation. They see a biggest role for religion in this task.

Development Strategies

The theory of underdevelopment was first propounded through Latin American writers to explain the economic and political backwardness of Latin American societies, which became self-governing from Spanish or Portuguese rule throughout the third decade of the 19th century. Despite their political independence for more than 150 years. their democracy, modernization and national state remained underdeveloped and they sustained as semi colonial dependencies of imperial countries suffering from retarded economic growth., Just as to Andre Gunder Frank, underdevelopment of Latin American countries in the past as well as some Afro-Asian countries establish themselves after their political decolonization.

The information is that underdevelopment, like growth, is also a modem phenomenon. The underdevelopment of the colonies, semi colonies and neo-colonies and growth of the metropolitan centers of imperialism are related both as sections of the historical procedure and by the mutual impact they would continue to exercise in the present as well as the future. Paul Baran has argued that underdevelopment is organically and systematically associated with colonization, political

dominance and exploiter-exploited connection in the economic sphere. The concept of economic surplus is crucial for the revise of growth and underdevelopment. Economic surplus may be defined as the actual or potential excess of a social unit's manufacture which may or may not be invested or exploited. In the present context what is significant is not the sacrifice of the loser nation in conditions of its actual loss of income or wealth or the absolute gain of the recipient country but the contribution to economic surplus accruing to the imperialist country from the colony. It is the loss of present and potential capital for the colony.

While the peripheral societies are denied the growth possibilities of this capital, the metropolitan imperial country can use it for its own economic growth. The satellite country's contribution may be great or small in quantity, but the associated sacrifice in conditions of underdevelopment for the colony, semi colony or neo-colony can readily be much superior. While the imperialist gain a pound of flesh, the dependency may lose ten or twenty times more. Therefore, the colony may lose possessions, its essential irrigation organization, or its culture or even its physical subsistence. Several Native American tribes and nationalities were wiped out when the Europeans colonized America, by genocide. Therefore growth and underdevelopment are not the summation only of economic quantities. They are their accumulation and the entire social structure and procedure which determine that accumulation.

It is obvious that the incorporation of the underdeveloped countries in the international capitalist organization keeps them permanently underdeveloped. This contribution of

imperialism and capitalism to the underdevelopment of underdeveloped regions continues even now. It is not therefore much the possessions that the United State draws out of Latin America, as it is the use of her economic, political and military power to stay the structure of under growth in these countries in the economic, political, social, cultural and even military spheres.

This structure of underdevelopment imposes on them mass poverty, loss of political freedom, loss of civilization, loss of current manufacture, infant mortality, starvation for the disadvantaged groups, disease and epidemics. The continuous drain of potential capital plays a critical role in the economy of all satellite countries as well as the imperialist economy. The drain of wealth from India and other colonies through Britain promoted the development of de-industrialization in India and its other colonies. The African slave trade benefited European traders and plantation-owners in America but damaged the economies of several countries in West and Central Africa. No wonder that South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa even now have the lowest per capita income in the entire world.

Manage exercised through the multinationals or strategic sectors plays a crucial role in preserving the pattern of underdevelopment. One instance has been the extraction of mineral possessions from underdeveloped countries. Another was extraction of oil and its sharing. Examples may transform from time to time. The mainly critical sector has been that of foreign trade, which is generally controlled through the dominant country in its dependency.

The power in excess of a sector through the bourgeois class and the state bureaucracy is enough o stay a dependency underdeveloped indefinitely and to aggravate its underdevelopment in future. The bourgeois classes of many Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are highly dependent on the economic power of the multination and political power of the governments of advanced capitalist countries. The ruling elites of the underdeveloped countries, so, have a vested interest in preserving indefinitely the organization and pattern of underdevelopment. The supposed independence of several Afro-Asian and Latin American nations in therefore a convenient fiction.

Classical Capitalist Model of Growth

At the dawn of the 21st century, we discover capitalism as the dominant model of growth which has successfully overcome challenges posed through socialism as an alternative strategy of growth. The industrialization of England was the first successful model of capitalist growth. This was accomplished flanked by 1760 and 1820. It was based on free enterprise within and monopophy trade in the colonies, often accompanied through direct plunder of the colonial possessions. The other countries, which followed this model with some regional variations were France, Holland, the United States: Germany, Italy aid later Japan.

The political history of capitalist systems has followed neither an easy nor a linear path of growth. Capitalist growth reflects a contradiction flanked by the necessities of capital accumulation and the needs of political legitimation. This contradiction was sought to be resolved by six dissimilar levels

of capitalist development requiring six successive state formations. Just as to Alan Wolfe, the *Accumulative State* corresponded to the first wave of capitalism industrialization. It made accumulation its own mechanism of legitimation. Since any means needed to achieve the accumulation of wealth was justified: the Accumulative State was not committed to laissez faire ideologically. It promoted government intervention to describe the parameters of the emerging organization of manufacture, to preserve discipline in the middle of the workers, to adjust macroeconomic circumstances, to fight colonial wars, to pursue capitalist interests, to give subsidies to capitalists, and to support miscellaneous eclectic activities.

When the crisis of accumulation grew, Adam Smith and Ricardo talked of the *Harmonious State* and harmony as the essential elements of capitalist manufacture. Freedom of the market, they said, reconciled the interests of the producers with those of the consumers and the interests of the capitalists with those of the workers. This assumption was internally inconsistent, led to Social Danwinism and failed as a legitimation mechanism. The *Expansionist State* characterized the third stage of capitalist growth. Although an imperialist policy of expansion accepted out in the interest of fund capital seemed to relieve domestic pressures from the working class: expansionism meant the erosion of classical liberalism. The end of free trade, unrestricted immigration aid export of capital to colonies and semi colonies were accompanied through indoctrination and manage of workers by education and mass civilization. The World War I put an end to this stage of capitalist imperialism.

The *Franchise State* characterized the fourth stage of capitalist growth. It tried to regularize conflicts flanked by classes and strata through delegating public power to private bodies. This reflected a pluralist dispersal of power. The capitalist state of 'pluralist democracy' was supposed to provide absent power, not to exercise it. This was mystification. The franchise state declined through the end of World War II. Private interest groups failed to regulate themselves effectively. Economic scheduling in European countries and military spending in the United States led these states to assume enormous powers.

The *Dual State* came into subsistence throughout the fifth level of capitalist growth. This state created two similarity structures, one charged with keeping order by repression and the other with presenting a democratic facade. Capitalism at this level functioned by a diarchy-one arm being the military bureaucratic tools aid the other arm, more visible to the public eye, constituting the electoral parliamentary mechanism.

The *Trans-national State* characterizes the sixth and present level of capitalist growth which is dominated through the rise of multinational corporations. It is the product of internationalization of capital and globalization of the market. Though, this growth did not transcend the troubles of nation-state because multinational corporations needed government aid in a manner not seal earlier in the history of capitalist growth. Throughout this stage, the World Bank, the International Monetary Finance and now the World Trade Organization have appeared to regulate the world economy and the world market.

Neo-liberalism with its slogans of globalizations. liberalization and privatization is the new credo of triumphant, transnational capitalism. Though, each of the six levels of capitalism has failed to resolve the tensions flanked by the necessities of accumulation and die requires of legitimation. Despite the fall of Soviet-approach socialism. late capitalism has yet to prove its rationality as a world-wide strategy for economic development.

Soviet-Approach Socialism

Marxism-Leninism was the official ideology and the guiding strategy of growth in the former Soviet Union and other Soviet-approach socialist states of eastern and central Europe. It attempted to transform the socio-economic foundation of the pre-existing organization through abolishing the capitalist mode of manufacture itself. Marxism aimed at the destruction of the capitalist organization, by a revolutionary class thrash about of the working class in alliance with the oppressed peasantry: culminating in a socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat led through the Communist Party. Though, no advanced country of the west succumbed to a socialist revolution of Marx's vision. Revolution did happen in Russia which was comparatively a less urbanized capitalist country at that time. After the defeat of the Nazi Germany in World War II, Soviet-approach socialism, minus collectivization of agriculture, was imposed upon the "People's Democracies" of eastern and central Europe. China and some neighboring Asian countries and later Cuba also accepted out their socialist revolutions.

Socialist systems in the Soviet Union and other allied countries provided for public or state ownership of all biggest sectors of the economy. Internal and external market was strictly controlled. The Soviet-approach economy was based on comprehensive scheduling of national possessions by successive Five Year Plans. All sectors such as industry, agriculture, trade, banking, transport and communications were brought under centralized scheduling. Due to international separation of Soviet Russia, centralized scheduling accentuated the growth of heavy industry such as steel, machines and armaments. The intended economy was free from capitalist-approach slumps and recession and registered a rapid rate of economic development. The trade agreements were mainly restricted to the socialist bloc but after 1960, China was excluded from these, which opted out from the Soviet block of socialist nations.

Agriculture was collectivized in the Soviet Union but not in other East European countries. It shaped a smaller sector of the economy but absorbed a comparatively superior labour force. The state mainly controlled manufacture and sharing of consumer goods. Labour unions were official state agencies and the workers' councils played a limited role in decision-waking. The political organization of socialist countries was based on democratic centralism and the dictatorship of a single political party or an alliance of parties led through the Communist Party. The Marxist-Leninist Party determined the goals and strategy of growth. Strong one-party organization dictated all interest articulation and aggregation. Discipline and centralization were the guiding principles of industrial management and administration

Economic surplus was obtained for investment through denying the people necessary consumption goods. All social strata, particularly the peasants, helped the Soviet state to accumulate capital for rapid industrialization. World War II destroyed lives and properties on a vast level. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries were denied assistance through the United States under the Marshall Plan for post-war rehabilitation. The Cold War compelled them to allocate big funds for protection. Despite, threats of invasion from capitalist countries and destruction cawed through war: the Soviet Union did succeed in achieving rapid economic development both in the Stalinist and post-Stalin periods till 1970. Intended socialist economy did enable Soviet Russia to emerge as a second super-power in the world. Soviet approach socialism also transformed the comparatively backward economies of some east European countries into industrial societies.

Communist China also emulated the Soviet-approach economic scheduling immediately after its successful revolution in 1949 till 1956. Several states in the Third world. like India under Nehru, Egypt under Nasser and Indonesia under Soekarno experimented with state capitalism and making of a superior public sector largely under Soviet inspiration. However the 'Soviet strategy of economic growth could avoid capitalist-approach slumps and recessions for an extensive time, it ultimately succumbed to the evils of stagnation and excessive militarization. Gorbachev tried to reform the Soviet organization by glasnost and perestroika but paved the method for disintegration of the Soviet Union and restoration of capitalism in Russia and other seceding republics. Other countries of Eastern Europe also succumbed to capitalism

counter-revolution. This signified the failure of Soviet-approach socialism all in excess of Europe.

The Chinese Strategy of Growth

The Chinese model of economic development is both a revise in contrast and comparison with the Soviet-approach growth. The Soviet Union had a proletarian revolution under Lenin and straightway proceeded towards socialization of its economy by nationalization of its industry: banking, trade, transport and communication. Agriculture was collectivized under Stalin. The centralized, command economy sustained, by its successive Five Year Plans, till its final fall in 1991 with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Mao Zedong's revolution in China, which took lay in 1949, was described 'new democratic'. It permitted national and petty-bourgeoisie classes to participate in China's economic development ill 1954. Throughout this era, a radical land reform was accepted out which abolished ownership of land through feudal landlords and ' redistributed it in the middle of the tillers of the soil. Mao, thereafter, favored a sustained revolution towards socialism. As a result, the Chinese peasants were soon regrouped into co-operatives and collectives.

The aims of the First Five Year Plan were to place the foundations of a comprehensive industrial structure at a rapid pace. Priority of investment funds was given to the capital goods sector. Comparatively less importance was given to the development of the consumer goods. Agriculture was given only 6.2 percent and left mainly for private initiative through peasants. The Soviet Union gave the required help in technology and expertise. The Chinese Communists did not

start big-level mechanization of agriculture throughout the First Five Year Plan era. This was a correct strategy. It was first necessary to expand the industrial foundation. Through the end of the First Five Year Plan era, China had achieved a considerable momentum in economic growth. The Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the Crisis Years of 1958- 196 1 saw the making of the Communes and the industrial policy of 'walking on two legs' which meant the simultaneous growth of small and big industry and the simultaneous use of indigenous techniques and contemporary ways.

The People's Communes' were not only a new administrative unit, they were also an exercise in agrarian socialism. They arose out of the merger of cooperatives. 90 percent of peasant households were grouped into Communes through September 1958 all in excess of China. The Great Leap Forward, which encouraged the establishment of steel foundries in every city or village, proved an incorrect strategy of economic development. National calamities such as floods and famine which just as to Amartya Sen killed millions of people, withdrawal of Soviet economic assistance and serious organizational troubles in the Communes paralyzed the Chinese economy throughout the Crisis Years of 1958-1961. As a result, the Chinese economic development slowed down substantially. Consequently, a new economic policy was adopted through the Chinese leadership which was called as 'market-socialism '.

The Chinese leadership established that the experiment of the 'People's Communes' had failed because it was trying to skip necessary historical levels in growth. The Second Five Year Plan era was marked through a serious economic depression in the first three years and a policy of readjustment throughout

the after that two years. Then followed three years of further readjustment. This was regarded as a middle stage flanked by the Second and Third Five Year Plans. In 1966 China had successfully readjusted its national economy, had overcome serious economic difficulties and had begun implementing its Third Five Year Plan. Presently then, Mao Zedong began his "Cultural Revolution". Just as to Deng Xiaoping, it was not a revolution at all. It was an internal disorder that damaged China's economic growth for a decade.

Mao Zedong started the Cultural Revolution to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China. He idea that Party leaders like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were 'capitalist roaders' who wanted China to revert to the capitalist past of growth. Throughout 1967-68, China's national economy speedily deteriorated in the social chaos created through the Cultural Revolution. Zhou Enlai sustained as Prime Minister and was able to limit the damage to the economy through following pragmatic policies. Post-Mao leadership regards the Cultural Revolution as an era when "Left" mistakes derailed the procedure of economic growth. Throughout this era: national income suffered a loss of 500 billion Yuan, and the livelihood average of the people declined.

With the passing absent of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the suppression of the "gang of four", who were Mao loyalists, power passed in the hands of Deng Xiaoping and the therefore described "capitalist roaders". The new leadership instituted big level economic reforms in the direction of what it called as "socialism with Chinese aspects". In practice, it meant the repudiation of Maoist strategy of growth based on early introduction of doctrinaire socialist characteristics in China's

economy. It pushed China in the direction of neo-liberal reforms however Deng officially stated that the new strategy of economic development had no relationship with 'bourgeois liberalization. ' Tile government introduced the "household responsibility organization" in agriculture through parceling out the collectively owned land to peasants on extensive term lease-hold foundation with provisions for the rights of inheritance. This was, in effect, reintroducing privatized agriculture in China by the back-door. Though, new organization increased agricultural manufacture immensely however it promoted in excellence in rural community to some extent. In contrast with Soviet collectivization, family based agriculture in China has proved more productive despite lower stage of mechanization.

In the five years flanked by the 12th and the 13th Congress of the Communist Party, China achieved great progress in economic reforms and the opening of the economy to the outside world also began in a large method. Industrial re-structuring was accomplished. Investment in productive and profitable enterprises was increased. Agriculture: power, possessions, transport and communication were given special support. The annual standard development rate of the GNP reached 10 to 11 percent flanked by 1990 and 1999. Throughout this era. China's economy was liberalized and privatized at a rapid pace. This was done by what the Chinese prefer to call "contractual responsibility organization" that conferred extensive lease-hold rights on the recipient of land and property.

China also encouraged investment of foreign capital and gave favorable conditions to all foreign investors. Fourteen special

zones were created in the coastal provinces where foreign firms were allowed 100 percent equity. Foreign capital entered China in a large method. The Chinese trade also flourished with several foreign countries particularly the United States, Japan and West European countries. Hong Kong and Macao with their capitalist structures have now become sections of China with a guarantee that these will be maintained therefore for at least 50 years more. Communist China has also promised that Taiwan's capitalist economy will be preserved perpetually whenever it decides to joint the mainland.

In information, China is rapidly marching towards organization which some critics define sarcastically as "capitalism with Chinese Aspects" where social ownership and socialism arc increasingly becoming mere legal fictions. The share of the public sector in China's economy has decreased from 96 percent in 1976 to presently 26 percent in 2001. Post-Mao growth strategy has mainly succeeded in creation China an industrial giant and also self-enough in the agricultural sphere. The strength of the Chinese strategy of growth consists of the following:

- Abolition of landlordism, the end of the unproductive commune organization, establishment of family leasehold farms in agriculture, peasant initiative in rural enterprises encouraged.
- Abolition of mass poverty, promotion of education and removal of illiteracy, wide-spread health services, population manage with a single child norm.
- Economic reforms which have approximately liberalized the economy and opened it up to the outside world.

- China's policies recognize the importance of market, profitability, competition and integration with the world economy but on its own conditions.

- Chinese leadership regards China at the primary level of socialism and it may take more than a century to complete the transition to socialism.

- China's growth strategy should be based on pragmatic thoughts. As Deng said, the cat could be white or black, what is significant is that it should be able to catch mice.

- Just as to the IMF criteria of Purchasing Power Parity of the United States, surpassing that of Japan which is in the third lay.

The Third World Strategies

The underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and even Latin America tried to follow from 1950 to 1970 what Charles Bettelheim has described the state capitalist model however role of the state in their economies varied from country to country The purpose was to strengthen the infrastructure and make a self-governing economic foundation for which private capital was not forthcoming. The public sector could be as low as 20 percent or 70 per cent. Though, several developing countries did not follow the state capitalist strategy and did not make any sizable public sector. Mainly of the Latin American countries like Brazil. Argentina and Chile followed the capitalist model in which foreign capital also played a biggest role, however foreign capital was not away in the countries which tried to experiment with the mixed economy model such as Mexico. South-East Asian countries also preferred market based strategy of economic development.

Later, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore appeared as the Asian tigers which were Asian showpieces of capitalist growth.

Just as to Paul Baran, the growth strategies of the Third World countries illustrate two dissimilar types of orientations. He maintained that an overwhelming majority of the backward countries are ruled through regimes of a clearly pronounced comprador character and their strategies are also based on what lie calls comprador capitalist growth. Secondly, he maintained that sonic underdeveloped countries have governments which have a 'New Trade' orientation such as India: Indonesia, and Burma. It the first group. he placed the oil-producing countries of the Transitional East and Latin American and Afro-Asian and Latin American countries producing precious minerals and food-stuffs. Several of these countries are ruled through pro-Western dictators who are constrained to pursue growth strategy based on comprador capitalism. Baran's characterization of such regimes as comprador is measured dated and inapplicable now

In the second group, Baran placed 'New-Trade' kind regimes where a nationalist bourgeoisie was in power which, in alliance with other exploited classes, was trying to make an self-governing economic foundation for the country's all round growth. As the pressure for social liberation was not great in these countries, the governments there adopted the strategy of evolving an indigenous diversity of industrial capitalism in which both the public and private sectors would have a co-operative connection.

Though, the New Trade regime is also plagued with sure contradictions. For instance. it is unable to offend the landlords and cannot carry out pro-peasant land reform. It cannot interfere with the privileges of the merchants and moneylenders. It is unable to improve the livelihood circumstances of the workers, as it cannot antagonize business. Despite its anti-imperialism, it favors foreign capital. This regime substitutes minor reforms for radical changes, revolutionary languages for revolutionary deeds. It is unable to do the battle for industrialization and unable to rally the masses for a decisive assault on the nation's backwardness, poverty, illiteracy or ill-health. The state capitalist model may make new steel plants, set up fertilizer plants, develop hydro-electric power, build oil and gas producing plants etc in the public sector, but the government never nationalizes any private sector industry. Though. the private sector is unable to fulfill the role that is expected. Population development remnants unchecked and usually neutralizes economic development in real conditions.

Growth strategies based on the state capitalist model have now been rejected approximately in all developing countries. Neo-liberal economic reforms advocated through the IMF-World Bank advisers arc being implemented at a varying pace approximately in all developing countries. The state sector is being dismantled slowly everywhere including India. China, South Korea. Thailand. Singapore. Malaysia. Indonesia, Philippines and some Latin American countries have achieved considerable success in implementing neo-liberal reforms. In contrast, India is still debating the trickle down effects of its reform programme. With the exception of South Africa, the IMF-World Bank model of development has not helped the

African countries in any appreciable manner. Though. the slogans of liberalization, privatization and globalization have been universally carried as the guidelines for growth through the ruling elites of all developing nations. This is simply a market-oriented, capitalist strategy of economic development.

Social Bases Of State Power

In a broad sense, power is the manufacture of designed effects. It is the capability to get what one wants to get. In the middle of the many approaches to power, the 'Power to', approach associated with Talcott Parsons is the mainly important. Just as to Parsons political power is the capability of a government to attract on the commitment of its citizens in order to achieve societal, political and economic goals. The power of the government is decided through the effectiveness with which it achieves society's goals. Therefore, for Parsons, power is a device which enables the government or the rulers to fulfill the objectives of community. It is not the skill of one group or the other to will manage of the state.

Why Parson's definition of power was not establish adequate? Despite its positive connotations, Parson's view of power is measured too narrow through many political scientists. For those who disagree with Parsons, politics is an arena of confliction opinions concerning what goals and whose goals or rather which group's goals should be pursued.

The underlying view of power is clash and not consensus. Power consists in the skill to get ones method, generally in the face of opposition. This opinion supported through Robert Dahl and other pluralists talk of power in excess of rather than

power to. The former Soviet Union throughout the last years of its subsistence witnessed such a distinction flanked by power in excess of and power to. The quantity of power accessible to a central government can decline to a point when the issue of its sharing becomes secondary.

Classification of Power

As power is not merely power, violence, force or war alone, Ke1meth:Boulding in his Three faces of power gives a classification of shapes. The threat of force is used through the military and the police - the coercive organizations of state. The state has the power to deprive its citizens of their liberty if taxes are not paid, if laws are not obeyed etc., however on several occasions the coercive power of the state is merely implicit, that is a sign of its effectiveness.

Swap power is more effective as there is a positive note in this diversity of power. There is a trade and reciprocity and the trade is based on reward. Nevertheless, the trade is also a form of power as it changes the behavior of one person through another person. In approximately all modem states, the connection flanked by the citizen and state is that of a swap or contract. The citizens agree to accept and obey the state's power and the state agrees to give and 'protect the citizens'. However the contract is imaginary, the swap exists. Creating obligations is the other way whereby the capability to inspire loyalty, respect and commitment is brought forth. Family and religious organizations are two of the mainly important social organizations that indulge in such obligatory exercises of power. In mainly Islamic states, fundamentalist institutions operate on these rows.

Others such as S. Lukes, claim that power is not merely what Boulding talks about. It is exercised wherever the real interests of people are ignored. A polluting factory that affects the inhabitants exercises power in excess of them without their knowledge. Likewise, a government that begins conscription through whipping up patriotic fervor is also exercising power in excess of its people through manipulating the knowledge, values and preferences of others. We may conclude that the power of a modem state rests on its capacity to attract on a wide range of sources of obligation. All the three approaches of power enunciated through Kenneth Boulding in his Three faces of Power are instructive and highlight the information that power is based on a combination of factors.

Separately from the debate as to what is power, how it is exercised and considered another important question regarding power is how it is distributed in societies. A secure seem at political systems, both democracies and dictatorships, designates that there is a dissimilarity flanked by the two. The Elite and Pluralist theories are the mainly significant. The elitists hold that there is not much of dissimilarity.

Elite Theory: Pareto and Mosca

The elitists view that there is not much variation flanked by the two systems. There are three proponents of elitist theory, namely Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca both of Italy and Robert Michels of Germany. Their writings had a profound power on the thinking of the concept of power in the twentieth century. Pareto firmly whispered that all societies are divided in the middle of, A small governing elite, A non-governing elite, and The mass population or non-elite There might be a

circulation of elites but elite is always present. Mosca argued that governing elite is possible through the attendance of a larger organization and caliber. The power of a small organized minority is inevitable in excess of unorganized majority. Unlike his Italian counterparts, Robert Michels studied specific organizations. He propagated the well-known "iron law of oligarchy." Oligarchy meaning rule through the few. In path breaking studies Michels proved that his law was applicable to socialist parties, mainly organizations and even the Labour party in England.

Elite Theory in the United States of America: C. Wright Mills

Based on these theories originating in Europe, many sociological studies urbanized in the United States from 1920. They investigated the sharing of power in regional societies. Mainly of them concluded that a small minority of people from either upper or transitional class backgrounds were always predominant in a society. The similar people repeatedly get nominated to municipality councils and society bodies. This information reiterated the concept of governing elite in regional societies, even in a supposedly democratic United States. C. Wright Mills was the other important supporter of elite theory. In his well-known revise, the Power Elite, Mills argued that political leaders were the principal groups that directed the American politics either from the backdrop or sometimes by elected offices. Mill's theory today is recognized as an adaptation of corporatism, a proposition that duly elected representatives have been losing power to other institutional interests such as business and military.

Pluralism

The after that mainly important theory regarding power in political science has been pluralism. While elitism specifies rule through a minority, pluralism specifies rule through minorities. It is a doctrine of variety. Its largest argument is that mainly modem shapes of government are open and dissimilar interests and groups compete for power. Robert Dahl, the mainly noted in the middle of pluralists, concluded that ruling elites do not exist and that power manifests itself by a plurality of interests and groups after a cautious scrutiny of New Haven municipality in Connecticut Through the 1970s, mainly American political science writers began to approve of pluralism as a desirable and an ideal theory. They also began to see the benefits of pluralism as its fragmented nature means that well informed views receive special weight age. It was also a bigger adaptation of the democratic principle of one man, one vote and majoritarian rule.

Criticism, though, critics accused the pluralists of excessive emphasis on decision creation as non-decisions are ignored through the pluralists. Also an important minority of the population is too indifferent and alienated to get involved. Therefore increasingly it is argued that the pluralists captured only one aspect of power in western societies.

Power as Coercion: Max Weber

Yet another form of power is coercion. Mainly rulers face the problem of legitimizing their location into power. Power is the right to rule. Relationships of power are maintained in a hierarchical fashion. The German sociologist Max Weber

provided an original analysis of the many bases of power. He termed them as traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. The first kind is TRADITIONAL. Weber says, "in traditional power the present order is viewed as sacred, eternal and inviolable. The dominant person or group, generally defined through heredity, is idea to have been pre-ordained to rule in excess of the rest. The subjects are bound to the ruler through personal dependence and a custom of loyalty, further reinforced through such cultural beliefs as the "divine right of Kings."

CHARISMATIC power is Weber's second kind. Leaders are obeyed because they inspire their followers. Extremely often the masses that follow the heroes' credit them with exceptional and supernatural qualities. Though, the charismatic power is normally a short existed affair LEGAL-RATIONAL is the third kind. In this case power is exercised by principles and obedience is to a government of laws. All modem bureaucracies seem to be authorities of this kind.

In Max Weber's own languages, therefore "power is the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action against the resistance of others."

Contending Approaches to Power

To understand this mainly important concept in modern political science, at a theoretical plane, three biggest approaches can be recognized. The pluralists or the empirical democratic theorists focus on the fragmented nature of power in a given community; the theorists of corporatism emphasize the significance of extra governmental organizations in determining state's policies and decisions. Despite the

changing fortunes of Marxism as an ideology, modern Marxists have been working to reconstruct state as a class-state keeping in view the functioning of the Post-Second World War two governments in Western nations. They have succeeded in retaining the link flanked by political power and class power.

Pluralistic Conception of Power

To the pluralists, power is the skill to achieve one's aims and objectives, despite opposition. Robert Dahl describes power 'as a reasonable connection, such as its capability for acting, in such a manner as to manage B's responses.' He also describes it as a "successful effort through A to get B to do something he would not otherwise do." The notion of power as called and defined through Dahl stresses the subjective element of purpose, willingness and implies a confliction connection. The central issue is overcoming B's resistance and in such a case power rests on the exercise of manage in excess of immediate measures.

Robert Dahl's empirical investigations in the municipality of New Haven titled *Who Governs* concentrated on discovering the capability of actors involved in policy creation. The project revise concluded that the decision creation procedure in the municipality is pluralist democracy of multiple coalitions. Power is disaggregated and non-cumulative. Many groups spread during the community and on behalf of several diverse and competitive interests share power. Such plurality contributes to inequalities of power and also to unequal sharing of wealth, status, education and therefore on. The conflicts in excess of the power to decide policy outcomes, the manner in which differing interest groups place claims on the

municipality mayor, ultimately leads to positive policy formulations for the good of the citizenry. That divergent interests competing for power contribute to equilibrium in democracy and also to favorable policy articulation, becomes the second mainly critical assumption of American empirical democratic theory. It also stands alongside the individualist and voluntarist notions of power.

American Empirical Democratic Theory or Classical Pluralism

American empirical democratic theory or classical pluralism dates back to the period of James Madison and the Federalist papers. Madison reiterated the Hobbesian assumption that people have a natural desire for power in excess of fellow beings in his Federalist No. 10 through stating that "the latent reasons of faction are.... sown in the nature of men." He also recognized "unequal sharing of property," as the mainly general and durable source of factions. Though, modern adherents of Madison's arguments radically alter his opinion. Empirical democratic theorists claim that factions are more than the natural counterparts of free association. In the modern community, factions assume the shape of interest groups and they are the source of continuity and central expression of democracy.

Group Theory

As one of the mainly articulate in the middle of the proponents of democratic theory, Group theorists assert the importance of group interaction for securing equilibrium m American democracy. Power, for group theorists, such as David Truman,

is conceived beside Weberian rows. But the state is not autonomous like in the Weberian sense nor in the sense of Marx, who considers state's capability to transform as central to community. For the group theorists, State reacts to the purposive exercise of power. Power is fragmented within community. Truman also hopes that out of the competing interests a comparative coherent policy will emerge.

Robert Dahl was another Group theorist after David Truman. He assimilates the central concern of Madison in relation to the factions considering it as the best expression of DEMOCRACY. Dahl calls it POLYARCHY and argues that competition in the middle of several interests ensures the safety of democracy. S. Lukes in his Power: A Radical View argues that "the bias of an organization is not continued basically through a series of individually chosen acts, but also mainly importantly, through the socially structured and culturally patterned behavior of groups, and practices of organizations." This conception of power as the capability of individuals to realize their will against resistance, neglects the importance of communal forces and social arrangements. For this cause, the classical pluralists failed to grasp the asymmetries of power - flanked by classes, races, genders, politicians and citizens and therefore were responsible for shattering the premises of classical pluralism. The development of political groups associated with the New Left also began to alter the political legroom in the U.S. Political polarization took lay in the name of anti- Vietnam war movement, student movement, civil rights movements etc. The new left and its political polarization did not fit into pluralist conditions, and consequently the pluralist inadequacies in grasping the nature and sharing of power led to great several

difficulties in understanding reality. A great trade of empirical research into understanding power also proved that several groups do not have the possessions to compete in the national arena, as the national politics are controlled and manipulated through powerful national and multinational corporations. Acknowledgement of these troubles in both conceptual and empirical conditions has led to dissolution of classical pluralist theory and emergence of newer and competing schools.

Corporatist Theory

Through the late 1970s the empirical democratic theory has been severely criticized through Corporatist theory. At first, both emerged wholly incompatible. In *Leo Panitch's* 1977 essay 'The growth of Corporatism in liberal democracies" *Political Studies* he explained that "class harmony and organic unity were essential to community and could be secured if the several functional groups, and especially the institutions of capital and labour, were imbued with a conception of natural rights and obligations somewhat same to. that presumed to have unified the medieval estates." The principle of organic unity is the central thought of corporatism. J. T. Winkler observed that "community is seen as consisting of diverse elements unified into one body, forming one Corpus; hence the word corporatism". Fascist Italy and Nazist Germany were measured the prime examples of European Corporatism.

Though, with the emergence of post liberal, advanced capitalist states, that are also organized as well structured democracies and welfare states, a new conceptual variant of Corporatism, namely SOCIETAL CORPORATISM evolved. In the languages of

Philippe Schmitter modern or societal corporatism is "a organization of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories established or licensed through the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in swap for observing sure controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports." What caused the rise of Societal Corporatism'? Changes in the equilibrium maintained through varying class forces since the 1920s led to decay of pluralism and its displacement through societal Corporatism. Corporatist theory is a synthesis of central conceptual premises of Marxist and Pluralist theories.

While agreeing with the pluralists that policy outcomes are determined through the competitive claims of interest associations, the Corporatists argue that associations are now OLIGOPOLISTICALLY configured. From the Marxists, Corporatists accept the information that vital class conflicts exist and mainly activities in state and community are pursued to reproduce class relations. At the similar time, the traditional corporatist also preserves the principle of organic unity. From an empirical point of view, Corporatism, has been successful only in Austria and the Netherlands.

Marxist Theory

In the 1970 and 80s there has been important revival of interest through Marxist writers in State power. Ralph Miliband highlighted the centrality of state in European and American societies and studied the class-state relations from

Marxist perspective and state community relations from pluralist perspective. Miliband opposed the view that State is a neutral arbiter in the middle of social interests. He observed the attendance of a ruling class in European societies that controls the means of manufacture; the linkages such class has with political parties, military, universities and the media; the commanding location that this class occupies in approximately all the matters of State; the social backdrop of civil servants and, their ideological bent of mind meant that the state promotes a 'structure of power and privilege inherent in advanced capitalism'. Nicolas Poulantzas and Michel Foucault were the other prominent modem Marxist thinkers. Poulantzas's biggest theoretical contribution was with regard to State power. For him, State power is a result of the interaction flanked by the institutional form of the State and the changing character of political class forces.

Power as the Capability to Attain Class Interest

Poulantzas analysis of power and strategies is evident in political power and *Social Classes. He recognized power as the capability to realize class interest* a specific context and went on to describe interests as those that can be measured as a range of feasible class *objectives.* The emphasis was on the feasibility and achievability of the class objectives. He also accentuated that power is not a fixed quantum. In *both Political Power and Social Classes* and the subsequent work. State, Power, Socialism he evolved the argument that State itself is a social relation and that class interests, class power and class strategies are all linked. Michel Focault was a French Philosopher and a Historian. His works, Discipline and

Punish and The Will to Know trade extensively with the nature of Power in mainly contemporary societies.

Class Formation

In primitive societies sure individuals were often set separately from the rest of the society because of acquisition of wealth or display of rare craftsmanship; hereditary aristocracy and priesthoods which were also general grounds for status identities. The transition from this community of status to one of class occurred throughout the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in Greece and in Rome.

The first class clash in Greece arose from opposition to the landed aristocracy. The peasantry, heavily in debt to the aristocracy under an organization where debt led to slavery, brought in relation to the Solonian legislation and its extension to a wider circle of citizenry of political rights and admission to public office. These reforms divested the landed aristocracy of their legal sanctions and thereby transformed a differentiation through status into a differentiation of class. With the industrial and commercial growth that followed the Persian wars, personal property became increasingly significant and the clash of classes was accordingly transformed.

An essentially same growth occurred in Rome. Social differentiation took lay on the foundation of status. Political power was concentrated in the middle of the landed families. To their opposite, stood a group of plebeians. Although they were free, they had no political rights. This order was slowly broken down and the method opened for differentiation into

classes. When the transition had been completed the growth of Roman social organization sustained in the direction of sharpening the outlines of the class structure. Mainly because of the wars and the competition of grain from other countries the peasant class began to disintegrate. Deprived of land and living, the peasants thronged the metropolis. There they constituted an enormous proletariat leading a meager subsistence on public donations and offerings. Therefore definite property classes appeared, with the sharpest contrasts showing up in the sharing of wealth. In the Transitional Ages, the feudal organization represented a social organization based on status. With the rising importance of manufacture for the market and trade, and with the coming of the money economy, gradations arose in the middle of the free and the less free. Neither ranks nor classes remained permanent or unchanged but disintegrated into subgroups. Therefore, gradations began to arise in the middle of the unfree as well.

With the development of municipalities and trade a new occupational class took its lay with the aristocracy and the peasants - the burghers. Office and vocation began slowly to determine social location. Members of the mainly diverse ranks through birth - even the unfree and the free men - establish it possible to move to higher social strata. These new elements did not immediately displace the old; the two functioned face through face for many centuries. And while the new classes were occupational they remained at the outset quite rigid. But wealth and vocation kept continually displacing the facts of birth and descent. While this development was essentially same in all European States, the manner and time in which it took lay differed. Particularly in the Italian municipality-states, England and France, the class organization evolved

earlier than in other countries. In England the wealthy merchant class had through the end of the seventeenth century attained an influential lay in Parliament. In France at this time numerous burghers had been elevated to the nobility and after 1715 they could acquire the estates of the nobility.

Agrarian Class Formation

Historically, rural regions in several countries have been characterized through extreme inequalities in economic and political power. Several countries with big rural populations and economics based on the manufacture of primary products have sustained to demonstrate such inequalities. There are many common categories of agrarian class systems. Slavery, as it lived in the United States in the pre-Civil War period, is the mainly extreme organization, because it fully limits access to land to a dominant class and gives for total manage of the labour of a subordinate class. A second category, establish in medieval Europe and colonial Latin America, is feudal systems. In such systems landlords seek to accumulate land primarily to enhance their status and power. They ensure a stable and dependent labour force by a monopoly in excess of land. The landowners use indebtedness, overt coercion, and traditional social obligations and deference to uphold manage in excess of land and labour.

Agrarian capitalism, as urbanized in colonial regions of Southeast Asia in the late nineteenth century, is a third category. It is characterized through plantation manufacture and relies on a monopoly in excess of land and on slave debt-bound, or wage labour to uphold power in excess of subordinate classes. Where big-level capitalist cultivation has

urbanized as in sections of Mexico and Brazil, productive land has been monopolized through big landowners, and wage labour has replaced tenancy. Where small-level capitalist farms have appeared, land and labour markets have been more open and Jess subject to coercion.

In countries with big agricultural sectors capitalism has become the dominant mode of manufacture in agriculture in mainly areas. Capitalist producers have accumulated superior holdings of productive land, replaced labour by mechanization and other technical advancements. They now hire only for peak work periods, rather than maintaining a settled work force. This procedure has had many consequences. Productive land has become scarcer for small landholders, landlessness in the middle of the rural poor has increased, and wage labour has become more mobile and insecure. It was also expected that due to this procedure small land holders and peasant societies would eventually disappear, forced off the land and absorbed into a rural or urban labour force.

Though small land holders and peasant societies have shown great capability to survive the expansion of capitalism. At the stage of the household, small landholders have diversified their sources of income. Through joining jointly for manufacture or marketing, some have been able to compete with capitalist producers. In some cases rural producers have shaped cooperatives or associations that allow them to compete with big landowners for markets. Another growth that has affected agrarian class formation is the expansion of the State in the decades since World War II. The state is present in rural regions in the form of the regional agricultural research institution, the marketing agency, the rural credit bank, the

fair-price store, the school, the health dispensary, the public works office, and other organizations. Much state intervention in rural regions comes in the form of goods and services that can be provided selectively to individuals, groups or societies. In cases of open and democratic party competition national politicians have at times competed for the support of rural groups through promising or promoting policies of agrarian reform and rural growth. Consequently rural class formation is now seen to be determined through more than patterns of land ownership and labour use. It also depends on power relationships flanked by rural landowners and the developmental state and on the methods in \which subordinated classes have been included into national political systems.

Industrial Class Formation

We have read in relation to the changes taking lay in the rural regions. As suggested, be learning growths in urban, social and economic formations. At the beginning of the nineteenth century changes in the sharing of wealth had already begun to determine class formation. With the development of capitalism and big-level industry the economic element - chiefly the possession of property - played a greater role than ever in the determination of class membership. Social factors were based approximately entirely on the economic ones. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the mainly intense class conflicts took lay in authoritarian societies, such as Russia, Finland, and Germany, where elites attempted to consolidate their hold on power through suppressing opposition.

Through contrast, class clash was less violent in countries with recognized liberal freedoms and effective representative organizations, such as England and Switzerland. In these countries, the extension of the vote to workers gave them a greater sense of social and political inclusion. Freedom of political association and expression gave workers the chance to press their group demands by legitimate channels. As a result of improved working circumstances and political integration in the post World War II period mainly western societies saw an important reduction of industrial clash. Reforms based on Keynesian 'demand management', new and expanded welfare programs, and consensual policies intended to include wage demands and inflation had definite impact on class formation.

Countries varied widely, though, in the extent to which the postwar growths took lay. Class compromise was strongest in northern and central Europe and weakest in southern Europe and the Anglo-American democracies. Until the late 1970s in northern and central Europe, and particularly in Sweden, Norway, Austria, the working class was strongly organized in the labour market. In these countries, socialist parties were also able to participate in governments on a regular foundation. This participation opened a political channel for trade unions to swap moderation of their labour-market demands for favorable state action, including legal defense of unions, economic policies for full employment, and welfare and egalitarian social policies.

Theories of Class Formation

Therefore distant we have discussed the historical characteristics of class formation like how classes were shaped

and how they urbanized in dissimilar contexts. Now, as suggested, seem into the theories of classes and class conflicts, to expand our understanding of class formation. In the realm of theory deep disagreements divide both Marxists and non-Marxists. Some think 'class has to do with property', others say class is related to power. Still others believe class and surplus property and values as related. Yet others equate class with class consciousness. The Marxist custom remnants useful for its insistence on the need to revise the evolving capitalist class and its connection with working people, especially when globalization of capitalist manufacture occurs. Marxists, though, pay insufficient attention to social groupings other than classes. The insights of the Weberian custom, with its stress on social mobility and social fragmentation within broad class groupings fill up some gaps in theory. Post-industrial theories highlight the subsistence of non-employed groups. They create moves to identify such non-employed groups as a separate class, with their own unique economic situation. These theories identify the non-employed groups less as a segment within the working class.

Marxian Theories

A class, just as to Marx, becomes a class only when it gets united and organized in the protection of its class interests. Without general thrash about it is not more than a mass of people distribution the similar location in the economic organization. The bourgeoisie urbanized its class-consciousness, because it was aware of general interests of their members while they struggled against feudalism. And the ruling class in bourgeois community understands the general

require to defend the prevailing organization however there are several internal, factional conflicts dividing the class.

For the proletariat it is an extensive procedure of thrash about to acquire the consciousness of being a class. From its extremely birth the proletariat struggles with the bourgeoisie, as the Communist Manifesto points out. But in the beginning these are only individual, regional struggles against the direct exploiters, as also against the regional capitalists. With the growth of industry the proletariat increases in number and becomes concentrated in greater masses. Gradually the collisions of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie take the form of the collisions flanked by two classes. The workers begin to organize themselves; they form combinations and permanent associations. The regional struggles get centralized into one national thrash about flanked by classes. From the point of view of capital the mass of workers are already a class before that. But "for itself', the proletariat becomes a class only in the course of thrash about. And the thrash about of class against class is a political thrash about.

In the thrash about the proletariat develops and expresses its class-consciousness. For Man this means simply that the proletariat comes to understand that its own emancipation and the liberation of community as a entire need- the overthrow of capitalism, and that it shapes the will to overthrow it. Therefore proletarian class consciousness is revolutionary consciousness. The proletariat has a conviction that community requires to be transformed in a revolutionary method and has the commitment to fight for that. Class-consciousness for Marx and Engels means the awareness of this common revolutionary perspective.

It does not at all mean that the workers know through heart a set of Marxist doctrines. In the Manifesto, Marx and Engels say that the communists are not a new sect, but that they always and everywhere symbolize the interests of the movement as an entire. They are mainly advanced in their understanding of the direction in which the proletarian movement goes. But they share the similar immediate aim with all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class and the overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy. But it is a consistent refrain of Marx that: 'The emancipation of the working class necessity is the act of the working class itself'. Marx expected the proletariat itself to develop the necessary revolutionary consciousness and to emancipate itself. The revolutionary thrash about of the working class, so, requires organization. Trade unions and the party are the foremost shapes of organization of the working class.

But in history what occurred'? The biggest difficulty arose from the apparent failure of industrial workers to create any notable advance beside the row of anticipated progression. The gap flanked by predictions generated through class theory and the actual tendency of historical growth was glaringly brought out in the wake of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917: Believe this paradox. A revolution claiming to fulfill the Marxist promise of socialist transformation occurred in a community little advanced in its capitalist growth, while all the attempts at socialist revolution in truly capitalist countries with a big industrial working population failed. What, from the theoretical perspective, emerged as a bewildering incongruity or paradox of history, generated more interest in the middle of the Marxist thinkers. Their concern was why such anticipation did not materialize.

As suggested, revise who were such theorists and what work they accepted out. The first person in the middle of the theorists was Lukacs. His 'false consciousness' theory- distinguished 'consciousness of class' from 'class consciousness': the first relates to the ideas and motives of the class members arising from the inexperience within their daily business of life. The latter could be evolved at only by and after a rational revise of the totality of the information related to the social organization where the members are. In Lukacs's view, there was no automatic passage from the first to the second: the information necessary to construct the ideal 'class consciousness' was not accessible within the individual experience as it was constrained through the tasks of daily survival. Only a scientific analysis created through the political organization of the class members can give class consciousness. This is a matter where ideology comes into active play.

Another related debate that has occupied Marxists for several years concerns the composition of working class. Nico work to explain class and concluded that the working class consisted exclusively of productive, subordinated manila1 wage-earners. While productive labour produces surplus value, unproductive labour, for instance, state employees, service workers or officers - is paid from this source.

Weberian Theories

As suggested, not only trade with the views of Max Weber but also with those who followed his custom such as Anthony Giddens. Max Weber not only theorized in relation to the class but also introduced two other concepts, namely status group

and party. For him a class is a group of people who stand objectively in the similar situation in conditions of market location or market power, that is to say a group of people who share the similar life-chances. This is determined through the power to utilize possessions which they manage in order to acquire income in the market. The term 'life-chances' is used through Weber to refer not presently to material benefits but to anything which is desirable namely, leisure, travel, civilization, and therefore on. Weber acknowledges that one of the fundamental and general bases for class formation is the method property is distributed. But ownership of property or lack of it; is, for Weber, only one of the criteria defining the subsistence of a class situation. Classes may be further subdivided in conditions of the type of property owned or the type of ability or service that is offered.

Class and status groups are closely associated and interlinked. Weber says, property, as well as defining class location, is also regularly used as a criterion for membership in a status group. Status is generally expressed in conditions of a distinctive life-approach and restrictions upon social interaction with non-members. Speech, dress, manners, residence, habits, leisure activities, marriage patterns - all may become expressions of differential status. A status group, for Weber, is a group with sure rights, privileges and opportunities for acquiring what is desirable which are determined not through location in the market but through the possession of sure aspects evaluated in conditions of worth, prestige, admissibility, and therefore on.

Weber states that both classes and status groups are also essentially founded upon power. He defines party in an

extremely broad sense to mean any group whose purpose it is to exercise power in community or which is concerned with the competition for power. This is a wider conception than political parties in the usual sense and would contain any alliance or organization with this as its aim. A party may be associated with a scrupulous class or status group but require not necessarily be therefore. Any social division could form the foundation for a party, including ethnicity, race, religion or area. Although class, status and power may cut crossways one another, one of them usually pre-dominates in a given kind of community. Anthony Giddens bases his conception essentially upon a Weberian basis. Giddens wishes to retain the link flanked by class and the economic sphere beside with both Man and Weber. In common conditions classes can be characterized as big-level, societal wide groupings which are, at least in principle, 'open'. That is to say, birth, hereditary status, etc do not determine membership. Giddens seeks to describe what he calls a 'social class' rather than merely pure economically defined categories, since there may be an indefinite multiplicity of crosscutting interests created through dissimilar market capacities while there are only a limited number of social classes. For him, there are essentially three vital classes in a modern community, namely upper, transitional and lower or working class.

The mainly significant aspect of the division of labour in modem capitalism, from the point of view of class formation, is that flanked by administrative and manual tasks. White-collar and blue-collar groups perform extremely dissimilar types of task and each has appropriate skills.

Secondly, the pattern of power relationships in the enterprise tends to reinforce this pattern of division of labour. White-collar work regularly involves the exercise of some power whereas blue-collar work usually docs not and is mostly only subject to power. Thirdly, dissimilar patterns of consumption and dissimilar life-styles, to which varying degrees of prestige are attached, tend to promote class distinctions. These dissimilar patterns of consumption and life-approach, in therefore distant as they are typical of scrupulous groups, are referred to through Giddens distributive groupings. While the dissimilar patterns of consumption that form the foundation of distributive groupings enjoy dissimilar degrees of prestige, it is the actual pattern of consumption itself that is the central criterion here. To the extent that the three kinds of proximate structuration of class relationships coincide with one another, and to the extent that they run alongside the mediate structuration of class relationships, then the formation of separate classes is promoted.

Finally, in order to become a social reality a class necessity approach to adopt general patterns of behavior and attitudes and to do this it necessity becomes aware of itself as a class.

Other Weberians see the divide flanked by manual and non-manual work as being still important, while conceding the heterogeneity of white-collar jobs. John Goldthorpe theorizes an eleven-class model. He suggests, though, that the eleven classes can be aggregated into three: the service class, the intermediate groupings and the working class.

The service class comprises managers, officers and professionals and also 'big proprietors'. Below the service class

is the less coherent group of intermediate workers, in which Goldthorpe comprises small owners, farmers, foremen, routine non-manual workers or service workers. Several of these groups are seen through Marxists as proletarianized. While Goldtliorpe and other neo-Weberians uphold that the intermediate groupings have separate work and market positions, they acknowledge the amorphous nature of this group and the information that individuals regularly are moving in and out of these occupational sectors. Proof from the USA and Canada shows that lower-grade service occupations are characteristically filled through young people and students at the start of their careers who may eventually end up in the service class, while in some European societies it is older workers who take these occupations.

Chapter 2

Patterns of Political Participation and Representation

Electoral Process and Majoritarian Systems

A distinction may be drawn flanked by the absolute majoritarian system, as in France, in which the winner has to achieve at least half the total number of votes polled; the plurality system in India and several English-speaking countries; the several shapes of proportional representation tem.

First-Past-the-Post System

Plurality system of election is one of the mainly prevalent systems of representation. It is often referred to as 'first-past-the-post', comparative majority, or more commonly called as the easy plurality system. It implies that the winner is the candidate who receives the maximum number of votes. Examples are Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sabha elections in India. It is also used in the Philippines, and Venezuela and for members of the lower homes of the legislatures in Canada, United Kingdom, and United States. Just as to the single majority system, it is possible to win an election without winning a majority of votes. For example, in an election, in which three candidates receive 40, 35, and 25 per cent of

votes, respectively, the winner is the candidate who received 40 per cent of the vote. In information, in a three-candidate contest, a candidate can win with presently in excess of one-third of the total vote if each of the other two candidates receive presently below one-third of the votes. As the number of candidates increases. the minimum number o f votes that may be enough for election decreases. This way is described first-past-the-post system because it resembles a race in which one who reaches the victory post first is declared the winner irrespective of the time taken through him. In election, it means the one with maximum number of votes wins the seat, even if it is less than half of total votes polled.

In several democracies the possibility that a candidate can win without receiving a majority o f the votes has been measured undesirable. One objection to plurality has been that the democratic principle of majority rule is violated if a candidate is elected who has received less than a majority of the votes and against whom a majority of the votes has been cast.

Second Ballot System

In order to ensure that the candidate who is declared elected secures more than fifty per cent votes, some ways have been used. One of these majority ways is to use, as several rounds of voting as are necessary to elect a candidate with an absolute majority. In the Third and Fourth French Republics the repeated-ballots way was used for the election of the President of the Republic through joint sessions of the two homes of the national legislature. Though, the biggest drawback of the way is that a big number of rounds of voting may be necessary, therefore creation it impractical for mass elections. A diversity

o f this way is also used through both the biggest American political parties in their national conventions, to select their presidential candidates.

Two rounds of voting constitute the practical limit for mass elections, and there are two ways that are based on this two-ballot or double-ballot, format: the mixed majority-plurality way and the majority-runoff way. The mixed majority-plurality way needs a majority for election on the first ballot; if no candidate has received such a majority, a second ballot is mannered, and the winner is the candidate who wins main number of the votes. The biggest instance is the electoral system for the French National Assembly.

Other Ways

Two additional majoritarian ways that are less commonly practiced but highly recommended through experts on electoral procedure are:

Limited Vote Plan, invented through political scientist Steven J. Branis, entails a slight amendment to the plurality rule: voters can cast votes for as several candidates as they like instead of only for their mainly preferred candidate. For example, if there are five seats, voters call vote for one, two, three, or four of these candidates but not for five candidates to not voting at all. If several voters create use of the opportunity to cast two or more votes, the winner is likely to be a majority winner, even when the field of candidates is comparatively big. Limited Vote Plan, also described Approval voting, has been adopted through many private associations but has not yet been used for the election of public officials. In the 1990 parliamentary elections in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine,

though, the electoral formula asked the voters to strike out the names of candidates of whom they disapproved; this way of disapproval voting is logically equivalent to approval voting. The variation in these elections was that additional rules specified that the winner needed to win an absolute majority of the votes and that the turnout had to be 50 per cent or higher - with the election to be repeated if one or both of these necessities was not met.

The Condorcet way, invented through the Marquis de Condorcet, an eighteenth century French mathematician, disaggregates a multi-candidate contest into a series of two-candidate contests. It asks the voters to choose flanked by each of the possible pairs of candidates. For example, when there are three candidates - A, B, and C- voters are asked to choose flanked by A and B, flanked by A and C, and flanked by B and C. The Condorcet winner is the candidate who defeats all other candidates in these pair wise contests. For example, if a majority of the voters prefers A to B and also A to C, candidate A wins.

For some the Condorcet way is the mainly accurate and fairest majoritarian ways but this ways also has some drawbacks. The mainly serious of these is the possibility, exposed through Condorcet himself, that there may not be a single Condorcet winner. The average illustration of this problem involves three voters and three candidates. The first voter has the preference order A-B-C B to C, and A to C; the second voter's preference order is B-C-A, and the third voter's is C-A-B. Collectively, the three voters prefer A to B, B to C, and C to A. Such examples do not happen often, though, and in case they do they call is resolved through some additional rule like the alternative vote.

Another problem seems to be that the Condorcet way is extremely complicated for both voters and vote counters. When there are three candidates in an election, there are only three pairs of candidates, and the decisions are fairly easy. But when, for example, eight candidates compete, there are twenty-eight pairs to be compared. Voters require not pick their favorites from all possible pairs of candidates, though; they require only indicate their preference orders in the middle of all the candidates. 'Then their preferences in each pair wise contest can be logically deduced. The counting can be performed easily through computer.

Shortcomings of Majoritarian Systems

One of the serious short comings of majoritarian electoral system has been that when an whole legislature is elected through majoritarian ways, big parties tend to be favored. The cause is that in each single-member constituency the candidates of small parties do not have much of a chance to be elected. Hence majoritarian elections tend to yield considerable disproportional flanked by votes cast and seats won as a result of the overrepresentation of the main parties and the under representation of small parties. British parliamentary elections, which are held just as to easy majority system, or the first-past-the-post system, give a good instance of this pattern. In the four elections flanked by 1979 and 1992, the Conservative Party won an standard of 42.6 per cent of the total vote but 56.0 per cent of the seats. The Labor Party won 32.4 per cent of the vote and 37.8 per cent of the seats. The third party won 19.9 per cent of the vote and only 2.9 per cent of seats. The regionally concentrated ethnic parties jointly received 4.2 per cent of the vote and 3.2 per cent of the seats.

The main party got more than its share and the third party was the mainly disadvantaged. In the 1993 National Assembly elections in France, the two big allied conservative parties won 79.7 per cent of the seats after getting only 39.5 per cent of the first-ballot votes. It can also happen Zealand in 1978 and 1981 that the second main party in conditions of votes wilts through comparatively narrow margins in comparatively several districts - and therefore wills a majority of the seats and the election.

In India, no ruling party at the Centre ever secured fifty per cent or more of the total votes polled. This is because o f big number of parties, and candidates. The winning candidates often get lesser number o f votes than the number of votes secured through all the defeated candidates taken jointly.

Proportional Representation

Proportional representation to elect an assembly or council. PR means that the number of seats won through a party or group of candidates is proportionate to the number of votes received. For instance, under a PR voting system, if 30% of voters support a scrupulous party then roughly 30% of seats will be won through that party. PR is an alternative to voting systems based on single-member districts or on bloc voting; these non-PR systems tend to produce disproportionate outcomes and to have a bias in favor of superior political groups. PR systems tend to produce a proliferation of political parties. There are several dissimilar shapes of proportional representation. Some are focused solely on achieving the proportional representation of dissimilar political parties while others permit the voter to choose flanked by individual candidates. The degree of

proportionality also varies; it is determined through factors such as the precise formula used to allocate seats, the number of seats in each constituency or in the elected body as a entire, and the stage of any minimum threshold for election.

Single Winner Systems

PR is often contrasted with single winner electoral systems. The mainly general of these is the winner-takes-all system general in some countries of the former British empire, such as the United States, the UK, Canada and India. Mainly nations use the alternative systems, called as shapes of "proportional representation". Single Winner Systems tend to promote strongest two-party competition as in the United States, with Canada being a notable exception to this rule. Effectively it eliminates smaller parties from parliament.

Voting Systems that Achieve More Party-Proportional Representation

Proportional systems emphasize the political agenda through parties, since parties often function at the heart of proportional representation. For instance, a party that receives 15% of the votes under such a system receives 15% of the seats for its candidates. Though, nations with proportional voting may differ in that some emphasize the individuals within the parties, such as the system in the Netherlands, while other nations only allow voting for parties, such as in the Italian electoral system.

The majority of debate in relation to the voting systems is in relation to the whether to move to more proportionality. This is

because the recognized parties in current US and UK elections can, and mainly often do, win formal manage of the parliament with support from as little as 20-25% of eligible voters, at the cost of smaller parties. In Canada the situation is arguably more biased, with governments frequently shaped through parties with support of under 40% of actual voters holding majority power for full four-year conditions. Coupled with turnout stages in the electorate of less than 60%, this can lead to a party obtaining a majority government through convincing as few as one quarter of the electorate to vote for them.

Dissimilar ways of achieving proportional representation achieve either greater proportionality or a more determinate outcome.

Party-list proportional representation is one approach, in which each political party presents its list of candidates: voters chose a party list. The open list form allows the voter to power the election of individual candidates within a party list. The closed list approach does not: the party chooses the order with its highest ranked candidates more likely to be elected.

Another difference is the single transferable vote parties. Voters rank candidates in order of preference: if their mainly preferred candidate receives insufficient votes, the vote is transferred to the second choice and therefore on. Elections for the Australian Senate use what is referred to as above-the-row voting where candidates for each party are grouped on the ballot, allowing the voter to vote for the group or for a candidate. In elections to the Irish Dáil Éireann, candidates are listed on the ballot in alphabetic order, irrespective of party affiliation.

The parties each list their candidates just as to that party's determination of priorities. In closed list systems, voters vote for a list of candidates, with the party choosing the order of candidates on the list. Each party is allocated seats in proportion to the number of votes it receives, by the party-determined ranking order. In an open list, voters may vote, depending on the model, for one person, or for two, or indicate their order of preference within the list – nevertheless the number of candidates elected from the list is determined through the number of votes the list receives.

This system is used in several countries, including Finland, Latvia, Sweden, Israelis constituency, Brazil, the Netherlands, Russia, South Africa, Democratic Republic of the Congo. For elections to the European Parliament, mainly member states use open lists; but mainly big EU countries use closed lists, therefore that the majority of EP seats are distributed through those.

Additional-member System, Mixed-Member System

Mixed election systems combine a national or local proportional system with single seat constituencies elected through a single winner system, attempting to achieve some of the positive characteristics of each. Mixed systems are often helpful in countries with big populations, since they balance regional and national concerns. They are used in nations with diverse geographic, social, cultural and economic issues.

Such systems, or variations of them, are used in sections of the United Kingdom, Germany, Lesotho, Mexico, Bolivia and New Zealand. Italy has changed flanked by sub-systems.

Single Transferable Vote in a Multi-Member Constituency

This system uses single transferable vote, a ranked voting system. Each constituency elects two or more representatives per electorate. Consequently the constituency is equivalent in size to the sum of single member constituencies that would produce the similar number of representatives. Parties tend to offer as several candidates as they optimistically could anticipate to win: biggest parties nominate more than minor parties. Voters rank some or all candidates in order of their choice. A successful candidate necessity achieve a quota, which is "calculated through dividing the Total Valid Poll through one more than the number of seats to be filled, ignoring any remainder and then adding 1 vote." Only in a few cases is this achieved at the first count. For the second count, if a candidate wins election her/his surplus vote is transferred to the voters' second choices; otherwise, the least popular candidate is eliminated and those votes are redistributed just as to the second preference shown on them. If more than one candidate cannot get sufficient votes after the transfer of votes of the least popular candidate, that candidate is also eliminated round anyway.

The procedure repeats until all seats are filled either when the required number of candidates achieve the quota or until the number of remaining candidates matches the number of remaining seats. Although the counting procedure is complicated, voting is clear and mainly voters get at least one of their preferences elected.

All deputies are answerable directly to their regional constituents. Some political scientists argue that STV is more

properly classified as 'semi-proportional' as there is no assurance of a proportional result at a national stage. Indeed, several advocates of STV argue that preventing nationwide proportionality is one of the primary goals of the system, to avoid the perceived risks of a fragmented legislature.

This system is used in the Upper Home in India, Australia, Ireland, Northern Ireland, Malta, regional government elections in Scotland and selected regional governments in New Zealand.

Loser Delegation in a Single-Member Constituency

"Loser delegation" voting can produce still greater representation in legislatures. This system allows losing candidates to delegate the votes they receive to the winning candidate in their own or in another district without regard to party. Delegated votes don't affect who enters the legislature, but they do affect subsequent legislative votes. Each representative's legislative votes are weighted through the sum of the direct and delegated votes they received. Delegated voting can be combined with first-past-the-post, instant-runoff, or other counting rules that determine the winning candidate.

For instance, believe a district where Alice receives 45% of the votes, while Bob takes 40%, leaving Charlie with the remaining 15%. Under traditional first-past-the-post rules, Alice wins, leaving 55% of the voters without representation. In instant run-off, if 80% of Charlie's voters picked Bob as their second choice, he would win in the second round, with 52% of the final total to Alice's 48%, bringing second-choice representation to 7% of the voters, while leaving Alice's voters

without a voice. Under loser delegation in the instant-runoff case, Bob joins the legislature, while Alice can assign her votes to Dave, who beat Sue with 56% in a surrounding district. Now those who voted for Alice have in relation to the as much voice in legislation as Bob's voters; nobody is left unrepresented. Bob effectively casts 52 votes, Dave casts 56 + 48 or 104, and also-moderate Fran casts 58 ct. Of course, the losers in Dave and Fran's districts also get to delegate their votes, therefore Bob could conceivably end up casting 52 + 44 + 42 or 138 votes.

Though, combining delegation with first-past-the-post may be a bigger choice because that method Charlie can provide his votes to Fran instead of seeing them handed to Bob following the runoff. Now Alice casts 45 as her district's representative, Bob delegates his 40 to Sue to add to her 44, Dave stays at 56, and Fran totals 58 + 15 or 73. The British schoolmaster Thomas Wright Hill is credited as inventor of the single transferable vote, the use of which he called in 1821 for application in elections at his school. The way, which guarantees proportional representation, was introduced in 1840 through his son Rowland Hill into the public election for the Adelaide Municipality Council. Unlike many later systems, this did not allow for party-list proportional representation.

Single Transferable Vote was first used in Denmark in 1857, creation STV the oldest PR system, but the system used there never really spread. STV was re-invented in the UK, but the British parliament rejected it.

A party-list proportional representation system was first devised and called in 1878 through Victor D'Hondt of Belgium.

The procedure, recognized as the D'Hondt way, is still widely used. Victor Considérant, a utopian socialist, devised a same system in an 1892 book. Some Swiss cantons preceded Belgium which was the first to adopt list-PR in 1900 for its national parliament. Several European countries adopted same systems throughout or after World War I.

STV was used in Tasmania in 1907. In the last Irish elections to the UK Parliament in 1919, STV was used in the University of Dublin constituency; two Self-governing Unionists were elected. STV has been in use since Irish independence. A largely centrist party, Fianna Fáil, typically receives 30%-50% of the vote while opposition parties, traditionally the centre-right Fine Gael and the centre-left Labour Party, are comparatively weak. This has led to a series of coalition governments; there has not been a single-party government since 1989.

PR is used through more nations than the single winner system, and it dominates Europe, including Germany, mainly of northern and eastern Europe, and is used for European Parliament elections. France adopted PR at the end of World War II, but discarded it in 1958. In 1986 it was used for parliament elections.

While First-past-the-post voting is commonly establish in countries based on the British parliamentary system, and in Westminster elections in the United Kingdom, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh National Assembly use a form of PR recognized as the mixed member system, after New Zealand adopted it in 1993. Five Canadian provinces—British

Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick— are debating whether to abolish FPTP.

PR has some history in the United States. Several municipalities, including New York Municipality, once used it to break up the Democratic Party municipality council's monopolies on elective office. Cincinnati, Ohio, adopted PR in 1925 to get rid of a Republican Party] but the Republicans returned the municipality to FPTP in 1957. From 1870 to 1980, Illinois used a semi-proportional cumulative voting system to elect its State Home of Representatives. Each district crossways the state elected both Republicans and Democrats year-after-year. Cambridge, Massachusetts and Peoria, Illinois continue to use PR. San Francisco had municipality-wide elections where people would cast votes for five or six candidates simultaneously, delivering some of the benefits of proportional representation.

Overcoming Practical Difficulties in Creating a World Parliamentary Assembly, Joseph E. Schwartzberg proposes the use of proportional representation in the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly in order to prevent, for example, lower castes of Indians from being excluded.

Incomplete Proportionality

Some nations with proportional elections, like Israel and the Netherlands, have one electoral district only: the whole nation, and the whole pie are cut up just as to the whole outcome. Mainly nations have district systems in lay where more than one person is elected per district. The constituency or district magnitude the number of seats per constituency. The greater

the number of seats in a constituency, the more proportional the outcome will be. PR applied to a single-member district e constituency is in a jurisdiction by list PR in its multimember districts the winning candidate requires a comparative majority of the votes to win, therefore that the election in the SMD is through first-past-the-post. If the constituency is in a jurisdiction by PR-STV in its MMDs, an absolute majority of 50% plus 1 will likely be the minimum required for victory therefore that the election in the SMD is through the alternative vote. Four elected officials per district delivers a threshold of 20% to gain a single seat. Though, constituency borders can still be gerrymandered to reduce proportionality. This may be achieved through creating "majority-minority" constituencies - constituencies in which the majority is shaped through a group of voters that are in the minority at a higher stage. Proportional representation with the whole nation electing the single body cannot be gerrymandered.

Multimember districts do not necessarily ensure that an electoral system will be proportional. The bloc vote can result in "super-majoritarian" results in which geographical variations can make majority-minority districts that become subsumed into the superior districts. Also, a party that does not run sufficient people to fill all the seats it wins may be given those unfilled seats.

Some nations, with either exclusively proportional representation or—as is the case with Germany—additional member systems, need a party list to achieve an election threshold—a set minimum percentage of votes to receive any seats. Typically, this lower limit is flanked by two and five percent of the number of votes cast. Parties who do not reach

that support are not represented in parliament, creation majorities, coalitions and therefore governments easier to achieve. Proponents of election thresholds argue that they discourage fragmentation, disproportionate power, or extremist parties. Opponents of thresholds argue that they unfairly redirect support from minor parties, giving parties which cross the threshold disproportionate numbers of seats and creating the possibility that a party or coalition will assume manage of the legislature without gaining a majority of votes. The mainly general method of measuring proportionality is the Gallagher Index.

Party System

A party system is a concept in comparative political science regarding the system of government through political parties in a democratic country. The thought is that political parties have vital similarities: they manage the government, have a stable foundation of mass popular support, and make internal mechanisms for controlling funding, information and nominations.

The concept was originated through European scholars learning the United States, especially James Bryce and Moisey Ostrogorsky, and has been expanded to cover other democracies. Giovanni Sartori devised the mainly widely used classification way for party systems. He suggested that party systems should be classified through the number of relevant parties and the degree of fragmentation. Party systems can be distinguished through the effective number of parties.

Functions of Political parties

They contest elections through putting up their selected candidates. Candidates are either selected through members and supporters of a party or top leaders chase candidates for contesting elections.

Political parties offer dissimilar policies and programs and the voters have the right to choose from them. They reduce a huge multitude of opinions into a few vital positions which it supports. It is the ruling party that decides rows and directions of ruling the government.

Political parties form and run governments and political executives from such party take large policy decisions. They recruit leaders, train them and create them ministers to run the government as per their requires.

They play a decisive role in creation laws for a country. The losing political party plays the role of opposition to the parties in power. They raise their voice on government failures and wrong policies. These parties also rally opposition to the government.

Political parties shape public opinion as they raise and highlight significant issues. They along with pressure groups touch movements in the interest of the people.

Political parties give access to government machinery and welfare schemes implemented through governments.

Principal Kinds of Party Systems

As political parties symbolize several opinions in a democracy, a diversity of political parties should characterize democratic system. In reality, though, number of viable parties differs from country to country in accordance with legal necessities and peculiar conditions obtaining in a scrupulous country. In Great Britain dry the United States, for instance, a two-party system prevails, while in majority of countries including India and France, multi-party system has approach in to subsistence. On the other hand, in authoritarian and Communist countries like China one-party system operates. It, so, seems useful to analyze the comparative merits and demerits of these kinds of party systems.

Single-Party State

A single-party state, one-party state, one-party system or single-party system is a kind of state in which a single political party shapes the government, generally based on the existing constitution. All other parties are either outlawed or allowed to take only a limited and controlled participation in the election.

Sometimes the term *de facto* single-party state is used to define a dominant-party system that, unlike the single party state, allows democratic multiparty elections, but the existing practices or balance of political power effectively prevent the opposition from winning the elections.

Some single party states only outlaw opposition parties, while allowing subordinate allied parties to exist as section of a permanent coalition such as a popular front. Within their own

countries, dominant parties ruling in excess of single-party states are often referred to basically as *the Party*. For instance, in reference to the Soviet Union, *the Party* meant the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; in reference to the former People's Republic of Poland it referred to the Polish United Workers' Party.

Some one-party states may allow non-party members to run for legislative seats, as was the case with Taiwan's Tangwai movement in the 1970s and 1980s. Other single-party states may allow limited participation through approved minor parties, such as the People's Republic of China under the United Front, or the National Front in former East Germany.

Mainly single-party states have been ruled either through parties following the ideology of Marxism-Leninism or international solidarity, such as the Soviet Union for mainly of its subsistence, through parties following some kind of nationalist or fascist ideology, such as Germany under Adolf Hitler, or parties that came to power in the wake of independence from colonial rule. One-party systems often arise from decolonization because one party has had an overwhelmingly dominant role in liberation or in independence struggles. Not all authoritarian states and dictatorships operate based on single-party rule. Some, especially absolute monarchies and sure military dictatorships, have made all political parties illegal.

The term "Communist state" is often used in the west to apply to states in which the ruling party subscribes to a form of Marxism-Leninism. Though, such states do not use that term themselves, seeing communism as a stage to develop after the

full maturation of socialism, and instead often use the titles of "people's republic," "socialist republic," or "democratic republic." One peculiar instance is Cuba, where the role of the Communist Party is enshrined in the constitution, and no party is permitted to campaign or run candidates for election, including the Communist party. Candidates are elected on an individual referendum foundation without formal party involvement, however elected assemblies predominantly consist of members of the dominant party alongside non-affiliated candidates.

The True Whig Party of Liberia is measured the founder of the first single-party state in the world, as despite opposition parties never being outlawed, it totally dominated Liberian politics from 1878 until 1980. The party was conceived through the original Black American settlers and their descendants who referred to themselves as Americo-Liberians. Initially, its ideology was heavily convinced through that of the Whig Party in the United States. In excess of time it urbanized into a powerful Masonic Order that ruled every aspect of Liberian community for well in excess of a century until it was overthrown in 1980. While the True Whig Party still exists today, its power has considerably declined.

Two-Party System

A two-party system is a system where two biggest political parties control voting in almost all elections at every stage of government and, as a result, all or almost all elected offices are members of one of the two biggest parties. Under a two-party system, one of the two parties typically holds a majority in the legislature and is generally referred to as the *majority*

party while the other is the *minority party.* While the term *two-party system* is somewhat imprecise and has been used in dissimilar countries to mean dissimilar things, there is considerable agreement that a system is measured to be of a *two-party* nature when election results illustrate uniformly that all or almost all elected officials only belong to one of the two biggest parties, such as in the United States. This can lead to nondemocratic events that reduce ballot access for other parties. In these cases, the chances for third party candidates winning election to any office are remote, although it's possible for groups within the superior parties, or in opposition to one or both of them, to exert power on the two biggest parties.

There is strong agreement that the United States has a two-party system; historically, there have been few instances in which third party candidates won an election. In countries such as Britain and Spain, two biggest parties emerge which have strong power and tend to elect mainly of the candidates, but a multitude of lesser parties exist with varying degrees of power, and sometimes these lesser parties are able to elect officials who participate in the legislature. A statement in the *Christian Science Monitor*, for instance, suggested that Spain was moving towards a "greater two-party system" while acknowledging that Spain has "several small parties." In political systems based on the Westminster system, which is a scrupulous approach of parliamentary democracy based on the British model and establish in several commonwealth countries, a majority party will form the government and the minority party will form the opposition, and coalitions of lesser parties are possible; in the unusual circumstance in which neither party is the majority, a hung parliament arises. Sometimes these systems are called as *two-party systems* but

they are generally referred to as *multi-party* systems. There is not always a sharp frontier flanked by a two-party system and a multi-party system.

Usually, a two-party system becomes a dichotomous division of the political spectrum with an ostensibly right-wing and left-wing party: Nationalist Party vs. Labour Party in Malta, Liberal vs. Labor in Australia, Republicans vs. Democrats in the United States and the Conservative Party vs. the Labour Party in the United Kingdom

Examples of countries with two-party systems contain the United States, Jamaica and Malta. Other parties in these countries may have seen candidates elected to regional or subnational office, though. Historian John Hicks claims that the United States has never possessed for any considerable era of time the two party system in its pure and undefiled form.

In some governments, sure chambers may resemble a two-party system and others a multi-party system.

For instance, the politics of Australia are mainly two-party are measured the similar party at a national stage due to their extensive-standing alliance for the Australian Home of Representatives, which is elected through Instant Runoff Voting.

Though, third parties are more general in the Australian Senate, which uses a proportional voting system more amenable to minor parties.

India too is showing aspects of two party system with United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and National Democratic Alliance

(NDA) as the two largest players. It is to be noted that both UPA and NDA are not two political parties but alliances of many smaller parties. Other smaller parties not aligned with either NDA or UPA exist.

The Politics of Malta are somewhat rare in that while the electoral system is single transferable vote optional representation, minor parties have not earned much success. No third parties won any seats in the Parliament in Malta's mainly recent 2009 election, for instance. The Labour Party and the Nationalist Party are the dominant parties. This is not the mainly general party system.

Historically, Brazil had a two-party system throughout its military dictatorship.

Comparisons with other Party Systems

Two-party systems can be compared with:

- Multi-party systems. In these, the effective number of parties is greater than two but generally fewer than five; in a two-party system, the effective number of parties is two number of parties varies flanked by 1.7 and 2.1. The parties in a multi-party system can manage government apart or as a coalition; in a two-party system, though, coalition governments rarely form. Examples of nations with multi-party systems contain Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Taiwan.

- Single-party systems or dominant-party systems happen in nations where opposing parties are outlawed or restricted through the dominant party which wields power. Examples contain rule through the Communist party of China, United Russia, and the People's Action Party of Singapore.

Reasons

There are many causes why, in some systems, two biggest parties control the political landscape. There has been speculation that a two-party system arose in the United States from early political battling flanked by the federalists and anti-federalists in the first few decades after the ratification of the Constitution, just as to many views. In addition, there has been more speculation that the winner-takes-all electoral system as well as scrupulous state and federal laws concerning voting procedures helped to reason a two-party system. Political scientists such as French sociologist Maurice Duverger as well as American professor William H. Riker of the University of Rochester and others claim that there are strong correlations flanked by voting rules and kind of party system. Economist Jeffrey D. Sachs agreed that there was a link flanked by voting arrangements and the effective number of parties. Sachs explained how the First Past The Post voting arrangement tended to promote a two-party system:

The largest cause for America's majoritarian character is the electoral system for Congress. Members of Congress are elected in single-member districts just as to the "first-past-the-post" principle, meaning that the candidate with the plurality of votes is the winner of the congressional seat. The losing party

or parties win no representation at all. The first-past-the-post election tends to produce a small number of biggest parties, possibly presently two, a principle recognized in political science as Duverger's Law. Smaller parties are trampled in first-past-the-post elections.—Economist Jeffrey D. Sachs, in his book *The Price of Culture*, 2011

Believe a system in which voters can vote for any candidate from any one of several parties; suppose further that if a party gets 15% of votes, then that party will win 15% of the seats in the legislature. This is termed *proportional representation* or more accurately as *party-proportional representation*. Political scientists speculate that proportional representation leads logically to multi-party systems, since it allows new parties to build a niche in the legislature:

Because even a minor party may still obtain at least a few seats in the legislature, smaller parties have a greater stimulus to organize under such electoral systems than they do in the United States.

In contrast, a voting system that allows only a single winner for each possible legislative seat is sometimes termed a plurality voting system or single-winner voting system and is generally called under the heading of a *winner–takes–all* arrangement. Each voter can cast a single vote for any candidate within any given legislative district, but the candidate with the mainly votes wins the seat, although variants, such as requiring a majority, are sometimes used. What happens is that in a common election, a party that uniformly comes in third in every district is unlikely to win any legislative seats even if there is a important proportion of the

electorate favoring its positions. This arrangement strongly favors big and well–organized political parties that are able to appeal to voters in several districts and hence win several seats, and discourages smaller or local parties. Politically oriented people believe their only realistic method to capture political power is to be either a Republican or Democrat. In the U.S. model, forty-eight states have a average *winner-takes-all* electoral system for amassing presidential votes in the Electoral College system. The *winner–takes–all* principle applies in presidential elections, since if a presidential candidate gets the mainly votes in any scrupulous state, *all* of the electoral votes from that state are awarded. In all but two states, Maine and Nebraska, the presidential candidate winning a plurality of votes wins all of the electoral votes, a practice described the unit rule.

Duverger concluded that "plurality election single-ballot procedures are likely to produce two-party systems whereas proportional representation and runoff designs encourage multipartyism." He suggested there were two causes why *winner–takes–all* systems lead to a two-party system. First, the weaker parties are pressured to form an alliance, sometimes described a *fusion*, to attempt to become large sufficient to challenge a big dominant party and, in therefore doing, gain political clout in the legislature. Second, voters learn, in excess of time, not to vote for candidates outside of one of the two big parties since their votes for third party candidates are generally ineffectual. As a result, weaker parties are eliminated through the voters in excess of time. Duverger pointed to statistics and tactics to suggest that voters tended to gravitate towards one of the two largest parties, which he described *polarization*, and tend to shun third parties. For instance,

some analysts suggest that the Electoral College system in the United States, through favoring a system of winner–takes–all in presidential elections, is a structural choice favoring only two biggest parties.

Analyst Gary Cox suggested that America's two-party system was highly related with America's economic prosperity:

The bounty of the American economy, the fluidity of American community, the extra ordinary unity of the American people, and, mainly significant, the success of the American experiment have all mitigated against the emergence of big dissenting groups that would seek satisfaction of their special requires by the formation of political parties.—Gary Cox, just as to George Edwards

Third Parties

Third parties, meaning a party other than one of the two dominant parties, are possible in two-party systems, but they are unlikely to exert much power through gaining manage of legislatures or through winning elections. While there are occasional opinions in the media expressed in relation to the possibility of third parties emerging in the United States, for instance, political insiders such as the 1980 presidential candidate John Anderson think the chances of one appearing in the early twenty-first century is remote. A statement in *The Guardian* suggested that American politics has been "stuck in a two-method fight flanked by Republicans and Democrats" since the Civil War, and that third-party runs had little meaningful success.

Third parties in a two-party system can be:

- Built approximately a scrupulous ideology or interest group
- Split off from one of the biggest parties or
- Focused on a charismatic individual.

When third parties are built approximately an ideology which is at odds with the majority mindset, several members belong to such a party not for the purpose of expecting electoral success but rather for personal or psychological causes. In the U.S., third parties contain older ones such as the Libertarian Party and the Green Party and newer ones such as the Pirate Party. Several consider that third parties don't affect American politics through winning elections, but they can act as "spoilers" through taking votes from one of the two biggest parties. They act like barometers of transform in the political mood since they push the biggest parties to believe their demands. An analysis in *New York Magazine* through Ryan Lizza in 2006 suggested that third parties arose from time to time in the nineteenth century approximately single-issue movements such as abolition, women's suffrage, and the direct election of senators, but were less prominent in the twentieth century.

A therefore-described *third party* in the United Kingdom is the Liberal Democrats. In the 2010 election, the Liberal Democrats received 23% of the votes but only 9% of the seats in the Home of Commons. While electoral results do not necessarily translate into legislative seats, the Liberal Democrats can exert power if there is a situation such as a hung parliament. In this example, neither of the two largest parties have enough power

to run the government. Accordingly, the Liberal Democrats can in theory exert tremendous power in such a situation since they can ally with one of the two largest parties to form a coalition. This happened in the Coalition government of 2010. Yet in that more than 13% of the seats in the British Home of Commons are held in 2011 through representatives of political parties other than the two leading political parties of that nation, modern Britain is measured through some to be a multi-party system, and not a two-party system.

Advantages

Some historians have suggested that two-party systems promote centrism and encourage political parties to discover general positions which appeal to wide swaths of the electorate. It can lead to political continuity which leads, in turn, to economic development. Historian Patrick Allitt of the Teaching Company suggested that it is hard to overestimate the extensive term economic benefits of political continuity. Sometimes two-party systems have been seen as preferable to multi-party systems because they are simpler to govern, with less fractiousness and harmony, while multi-party systems can sometimes lead to hung parliaments. Italy, with a multi-party system, has had years of divisive politics since 2000, although analyst Silvia Aloisi suggested in 2008 that the nation may be moving closer to a two-party arrangement.

Disadvantages

Two-party systems have been criticized for downplaying alternative views, and putting a damper on debate within a nation. In *The Tyranny of the Two–party system*, Lisa Jane

Disch criticizes two-party systems for failing to give sufficient options since only two choices are permitted on the ballot. She wrote:

Herein lies the central tension of the two–party doctrine. It specifies popular sovereignty with choice, and then limits choice to one party or the other. If there is any truth to Schattschneider's analogy flanked by elections and markets, America's faith in the two–party system begs the following question: Why do voters accept as the ultimate in political freedom a binary option they would surely protest as consumers?… This is the tyranny of the two–party system, the construct that persuades United States citizens to accept two–party contests as a *condition* of electoral democracy.

There have been arguments that the winner-take-all mechanism discourages self-governing or third-party candidates from running for office or promulgating their views. Ross Perot's former campaign manager wrote that the problem with having only two parties is that the nation loses "the skill for things to bubble up from the body politic and provide voice to things that aren't being voiced through the biggest parties." One analyst suggested that parliamentary systems, which typically are multi-party in nature, lead to a bigger "centralization of policy expertise" in government. Multi-party governments permit wider and more diverse viewpoints in government, and encourage dominant parties to create deals with weaker parties to form winning coalitions. While there is considerable debate in relation to the comparative merits of a constitutional arrangement such as that of the United States versus a parliamentary arrangement such as Britain, analysts have noted that mainly democracies approximately the world

have chosen the British multi-party model. Analyst Chris Weigant of the *Huffington Post* wrote that "the parliamentary system is inherently much more open to minority parties receiving much bigger representation than third parties do in the American system."

Multi-Party System

A multi-party system is systems in which multiple political parties have the capability to gain manage of government offices, apart or in coalition. An instance of such a coalition is the one flanked by the Christian-Democratic Union of Germany and Christian Social Union in Bavaria and the Free Democratic Party ions. The effective number of parties in a multi-party system is normally superior than two but lower than ten. In the huge majority of multi-party systems, numerous biggest and minor political parties hold a serious chance of getting office, and because they all compete, a majority may not manage the legislature, forcing the making of a coalition. In some countries, every government ever shaped since its independence has been through means of a coalition. Multi-party systems tend to be more general in parliamentary systems than presidential systems, and distant more general in countries that use proportional representation compared to countries that use first past the post elections.

Brazil, Denmark, Finland, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan and Philippines are examples of nations that have used a multi-party system effectively in their democracies. In these countries, generally no single party has a parliamentary

majority through itself. Instead, multiple political parties form coalitions for the purpose of developing power blocks for governing.

In some multi-party systems, only two or three parties have a substantial chance of forming a government with or without forming a coalition. An instance of this is the United Kingdom, where only the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, and the Liberal Democrats have a serious chance to win sufficient seats to be a section of the government; the Liberal Democrats have never had sufficient seats to form a Government, but have held sufficient seats to contribute to a Coalition. To date, the Liberal Democrats have been in power only once in a coalition, which is the incumbent Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition.

- *Comparisons with other Party Systems*
- *Single-party System and Two-party System*

A system where only two parties have the possibility of winning an election is described two-party system. A system where only three parties have a *realistic possibility* of winning an election or forming a coalition is sometimes described a "Third-party system". But, in some cases the system is described a "Stalled Third-Party System," when there are three parties and all three parties win a big number of votes, but only two have a chance of winning a common election. Generally this is because the electoral system penalizes the third party, e.g. as in UK politics. In the 2010 elections, the Liberal Democrats gained 23% of the total vote but won less than 10% of the seats due to the First-Past-The-Post electoral system. Despite this, they still had sufficient seats for the other biggest two parties to

form coalitions with them, or to create deals in order to gain their support. An instance is the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition shaped after the 2010 common election. Another is the Lib-Lab pact throughout Prime Minister James Callaghan's Minority Labour Government; when Labour lost its three-seat majority in 1977, the pact fell short of a full coalition.

Unlike a single-party system, a multi-party system encourages the common constituency to form multiple separate, officially established groups, usually described political parties. Each party competes for votes from the enfranchised constituents. A multi-party system prevents the leadership of a single party from controlling a single legislative chamber without challenge.

If the government comprises an elected Congress or Parliament, the parties may share power just as to proportional representation or the first-past-the-post system. In proportional representation, each party wins a number of seats proportional to the number of votes it receives. In first-past-the-post, the electorate is divided into a number of districts, each of which selects one person to fill one seat through a plurality of the vote. First-past-the-post is not conducive to a proliferation of parties, and naturally gravitates toward a two-party system, in which only two parties have a real chance of electing their candidates to office. This gravitation is recognized as Duverger's law. Proportional representation, on the other hand, does not have this tendency, and allows multiple biggest parties to arise. But, recent collation governments, such as that in the U.K., symbolize two-party systems rather than multi-party systems. This is regardless of the number of parties in government.

A two-party system needs voters to align themselves in big blocs, sometimes therefore big that they cannot agree on any overarching principles. Some theories argue that this allows centrists to gain manage. On the other hand, if there are multiple biggest parties, each with less than a majority of the vote, the parties are strongly motivated to work jointly to form working governments. This also promotes centrism, as well as promoting coalition-structure skills while discouraging polarization.

Pressure Groups

Pressure groups are organized associations, unions or system of people having general interest. Their aim is to seek bigger circumstances for their members by organized efforts. They attempt to power the legislature, executive and other decision makers to have decisions made in their favor. Just as to V.O. Key, a striking characteristic of American politics is the extent to which political parties are complemented through private associations shaped to power public policy. These institutions are commonly described pressure groups. David B.Truman defines an interest group as "a shared attitude group that creates sure claims upon the other groups in the community." One of the biggest trends in democratic political procedure is the rising role of pressure groups. Herman Finer viewed that it is possibly now an axiom of political science that, where political parties are weak in principles and system, the pressure groups will flourish; where pressure groups are strong, political parties will be feeble; and where political parties are strong, pressure groups will be curbed. In the context of the USA, the rigid nature of its constitution, the doctrine of isolation of powers, difficulties of conveying the

grievances of the people to the government, etc. contribute to the development of pressure groups in American politics. American pressure groups are not much convinced through the political parties whereas in Britain pressure groups implicitly or explicitly have attachment with political parties. Indian political parties are weak in principles and system. So, pressure groups are supposed to be extremely important in the functioning of the Indian Political System. In parliamentary system of government, pressure groups exert pressure largely on the executive with the assumption that legislature is under the manage of executive. Here executive comprises both the political and permanent executive.

Role of Pressure Groups

Group activities are usually more effective than individual activities. So, pressure groups play c vital role in a democratic community in conditions of influencing the government for expressing the general concern o f a part of community and promote their interest. The vitality of the pressure groups is largely determined through their skill to power government. Influencing the government involves influencing the public policy decision makers, law makers, implementers of policies and decisions, etc.

The role of pressure groups is closely linked with politics. Here our assumption is that power is an essential element of politics which implies the revise of power. In this context Harold D. Lasswell in his early work on politics, uses the subtitle, "who gets what, when, how?" and says that, "the revise of politics is the revise of powers and influential." In view of this understanding, the slate o f pressure groups in democratic

countries constitutes an significant dimension o f the revise o f politics because the primary objective o f any pressure group is to power the government on a specific public policy issue or problem.

Pressure groups do not contest elections and they may not have political programs. Pressure groups informally effort to power the government on a specific public policy issue of a part of community. Freedom of association is usually establish in all democratic societies. This is required in order to identify and promote general interest or well-being of the people by the communal activities. This is regarded as the vital factor which tends to the establishment of pressure groups. Therefore, pressure groups play a crucial role in interest formation and interest aggregation.

Pressure groups play the mediatory role flanked by the people and government. They balance the national interest and interest o f individuals. Usually interests of the general people are not organized. Pressure groups contribute to provide concrete shape to the interests of people. This role of pressure groups is important in interest formation as well as interest aggregation. The groups have to move demands before the government based on the difficulties or grievances of people. Interest formation may happen by the reactions of groups of people on issues of public importance like GATT, Nuclear explosion, reservation policy, environmental issues, price rise, local imbalances, rural growth program, etc.

Just as to Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, converting the demands into policy alternatives is interest aggregation. In this procedure also, pressure groups play a important role in

conditions of identifying possible policy alternatives or options. They also explain the pros and cons of each policy alternative which is a extremely helpful information for the policy makers to select the best alternative. This role of pressure groups is to give inputs to public policy creation. On the entire, pressure groups contribute to democratize the public policy creation and law creation. When it is establish that political parties cannot adequately symbolize the aspirations of the people, pressure groups become the devices for on behalf of the aspirations of the people. In this sense, pressure groups perform the representation function.

In a welfare state, the rising functions of government may tend to affect the responsive capacity of the political system. Besides the members of government may not be able to get enough time to get all the details of a scrupulous issue of public importance as the political elites are preoccupied in the political activities. In view of these, pressure groups are essential to create the political system respond to the aspirations of people and give the details of a scrupulous policy issue of public importance to the ruling political elites. This will contribute to work out growth activities extremely effectively.

Techniques of Pressure Groups

The largest techniques of pressure groups are manipulating public opinion, persuading legislators and officers, etc. When some project, as for example the Sardar Sarovar Project n Karnataka, are likely to affect the interest of a part and area, pressure groups effort to promote environmental awareness through providing the necessary information to the concerned

people. This role of pressure groups tends to transform the public attitude towards a specific issue. The extent of power of pressure groups on government is largely determined through their location to symbolize public opinion. Hence it is necessary on the section of pressure groups to power the procedure of formation of public opinion. As a consequence. pressure groups look to manipulate public opinion.

Pressure groups have friends and allies in the legislatures as in the case of American Congress and the Indian Parliament. Power of pressure groups is by the legislators for creation specific provisions or deleting some provision legislation. This involves lobbying and it is particularly influential in the USA. Pressure groups effort to power the procedure of implementation of decisions by the officers. Besides, pressure groups adopt the technique of influencing the government by public interest litigation in courts of law. When we talk of the techniques of the pressure groups, we should take into explanation the political form in which the pressures are to be exercised. In the U.S., the pressure are exercised in the presidential form. In India, they are to be exercised in the context of the cabinet form of government. The ways of pressure groups in India may be said to be ill-defined and, to some extent, crude. The ways of the American pressure groups are highly urbanized and routine. In the U.S, the require for the pressure groups is felt greatly because the executive is separate from the legislature and both of them of course are separate from the judiciary. In India, the co-ordination flanked by the legislature, the executive and the judiciary is well defined. The judiciary is self-governing but does not have the powers of judicial review as wide as in the U.S. In India, the judiciary is asserting its location under the power of the

pressure groups which are bringing before it the public interest litigation which is seen clearly in case of environmental pressure groups and economic pressure groups. Medha Patkar and her associates have exercised a huge amount of pressure on the executive at the state and central stage in excess of the question of the Narmada dam and particularly the resettlement of the people affected through the dam.

There are pressure groups which have been working on the troubles of daily wage workers and women and several of them are exercising pressure through bringing their cases before the courts in the form of public interest litigation. Even in the limited context of municipal government, as in case of Bombay, citizens are taking cases to the high courts to exert pressure on the municipal authorities to clean streets and undertake environmental measure. In the context of India, as in many developing countries, these techniques are new. So the pressure groups have to work difficult to organize the members of the public in order to be effective in relation to government and public administration. In active municipalities like Pune, citizens have gone to the extent of bringing back the transferred commissioner in the teeth of opposition of the state government.

Pressure Groups and Political Parties

Pressure groups and political parties constitute extremely significant structure of a political system. Both pressure groups and political parties are extra-constitutional agencies and play a crucial role in the political procedure. Sometimes, pressure groups become political parties. In Maharashtra, the

Shiva Sena was a pressure group and it has now become a political party. Likewise, the Karnataka Rajya Sangh in Karnataka, was initially a pressure group. After sometime, the KRRS became a political party in Karnataka.

Pressure groups may provide rise to political parties. The cultural and religious pressure group gave rise to the establishment of Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951. The Indian political parties have corresponding students institutions namely, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, Students Federation of India etc. which are regarded as pressure groups of students affiliated with one party, or the other. There can be pressure groups within a political party. The Seva Dal was a unit of the Indian National Congress before independence and it was working as a pressure group. After independence, the Seva Dal has sustained to be a pressure group but it is not therefore effective now as in pre-independence days.

A political party is a superior system, while a pressure group is comparatively a small system. The largest objective of a political party is to approach to power whereas the largest concern of a pressure group is to power the government for promoting its specific interest. Though, political parties have to symbolize the aggregate of diverse interests of the people. That is why pressure groups are regarded as non-political. Parties put up their candidates, attempt to win maximum number of seats in the legislature dry form government, if possible. Pressure Groups do not, on their own, do any of these things. A political party needs an ideology which enables it to have an identity. Pressure groups do not require ideology and sometimes they may be subjected to the power of an ideology.

Kinds of Pressure Groups

Rationale and ways of operation of several pressure groups may not simply modify from one country to another country. The generalizations that can be made are broadly applicable to understanding of tile working of pressure groups in several countries. The origin of pressure groups is diverse since they symbolize a scrupulous dimension of interests like economic, social and political interests. Pressure groups exist for protecting or promoting scrupulous interest into the following categories:

- Business Groups
- Labor Institutions
- Farmers' Groups
- Professional Groups
- Religious Groups

Comparison of Indian and Western Pressure Groups

Both India and Western countries are democracies. But within western countries there are differences flanked by Presidential and Parliamentary shapes of government. India however a parliamentary democracy differs from such countries of the West in conditions of developmental stages. So there are some differences in the role of pressure groups.

Firstly, the American pressure groups are regarded as the fourth organ of the government but the Indian pressure groups are not yet able to play such important role in politics.

Secondly, in India and Great Britain the cabinet and civil service are the largest targets of pressure groups for lobbying purposes rather than the parliament. Though, the targets of American pressure groups are the Congress and its committees rather than the President for lobbying purposes.

Thirdly, Indian pressure groups based on caste, religion, area, etc. are more powerful than the contemporary groups like business institutions.

Fourthly, a important characteristic of American pressure groups is that in the USA pressure groups take interest in foreign policy issues while in India pressure groups do not look to have interest in foreign policy matters. Comparatively, the Indian pressure groups are concerned more with domestic policy issues and troubles, and less with foreign policy matters. Though in common despite the differences, democratic political presupposes the crucial role of pressure groups for serving the interests of dissimilar parts of community.

Chapter 3

Globalization and the Developing World

Globalisation and the Response of the Developing Countries

Policy Concerns of Less Urbanized Countries

The impact of the current procedure of globalization is very unstill, both within and flanked by nations. Consequently, it has resulted in growing income inequalities within countries as well as flanked by countries. The less urbanized countries experience a more skewed income sharing, which is attributed mainly to the shift in labor demand. It has also led to greater polarization crossways countries because technology—the prime factor responsible for the current wave of economic globalization-still remnants concentrated in a small body of already industrially advanced countries. Also, sudden spurts and shift in the direction of speculative capital often have triggered financial crisis more in the capital-starved less urbanized countries than elsewhere.

Placed in such a situation, the policy concerns of the less urbanized countries are mainly a response to the evolving structural divide flanked by them and the industrially advanced countries. Therefore much therefore, globalization is perceived through the less urbanized countries to be a

organization typified through the apes economic organizations such as the IMF and WTO in which the more urbanized countries advance their national interests to the detriment of the less urbanized countries especially in regions such as trade and capital investment. Some in the middle of the less urbanized countries feel that the current globalization procedure has led to the worsening of the structural poverty in several countries. At the similar time, under the pressure of economic globalization several of them have to resort to external debt, which have further contributed to the deceleration of the development in real conditions.

Domestic Policy Responses

Given the adverse impact of the current economic globalization and given also the constraints in which the less urbanized countries are placed, mainly of these less urbanized countries are occupied in devising policy events the prime objective of which is not therefore much as to engage themselves in the procedure o f globalization than as to how to engage effectively with it. So, mainly policy events aim at either reshaping the impact or redirecting the globalization procedure to their advantage. Policy rationale also underlines the means that would facilitate the less urbanized countries have access to the positive benefits o f globalization and at the similar time help mitigate the adverse consequences.

To that extent the less urbanized countries with extremely few exceptions have through and big evolved their policy framework that underscores irreversibility of the policy events-be it in conditions of structural adjustment or trade liberalization. At the similar time they also underline at the policy mix will be

such that it would ensure some modicum of social safety net to overcome the troubles of marginalization and impoverishment. In respect of the adverse effects of the current economic globalization, several of the developing countries are engaging their attention on reforming, to the extent possible, the international trading and financial organizations to cater to their critical economic requires. Leading in the middle of these are countries such as India which have taken initiatives to reexamine the evolving rules of the WTO in respect of issues such as intellectual property rights, anti-dumping restrictions, subsidies to agriculture and other countervailing events. Another concern relates to enlarging the developing countries' market access in the industrially advanced countries of the world. Cumulatively their demands are in respect of expanding their access to international trade by seeking lowering of tariff, and exemptions on a number of lion-tariff barriers. In this relationship, mention may be made of the less urbanized countries seeking support in the WTO to seek revision in the standards of sanitary and phyto-sanitary necessities concerning their exports especially towards the European Union.

While the afore-mentioned concerns mainly relate to trade matters, the less urbanized countries are also creation demands in respect of issues relating to foreign direct investment. In this contest the highly indebted poor countries are seeking initiatives that would minimize their debt burdens, Specifically in this relationship they are challenging debt relief events that would help reduce the stages of poverty and attendant economic hardships in their domestic economy. Secondly, they are also creation efforts that would bring in relation to the increasing rate of flow of private foreign direct

investment in order to meet their current economic bind. In their attempt to draw foreign direct investment efforts are afoot to reduce if not eliminate, the risk perceptions of portfolio and direct investors and also through improving the credibility of their public financial organizations.

Initiatives at the International Stage

Aware of the immediate adverse impact of economic globalization, the less urbanized countries had joined the Uruguay Round of the Common Agreement on Tariffs dry Trade with two objectives-first, to trade with the backlog issues relating to textile exports dry agricultural subsidies and second, to remove GATT rules concerning anti-dumping and countervailing duties. They were less inclined to negotiate on the newer regions which meant opening their infant service sector, removing all restrictions on foreign direct investment and rewriting their patent laws. These necessities, they felt were unwarranted intrusion into their economic legroom. Therefore, they put up a united front against the intrusion of new regions such as service sector, investments and international property rights. Yet, their efforts were met with stiff opposition from the advanced countries. In the final analysis, all that the less urbanized countries could achieve in respect of service sector, investment and intellectual property rights were as follows.

Service Sector

In the Uruguay Round, what was finally agreed upon was that the service sector will have to be liberalized but based on multilaterally agreed and legally enforceable rules to govern

trade and services such as mainly favored nation regulations, recognition o f operating licenses and arrangement for dispute resolution. Though, thanks to the concerted attempt of the less urbanized countries, many exceptions have been made in the service sector. Yet, the less urbanized countries had to concede liberalization in such service sectors as advertising, construction and engineering.

Intellectual Property Rights

Therefore distant in respect o f intellectual property rights, the Uruguay Round provided for an international organization for the defense of such rights to be embodied in a legal institutional set up described World Intellectual Property Organization. Perceiving the WIPO defense as inadequate, the urbanized countries launched a strong initiative to make an extended and tighter international organization for the defense of intellectual property rights. In the final outcome, the scope of the Uruguay Round has been expanded to augment the life of privileges granted or rights conferred, to enlarge the geographical spread and to make an enforcement mechanism.

Investment Events

The investment events embodied in the agreement on Trade Related Investment Events listed a comprehensive set o f events such as not permitting practices like regional content necessities, export obligations, restrictions on imports o f sure raw materials or components. At the similar time, existing events will have to be notified to the designated international power and will have to be phased out in excess of two years in the case of urbanized countries and five years in the case of

less urbanized countries. Exception to this rule was permitted only if the country in question is faced with a serious balance of payments problem.

Dispute Resolution Mechanism

The making of an integrated dispute resolution body is yet another biggest attainment of the Uruguay Round meeting the demands of the less urbanized countries. Now thanks to the making of the dispute resolution body, there are firm time limits which apply to the several levels of dispute resolution procedure. What, though, disadvantages the less urbanized countries is the requirement that calls for a consensus in respect of rejecting a panel statement. Though, what advantages the less urbanized countries is that no requirement of a consensus is described for in accepting the statement of the dispute resolution body. In this method these new procedures are seen to be in the interests of smaller countries bringing their complaints against superior countries.

Making of World Trade Organization

The making of World Trade Organizational agreement arrived at the Uruguay Round. Its largest purpose is to facilitate implementation, administration and operation of GATT 1994. In effect, it provides permanence to GATT. Two largest distinctive characteristics of WTO are:

Nation seeking admission to WTO necessity accept all decisions from approximately as a package which comprises agreements on trade in services, intellectual property rights and trade related investment events; and

Nations acceding to WTO are required to be bound through the new integrated dispute resolution mechanism encompassing the three regions of goods, services and technology.

WTO and the Less Urbanized Countries

Mainly developing countries have carried the WTO regime however reluctantly. The debate is still raging in several countries in excess of the consequences of their signing the WTO treaty. The critical question that is debated is what are the risks and gains from the WTO regime for the developing countries. Some common issues have been highlighted.

Agriculture

One region where the predominantly agricultural countries of the less urbanized world are jubilant is gaining biggest benefits in the agricultural sector. Successes in reining agricultural support programs in the industrially advanced countries and areas such as United States, Japan and the European Union are expected to render net gains to less urbanized countries' agricultural exports for the comparative and competitive advantage these agricultural countries enjoy. Though, at the similar time, sure apprehensions have surfaced concerning the WTO's ruling in favor of reduction in subsidies for agriculture, phasing out of public sharing organization and compulsory market access to agricultural imports.

Textiles and Apparels

Less urbanized countries with an edge in the manufacture of textiles and apparels have benefited from the multi-fiber

agreement is expected to bring biggest benefits to these countries. Yet there is a reason for concern because the phasing of MFA is accompanied through a organization of what is recognized as "middle selective safeguards" whose operational details have not yet been defined. This ill turn could restrict the development in exports of textiles through the less urbanized countries. Also, there are already anti-dumping laws in hands of the industrially advanced countries which they may use to restrict the textile export from less urbanized countries.

Tariffs on Industrial Goods

The prospects of reduction in industrial tariffs have greatly improved. Yet, the benefits are not likely to be substantial because already the tariffs on imported industrial goods are low, besides the proposed tariff cuts are likely to be concentrated in regions of less importance to developing countries.

Services

In the region of services, the less urbanized countries notwithstanding their demands have still to work out a viable method out for the export of skilled and unskilled labor, negotiations for which are still in the extremely initial levels. The only compensation is that many of the regions for liberalization in the service sector are yet to be negotiated.

Intellectual Property Rights

Intellectual property is the region where new and tougher rules would put the less urbanized countries to greater hardship. Despite the efforts made through many of the developing countries including India, not much success has yet been achieved. For, after all, in some of the recognized sectors like chemical and pharmaceutical Products, biotechnology and propagation of improved diversities of seeds and microbiological procedures for developing new fertilizers and pesticides the developing countries may have to create royalty payments to the industrially advanced countries. Some of the expressed fears of the less urbanized countries such as non-availability of needed technology at affordable costs, the pre-empting of domestic technical capacities through the more advanced countries dry the incidence of restrictive business practices through the TNCs are admittedly justified. It is in these regions the less urbanized countries may have to evolve a concerted policy posturing within the forum of the WTO.

Trade Related Investments

Yet another region in which the less urbanized countries require to evolve a concerted policy response is trade related investments. Otherwise, the current regime on trade related investments will severely jeopardize the skill of the less urbanized countries to regulate the foreign capital inflows in accordance with their objectives and priorities. Besides, it will also weaken the domestic capital goods sector and arrest the development of indigenous technical capability.

Needed Policy Framework

The overall response of the less urbanized countries towards the current stage of globalization is based on their justified fears and apprehensions. As has been stated earlier, the less urbanized countries as a entire have made the right choice not as much to disengage themselves but to engage in an effective manner in the current globalization procedure. At the domestic stage, the policy responses are based on the rationale that at all odds they will have to insert themselves into the global economy with a view to benefit through it and at the similar time create an attempt to minimize the adverse and deleterious consequences. Towards this attempt, while the less urbanized countries are, t o the extent possible creation efforts to approach up with a policy package-be it in conditions o f structural adjustments or trade liberalization-their concern justifiably is to work in concert at the multilateral stage and under the WTO regime to reshape the globalization procedure. In doing son the less urbanized countries have evolved general strategies to realize their goals As has been mentioned on specific issues such as TRIPS, TRIMS, trade in services, tariffs on industrial goods etc. the less urbanized countries have World collectively placed their views in the successive WTO meetings. However the outcome of these negotiations have not been as yet encouraging, these meetings at least have brought the less urbanized countries to approach jointly and present what would be called as the shared responses. Admittedly, the task ahead for the less urbanized countries is daunting. Yet, given the 'rule-based' trade regime that has approach into being under the auspices of the WTO, the less urbanized countries will have to put their efforts in evolving new rules of the game.

Impact Of Globalisation On Developing Societies

Developing Societies

Taking a broader view of growth. it can be argued that all societies are developing. In information, no community call afford to stagnate or stop developing because such an approach will lead them to degeneration and decay. Nevertheless, some societies require to develop faster to catch-up with the rest. After the second world war many countries got independence. In mainly cases, the colonial masters had shattered the socio-economic fabric of these countries and had deliberately restricted growth in all meadows. As a result, at the time of independence, mainly of these societies faced acute economic crisis, illiteracy. acute socio-cultural tensions/conflicts, lack of political awareness and vast gaps flanked by the elites and the commoners.

The tasks before these post-colonial societies were economic progress with justice, continuity, socio-cultural re-construction, ensuring education, awareness and participation of all citizens, etc. These tasks required specific events which were to be urbanized/evolved in accordance with the scrupulous context of scrupulous societies. It is due to this specificity that these post-colonial societies have been clubbed jointly to be described 'Third World' or "Developing" Societies. Another cause behind such a categorization is the ethno-centric approach of the western social scientists. These scholars presume, almost certainly on the foundation of the stage of industrialization, that the west is urbanized and the

USA is approximately the ideal kind, and that, all other societies are developing to become like it. This approach, though, ignores several other parameters of growth.

Globalization

Robertson has defined globalization as "a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a entire." Globalization is usually understood in conditions of two separate procedures:

Globalization as a procedure that has made communication instantaneous and has encouraged people to think in more global conditions; and

Globalization which tends to combine a market ideology with a corresponding material set of practices drawn from the world of business.

In other languages, globalization does not only refer to an economic organization in which International boundaries do not pose 'unnatural' restriction on international trade, it also refers to ideological and cultural globalization by communication media, computers and satellites. In information, it is due to the communication media, computers and satellites that the "new' globalization has approach to acquire such characteristics which distinguish it from the old one scholars like Wollerstein, Amin, etc., argue that globalization had begun with the overseas expansion of capitalism in the form of imperial conquests and white colony settlements. The procedure of imperialism had brought the Asian, African and Latin American countries under the European political and economic power. These countries were

compelled to 'open-up' their economies for unfettered penetration through the global industrial capital. This stage has usually been referred to as the "widening stage" of globalization. Throughout this stage, the economic integration of the world was confined to international trade and colonial exploitative relationships. New growths in the field of communications have forced the economic powers to renounce the use of force for the use of the 'colonies'. Instead, indirect pressure by World Bank, IMF, GATT, WTO, etc., is generated on the capital-starved developing societies to create structural adjustments to accommodate the interests of the Multi-National Companies.

Another significant shift from the earlier stage is that the modern form of globalization has witnessed the setting LIP of manufacture centers through the MNCs in the developing countries accompanied through a tremendous augment in the velocity o f capital flow crossways national boundaries. The third distinctive characteristic is the extra ordinary development in Foreign Direct investment an world trade and world output. Finally, with the arrival of computer-aided communication network, the international movement of capital has acquired an self-governing life of its own, unrelated to the requires of international trade.

Factors Behind the Acceptance of New Globalization

Mainly of the developing societies which had set for themselves the goals of economic self reliance and import-substituting industrialization, have adopted new economic policies in row with the Structural Adjustment Package International Monetary Finance on export-promotion through the developing

countries to get rid of the debt-trap dry has undermined the objectives of import-substitution, poverty alleviation, re-sharing, etc. In information, mainly of the post-colonial developing countries had extremely little option in the wake of huge debt crises. In these countries, the colonial rulers had not allowed industrialization, as a result of which, the list of items to be imported was quite large. Compared to it, the list of exports was insignificant in mainly of the cases. In other languages, these countries have been paying much more on imports than they have been earning from their exports. This resulted in balance of payment crisis for mainly of these countries.

In mainly of these post-colonial societies, governments are being run through the authoritarian ruling elites. Mainly of these elites do not have comfortable mass foundation and, so, have mainly been dependent on the West for their political survival. Naturally, their economic policies have been guided through the interests of the powers which help them in continuing ruling elites. Mainly of the ruling elites of mainly o f the developing countries have lavishly and freely borrowed vast amounts of money to pay for the imports. Here it is pertinent to mention that mainly of the items imported through these societies are meant for elite consumption and not for the general masses. The general masses, nevertheless, have to bear the burden of payment for such imports. The third factor was the jolt in the form of a slump in the world demand for agricultural exports from the developing countries in the 1980s. As the International Banks were not willing to take ally risks, the credit rating of these countries took a severe beating. The West increased the Global Interest Rate and also curtailed governmental assistance to the developing countries.

All the factors combined jointly to reason huge debt crisis for mainly of the developing countries. In this situation, the World Batik and the IMF, under the power of the urbanized West, offered help on the condition that these countries would accept SAP and open up their boundaries for un-restricted world trade and commerce. The new economic policies intended in accordance with globalization contain withdrawal of all restrictive rules, regulations and tariff on internal and international trade, investments, collaborations. etc., and shrinking of the public sector in favor of private sector.

Impact of Globalization on Developing Societies

Here, we shall talk about the contemporary stage of globalization which has been brought in relation to the has been necessitated, through the procedures of liberalization and privatization in the several countries of the world. Due to the impact of the second world war as well as the power of the socialist systems adopted through the Soviet Union. China, etc., more and more countries had gone in for state-controlled economies. But, through the early 70s, many countries of the West began the procedure of providing full freedom to the market forces through slowly reducing state interference. The rules and regulations which had been made to give power to the state in excess of market forces were drastically customized, and even annulled, in the name of liberalization. The state's shares in several industries began to be disinvested in order to replace state-ownership through private ownership. Another aspect of liberalization concerns international trade and commerce. This means abolition of all 'artificial' barriers o f national boundaries, tariff and protectionist/ discriminatory policies. In other languages, it means that the market forces

should be allowed to operate likewise in all sections of the world. After the Second World War, many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America got independence. In mainly of them, the colonial rulers had not allowed any industrialization. As such, it was impossible for them to have competed equally with the urbanized countries in the international market. It was due to this perception of being overwhelmed through the companies of the urbanized West that mainly of the developing countries had adopted protectionist policies to protect the indigenous entrepreneurs against the large Multi-National Companies. Some countries like India also adopted specific policies, rules and regulations to protect the small level entrepreneurs from the onslaught of the large business homes. The policies like FERA, MRTP Act, Licensing, Nationalization of Banks, requirement of governmental approval for collaborations and conditions of collaborations, etc., were all meant for defense of Indian entrepreneurs from 'outsiders' and to protect small level Indian entrepreneurs from large Indian Business Homes.

Globalization is based on the principle of universalism as against protectionism. It is guided through the rationale of capitalism which calls for free market, free competition and survival of the fittest. The capitalist logic has got a large boost through the growths in the field of computers, legroom and communication which have jointly made every section of the world easily available. People in every section of the world can be made to know in relation to the any product by TV and Internet. Sky Shopping and E-Commerce have made procurement of any product possible in matter of days. Markets have got flooded with foreign goods largely because demand for such goods is on the rise. In other languages, growths in the field of communication have led to a steep rise

in consumerism in several sections of the world. As dissimilar developing societies have dissimilar potentialities, dissimilar troubles and dissimilar socio-economic and political milieu, the impact of globalization on each of them would be dissimilar too. On some of them, the impact would be more positive than negative while on others it may be more negative than positive. It will also depend on the capabilities of several societies in adjusting to the reality of globalization in such a manner that the interests of the people of these societies are not jeopardized.

Globalization is a reality which can not be wished absent. This is why the discussions on the desirability or otherwise of globalization has now been replaced through discussions on the events which can help the developing societies derive more advantages from globalization or minimize its disadvantages. Although mainly of the developing societies have not been able to create proper structural adjustments and, as a result, have suffered in the wake of globalization, it would be a grave mistake to conclude that globalization is devoid of any virtues or positive characteristics. We shall concentrate on the impact of globalization in three regions, namely, economy, community and civilization and education. In all these three regions, we shall first revise the positive characteristics dry then the negative ones.

Positive Characteristics of Globalization

We shall take up the positive characteristics o f the impact of globalization on economy, community and civilization and education one through one.

Economy

In mainly of the developing countries, the economic policies had not been yielding good results, especially for the poorer parts.

The gap flanked by the rich and the poor had constantly been on the rise. Due to lack of competition, the large business homes had been selling standard products at high prices. In other languages, the consumers were not receiving the best products accessible in other countries at much cheaper prices. The monopoly of the internal large industrialists and business homes was not meant for any special benefits to the general people. This can be illustrated through the instance of the television industry in India.

Before the opening up of the market, the Indian TV makers had been selling sets with hardly any latest provisions at extremely high prices. With the advent of the international brands with contemporary characteristics, the Indian manufactures, too, are becoming more consumer friendly in conditions of latest characteristics and low prices. In many other sectors, too, the international competition has resulted in enhancement of excellence and slashing of prices. Another positive economic impact of globalization is the incorporation of sales of imported goods in the tax-net. As the demand for imported goods was always there, the supply was supervised through smugglers who could not be taxed. Now the imports would be done and sold through businessmen who will be paying tax to the Government. The menace of smuggling would also get curtailed.

The third positive impact would be in the field of exports. With the vanishing restrictions on international trade, the producer's o f good products will get access to the markets of all sections of the world.

Politics, Community and Civilization

The debate in excess of the desirability or otherwise of fixing parameters of urbanized socio-cultural systems, is an ever-lasting one. One set of scholars has been coming up "ideal kinds" or the systems having the mainly desirable socio-political and cultural traits. These scholars suggest that all the societies should create conscious efforts to acquire the traits of the 'ideal' organization. They also suggest that the pre-contemporary traits should be shed-off. On the other hand, there are scholars who argue that every community and every civilization has its virtues, and that, "ideal kinds" should not be imposed upon. They advocate for the right of every group to preserve its own socio-cultural and political aspects.

A third group of scholars, though, argues that although "ideal kinds" urbanized through the western scholars is ethno-centric having little appreciation for oriental systems, there is no logic in conscious preservation of tribalism or the barbaric traditions like 'Sati', sacrifice, 'Sarkar', etc. Moreover, equality, liberty, justice, etc. should form the foundation of any good organization.

In short, even however scholars may disagree on "Ideal Kinds", they all agree on the desirability of equality, liberty and justice becoming the foundation o f any socio-cultural and political organization. They also agree on the location that the

oppressive, barbaric and inhuman characteristics of all socio-cultural dry political traditions should be shed-off. It is here that globalization has had a positive impact. With the phenomenal augment in the reach of the media, happenings in any corner of the world is brought to the knowledge of all in no time. The reaction and the location of the world society, too gets easily conveyed to the concerned people. The cases of Human Rights violations and 'ethnic cleansings', etc. no longer go unnoticed. In many cases, pressure of the world society has successfully supervised to get redressals. Further, several inherently oppressive systems have changed to liberal ones for which globalization had played an significant role. Education gives knowledge and prepares people to adjust to, or if necessary, mould the environment in which he/she lives. Due to several factors, the stage of knowledge and capabilities urbanized through education systems of dissimilar countries are dissimilar. Education in some countries gives the latest knowledge while in some others it gives obsolete and irrelevant knowledge. Globalization will help in creation the obsolete education systems up-to-date. Knowledge of the latest measures, technologies, facts, growths, discoveries and Human endeavors is essential for the growth of any community. With the demolition of restrictions/barriers, universities and organizations of the urbanized countries will be offering their knowledge in the less urbanized ones by franchise or partnerships with regional universities/organizations.

Negative Characteristics of Globalization

We shall now talk about the negative effects of globalization in economies, cultures and education systems of the developing societies.

Economy

Economies of mainly of the developing societies had suffered badly due to colonial use. After independence, these societies had been trying to develop their economies through combining regional expertise and imported technologies. In some of these societies, special efforts were being made to develop indigenous technology to compete with the urbanized world. But, 40-45 years was too small a era for them to catch up with the urbanized economic powers. As such, some protectionist events were required to save the indigenous entrepreneurs from the unequal competition with the Multi-National companies of the urbanized world. Breaking up of barriers and protectionist events in the name of globalization exposes the upcoming but weak indigenous entrepreneurs to the onslaught through the powerful MNCs. The MNCs, having vast surpluses generated from several sections of the world, can easily marginalize the indigenous manufacturers. The instance of Akai and Aiwa companies, which have effected closure of many Indian TV companies, can be seen through anyone. Another instance is that of the ouster of approximately all Indian soft drinks companies from the market through Coke and Pepsi.

Some scholars argue that globalization means free access to all raw materials, all labor and all markets. Theoretically this access is equally accessible to the entrepreneurs from all sections of the world. But in practice, the large MNCs backed through large capital, advanced technologies and their powerful States have become the largest beneficiaries. These companies are buying cheap raw materials from several developing societies, hiring cheap labor from there, selling the products and services in these extremely societies, and

creation vast gains. With the relaxation in restrictions through developing societies on taking the profits out, many of these societies are bound to experience approximately same 'drain of wealth' as they had experienced throughout the colonial rule.

A extremely significant tenet of globalization is privatization as public enterprises do not, usually, conform to economic rationalism. In mainly of the developing societies, including India, public sector enterprises were set up with the following purposes:

- To uphold secrecy in relation to the defense-related productions;
- To make infra-structural facilities;
- To give services to the masses without caring for profits.

Later on, for causes bigger recognized to the policy-makers, many public sector enterprises came up in several sectors including consumer sector. Public enterprises either should not have approach up in these non-core, non-service sectors or should have worked to generate profit to support the non-profitable service sector. Unluckily, mainly of these enterprises became burdens on the State. Due to these loss-creation companies some people have shaped an opinion that public sector is worthless, and hence, should be done absent with. Though, the attack on the public sector has become more potent in the recent years largely through the protagonists of globalization who consider that public sector and globalization do not go jointly.

Therefore, disinvestment of government's shares from public sector undertakings has been caused through the logic and

pressure of globalization rather than through the realization that the PSUs are unviable. This argument can be corroborated through the information that mainly of the disinvestments in India have been from profit-creation PSUs. In information, the original causes behind having Public Sector Undertakings are still relevant; the suffering masses still require to be looked after with a service motive rather than a profit motive. If some of the PSUs are not performing or have become burdens on the State's exchequer, public sector as a entire should not be done absent with. In mainly of the developing societies, majority of the people can not afford to pay for all the vital amenities/services. So, total privatization would badly affect them. The variation flanked by the fees charged through government Hospitals/Schools and private Hospitals/Schools clearly designates what havoc privatization call make for the poor masses.

Community and Civilization

Every community has its own set of ethical codes and values, traditions and conventions. While it is good to be open to new ideas for a positive transform, the choice should lie with the recipient. In this period of globalization, though, the people o f the developing societies are being bombarded therefore heavily by the electronic media that they hardly are left with options or choice. By Cable TV and Internet, the MNCs are successfully promoting consumerism and even Western values. This makes large adjustment troubles in the developing societies. Mainly of the people in these societies do not get even the vital amenities and even those who get can not afford the luxuries being promoted therefore aggressively. This leads to frustration, adjustment troubles and materialist approach to life. Many

researchers have establish that the people of the developing societies, especially children and youth want to become rich to be able to buy all that they get fascinated with. The craze of Coke/Pepsi or well-known Western brands of clothing or watches or cars or cosmetics are all making of electronic media. Earlier, people either did not know in relation to the them or could not get them in the open Market. Today thanks therefore globalization, everybody knows in relation to thrall the products and the products are accessible in the market. When one sees others by them, the urge to have them augment manifold. This can be one of the significant causes behind the rise in crime-rate in these societies.

Education

The worst impact of globalization on education can be seen in the rapid commercialization of education and in excess of-emphasis on market oriented courses. The undermining of Social Sciences and Humanities is already having detrimental effect on the community. While education should prepare the students to be able to earn their livings, a more significant role of education is to develop the mental horizons and personalities of the students therefore that they become aware, concerned and balanced citizens. Due to the demands of market in this period of economic globalization as well as due to serious propaganda through western organizations and industries, education in mainly of the developing societies is slowly becoming one-dimensional. Educational organizations are putting more and more emphasis on courses which make skills for the market. The social, cultural, political, traditional and moral education is being neglected and being termed as irrelevant and obsolete. This is an unfortunate growth as

revise of these subjects gives continuity and balance to a community facing the onslaught of cultural and economic imperialism.

Globalisation: Background And Features

Globalization is the procedure of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other characteristics of civilization. Globalization describes the interplay crossways cultures of macro-social forces. These forces contain religion, politics, and economics. Globalization can erode and universalize the aspects of a regional group. Advances in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, including the rise of the Internet, are biggest factors in globalization, generating further interdependence of economic and cultural activities.

However many scholars lay the origins of globalization in contemporary times, others trace its history extensive before the European age of detection and voyages to the New World. Some even trace the origins to the third millennium BCE. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the pace of globalization has proceeded at a rapid rate.

The term globalization has been in rising use since the mid 1980s and especially since the mid 1990s. In 2000, the International Monetary Finance mobilization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people and the dissemination of knowledge. Further, environmental challenges such as climate transform, cross-frontier water and air pollution, and in excess of-fishing of the ocean are connected with globalization. Globalizing

procedures affect and are affected through business and work organization, economics, socio-cultural possessions, and the natural environment.

Humans have interacted in excess of extensive distances for thousands of years. The overland Silk Road that linked Asia, Africa and Europe is a good instance of the transformative power of international swap that lived in the "Old World". Philosophy, religion, language, the arts, and other characteristics of civilization spread and mixed as nations exchanged products and ideas. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Europeans made significant discoveries in their exploration of the oceans, including the start of transatlantic travel to the "New World" of the Americas. Global movement of people, goods, and ideas expanded significantly in the following centuries. Early in the 19th century, the growth of new shapes of transportation and telecommunications that "compressed" time and legroom allowed for increasingly rapid rates of global interchange. In the 20th century, road vehicles and airlines made transportation even faster, and the advent of electronic communications, mainly notably mobile phones and the Internet, linked billions of people in new methods leading into the 21st century.

Etymology and Usage

The term *globalization* is derived from the word *globalize*, which refers to the emergence of an international network of social and economic systems. One of the earliest recognized usages of the term as the noun was in 1930 in a publication entitled *Towards New Education* where it denoted a holistic view of human experience in education. A related term,

corporate giants, was coined through Charles Taze Russell in 1897 to refer to the mainly national trusts and other big enterprises of the time. Through the 1960s, both conditions began to be used as synonyms through economists and other social scientists. It then reached the mainstream press in the later half of the 1980s. Since its inception, the concept of globalization has inspired competing definitions and interpretations, with antecedents dating back to the great movements of trade and empire crossways Asia and the Indian Ocean from the 15th century onwards. Due to the complexity of the concept, research projects, articles, and discussions often remain focused on a single aspect of globalization.

Roland Robertson, professor of sociology at University of Aberdeen, was the first person to describe globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a entire."

Sociologists Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King describe globalization as:

...all those procedures through which the peoples of the world are included into a single world community.

In *The Consequences of Modernity*, Anthony Giddens uses the following definition:

Globalization can therefore be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link far localities in such a method that regional happenings are formed through measures occurring several miles absent and vice versa.

In *Global Transformations* David Held, et al., revise the definition of globalization:

Although in its simplistic sense globalization refers to the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnection, such a definition begs further elaboration. ... Globalization can be situated on a continuum with the regional, national and local. At one end of the continuum lie social and economic relations and networks which are organized on a regional and/or national foundation; at the other end lie social and economic relations and networks which crystallize on the wider level of local and global interactions. Globalization can be taken to refer to those spatial-temporal procedures of transform which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs through linking jointly and expanding human action crossways areas and continents. Without reference to such expansive spatial connections, there can be no clear or coherent formulation of this term. ... A satisfactory definition of globalization necessity capture each of these elements: extensity, intensity, velocity and impact.

Swedish journalist Thomas Larsson, in his book *The Race to the Top: The Real Story of Globalization*, states that globalization:

is the procedure of world shrinkage, of distances receiving shorter, things moving closer. It pertains to the rising ease with which somebody on one face of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other face of the world.

The journalist Thomas L. Friedman popularized the term "flat world", arguing that globalized trade, outsourcing, supply-chaining, and political forces had permanently changed the

world, for bigger and worse. He asserted that the pace of globalization was quickening and that its impact on business organization and practice would continue to grow.

Economist Takis Fotopoulos defined "economic globalization" as the opening and deregulation of commodity, capital and labor markets that led toward present neoliberal globalization. He used "political globalization" to refer to the emergence of a transnational elite and a phasing out of the nation-state. "Cultural globalization", he used to reference the worldwide homogenization of civilization. Other of his usages incorporated "ideological globalization", "technical globalization" and "social globalization".

In 2000, the International Monetary Finance obalization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people and the dissemination of knowledge. With regards to trade and transactions, developing countries increased their share of world trade, from 19 percent in 1971 to 29 percent in 1999. Though, there is great difference in the middle of the biggest areas. For example, the newly industrialized economies of Asia prospered, while African countries as a entire performed poorly. The makeup of a country's exports is an significant indicator for success. Manufactured goods exports soared, dominated through urbanized countries and NIEs. Commodity exports, such as food and raw materials were often produced through developing countries: commodities' share of total exports declined in excess of the era. Following from this, capital and investment movements can be highlighted as another vital aspect of globalization. Private capital flows to developing countries soared throughout the 1990s, replacing "aid" or growth

assistance which fell significantly after the early 1980s. Foreign Direct Investment Both portfolio investment and bank credit rose but they have been more volatile, falling sharply in the wake of the financial crisis of the late 1990s. The migration and movement of people can also be highlighted as a prominent characteristic of the globalization procedure. In the era flanked by 1965–90, the proportion of the labor forces migrating almost doubled. Mainly migration occurred flanked by developing countries and Least Urbanized Countries. The flow of migrants to advanced economic countries was claimed to give a means by which global wages converge. The IMF revise noted the potential for skills to be transferred back to developing countries as wages in those a countries rise. Lastly, the dissemination of knowledge has been an integral aspect of globalization. Technical innovations benefit mainly the developing and Least Developing countries, as for instance in the adoption of mobile phones. There are both distal and proximate reasons that can be traced in the historical factors affecting globalization. Big-level globalization began in the 19th century.

Archaic

The German historical economist and sociologist Andre Gunder Frank argues that a form of globalization began with the rise of trade links flanked by Sumer and the Indus Valley Culture in the third millennium B.C.E. This archaic globalization lived throughout the Hellenistic Age, when commercialized urban centers enveloped the axis of Greek civilization that reached from India to Spain, including Alexandria and the other Alexandrine municipalities. Early on, the geographic location of Greece and the necessity of importing wheat forced the

Greeks to engage in maritime trade. Trade in ancient Greece was mainly unrestricted: the state controlled only the supply of grain.

There were trade links flanked by the Roman Empire, the Parthian Empire, and the Han Dynasty. The rising commercial links flanked by these powers took form in the Silk Road, which began in western China, reached the boundaries of the Parthian empire, and sustained to Rome. As several as three hundred Greek ships sailed each year flanked by the Greco-Roman world and India. Annual trade volume may have reached 300,000 tons.

Through traveling past the Tarim Basin area, the Chinese of the Han Dynasty learned of powerful kingdoms in Central Asia, Persia, India, and the Transitional East with the travels of the Han Dynasty envoy Zhang Qian in the 2nd century BC. From 104 BC to 102 BC Emperor Wu of Han waged war against the Yuezhi who controlled Dayuan, a Hellenized kingdom of Fergana recognized through Alexander the Great in 329 BC. Gan Ying, the emissary of Common Ban Chao, possibly traveled as distant as Roman-period Syria in the late 1st century AD. After these initial discoveries the focus of Chinese exploration shifted to the maritime sphere, although the Silk Road leading all the method to Europe sustained to be China's mainly lucrative source of trade.

From in relation to the 1st century, India started to strongly power Southeast Asian countries. Trade routes connected India with southern Burma, central and southern Siam, lower Cambodia and southern Vietnam and numerous developed coastal settlements were recognized there.

The Islamic Golden Age added another level of globalization, when Radhanite and Muslim traders and explorers recognized trade routes, resulting in a globalization of agriculture, trade, knowledge and technology. Crops such as sugar and cotton became widely cultivated crossways the Muslim world in this era, while widespread knowledge of Arabic and the Hajj created a cosmopolitan civilization.

The advent of the Mongol Empire, however destabilizing to the commercial centers of the Transitional East and China, greatly facilitated travel beside the Silk Road.

The Pax Mongolica of the thirteenth century incorporated the first international postal service, as well as the rapid transmission of epidemic diseases such as bubonic plague crossways Central Asia. Up to the sixteenth century, though, the main systems of international swap were limited to southern Eurasia eract with Turkey, Egypt, the Levant, Persia and the Arabian Peninsula, continuing in excess of the Arabian Sea to India.

Several Chinese merchants chose to settle down in the Southeast Asian ports such as Champa, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, and married the native women. Their children accepted on trade.

Italian municipality states embraced free trade and merchants recognized trade links with distant spaces, giving birth to the Renaissance. Marco Polo was a merchant traveler from the Venetian Republic in contemporary-day Italy whose travels are recorded in *Il Milione*, a book that played a important role in introducing Europeans to Central Asia and China.

The pioneering journey of Marco Polo inspired Christopher Columbus and other European explorers of the following centuries.

Proto-globalization

The after that stage, recognized as proto-globalization, was characterized through the rise of maritime European empires, in the 16th and 17th centuries, first the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, and later the Dutch and British Empires. In the 17th century, world trade urbanized further when chartered companies like the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company first multinational corporation in which stock was offered were recognized. The Age of Detection added the New World to the equation, beginning in the late 15th century. Portugal and Castile sent the first exploratory voyages approximately the Horn of Africa and to the Americas, reached in 1492 through the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus. Global trade development sustained with the European colonization of the Americas initiating the Columbian Swap, the swap of plants, animals, foods, human populations, communicable diseases, and civilization flanked by the Eastern and Western hemispheres. New crops that had approach from the Americas via the European seafarers in the 16th century significantly contributed to world population development. The Puritans migration to New England, starting in 1630 under John Winthrop with the professed mission of converting both the natives of North America to Puritan Christianity and raising up a "Municipality Upon a Hill" that would power the Western European world, is used as an instance of globalization.

Contemporary

In the 19th century, steamships reduced the cost of international transport significantly and railroads made inland transport cheaper. The transport revolution occurred some time flanked by 1820 and 1850. More nations embraced international trade. Globalization in this era was decisively formed through nineteenth-century imperialism such as in Africa and Asia.

Globalization took a large step backwards throughout the First World War, the Great Depression, and the Second World War. Integration of rich countries didn't recover to previous stages before the 1980s.

After the Second World War, work through politicians led to the Bretton Woods conference, an agreement through biggest governments to place down the framework for international monetary policy, commerce and fund, and the founding of many international organizations designed to facilitate economic development multiple rounds of trade opening simplified and lowered trade barriers. Initially, the Common Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, led to a series of agreements to remove trade restrictions. GATT's successor was the World Trade Organization manage the trading organization. Exports almost doubled from 8.5% of total gross world product in 1970 to 16.2% in 2001. The approach of by global agreements to advance trade stumbled with the failure of the Doha round of trade-negotiation. Several countries then shifted to bilateral or smaller multilateral agreements, such as the 2011 South Korea–United States Free Trade Agreement.

Since the 1970s, aviation has become increasingly affordable to transitional classes in urbanized countries. Open skies policies and low-cost carriers have helped to bring competition to the market.

In the 1990s, the development of low cost communication networks cut the cost of communicating flanked by dissimilar countries. More work can be performed by a computer without regard to site. This incorporated accounting, software growth, and engineering design. In late 2000s, much of the industrialized world entered into the Great Recession, which may have slowed the procedure, at least temporarily.

Global Business Organization

With improvements in transportation and communication, international business grew rapidly after the beginning of the 20th century. International business comprises all commercial transactions that take lay flanked by two or more areas, countries and nations beyond their political frontier. Generally, private companies undertake such transactions for profit. Such business transactions involve economic possessions such as capital, natural and human possessions used for international manufacture of physical goods and services such as fund, banking, insurance, construction and other productive activities.

International business arrangements have led to the formation of multinational enterprises approach to markets and manufacture or one with operations in more than one country. An MNE is often described multinational corporation. Well recognized MNCs contain fast food companies such as

McDonald's and Yum Brands, vehicle manufacturers such as Common Motors, Ford Motor Company and Toyota, consumer electronics companies like Samsung, LG and Sony, and power companies such as ExxonMobil, Shell and BP. Mainly of the main corporations operate in multiple national markets.

Businesses argue that survival in the new global marketplace needs companies to source goods, services, labor and materials overseas to continuously upgrade their products and technology in order to survive increased competition.

International Trade

An absolute trade advantage exists when countries can produce a commodity with less costs per unit produced than could its trading partner. Through the similar reasoning, it should import commodities in which it has an absolute disadvantage. While there are possible gains from trade with absolute advantage, comparative advantage—that is, the skill to offer goods and services at a lower marginal and opportunity cost—extends the range of possible mutually beneficial exchanges. In a globalized business environment, companies argue that the comparative advantages offered through international trade have become essential to remaining competitive.

Trade Agreements, Economic Blocks and Special Trade Zones

A Special Economic Zone economic and other laws that are more free-market-oriented than a country's typical or national laws. "Nationwide" laws may be suspended inside these special zones. The category 'SEZ' covers several regions, including:

- Free Trade Zones,

- Free Zones (FZ),

- Industrial parks or Industrial Estates (IE),

- Free Ports,

- Urban Enterprise Zones and others.

Generally the goal of a structure is to augment foreign direct investment through foreign investors, typically an international business or a multinational corporation h companies are taxed extremely lightly or not at all in order to encourage economic action. Free ports have historically been endowed with favorable customs regulations, e.g., the free port of Trieste. Extremely often free ports constitute a section of free economic zones.

A FTZ is an region within which goods may be landed, handled, manufactured or reconfigured, and re-exported without the intervention of the customs authorities. Only when the goods are moved to consumers within the country in which the zone is situated do they become subject to the prevailing customs duties. Free trade zones are organized approximately biggest seaports, international airports, and national frontiers—regions with several geographic advantages for trade. It is a area where a group of countries has agreed to reduce or eliminate trade barriers.

A free trade region is a trade bloc whose member countries have signed a free-trade agreement, which eliminates tariffs, import quotas, and preferences on mainly goods and services traded flanked by them. If people are also free to move flanked by the countries, in addition to free-trade region, it would also be measured an open border. The European Union, for

instance, a confederation of 27 member states, gives both a free trade region and an open border. They are a special free trade zones recognized in collaboration with neighboring Israel to take advantage of the free trade agreements flanked by the United States and Israel. Under the trade agreements with Jordan as laid down through the United States, goods produced in QIZ-notified regions can directly access US markets without tariff or quota restrictions, subject to sure circumstances. To qualify, goods produced in these zones necessity include a small portion of Israeli input. In addition, a minimum 35% value to the goods necessity be added to the finished product. The brainchild of Jordanian businessman Omar Salah, the first QIZ was authorized through the United States Congress in 1997.

The Asia-Pacific has been called as "the mainly integrated trading area on the planet" because its intra-local trade accounts almost certainly for as much as 50-60% of the area's total imports and exports. It has also extra-local trade: consumer goods exports such as televisions, radios, bicycles, and textiles into the United States, Europe, and Japan fueled the economic expansion.

The ASEAN Free Trade Region is a trade bloc agreement through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations supporting regional manufacturing in all ASEAN countries. The AFTA agreement was signed on 28 January 1992 in Singapore. When the AFTA agreement was originally signed, ASEAN had six members, namely, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Vietnam joined in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and Cambodia in 1999.

Drug Trade

In 2010 the *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime* (UNODC) accounted that the global drug trade generated more than $320 billion a year in revenues. Worldwide, the UN estimates there are more than 50 million regular users of heroin, cocaine and synthetic drugs. The international trade of endangered species was second only to drug trafficking in the middle of smuggling "industries". Traditional Chinese medicine often incorporates ingredients from all sections of plants, the leaf, stem, flower, root, and also ingredients from animals and minerals. The use of sections of endangered species resulted in a black market of poachers who hunt restricted animals.

Tax Havens

A tax haven is a state, country or territory where sure taxes are levied at a low rate or not at all, which are used through businesses for tax avoidance and tax evasion. Individuals and/or corporate entities can discover it attractive to set up shell subsidiaries or move themselves to regions with reduced or nil taxation stages. This makes a situation of tax competition in the middle of governments. Dissimilar jurisdictions tend to be havens for dissimilar kinds of taxes, and for dissimilar categories of people and/or companies. States that are sovereign or self-governing under international law have theoretically unlimited powers to enact tax laws affecting their territories, unless limited through previous international treaties. The central characteristic of a tax haven is that its laws and other events can be used to evade or avoid the tax laws or regulations of other jurisdictions. In its December 2008 statement on the use of tax havens through

American corporations, the U.S. Government Accountability Office was unable to discover a satisfactory definition of a tax haven but regarded the following aspects as indicative of it:

- Nil or nominal taxes;
- Lack of effective swap of tax information with foreign tax authorities;
- Lack of transparency in the operation of legislative, legal or administrative provisions;
- No requirement for a substantive regional attendance; and
- Self-promotion as an offshore financial center.

A 2012 statement from the Tax Justice Network estimated that flanked by USD $21 trillion and $32 trillion is covered from taxes in unreported tax havens worldwide. If such wealth earns 3% annually and such capital gains were taxed at 30%, it would generate flanked by $190 billion and $280 billion in tax revenues, more than any other tax shelters. If such hidden offshore assets are measured, several countries with governments nominally in debt are shown to be net creditor nations. Though, the tax policy director of the Chartered Institute of Taxation expressed skepticism in excess of the accuracy of the figures. Daniel J. Mitchell of the Cato Institute says that the statement also assumes, when considering notional lost tax revenue, that 100% money deposited offshore is evading payment of tax.

Information Systems

Multinational corporations face the challenge of developing global information systems for global data processing and decision-creation. The Internet gives a broad region of services

to business and individual users. Because the World Wide Web imputer in the world, the Internet is closely related to global information systems. A global information organization is a data communication network that crosses national boundaries to access and procedure data in order to achieve corporate goals and strategic objectives.

Crossways companies and continents, information standards ensure desirable aspects of products and services such as quality, environmental friendliness, safety, reliability, efficiency and interchangeability at an economical cost. For businesses, widespread adoption of international standards means that suppliers can develop and offer products and services meeting specifications that have wide international acceptance in their sectors. Just as to the ISO, businesses by their International Standards are competitive in more markets approximately the world. The ISO develops standards through organizing technological committees of experts from the industrial, technological and business sectors who have asked for the standards and which subsequently put them to use. These experts may be joined through representatives of government agencies, testing laboratories, consumer associations, non-governmental institutions and academic circles.

International Tourism

Tourism is travel for recreational, leisure or business purposes. The World Tourism Organization defines tourists as people "traveling to and waiting in spaces outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes". There are several

shapes of tourism such as agritourism, birth tourism, culinary tourism, cultural tourism, eco-tourism, extreme tourism, geotourism, heritage tourism, LGBT tourism, medical tourism, nautical tourism, pop-civilization tourism, religious tourism, slum tourism, war tourism, and wildlife tourism

Globalization has made tourism a popular global leisure action. The *World Health Organization* (WHO) estimates that up to 500,000 people are in flight at any one time. In 2010, international tourism reached $919B, rising 6.5% in excess of 2009. In 2010, there were in excess of 940 million international tourist arrivals worldwide, on behalf of a development of 6.6% when compared to 2009. International tourism receipts grew to US$919 billion in 2010, corresponding to an augment in real conditions of 4.7%.

As a result of the late-2000s recession, international travel demand suffered a strong slowdown from the second half of 2008 by the end of 2009. After a 5% augment in the first half of 2008, development in international tourist arrivals moved into negative territory in the second half of 2008, and ended up only 2% for the year, compared to a 7% augment in 2007. This negative trend intensified throughout 2009, exacerbated in some countries due to the outbreak of the H1N1 influenza virus, resulting in a worldwide decline of 4.2% in 2009 to 880 million international tourists' arrivals, and a 5.7% decline in international tourism receipts.

Economic Globalization

Economic globalization is the rising economic interdependence of national economies crossways the world by a rapid augment

in cross-border movement of goods, service, technology and capital. Whereas the globalization of business is centered approximately the diminution of international trade regulations as well as tariffs, taxes, and other impediments that suppresses global trade, economic globalization is the procedure of rising economic integration flanked by countries, leading to the emergence of a global marketplace or a single world market. Depending on the paradigm, economic globalization can be viewed as either a positive or a negative phenomenon.

Economic globalization includes the globalization of manufacture, markets, competition, technology, and corporations and industries. Current globalization trends can be mainly accounted for through urbanized economies integrating with less urbanized economies, through means of foreign direct investment, the reduction of trade barriers as well as other economic reforms and, in several cases, immigration.

As an instance, Chinese economic reform began to open China to the globalization in the 1980s. Scholars discover that China has attained a degree of openness that is unprecedented in the middle of big and populous nations", with competition from foreign goods in approximately every sector of the economy. Foreign investment helped to greatly augment quality, knowledge and standards, especially in heavy industry. China's experience supports the assertion that globalization greatly increases wealth for poor countries. As of 2005–2007, the Port of Shanghai holds the title as the World's busiest port.

Economic liberalization in India is the ongoing economic reforms in India that started in 1991. As of 2009, in relation to the300 million people—equivalent to the whole population of the United States—have escaped extreme poverty. In India, business procedure outsourcing has been called as the "primary engine of the country's growth in excess of the after that few decades, contributing broadly to GDP development, employment development, and poverty alleviation".

Support and Criticism

Reactions to procedures contributing to globalization have varied widely with a history as extensive as extraterritorial get in touch with and trade. Philosophical differences concerning the costs and benefits of such procedures provide rise to a broad-range of ideologies and social movements. Proponents of economic development, expansion and growth, in common, view globalizing procedures as desirable or necessary to the well-being of human community Antagonists view one or more globalizing procedures as detrimental to social well-being on a global or regional level; this comprises those who question either the social or natural sustainability of extensive-term and continuous economic expansion, the social structural in excellence caused through these procedures, and the colonial, Imperialistic, or hegemonic ethnocentrism, cultural assimilation and cultural appropriation that underlie such procedures.

As summarized through Noam Chomsky:

The dominant propaganda systems have appropriated the term "globalization" to refer to the specific adaptation of

international economic integration that they favor, which privileges the rights of investors and lenders, those of people being incidental. In accord with this usage, those who favor a dissimilar form of international integration, which privileges the rights of human beings, become "anti-globalize." This is basically vulgar propaganda, like the term "anti-Soviet" used through the mainly disgusting commissars to refer to dissidents. It is not only vulgar, but idiotic. Take the World Social Forum, described "anti-globalization" in the propaganda organization – which happens to contain the media, the educated classes, etc., with unusual exceptions. The WSF is a paradigm instance of globalization. It is a gathering of vast numbers of people from all in excess of the world, from presently in relation to the every corner of life one can think of, separately from the very narrow highly privileged elites who meet at the competing World Economic Forum, and are described "pro-globalization" through the propaganda organization.

Proponents

In common, corporate businesses, particularly in the region of fund. Several economists cite statistics that look to support such positive impact. For instance, per capita Gross Domestic Product countries accelerated from 1.4 percent a year in the 1960s and 2.9 percent a year in the 1970s to 3.5 percent in the 1980s and 5.0 percent in the 1990s. This acceleration in development looks even more extra ordinary given that the rich countries saw steady declines in development from a high of 4.7 percent in the 1960s to 2.2 percent in the 1990s. Also, the non-globalizing developing countries look to fare worse than the globalizes, with the former's annual development rates

falling from highs of 3.3 percent throughout the 1970s to only 1.4 percent throughout the 1990s. This rapid development in the middle of the globalizes is not basically due to the strong performances of China and India in the 1980s and 1990s—18 out of the 24 globalizes experienced increases in development, several of them quite substantial.

Economic Liberalism and Free Trade

Economic liberals usually argue that higher degrees of political and economic freedom in the form of free trade in the urbanized world are ends in themselves, producing higher stages of overall material wealth. Globalization is seen as the beneficial spread of liberty and capitalism. Jagdish Bhagwati, a former adviser to the U.N. on globalization, holds that, although there are obvious troubles with overly rapid growth, globalization is a extremely positive force that lifts countries out of poverty through causing a virtuous economic cycle associated with faster economic development. Economist Paul Krugman is another staunch supporter of globalization and free trade with a record of disagreeing with several critics of globalization. He argues that several of them lack a vital understanding of comparative advantage and its importance in today's world.

Global Democracy

Democratic globalization is a movement towards an institutional organization of global democracy that would provide world citizens a say in political institutions. This would, in their view, bypass nation-states, corporate oligopolies, ideological Non-governmental institutions its

mainly prolific proponents is the British political thinker David Held. Advocates of democratic globalization argue that economic expansion and growth should be the first stage of democratic globalization, which is to be followed through a stage of structure global political organizations. Dr. Francesco Stipo, Director of the United States Association of the Club of Rome, advocates unifying nations under a world government, suggesting that it "should reflect the political and economic balances of world nations. A world confederation would not supersede the power of the State governments but rather complement it, as both the States and the world power would have power within their sphere of competence". Former Canadian Senator Douglas Roche, O.C., viewed globalization as inevitable and advocated creating organizations such as a directly elected United Nations Parliamentary Assembly to exercise oversight in excess of unelected international bodies.

Global Civics

Global civics suggests that civics can be understood, in a global sense, as a social contract flanked by world citizens in the age of interdependence and interaction. The disseminators of the concept describe it as the notion that we have sure rights and responsibilities towards each other through the mere information of being human on Earth. World citizen has a diversity of same meanings, often referring to a person who disapproves of traditional geopolitical divisions derived from national citizenship. An early incarnation of this sentiment can be establish in Socrates, who Plutarch quoted as saying: "I am not an Athenian, or a Greek, but a citizen of the world." In an increasingly interdependent world, world citizens require a compass to frame their mindsets and make a shared

consciousness and sense of global responsibility in world issues such as environmental troubles and nuclear proliferation.

Cosmopolitanism is the notion that all human ethnic groups belong to a single society based on a shared morality. A person who adheres to the thought of cosmopolitanism in any of its shapes is described a cosmopolitan or cosmopolite. A cosmopolitan society might be based on an inclusive morality, a shared economic connection, or a political structure that encompasses dissimilar nations. The cosmopolitan society is one in which individuals from dissimilar spaces form relationships based on mutual respect. For example, Kwame Anthony Appiah suggests the possibility of a cosmopolitan society in which individuals from varying sites enter relationships of mutual respect despite their differing beliefs.

Canadian philosopher Marshall McLuhan popularized the term *Global Village* beginning in 1962. His view suggested that globalization would lead to a world where people from all countries will become more integrated and aware of general interests and shared humanity.

Critiques

Critiques of globalization usually stem from discussions nearby the impact of such procedures on the planet as well as the human costs. They challenge directly traditional metrics, such as GDP, and seem to other events, such as the Gini coefficient or the Happy Planet Index, and point to a "multitude of interconnected fatal consequences–social disintegration, a breakdown of democracy, more rapid and long deterioration of

the environment, the spread of new diseases, rising poverty and alienation" which they claim are the unintended consequences of globalization.

Criticisms have arisen from church groups, national liberation factions, peasant unionists, intellectuals, artists, protectionists, anarchists, those in support of relocalization and others.

Some opponents of globalization see the phenomenon as the promotion of corporatist interests. They also claim that the rising autonomy and strength of corporate entities forms the political policy of countries. They advocate global organizations and policies that they consider bigger address the moral claims of poor and working classes as well as environmental concerns. Economic arguments through fair trade theorists claim that unrestricted free trade benefits those with more financial leverage at the expense of the poor.

Critics argue that globalization results in:

Poorer countries suffering disadvantages: While it is true that free trade encourages globalization in the middle of countries, some countries attempt to protect their domestic suppliers. The largest export of poorer countries is generally agricultural goods. Superior countries often subsidize their farmers, which lowers the market price for foreign crops.

The shift to outsourcing: Globalization allowed corporations to move manufacturing and service occupations from high cost sites, creating economic opportunities with the mainly competitive wages and worker benefits.

Weak labor unions: The surplus in cheap labor coupled with an ever rising number of companies in transition weakened labor unions in high-cost regions. Unions lose their effectiveness and workers their enthusiasm for unions when membership begins to decline.

An augment in use of child labor: Countries with weak protections for children are vulnerable to infestation through rogue companies and criminal gangs who use them. Examples contain quarrying, salvage, and farm work as well as trafficking, bondage, forced labor, prostitution and pornography.

Helena Norberg-Hodge, the director and founder of ISEC, criticizes globalization in several methods. In her book *Ancient Futures*, Norberg-Hodge claims that "centuries of ecological balance and social harmony are under threat from the pressures of growth and globalization." She also criticizes the standardization and rationalization of globalization, as it does not always yield the expected development outcomes. Although globalization takes same steps in mainly countries, scholars such as Hodge claim that it might not be effective to sure countries, for globalization has actually moved some countries backward instead of developing them.

Anti-globalization Movement

Anti-globalization, or counter-globalization, consists of a number of criticisms of globalization but, in common, is critical of the globalization of corporate capitalism. The movement is also commonly referred to as the alter-globalization movement, anti-globalist movement, anti-

corporate globalization movement, or movement against neoliberal globalization. Although British sociologist Paul Q. Hirst and political economist Grahame F. Thompson note the term is vague; "anti-globalization movement" activities may contain attempts to demonstrate sovereignty, practice regional democratic decision-creation, or restrict the international transfer of people, goods and capitalist ideologies, particularly free market deregulation. Canadian author and social activist Naomi Klein argues that the term could denote either a single social movement or encompass multiple social movements such as nationalism and socialism. Bruce Podobnik, a sociologist at Lewis and Clark College, states that "the huge majority of groups that participate in these protests attract on international networks of support, and they usually call for shapes of globalization that enhance democratic representation, human rights, and egalitarianism." Economists Joseph Stiglitz and Andrew Charlton write:

The anti-globalization movement urbanized in opposition to the perceived negative characteristics of globalization. The term 'anti-globalization' is in several methods a misnomer, since the group symbolizes a wide range of interests and issues and several of the people involved in the anti-globalization movement do support closer ties flanked by the several peoples and cultures of the world by, for instance, aid, assistance for refugees, and global environmental issues. In common, opponents of globalization in urbanized countries are disproportionately transitional-class and college-educated. This contrasts sharply with the situation in developing countries, where the anti-globalization movement has been more successful in enlisting a broader group, including millions of workers and farmers.

Opposition to Capital Market Integration

Capital markets have to do with raising and investing moneys in several human enterprises. Rising integration of these financial markets flanked by countries leads to the emergence of a global capital marketplace or a single world market. In the extensive run, increased movement of capital flanked by countries tends to favor owners of capital more than any other group; in the short run, owners and workers in specific sectors in capital-exporting countries bear much of the burden of adjusting to increased movement of capital. It is not surprising that these circumstances lead to political divisions in relation to the whether or not to encourage or augment international capital market integration.

Those opposed to capital market integration on the foundation of human rights issues are especially disturbed through the several abuses which they think are perpetuated through global and international organizations that, they say, promote neoliberalism without regard to ethical standards. General targets contain:

- the World Bank (WB),
- International Monetary Finance (IMF),

the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Growth and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and free trade treaties like the North American Free Trade Agreement, Free Trade Region of the Americas, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) and the Common Agreement on Trade in Services.

In light of the economic gap flanked by rich and poor countries, movement adherents claim "free trade" without events in lay to protect the under-capitalized will contribute only to the strengthening the power of industrialized nations o the developing world's "South".

Chapter 4

South Asia Economy, Society and Politics

India In The Global Power Structure

Global Power Structure

A significant characteristic of the international political organization is that it has been a close to oligarchy of major powers. All other powers (the minor powers) are consigned to the role of objects of the decisions of the major powers. Though the global political organization is organized on the principle of sovereign equality of states, in actual practice, there is a hierarchy of states based on their power capabilities. Power is the strength or capability of state to exert its power on other state or states. The power of a state is usually judged through its military capability, economic strength and its will and capability to mould international opinion in its favor.

While there is no agreement on the relative importance of several elements of power, Joseph S Nye suggests a broad categorization of the elements of power into hard and soft power possessions. Hard power possessions are military, economic, technological and demographic possessions. These are the tangible possessions which give the capabilities for coercion and command. Soft power possessions, on the other hand, are intangible. They contain, norms, leadership role in international organizations, culture, state capability, strategy,

and national leadership. The soft power possessions enable the state to inspire consensus (agreement) and to co-opt (persuade others to share the similar goals). Soft power is less coercive in nature. Some soft power possessions, such as state capability, strategic or diplomatic strength and excellence of national leadership are significant in converting a state's latent capabilities into actualized power.

Major Powers have all the ingredients of power which enables them to determine whether in disagreement or cooperation, the nature of international organization and its future development. They have the power to power all other states in the international organization as they have the capability to project power globally and conduct offensive and suspicious operations beyond their areas. Typically, major powers hold global or continental interests and their security goals are beyond territorial protection, and contain the maintenance of balance of power and order in international organization. States which lack mainly of these possessions are Minor Powers, vulnerable to pressures from major powers.

In flanked by the major powers and minor powers are another category of states which are self-governing centers of power (or organization influencing states) which do not have the leverage to power the course of the international organization as a whole, but posses enough capabilities to have a considerable degree of foreign policy autonomy and the capability to resist the application of unwelcome decisions, especially in the realm of security, in their own areas. Unlike the major powers which have organization wide or global power, these self-governing centers of power are often dominant or pre-eminent in a sure area. They are mostly referred to, in Martin Wright's

conditions, as great local powers or as Middle Powers in view of their status as lying in flanked by major and minor powers.

Another significant characteristic of the international political organization is that it is dynamic, that is, is under constant change. This is not only because some of the ingredients of powers are subject to change but, as the realists point out, also because of the constant thrash about for power in the middle of the major powers. Since the international organization came into being in the 16 century Europe, it has witnessed the rise and fall of major powers. This procedure occurred mainly through major wars that engulfed many countries in several theatres of the globe.

The winners with the necessary military and economic attributes were accorded major power status in the post-war settlements, while the vanquished in mainly instances lost such status altogether. Therefore, through the 18" century, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands lost major power status following their defeat in wars or loss of colonial empires. Austria-Hungary lost the status of a major power after the World War I. Germany and Japan were replaced through China as a major power after World War II. The United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, which appeared victorious in that war were accorded major power status and became the five permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations. Strictly speaking, only the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, could be measured as major powers throughout the Cold War era. The other three-Britain, France and China, which never had the global reach of the superpowers, are in essence, second tier major powers.

The global power structure in the post-war years has undergone important changes. Initially, the Cold War disagreement flanked by the two superpowers gave rise to a bipolar power structure. Mainly nations had little option other than to join or face with one or the other of the superpowers. Though, this situation could not continue for extensive as the United States weakened its location because of prolonged engagement in Vietnam. The global power structure started heading towards a multi-polar order dominated through the United States, Soviet Union, Europe, Japan and China. Though, before such arrangement could consolidate, the Soviet Union disintegrated. The United States appeared as the sold state deserving of the appellation 'mono superpower' as a possessor of systemic capabilities and power. The other possible contenders for the role remained basically as either partial powers (Russia, China, Japan) or subordinate military allies of the US (Japan, Europe). Their strategic significance for now lies in their possible emergence in the not too distant future as superpowers.

India's Geopolitical Location

Right from its inception as a contemporary state, if not before, India has seen itself as a potential major power. Such an image appeared not only from the information that India has been a seat of historic culture and recognition of its potential economic and military strengths but from the geopolitical factors as well.

India is situated in the Indian subcontinent, which constitutes a single geopolitical fortress, bound through the Himalayas in the north and the Indian Ocean ill the south. In addition,

although divided into seven states of South Asia, the subcontinent constitutes in some measure a single culture intricate. It is a geopolitical element of huge dimensions, comparable to Europe. Its site, lying astride the Indian Ocean and flanking the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Malacca, bestows the area with strategic significance.

The South Asia area as a whole is patently indo-centric, not only in the sense that India is situated at the centre of the area, but also because India approximately constitutes the area, holding three quarters of its territory and population. Within the area, India is singularly central to the geopolitics of the area, as all of the other countries in the area share borders with it but not with each other.

India's predominant location in a mainly well defined and self contained Indo-centric geopolitical area also meant that threats to is security appeared from outside the area, from the major powers, rather from other powers within the South Asia area. As a consequence, India is led-much as the US in the western hemisphere-to a conception of national security which requires the exclusion of external powers from the subcontinent. It conceptions of security is therefore not basically national, but geopolitical and local. Though, such a conception of security necessarily entails interaction with other areas as a major power; role extension on the world scene is therefore built into India's dominant location in the area.

The image of India as a potential major power which was shared through the Indian elite meant, as Jawaharlal Nehru informed the Constituent Assembly in 1948, "the inevitability

of India playing an significant part through virtue of her tremendous potential, through virtue of the information that she is the major political element in conditions of population today and is likely to be in conditions of her possessions also". Nehru and his successors rejected status for India as a substance of the major powers in favor of the role of a subject.

India's self image as a potential major power and the domestic and foreign policies aimed at realizing that potential cast India in a revisionist role, for the underlying assumption is that the present global structure of power dominated through a few is to a sure degree unacceptable because it impinges on India's independence. This assumption was firmly held, even if unstated, through Nehru and his successors. This was manifest in both the domestic and foreign policies- in the development strategy that accentuated self-reliance and strengthened hard power capabilities and in the nonaligned foreign policy that accentuated independence and activism in world affairs. It is also apparent in its refusal to accept the hegemony of the major powers and in its resistance to the efforts of the major power to foreclose its options to emerge as a nuclear power through refusing to join the Non-proliferation treaty and alike other security regimes.

India, though, has not pushed its revisionist role to the point of assuming the role of a full-fledged rebellious power. It has avoided direct confrontation with the major powers and provided a more or less limited challenge to the major powers in their attempts to organize the world just as to their own designs. India, therefore, has been a reformist and middle of the road power, whether at home or abroad.

Presently as there is a tenacious drive apparent on the part of India to acquire major power role, there is an equally a powerful resistance to it on the part of the existing major powers, principally the US and, in the recent years, China. In the early years, concerned that India's activist role would circumscribe its power in the developing power, the US adopted a policy of local containment of India. This containment policy involved the structure up Pakistan militarily and siding with it in the South Asian local disagreement. It also involved the denial of material and technological assistance that could contribute to India's hard power capabilities. Since the 1970s, particularly after India demonstrated its nuclear capability through detonating a nuclear device in 1974, the major powers have evolved a sanctions regime aimed at denying all technologies that might contribute to India's nuclear and missile capabilities. In the post-Cold war era, the US intensified its efforts to institute a nuclear non-proliferation regime that would preserve the nuclear monopoly of the five major powers while denying it to emerging powers such as India. China's policy towards India has also been one that of containment. Since 1963, China has actively sided with Pakistan in the latter's disagreement with India and has cooperated with Pakistan in structure its nuclear and missile capabilities through supplying technology, components and materials.

India's Power Capabilities

There is ambiguity in relation to the India's location in the global power structure. This arises from the information that India is a middle power. It does not belong to the major powers which command a subject role in international politics and

create vital decisions in relation to the fate and destiny of the international organization. Nor is it, one of the minor powers which, with limited foreign policy autonomy, a substance of the decisions of the major powers. What is the objective status of India? Where does it stand in comparison to the existing major powers (US, Russia, China, UK and France) and major economic powers (Japan and Germany)?

In the region of military capabilities, India's conventional capabilities are no match for those of the major powers though it can boast of the third main armed forces after China and the United States. Moreover, it capabilities for extensive range or rapid deployment are limited relative to the five major powers. India's power projection capabilities are limited through the need to give active protection on two fronts-one with the smaller but determined adversary, Pakistan and the other with the major power in the north, China. In conditions of economic power, India, as it stepped into the new millennium, has appeared as the fourth main economy in the world in Purchasing Power Parity, after that only to US, China and Japan. Though, its GNP is only $450 billion, and with a per capita income of only $450, India ranks low compared to any of the major powers. In relation to the 300 million of its population, that is, 30 percent of the population lives below the poverty row. Even in conditions of economic competitiveness, in the year 2000, India ranked forty-ninth. India's weak economic location is critical because other elements of power, such as military capability and the productivity of the population, tend to augment mainly beside with economic advancement.

In conditions of population size, India is after that only to China. But, population is both an asset and a curse for India. Its state of Uttar Pradesh (176 million) holds more population than that mainly of the major powers, Russia (147 million), UK (59 million), and France (59 million). India's middle class, which is estimated to he approximately 300 million and pool of scientific manpower which is the third main in the world, is definitely an asset, especially as all the major powers (barring China) are likely to depend on the Indian human possessions because of their falling birth rates and ageing population. Though, India's big numbers of unskilled and illiterate people are a bane for the country's power capability.

It is hard to draw comparisons with regard to soft power indicators as these are intangible. Soft power possessions complement hard power possessions and in the increasingly interdependent world, their importance as low cost means for exercising and preserving a state's power externally is becoming significant. Major Powers use norms to legitimize their international status. In this regard, India's' normative power has been reasonably high in the developing world. India has been a constant voice on behalf of the developing countries. As a leader of the nonaligned movement, it has championed global equality and new international economic order. This stance has been manifest in India's positions at the international deal talks and in the United Nations forums such as the UNCTAD. Further, India's own track record as a democracy also enhances its normative power.

Major Powers use organizations to legitimize their location. In this context, India has been an active member of many international economic organizations and regimes. It has

exercised institutional power from time to time, through its leadership in G-77, G-20 and the non-aligned group. It's contribution to the UN peacekeeping efforts since the early 1950s also enhance its institutional power.

India, though, ranks low in other sources of soft power such as state capability, strategy and national leadership. Indian state has been unable to develop adequate strength to generate loyalty and discipline in the middle of its population. In the 1960s, India was even described as a 'soft state' because of its failure to enforce enacted policies. In the region of strategy and diplomacy, India's record has been mixed. While the anti hegemonic theme of its diplomacy helped in establishing a role in the global organizations, forging third world solidarity and helped in bargain on North and South issues, it alienated the US and the Western countries, which attempted to contain and balance India through propping up a weaker Pakistan. National leadership, significant to translate other power possessions into international power, also has been a mixed bag. In the early years after independence, India's international power has been mainly because of the commanding leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. Though India became inward looking after the reverses in the 1962 Sino India war, Mrs Indira Gandhi did exert some power overseas.

India: A Rising Power

In the post-Cold War era, India is seen as a rising power for two significant reasons. First, its hard power capabilities, while lagging behind those of the major powers, are appreciably higher than those of the other local powers such as Brazil, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, Nigeria and Egypt. The

Indian middle class of 300 million is much superior the population of Indonesia (287 million) and Brazil (1 68 million), the two main local powers. Arid none of these local powers hold aggregate raw military capabilities compared to India. In the economic sphere, India has the main economy, except for that of Brazil, though in per capita dollar conditions, all local powers, with the exception of Nigeria and Pakistan, rank above India.

Secondly, India is changing rapidly and is strengthening its location in approximately all indicators of hard power capabilities, though the stage of improvement varies from one region to another. In the early 19903, faced with liquidity crisis, India opened up its market and integrated with the world economy. Since then, its average annual growth rate has been in excess of 6 percent. And as its expanding market has become an attractive location for foreign investors and exporters, India has acquired a great degree of self confidence in emerging as a major economic player, at least in niche regions such as information technology, biotechnology and related region. India has already begun to see its big and expanding market as the base for encouraging local economic cooperation in the subcontinent and beyond. In the 1990s, in an effort to foster closer economic connection within the South Asia area, India has replaced the concept of reciprocity in economic cooperation with its neighbors with 'more than reciprocity'. India's aspirations extended beyond the South Asia area, and it became an active promoter in 1997 of the Indian Ocean Rim Associations for Local Cooperation (IOR-ARC). It also became a full dialogue partner of with the ASEAN Local Forum. While these moves are primarily economic in orientation, they are likely to have strategic implications in the

extensive run. In the military domain, India's power projection capabilities beyond the area are rapidly rising as a result the constant support lent through dissimilar governments to the Integrated Missile Development Program which was launched in the early 1980s. This program has resulted in the development of a range of ballistic missiles, including the Agni I missile with a range of 1500 km in the 1990s. The program has plans to develop longer range version of the Agni missile as well as an intercontinental ballistic missile. With these, India's military reach is set to augment to cover the Distant East, West Asia, and Central Asia as well as Australasia. India has already successfully produced an extensive-range, cruise missiles in a co-manufacture arrangement with Russia. Through distant the mainly important development that enhanced India's location in the global power structure is its decision to go nuclear in May 1998.

India's defiance of major powers in its decision to mannered underground nuclear tests and emerge as a nuclear weapon state followed from its efforts to overcome the challenges In the strategic arena- the collapse of the Soviet Union and with it the special Indo-Soviet connection, the intensified efforts of the major powers to strengthen the non-proliferation regime to retain their monopoly in excess of nuclear weapons and foreclose India exercising the nuclear option, and the US negligence of the Chinese transfer of nuclear and missile equipment and technology Ito Pakistan. The major powers, rightly perceived in the nuclear tests, beside with India's declaration that it now stood as a nuclear weapon state, a challenger to their hegemony.

The first reaction of the major powers was to condemn the nuclear tests. Many of them sought to isolate India politically and to punish it economically through sanctions, suspension of economic aid, and denial of loans from international financial organizations. Confident that its economy had the resilience to withstand economic pressures, India remained unrelenting, Soon differences surfaced in the middle of the major power as to how to deal with India. Russia and France left no doubt, through word and deed, of their dissimilar approach through opposition to sanctions and political ostracism. France's posture appeared these circumstances; the US initiated a strategic dialogue with India. The result was a tacit and partial accommodation on the part of the US to India as a de facto nuclear weapon state, even as the US formally remained committed to its ultimate aim of nuclear non-proliferation. Other major powers, barring China, have initiated strategic dialogue with India. China is mainly adversely affected through India's rise to a nuclear weapons power, as it could end China's unhindered hegemony in excess of Asia. It was mainly critical of the Indian tests and irritated through the US dialogue with India, but it too has approach round to establishing normal dealings with India and even occupied in a security dialogue with it. Therefore, within two years of the tests, there was a sea change in the treatment of India through major powers. The nuclear tests have increased India's political and diplomatic bargaining power with the other major powers, as apparent in the strategic dialogues that it has begun to engage in with all the major powers. India is now also taken seriously, even if not universally, as a candidate for the major power status.

Having repositioned itself from being a middle power in the international organization to become a candidate major power, India has been working towards achieving permanent membership for itself in the restructured Security Council of the United Nations. For quite some time now, there has been a demand to restructure the UN Security Council to reflect the changes in the global power structure. In this context, the acquisition of permanent membership ill the Security Council will dramatically improve the Indian power location in the global power structure. As we noted earlier, organizations have been a source of soft power capabilities. Recognized powers have often used organizations to legitimize their location. Rising powers such as China have also been increasingly by organizations in order to further their power ambitions. India already exercises institutional power intermittently through its leadership in G-77, G-20 and the nonaligned group. Its contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations also gives India with some institutional power. Through any possible benchmark for membership, India's claim for a UN seat is the strongest in the middle of the contenders like Japan, Germany, Indonesia, UAE, Brazil, etc.