Chapter - II
GLOBALISATION: A CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter analyses globalisation in a conceptual and theoretical perspective in three broad sections. The first deals with nature, definition and various elements and dimensions, relation with culture, migration, consequences, and globalisation and historical emergence. The second section encompasses market and media relations as two wheels of globalisation. In the market aspect of globalisation, relation of consumer, goods and services, transnational corporations and their roles, privatisation and its means and consequences, and benefits and their distribution are described and analysed. For media aspect, development of communication and information technology, individual and collective life, capitalism and consumption, and socio-cultural and political relations are being discussed. The last section delineates theoretical perspectives of globalisation broadly in terms of consumerism, imperialism, dependency and modernisation.

The term globalisation has been widely put as a concept to shape contemporary world in every realm of life such as economy, politics, society, policy making, market, advertising, information, etc. It refers to life in increasingly deep and interconnected, mobile, and speeded world fuelled by technological innovation, geopolitical, social and economic transformation. After breaking up of the Soviet Union and fall of Berlin wall, international trade, deregulating national economics, privitising the states, structurally adjusting and developing world economy, and transnational corporation's activities are being accelerated and leading to transformation in labour, capital, state, technology, socio-cultural relations, private and public life world, with compression of time-space and sense of global interconnectedness.¹ The process is primarily understood as an economic and political process but its global-local framework focuses on its cultural dimension. The cross nation connections and overload have been created due to globalisation in the economic, political, cultural, social environmental domain. When transnational corporations (TNCs) go to other countries through selling their products or buying corporations located in foreign countries and opening branches offices or

subsidiaries in their home countries, it results in economic globalisation. Expansion of multinational corporations (MNCs), consumption of foreign sourced goods and services, aggravates into exports, imports and investment relations among nation-states. This process got fostered with the development of international communication infrastructure like radio, satellite, interconnected telecommunication such as Internet, cell phone, television. The transnational connection formed by mobile individuals as they create social relationship, and the density of international ties grow across countries as the migrant population maintain close connection to their home/origin countries through remitting money back home, and form new relationship with community and family in the their destination countries.²

**Globalisation: Elements and Dimensions**

Various scholars like A. Appadurai, A. Giddens, R. Robertson, Jan Nederveen, J. Friedman, Bob Fitch, Paul Hirst and Grahame, David Held, Nagarie Wood, James Petras and Henry Waltmayer have viewed several elements and dimensions for explaining process of globalisation. These elements are- state, economy, migration, various institutional relations, blend of global and local in different hegemonic and heterogenic sphere in both optimistic and pessimistic frames of reference. Globalisation is a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their intensity, extensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power.³ The approach developed, here, centers on the idea of historical forms of which can be described and compared initially in respect of the four spatio-temporal dimensions such as institutional, decisional, distributive and structural. Decisional impacts refer to the degree to which the relative costs and benefits of the policy choice confronting governments, corporations, collectivities and households are influenced by global forces and conditions. The notion of institutional impact highlights the ways in which organisational and collective agendas reflect the effective choices or

² Ibid., pp. 331-332.
range of choices available as a result of globalisation. The distributional impact refers to the ways, which shape the configuration of social forces like groups, classes, and collectivities within societies and across them. Finally, it may have discernible structural impacts in so far as it conditions patterns of domestic social, economic and political organisation and behaviour.

**Global Cultural Flow**

Appadurai (1997) says that global cultural flows occur in and through the growing disjunctures between ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. By ethnoscapes, he means the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live like tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving group and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.

Technoscapes, means the global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology, and of the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries. The finanscapes, means the disposition of global capital is now a more mysterious, rapid and difficult landscape to follow than ever before, as currency markets, national turn styles at blinding speed, with vast implications for small differences in percentage points and time units. But the critical point is that the global relationship between ethnoscapes, technoscapes and finanscapes is deeply disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable, since each of these landscapes is subject to its own constraints and incentives with some political, some informational and some techno-environmental. The mediascapes and ideoscapes, are closely related landscapes of images. Mediascapes refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information with newspaper, magazines, television stations, film production studios, etc., which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world and to the images of the world created by these media. What is the most important about these mediascapes is that they provide especially in their television, film and cassette forms

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large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of news and politics are profoundly mixed. Ideoscapes is also concatenations of images. But they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it. These ideoscapes are composed of elements of the Enlightenment world-view, which consists of a concatenation of ideas, terms and images, including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation and master-term democracy.

This formulation is the core of this model of global cultural flow, which needs some explanation. First, people, machinery, money, images, and ideas now follow increasingly non-isomorphic paths: of course, at all periods in human history, there have been some disjuncture between the flows of these things, but the sheer speed, scale and volume of each of these flows is now so great that the disjuncture have become central to the politics of global culture. The globalisation of culture is not the same as its homogenisation, it involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenisation, armaments, advertising techniques, language hegemonies, clothing styles and the like, which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies. The heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, free-enterprise, fundamentalism, etc. in which the state plays an increasingly delicate role, which is too much open to global flows and it is threatened by little revolt too. The central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of the sameness and difference to cannibalise one another and thus to proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular. The critical points of the global cultural process today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of the sameness and difference on a stage characterised by radical disjuncture between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjuncture.

Two Approaches of Globalisation
Jonathan Friedman (1994) makes an attempt to distinguishing global process on the basis of two different approaches. The first is recent development of combining of interest from literary studies inspired by cultural sociology focusing on recognition of what is
conceived as increasing interconnectedness, interchanges, movements of people, images and commodities on the worldwide scale. The second refers to the approach of global system developed earlier as a kind of global historical political economy and starts tackling recent issues of culture and identity in the global systemic terms. Much of his discussion has centred on the aspects like hierarchical nature of imperialism, increasing hegemony of particular central cultures, diffusion of consumer goods and lifestyles, and alarming fear concerning obliteration of cultural differences in the world, not only in peripheral states but even in western Europe where, in 1950s and 1960s, there was a genuine fear of cultural elite about the hegemony of Coca-Cola culture. His view is related to global awareness about the way in which it is established in different period of history in the global system and about the attribution of meanings that are of a global nature. He warns that this attribution of meaning should not be conflated with the global processes of attribution that are local in origin like nationalism, ethnicities, Balkanisation, which are more particular in happening or localisation than particularisation, which is considered as a product of global system in particular phase of its development and not a general characteristic of global field.

The term global arena, in the view of Friedman, is important precondition, which refers to the processes that are cultural and concerned with the attribution of meaning in the global area. Global arena is precondition for the formation of local identities such as nation states, the Third and the Fourth world, ethnicities, religious movements, which are globally generated with localised in strategies. The global arena is a product of a definite set of dynamic properties referred to a global system or global processes, which include formation of centre periphery structures, their expansion, contraction, fragmentation and reestablishment through cycles of shifting hegemony. There are numerous cultural processes of identity formation in above mentioned other processes that are generated directly into global system or global process. The origin of cultural product is maintained or obliterated in a question of practice of identity and the nature of a culture of a territory is reduced to the identification and identity idea or practice of identity is a question of global system, in Friedman’s view, and practice of identity constitutes and transforms the

6 Ibid., pp. 196-198.
7 Ibid., pp. 73-74.
actors in the system and the dynamics behind above system implies that the above
discussion of globalisation is about global systemic mechanism. The global systems
include processes, which mean establishment of global institutional forms, global
processes of identification and their cultural products. And global processes without
establishment of regular institutional frameworks have also been the major source of
social transformation. The collapse of and transformation of great empires of old and new
world, metamorphosis of tribal social system as a result of reorientation of trade,
formation of colonial societies, production of hunters, gatherers and chiefdoms as well as
pluralism, lumpen proletariats, other classes and states all are engendered by global
process and part and parcel of global system. The global system involves articulation,
which is one of decisive transformation of life forms, a historical processes of global
system poses specific properties such as expansion/contraction, hegemonisation/fragmentation that inform and limit the conditions of existence, reaction,
and cultural strategies of those who participate in them. There is immediate relation
between differential life condition in the system and generation of 'identity space', which
produce cultural specific institutional forms. These forms include central power to
classify the world, how this classification changes our time, when and where notions of
modernism, primitivism, traditionalism, emerge and also varieties of colonial regimes,
post colonial states, social and cultural movements and identity space of global system in
these terms are becoming the source of much content referring to the context for
formation of global institutional structures. These are existing into global field, global
cultural forms, which are either produced or transformed into globally accessible objects
and representations. Friedman says nation-states and Balkanisation are not facts but a
global system phenomenon and their dynamics are not about the establishment of
organisations that span larger regions or even globe but about transformation of relation
of self identification in the world at a specific historical conjuncture.  

Institutional and cultural processes are simultaneous aspects and they are
thoroughly intertwined and interpenetrating and it is incorrect to distinguish them. Since
specific structures are involved in the processes and writings on globalisation have been
culturalist, Friedman thinks to make analytical distinction. There are many like awareness

\footnote{i}{Ibid., pp. 74-75.}
of global, consciousness of imploded world, global village, global representations, music or world maps, whole or fragmentations, which are globalised products rather than merely representations of global world or identification of global arena. But in cultural sense, it might applies to the following:9

1. A stable frame of global reference is required, which allows access from different parts of the global system to the same set of expressions or representations in the form of an object or an attitude. These prerequisites are referred as weak. It refers to the existence of global field of reference, which is access beyond local communities, territories, state, region to a wide arena. This basis lies in all means that communicate and mediate representations in the global system, which guarantees reception of those which are produced and transported. It entails the local assimilates the global into its own realm of practiced meaning.

2. The homogenisation concept at first thing is necessary for frames of attribution of meaning. It implies the mechanism of global processes and have themselves globalised objects and representations that circulate in the global arena in the same way. This basis lies in the creation of subjects in the global scale that interpret the world similarly. The prerequisite is homogenisation of local context is so that subjects of the different position in the system have a disposition to attribute the same meaning to the same globalised objects, image, representations, etc. It requires production of similar kinds of subject on the global scale. The nature of global process as a social process that transforms the social condition of production of meanings, which is necessary to understand the difference in kinds of globalisation.

3. Global relations have always been visible in the most early identifiable institutions such as colonial administrations, transnational corporations, world banking, labour organisation, international religious structures of Christianity and Islam, media corporations, which are constructed within the already existing global fields and can be referred to as opposed of global systemic process. They all are bound in the global relations, globalised hierarchy and products consolidation in existing world order. The existence of large tourist identity,

9 Ibid., pp. 76-77.
emerging trend of consumption, changing conditions of transportation, changing income structure in the centre, advertising and construction of fantasy world, mercantile companies and their globally institutionalised world, trade system of Indian ocean and the Southeast Asia, cable news network (CNN), Robertson’s ‘humankind’ underlying identity of the world news network, socialisation of the global arena in terms of regularly reproduced praxis are core of institutional processes of globalisation.¹⁰

Taking pessimistic view of the globalisation and global system, Jonathan Friedman (1994) talks about various kinds of increasing disorder in the global system and portrays that this disorder is quite systemic since it has an order of its own. This disorder manifests in increasing violence and fear of catastrophe, dangerous illness, unemployment, bankruptcy. The various financial crisis and economic disorder, disintegration of multiple power multiplications of wars, ethnic conflict make to increase massive migration. In the mid 20th century massive decentralisation of capital accumulation has started on the world scale to South and South East Asia, South America and consequently several new economic centers have been emerged. And modern politics based on the idea of universal progress and development acquires increasing importance of cultural politics, which lead to the proliferation of new social categories, political groups and new identities of ethnic, regional, indigenous, national, religious kinds have to emerge. He tries to analyse formation expansion and decline of identity of space of modernity. His aim is to analyse the connection between increasing disorder and dehomogenisation, is related to dissolution of hierarchy. He sketches some centralisation and decentralisation aspects of cultural identity in the modern global system by providing example of Hawaiian, American, Canadian society. In Hawaiian there was a strong movement to establish strong political autonomous entity. In the USA there was a strong movement on the university campus for the elimination of standard courses in western civilisation, and in Canada enormous land tracts have been returned to Indian tribal councils, etc. The emergence of indigenous movements, fundamental religious movement, ethnic nationalism, and local warfare are on increase and seem to make weak world order. These movements are linked with the process of cultural identification

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 76.
which are linked to immigration, indigenous people living on the margins of nation-state, older ethnic subdivisions in various parts of the world, which are not the coincidence but is a global process.\textsuperscript{11}

He portrays modernism as a dominant power in the global system and it arranges world in a hierarchy of developmental stages. The decline of hegemonic centrality starts with the rebirth of cultural autonomy, which is liberation of formerly contained and encompassed identities. The crisis of modernity is linked with the degree of scientific activity as a social project for the production of truth. The rational scientific paradigm is dissolved with the breakdown of the public sphere of scientific activity, the arena of theory and falsification of the evolution of knowledge. The crisis of hegemony and crisis of modernity, dominant ideology, emergence of postmodernism, the fragmentation of former and its multiculturalisation are two global phenomena. Postmodernism is relativisation: external and internal of scientific knowledge. Internally it is a neutralisation of the process of falsification and externally a relativisation of scientific knowledge with respect to other forms of knowledge. The disordering of the world can be seen as a systematic fragmentation of scientific knowledge, modernist identity, political and economic hegemony, modern eco formation into incommensurable cultural corpuses, multicultural rooted identity, multicentric politics and economic accumulation and narcissistic dissolution.\textsuperscript{12}

**Globalisation: Interrelated Elements and Consequences**

Nagaire Woods (2000) talks about three interconnected elements. These are expansion of markets, challenges to the states and institutions and rise of new social and political movements, which reflect different aspects of globalisation process.\textsuperscript{13} The first core element i.e. expansion of market happens through technological changes and government deregulation that establishes transnational networks in production, trade and finances, which is called by others ‘borderless world’. In this new production networks multinational enterprises (MNEs) use new, flexible techniques of production and

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., pp. 33-40.
advanced means of production for the purpose of spreading their activities across globe. The trade terminology refers to trade of goods and services of high quantity across the globe, geographical spread of participants, strength and depth of institutions facilitating trade and imports of trade on the domestic economy. The use of technology is not alone responsible for the expansion of global markets, rather use of advanced technology hand in hand with government policies have produced the above effects. The second element is political.\(^\text{14}\) He says that 'borderless world economy' forces give rise to a new 'global politics', which is characterised by a global order where state political boundaries become less important. This new kind of global political order is interconnected, where political power and political activity are said to be extended across the nation-state and changes in the political power and political authority can be noted clearly. It does not necessarily imply erosion of existing states power and authority, but states now using power and authority in choosing to participate in coordination and cooperation with other states. In this connection several global issues have emerged such as environment, nuclear issues, safety, drug and crime, illegal immigration in such a nature that no single state can efficiently regulate on its own by a shift in the power and authority and decision making has been witnessed at the regional and international levels. Not only the government is seen into interacting but others like multinational enterprises (MNEs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), sub-national groups like trade unions, or indigenous minorities are also interested in interacting. However, the process of globalisation includes a shift in decision making in upward direction of super-national nature i.e. regional and international, but it increases a down words shift to sub-national for decentralisation of decision making within the countries.

Globalisation offers high degree of opportunities not only to the state and market but also culture and value of the people and finally altering their lives. In the process of globalisation international culture and values with the help of communication system, media, music, book, internet, films etc. can be disseminated in instantaneous manner, which produces a global culture. The emphasis of other side of the process really produces different kinds of reactions and cultures, for example western values and ideas

\(^{14}\) Ibid., pp. 4-5.
have spreaded all over the world and regions and a strong reassertion of counter 'national' and religious identity with the idea of strong nationalism in Russia and a dramatic rise in political Islam in the Middle-East have been noticed. In the reaction against westernisation several groups are being organised and launching movements by using new technology and new wages of connecting people of the same orientation across the border and here the extant of territorial location, territorial distances and boarders have lost their determining influences, and it is called a new 'global civil society'. The central idea is to describe that the activities previously undertaken within the national boundaries can be now undertaken regionally and globally or de-territorially and it is equally true of firms, research and development activities, national currencies, global political issues and social movements. Moreover, territorial locations, territorial distance, territorial boundaries have lost their influence and transnational organised groups can identify in a new way around a premise of super territorial solidarity and distances, which can be concerned with native instead of within the national boundary, where it may be class, gender, region, faith, cultural values, artifacts, professions, etc.

James Patras and Henry Veltmeyer (2001) view globalisation as a fundamental dynamics of 21st century setting for the radical transformation in social, economic, and institutional relations. It is an ideology, which currently dominates thinking, policy making and political practices. It can be understood in terms of both perception and description. In terms of description it refers to the widening and deepening of the international flows of trade, capital, technology, and information within a single integrated global market, which has made world 'the global village'. It leads to a complex of changes produced by dynamics of capital development and diffusion of values and cultural practices. In terms of prescription, it involves national and global markets in believing free flow of trade, capital, information producing growth and human welfare. Most of the scholars view it into two broad sets. In one of the categories, scholars view it as a set of interrelated process inscribed within the structure of operating system based on capitalist mode of global product. The other category of scholars conceive it not in the structural terms but as the outcome of a conscious pursued strategy formed on the basis

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of institutional structure to serve and advance the interest of international class. The scholars who see globalisation as a set of interrelated process tend to see it necessary adjustment for human development. Even Keith Friffin (1995) agrees with the view, which looks it as a proponent of human development and radical change or social transformation. Scholars who see globalisation not as a process but as a class project, tend to view, the changes associated with it differently. In this way globalisation is used not for as accurate description but as a tool for prescription and counter-posed with the term that has been carrying a greater descriptive value and explanatory power. In this concept the network of institutions is viewed as international and contingent subjected to control of individuals representing and seeing the interest of a new international capitalist class. This class is being described as the operating units of global capitalism, the bearers of capital and technology and the major agents of new imperial order. In this new imperial order perspective, it is seen neither necessary nor inevitable. This new imperialism is filled with unpleasant situation of opposing and resistant forces under the condition, which undermines the capital accumulation process and the system on which it depends for, example, recent crisis of Asian economics, which was deeply rooted into the world's financial markets and highly volatile movements of international capitals. In the alternative perspectives, constraints and critiques of globalisation are two aspects of hope. For the constraints analysis, constraints placed on the government organisations, action of social groups, the strategies are pursued by diverse social organisations and the possibility of systemic change has been important. On the other hand, the critiques of this process of social contradiction of imperialists system, which disrupts all areas of life provides the opportunities and emergence of social forces for change that have been emphasised by critiques. The inevitability of the process is a critical issue and more of it is designed to hide and obfuscated. Here, he emphasises the form taken by imperialism for organising economic production and society.

David Held has mentioned other important features of historical forms which should be distinguished as infrastructures, institutionalism, stratification and modes of interaction. Mapping the infrastructures involves the extensity, intensity, velocity and

16 Ibid., pp.11-12.
impact propensity of networks of global interconnectedness, which carries global flows, networks and relations. Infrastructural conditions also facilitate the institutionalisation of global network, flows and relations. Institutionalisation comprises the regularisation of patterns of interaction and, consequently their reproduction across space and time. In this context, stratification has both a social and a spatial dimension of hierarchy and unevenness, respectively. Hierarchy refers to asymmetries in the control and access to and enmeshment in global networks and infrastructures while unevenness denotes the asymmetrical effects of processes of globalisation on the life chance and well-being of peoples, classes, ethnic groupings and the sexes. These categories provide a mechanism for identifying the distinctive relations of global domination and control in different historical periods. There are important differences too in the dominant modes of interaction within each epoch of globalisation. It is possible to distinguish crudely between the dominant types of interaction – imperial or coercive, cooperative, competitive, conflictual – and the primary instruments of power, for example, military vs economic instruments.

Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson (1996) have argued four inevitable consequences of – in the sphere of economy, multinational companies (MNCs), declining political influence and economic bargaining power of nation-state and the growth in fundamental multi-polarity in the international political system of globalisation. The first major consequence of a globalised economy would thus be that its governance is fundamentally problematic. The principal difficulty is to construct both effective and integrated patterns of national and international public policy to cope with global market forces. Socially decontextualised global markets would be difficult to regulate, even supposing effective cooperation by the regulators and a coincidence of their interests. A second major consequence of the notion of a globalising international economy would be the transformation of multinational companies (MNCs) into transnational companies (TNCs) as the major players in the world economy. The TNCs would be genuine footloose capital, without specific national identification and with an internationalised management and at the East potentially willing to locate and relocate anywhere in the

globe to obtain either the most secure or the highest returns. A third consequence of
globalisation would be the further decline in the political influence and economic
bargaining power of organised labour. Globalised markets and TNCs would tend to be
mirrored by an open world market in labour. Thus while companies requiring highly
skilled and productive labour might well continue to locate in the advanced countries,
with all their advantages, rather than merely seeking areas where wages are low, the trend
towards the global mobility of capital and the relative national fixity of labour would
favour those advanced countries with the most tractable labour forces and the lowest
social overheads relative to the benefits of labour competence and motivation. A final
consequence of globalisation is the growth in fundamental multi-polarity in the
international political system. In the end, the hitherto hegemonic national power would
no longer be able to impose its own distinct regulatory objectives in either its own
territories or else where and lesser agencies (whether public or private) would thus enjoy
enhanced powers of denial and evasion vis-à-vis any aspirant hegemon a variety of
bodies from international voluntary agencies to TNCs would thus gain in relative power
at the expense of national governments and, using global markets and media, could
appeal to and obtain legitimacy from consumers/citizens across national boundaries. Thus
the distinct disciplinary powers of national states would decline, even though the bulk of
their citizens, especially in the advanced countries, remained nationally bound.

Globalisation: Blend of Global and Local

R. Robertson (1995) talks about glocalisation as a term made by the blend of global and
local. This blend is modeled on the Japanese principle of forming and business technique
adopted to local condition. The term also shows polar relationship of global –local
which claims local assertion against globalising trend, which is homogenising in nature.
The dynamics of the production and reproduction of difference is seen in terms of

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reference to local cosmopolitan distinction.\textsuperscript{21} He says that for local diversity of all locals stick to their respective cultures and cosmopolitans largely depend on ‘other people’ carved out of various local culture. It means that there is no cosmopolitan without locals. He advocates that glocalisation is a term substitute for which have both deep economic and cultural roots. He declares that the idea of global culture is formed by interconnectedness of many local cultures. But it cannot be equated with asymmetrical communicative and international connection and also with a ‘third culture’ with the notion of homogenisation of all culture. He thinks of intercultural communication and its development is based on the promotion of professional or experts who promotes variety, diversity and produces also variety and diversity. The idea of locality and globality is very relative. A village community is of course local relative to a region of a society and a society is local in relation to a civilisational area.

The relationship of local and global is like relationship of national vs. international, global vs. tribal, universal vs. particular, which is seen salient in both academic and practical purpose. Some takes the second part of opposite as reaction against the first but some recognises it as the increasing importance of space in the postmodern sense. This set of global-local is analysed by R. Robertson in the sense of rapid extension of communication and in the changing conception of time and space. This can be understood through international negotiation and technological innovation, standardisation of time-space in both sense of universal particular objectiveness and subjectiveness.\textsuperscript{22} This made it possible to go homogenisation and hybridisation hand in hand. Several international programmes and exhibition are organised internationally but display particular national achievement and glory.

Anthony Giddens (2000) defines globalisation as the intensification of worldwide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is dialectical process because such local happenings may move in and observe direction from the very distanciated relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much a part of


globalisation at the lateral extension of social connections across time and space. The development of globalised social relations probably serves to diminish some aspects of nationalist feeling linked to nation-states (or some states) but may be causally involved with the intensifying of more localised nationalist sentiments. In circumstances of accelerating, the nation — state has become too small for the big problems of life, and too big for the small problems of life.

Giddens regards the world capitalist economy, nation-state system, world military order and international division of labour as the four dimensions of globalisation. He has pointed out that these are connected in various ways, neither can be explained exhaustively in terms of the other. He said that the main centres of power in the world capitalist economy are capitalist states in which capitalist economic enterprise with the class relations, which implies the chief form of production. The domestic and international economic policies of these states involve many forms of regulation of economic activity. Business firms, especially the transnational corporations, may wield immense economic power, and have the capacity to influence political policies in their home bases and elsewhere. If nation-states are the principal actors within the global political order, in their trading relations with one another, and with states and consumers, companies like manufacturing corporations, financial firms and banks, spread their influence and bring a global extension of commodity markets involving the comodifying of labour power in class relations which separate workers from control of their means of production. The third dimension of globalisation is the world military order. In specifying its nature, it is important to analyse the connections between the industrialisation of war, the flow of weaponry and techniques of military organisation from some parts of the world to others, and the alliances which states build with one another. In tracing the overlaps between military power and the sovereignty of states, the same push-and-pull between opposing tendencies resulted into the massive destructive power of modern weaponry, almost all states possess military strength far in excess of that of even the largest of pre-modern civilisations. The fourth dimension of globalisation concerns with

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industrial development. The most obvious aspect of this is the expansion of the global division of labour, which includes the differentiations between more and less industrialised areas in the world. Modern industry is intrinsically based on divisions of labour, not only on the level of job tasks but on that of regional specialisation in terms of type of industry, skills and the production of raw materials. This has undoubtedly taken place a major expansion of global interdependence in the division of labour since the Second World War. This has helped to bring about shifts in the worldwide distribution of production, including the deindustrialisation of some regions in the developed countries and the emergence of the newly industrialising countries in the Third World. It has also undoubtedly served to reduce the internal economic hegemony of many states, particularly those with a high level of industrialisation. He emphasises that the main feature of the globalising implications of industrialism is the worldwide diffusion of machine technologies. The central problem of today’s global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation. Most often, the homogenisation argument subspecies into either an argument about Americanisation, or an argument about commoditisation, and very often the two arguments are closely linked. What these arguments fail to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenised in one or other way. This is true of music and housing styles as much as it is true of science and terrorism, spectacles and constitution. The dynamics of such indigenisation have just begun to be explored in a sophisticated manner. 25

Globalisation and Hybridisation

Jan Nederveen (1995) takes the view that is a process of hybridisation and it gives rise to global melange. 26 This process cannot be narrowed to historically flat homegenising, modernising, westernising processes. The conception of globalisation differs with the variation in discipline like in Economics it refers to economic internationalisation, in

international relations it focusses on the interstate relations, in sociology it concerns with the increasing world-wide social densities and the emergence of 'world society'. In the cultural studies it focuses on the global communications, post-colonial culture and world-wide cultural standardisation as in Coca-Colonisation and McDonaldisation is multidimensional, open-ended, plural process and unfolds multiple realm of existence in cross-cultural trade, banking, social movements, technological exchange, etc with proliferated globalising impulses and local impulses and agents. He describes hybridisation with the mélange in terms of structure, phenomena, etc. The structural and cultural hybridisation are related to the increasing range of organisational options and opening up of migration diasporic communities. Structural hybridisation leads to the emergence of new practices of social cooperation and competition and cultural hybridisation leads to the trans-local cultural expressions, interdependence, new forms of cooperation which evokes new cultural imaginaries.

The process of globalisation and nation-state formation and cultural patriotism are interlinked, and in some way notion of globalisation and state formation was considered as consequences of modernisation but in recent time it is said that it has weakened the formation of nation-state and cultural patriotism. But it is also always not true because migration is reinforced by globalisation and also called demographic engender absentee patriotism and long distance nationalism. It is true in case of various migratory community/diasporic community of Sikh in Toronto, Tamil in London, Kurds in Germany, Tibetans in India, Iris, Jewis, Palestinian in other parts of the world. It reinforces localisation as think globally and act locally. Hybridisation can be understood as upsurge of ethnic movement, religious revival movement, super-national and sub-national regionalism, encourages micro and macro regionalism, which are means of cultural identities. The identity patterns are becoming more complex, as people assert local identities but want to share in global values and life styles. Particularism is a global value and what is taking place is universalisation of particularism or the global

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volarisation of particular identities. In structural terms it increases in terms of transnational, micro-regional, municipal level. Thus, it forces both fragmentation and unification. In the condition of global inequality hybridisation releases reflection and engagement from the boundaries of nation, community, ethnicity, class and reinforces the fragmentation of fixities with the collective experience of kaleidoscope.

Jan Nederveen describes hybridisation process with the help of several terms and phenomena. These phenomena are occurring in the various parts of the world like Moroccan girls playing Thai boxing, Peter Rook directing Mahabharata, Ariane Manouchkine staging a Shakespeare play in Japanese, Asian rap in London, Mexican girls dressing in Greek Togas, etc. Various hybrid terms like creolisation of culture, orientalisation of the world, mestizaje refers to the global melange occurring in various walks of life in the different parts of the world. Creolisation means Caribbean window on the world and in Caribbean and North America it stands for mixture of African and European. Orientalisation refers to a distinct global process as we are all becoming a little oriental. It is the reminiscent theme of 'the East wind prevailing over the West'.

The term hybridity acknowledges generally in any field as loss of purity, wholeness, authenticity of any structure, set up or culture. In biology hybridity and hybrid structure is a consequence of mutation but in culture or other sociological enquiry it is the product of syncrytisation. In global analysis hybridity and syncrytisation has become key word. He talks about yardstick, which differentiate hybridity in one context and another phenomena is as migration melange. Hybridity at general level provides mixture of phenomena which are held to be separate and different. It functions as part of a power relationship between centre and margin, hegemony and minority, and indicates a blurring, destablisation or subversion of the hierarchical relationship. Another hybridity functions as migration melange. It is a common observation that second generation immigrants display mixed cultural pattern in dress, language, lifestyle, etc. Taking these argument into considerations hybrids can be differentiated into: an assimilationist hybridity in which centre dominates, it adopts the canon and mimics the hegemony, other

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as a destabilising hybridity, that blurs the canon, reverse the current and subvert the centre. Hybridisation advocates meaningful criticism of essentialism and acts as mobilisational device as long as nation, state, civilisation, ethnicity remains strategic. It destabilises introverted concept of culture which underlies civilisational chauvinism, racism, ethnicity etc. Hybridisation is a perspective meaningful as a counterweight to the introverted notion of culture. As globalisation is a hybridising nature, it changes the cultural assumption and its relation and provides a static to fluid, autonomic to syncretic/hybrid relation. And globalisation changes cultural assumption from territorial, endogenous orthogenetics inward looking, to trans-local, exogenous, heterogenetic and outward looking in nature.

The link to cultural studies of modernity provides rich source of knowledge which leads to more easily on global diversity. Modernity is characterised by discovery of future as an open un-built site never visited before, but a place reachable and more than by valorisation of present. In contrast it constructs the other discipline of sociological mode of explanation of social action, which is based on the variability of social actor rather than social situation in two fundamental respects: structural location and cultural belonging. Structural location refers to differentiated institutional endowments with resources and constraints of action. Cultural belonging involves: belonging to a cultural means having certain identity, different from rest of the world, mastering a particular cognitive and symbolic code, and having internationalised a special set of values and norms. The major stumbling blocks in the way of great unifier is unequal i.e. modernity is unequal economic development, which has divided human population unevenly. The other big way of peaceful covering march of modernisation is nationalism and ethnic rivalries. This rise is intimately connected with uneven development of education literacy and economy. He focuses on the dynamics of modern social structures and cultures. The actors are aware of futures of social formation which would be more unstable, tense and full of strife and clashes. The rulers are more privileged, repressive and ruled are defeated and disadvantaged. Jan Nederveen emphasises globalisation, ceteris paribus, as increasing the chances of tension, friction, clashes for dropping tenable and assumption of the great unifier of reason, commerce, industry, and modernisation or modernity. The multiplication of social and cultural contacts lead to more conflict unless countered by
some great unifier. The increasing inequality is also an inherent tendency of modernity. This can be seen in the modern social structures and modern cultures on two accounts of each. This conflict for structures is seen in the openness of social constructions and of their objectives weight on the one hand and the openness of the social constructs and the possible range of their subjectivity on the other. The cultural contractions raise conflicts on the two major forms: one is cognition concerns with science and technology and its subjective experience and other spotted with the realm of values related to Enlightenment and progress. Jan Nederveen has disregarded modernity as a great unifier but the question has raised about the outlines of the development modernity.

Modern social action has been summarised into two individualistic and associative actions as analytical categories and capable of relating a wide range of phenomena of modern conception and practices of social change. There are two main considered vehicles of modernism manifested in the individual and group behaviour in the operation of enterprises, socio-political programmes and public policies. Jan Nederveen has talked about two social sphere - family and economy- where confrontations and conflicts of prescription, individual and association have been portrayed. These two modern social actions form the basic core of three major ideologies or value system of liberalism, socialism and nationalism. Their designs of action constitute main ideological language. This must not be implied any great unifier of the globe. The new global communication and global interdependence call for corresponding forms of analytical attention. There is another global challenge, a challenge to comparative studies, to a de-westernised, de-centred conception of the globe, and to grasp the diversity of modern world has been noticed in this regard.\(^{31}\)

Globalisation and Globaloney

Bob Fitch (1996) has coined the term 'globaloney' to understand the concept of globalisation in the frame of dichotomy of globalisation as globaloney, as a reality or rhetoric, as quoted by James Petras and H. Veltmeyer (2001). It captures tendentious and

tautological arguments put forth by globalist theorists. Globalists have put forward two sets of relationships. 32 Firstly, globalists suggest that general progress of globalisation draws all nations and peoples into a common set of market relations. In the second feature, globaloney asserts the wave of future relationships. The author cites for the claim of the market relationship of the whole scale and widespread rejection of the globalists project by electoral and civil society. In the absence of general support to the globalists project of claiming the best, he refers to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Maastricht Treaty and Free Trade Domestic Proposal in North America, Europe and Asia. The globalists frame a kind of inevitability, which has the same kind of messianic message that patent medicines make attributed to their products and inherent preachers affect non-believers. The great majority of nations and immense majority of humanity are opposed to the process. But the globalist politicians when they are in opposition they criticise it and when they are in power, they practice it across the world like in Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin, etc.

The wave of the future is considered to be the most striking feature of globaloney. The globalist ideologues paint a rosy futurist world of producing high quality goods and delivering services to multitudes of consumers. The social conditioning of the 21st century has been different from that of the 19th century. And the health care services are becoming more precarious and more dependent on the income level, even in the U.S., 60 million people do not have adequate health care facility. The concept of globaloney portrays a rosy picture today in the essence, but denies the reality of increasing job insecurity, impoverished families forced to work longer hours for minimum wages without getting pension, working at below subsistence, the number of children in orphanages and old fellow in old age home, are growing due to several new health problems, and child labour is also on the increase. At the centre stage of globalisation and essence of wave of the future, specific groups of capitalists are operating. The investment bankers and brokerage firms have moved to the forefront of the richest echelons of U.S. companies. They earn an annual profit of millions and billions, but this rosy picture also provides a height of deception to confuse. Finally, the author has leveled three kinds of

criticisms against globalists. Firstly, global expansion is rooted in history and shaped by political, social and cultural conditions. Secondly, the socio-economic interest of global network in the globalist project is rooted in minorities, both in the imperial centers and among their collaborators. It really makes a mockery of the project that how minority defines and pursues its interest with the needs, interests and future of whole humanity. Thirdly, the intellectuals are engaged in ultimate exercise of abstract reductionism. They have abdicated their responsibility of identifying the institutions and decision-makers who are real market-makers. They attempt to reduce all market to one market, owned and operated by a specific class force under the tutelage of a particular state-formation. But the possibility of the presence of other markets and actors who can play other roles than today’s market is also not denied.

**Globalisation: The Historical Perspective**

Globalisation has been occurring in the domain of human interaction such as economical, ecological, political, religious, social, etc. since long. But for the convenience David Held et. al. (1999) try to narrate and discuss historical form of globalisation into four broad categories: pre modern, early-modern, modern and contemporary. The pre-modern era covers an enormously long period around 9,000-11,000 years. This begins with the formation of distinct centers of settled agrarian civilisation in Eurasia, Africa and the Americas. The key agents of pre-modern are political and military empires, world religions, migratory movements of both nomadic peoples and farming societies and long-distance trade between regions and civilisations. The sporadic movement and conquest emerged from the nomadic empires of the central Eurasian steppes. These movements included the Germanic peoples who conquered the Latin Roman Empire and settled in the western Europe and North Africa. Devastation, forced migration, conquest and plague tended to follow each wave of invasion. The important characteristics of this era are interregional and inter-civilisational encounters, which operated predominantly through the domains of military and cultural power and human migrations of empires, world

religions, nomadic invasions and agricultural expansion, which is also accompanied by the movement of human diseases. The successive developments in infrastructures like writing, printing and text storage support increased interaction and exchange among cultures but global institutionalised forms did not emerge in this era.

Globalisation of the early-modern era covers huge period of 1500-1850 years. The beginning of the 16th century has been called the ‘rise of the West’. Because of the emergence and development of technologies and power resources, Europeans were able to defeat and conquer the empires and stateless societies of Oceania, North America, Mesoamerica and the Andes with more enduring political and military relationships and the formation of European global empires. In the wake of European and American industrialisation, a more intense trade in raw material, agricultural products and manufactured goods, was accompanied by the evolution of international banking institutions and increasing flow of capital investment from Britain to Americas. In the pre-modern era the intensity of global flows and interconnections were generally low. By the end of this era, railways, mechanised iron ships and advances in canal and road building were making interconnections over large distances but limited to the borders of western states. The spread of mechanised printing aided the circulation and density of cultural exchange. The early transnational corporations were radically different in their structure and operation from contemporary TNCs. The degree of global relationships in institutionalised and regulated form remained very limited. This European society of states also sought various methods to extend the ‘standards of civilisation beyond Europe. The greatest impact of this global encounter was seen in Europe itself.

The era of modern globalisation ranges from 1850-1945. This era had seen the establishment of some extensive and intensive global networks and flows, predominantly under the control of European powers. In the subsequent period European societies began to acquire industrialised capitalist economies, enormously advanced weaponry and naval technologies and increasingly powerful state institutions. This era saw very extensive, intensive and socially significant patterns of economic-global trade and investment by development of set of international financial institutions. But the key impacts of the era include:
1. Politico-military effects of many non-European states and elites are declined or destroyed.

2. Trade, investment, economic growth and structural change were stimulated in core western states. This path of economic development provided for industrial development in peripheral Europe and North and Latin America.

3. Due to migration demographic transformation was brought to the Americas, Europe and some European colonies.

4. European culture and Christianity spread to parts of Africa, East Asia, and Western secular ideologies and discourses circulated to the rest of the world.

5. This era of globalisation was brought to an end by the First World War. But from the perspective of international trade, investment and production collapsed and resulted into the great depression of the 1930s.

The contemporary era of globalisation has started since 1945 and represents a unique pattern in the domains of politics, law and governance, military affairs, cultural linkages and human migrations; economic activity, etc. This era has experienced extraordinary innovations in the infrastructures of transport and communication, an unparalleled density of institutions of various levels of transport and communication, and an unparalleled density of institutions of global governance and regulation.

Contemporary globalisation was shaped profoundly by the structural consequences of the Second World War. The new network of global communications in the post-war era has seen the development of older technologies like publishing businesses, as well the creation of new technologies such as satellites and computers. These have transformed the velocity and reach of cultural and social interactions of all kinds. Whereas the vast majority of cultural interactions in previous years were elite to elite, the majority of post war interactions have been through popular cultural media and artefacts. Reverberations from these changes have registered across economic, political and other domains of life as different forms of social power and social infrastructure intertwine with and are shaped by them. The cultural products and technologies like films and television programmes get circulated on every continent in global era. No state is disconnected completely from global telecommunications networks. This pattern of interconnectedness is unique to the current era. The enmeshment of different states and of different social groups within
those nation-states and their relative levels of control over those flows remain highly uneven. The post-war era has again seen the fruition of older technologies like televisions, radio and telephony and the creation of new infrastructures such as fiber optic cable, satellites and digitisation. The contemporary era's cultural and communicative global infrastructure is distinguished from earlier epochs by the dominance of a single language – English, as a genuine global lingua franca among elites. The enormous number of intergovernmental organisations, international treaties, international and non-governmental organisations, etc. are evidenced and the pattern of stratification of contemporary is quite distinct from that of earlier eras. The enormous confluence of different forms has created variegated patterns of unevenness and hierarchy in the political and military affairs, production and consumption process etc. In short, contemporary globalisation has some of the attributes, which are referred as 'thick globalisation'.

James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer (2001) are of the view that the contemporary process of globalisation is different from the past, at least when we see it in terms of business, trade or corporatisation. During the 16th to 19th century, in the case of newly colonised countries and imperialist centers, the capitalist mode of production was incipient or non-existent, particularly in the rural areas and export classes were pre-dominated and the globalisation process was much more significant than the contemporary times. For the greater part of the 20th century, a substantial region of the world is organised in the non-capitalist system, a form of collectivism which did not operate within the capitalist system. But in the last decade, these areas such as most of the USSR have been incorporated and subordinated to the logic of capitalist accumulation. They say that significant countries ended with a deep crisis and collapsed under the conditions of war and destruction. The current drive towards globalisation has yet to enter into its 'final phase' but there is a clear-cut indication of a continuing propensity towards crisis. The major difference in contemporary globalisation is that capitalism has spread everywhere and it is the only economic system in operation at the moment. The direct

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adversaries of capitalism are classes located within the system, and the opposition emerges from the exploited class—the working class, peasants, etc and not from pre/post-capitalist elite. The other new feature of globalisation is the rapid movement of greater volume of capital across the national boundaries through organisational networks and new electronic technologies. And many of the older networks such as ethnic diaspora, extended family conglomerates influencing banking and investment, have been responsible for such movement, and pre-dating the current boom in expansion. Although transmission and expansion of information has been more rapid and immense under contemporary globalisation, it does not seem to have made much difference. Though these new technologies are different from those of the past, they have not led to the growth of a new class structure, economic dynamics and state structure. The nature of these technologies is different from past ones and it is embedded in pre-existing classes and nation-states in the larger constraints and imperatives of the capitalist system. These are no autonomous actors rather they are individuals and classes embedded in the structure of power that turns information into capital losses or gains. Information plays an important role in earning profits and capital employs manual workers for making charts, tables and graphs, summarising data, etc. The contemporary globalisation has thus deepened and expanded/extended the international division of labour. The process of exporting labour intensive industrial work, retaining a mass of low-paid service workers in the Third World, and an elite of high-paid executives in the imperial centers has advanced. This was in the continuation of past international division of labour, manufacturing and service workers in the imperial centers. The key problems for this theory of international division of labour are that most of the industrial output has been for the domestic consumption and produced by domestic owners, but only in a few countries, foreign exports and investors pre-dominate in areas such as durable consumer goods, cultural and financial services. They visualise that contemporary globalisation is different from the past in quantitative terms and in terms of structure and units of analysis. The difference between past and present lies in the fact that the former has an ‘end’ and the latter is still robust and is still a problematic area.
Globalisation: Media and Market

This section deals with the two important constituents—media and market of the process of globalisation. Media with advancement in communication technology is capable of affecting choices, preferences, leisure and entertainment, information, and leisure time activity, personality of individual life in both private and public and institutional forms. It has affected occupation, communication, education, work, human relations, political and economic institution of society and transforming socio-cultural identity at large. In terms of market consumers, sovereignty, freedom, choices, availability of goods and services, changes in economic, political, developmental and socio-cultural realm of individual and collectivity in society are being facilitated by TNCs and privatisation process. However, both the wheels of globalisation affect and transform identity of individual and collectivity across the globe.

McQuail assumes the fundamental underlying assumptions about the relation between media and society. It implies that the media is essentially dependent on society especially on the institutions of political and economic power but in scope for influence in return, media institution may be gaining in autonomy, simply as a result of the extending volume and scope of media activities. The nature of the relation between media and society depends on circumstances of time and place. The most basic view is of mass media as an established social institution, with its own distinctive set of norms and practices but with the scope of its activities subject to definition and limitation by the wider society. The interesting deals with mass media and mass communication in modern developed nation states, mainly elective democracies with free-market (or mixed) economies which are integrated into a wider international set of economic and political relations of exchange, competition and also domination or conflict. The media is deeply involved in these matters as producers, disseminators and stores of meaning about events and contexts of public social life. The field of media theory is characterised by widely divergent perspectives. In addition to a fundamental difference between the left and right of the political spectrum — between progressive and conservative, or critical and applied purpose — which plays a major part in structuring theory, there are two main differences of perspective in relation to mass media and society— media-centric and society-centric or social-centric. The former approach attributes much more autonomy and influence to
communication and concentrates on the sphere of media activity and the latter takes a view of the media as so much a reflection of political and economic forces. Media-centric theory sees mass media as a primary mover in social change and is often driven forward by irresistible developments of communication technology. The second main dividing line is between those theorists whose interest lies in the realm of culture and ideas and those who emphasise material forces and factors. This divide corresponds with certain other dimensions such as humanistic versus scientific; qualitative versus quantitative; and subjective versus objective. These two alternatives are independent of each other and differences reflect necessity for some division of labour in a wide territory, often involve competing and contradictory claims about how to pose questions, conduct research and provide explanations. In addition, the media is single largest focus of leisure-time activity and means of entertainment and helps to organise and interrelate the rest of leisure, resulting into major and expanding industry, providing employment and a wide range of potential economic benefits. 

Different Kinds of Theories and Approaches on Media

Theory is understood as a system of set of ideas which can make sense of a phenomenon, guide action or predict a consequence. It can be distinguished into at least four kinds of theory, which are relevant in the realm of social scientific, normative, operational for mass communication. The most obvious kinds to be expected are social scientific, normative, operational, everyday or common-sense theory, and structural, behavioural and cultural approach. 

In the scientific theory (Windahl, and Signitzer, 1992), general statements about the nature, working and effect of mass communication are based on systematic and objective observation of media and other relevant sources. It covers a very wide spectrum, form broad questions of society to detailed aspects of individual information sending and receiving. The body of such theory is large, and loosely organised and not very clearly formulated or even very consistent. The scientific theory is concerned with

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38 Ibid., pp. 5-10.
understanding of what is going on, some with developing a critique and some with practical applications in processes of public information or persuasion. 39

A second kind of normative theory (McQuil, 1992) is concerned with examining or prescribing how media ought to operate in certain social values for the purpose of its observation or attainment. This theory generally stems out from the broader social philosophy or ideology of a given society. This kind of theory plays an important role in shaping and legitimating media institutions and has considerable influence on the expectations, which are placed on the media by other social agencies and even by the media's own audiences. A normative theory of society concerns with media is usually found in law, regulations, media policies, codes of ethics and the substance of public debate. The normative media theory is not in itself objective but it can be studied by the objective methods of the social sciences. 40

The operational theory that refers to the practical assembled and applied idea by media practitioners for conducting its own work. The similar bodies of accumulated practical wisdom are to be found in most organisational and professional settings. And in the case of media it helps to organise experience on many questions such as how to select news, please audiences, design effective advertising, keep within the limits of what society permits and relate effectively to sources and audiences. At some point this theory may overlap with normative theory especially in matters of journalistic ethics. Such kind of knowledge merits the name of theory because it is usually patterned and persistent but never codified and is influential in respect of behaviour. 41

The everyday or common-sense theory of media is being used to refer to the knowledge of own experience with media, which enables us to understand what is going on, how a medium might fit into our daily lives, how its content is intended to be read, as well as how we like to read it, what the differences are between different media, different media genres and examples of content, and much more. This theory is grounded on the basis of the ability to make consistent choices, form tastes and make judgments. This ability, in turn, shapes what the media actually offers to its audiences and sets both

directions and limits to media influence. For instance, it enables us to distinguish between reality and fiction, to 'read between the lines' or to see through the persuasive aims and techniques of advertising and other kinds of propaganda. It plays a significant part in the outcome of public debate about the media, whether or not supported by scientific evidence. There are essentially three main alternative approaches such as the structural, the behavioural and the cultural in this regard. 42

The structural approach derives mainly from sociology, which also includes perspectives from history, law and economics. And it is not media centric as it begins with society centric and its primary object of attention is likely to be media systems and organisations and their relationship to society. When the question of content arises, the focus is likely to be on the effect of social structure and media systems on patterns of content. This approach favours the analysis of representative aggregate data, which is derived from survey or complete sets of statistics for addressing the question of media use and its effect. The fundamental dynamics of media phenomena are sought in differences of power and life-chances in society.

The behavioural approach is rooted in principal in psychology and social psychology and is represented by a sociological variant. In general, the object of interest of this approach is individual human behaviour especially related to choosing, processing and responding to communication messages. This approach is more likely to use experimental methods. The sociological variant focuses on the behaviour of members of socially defined populations and favours the multi-variate analysis of representative survey of data collected in natural conditions. Individuals are classified in accordance of relevant variables of social position, disposition and behaviour. In the study of organisations, participant observation is commonly adopted. The content analysis is often done and practised as a form of behavioural research, treating media documents as the equivalent to populations which can also be sampled and submitted to statistical variable and analysis.

The cultural approach has rooted in the humanities, in anthropology and in sociolinguistics. It is very broad in potential as it has been mainly applied to questions of meaning and language, to the minutiae of particular social contexts and cultural

experiences. It is more likely to be medic-centric, sensitive to differences between media and settings of media making and reception, more interested in the in-depth understanding of particular or even unique cases and situations than in generalisation. Its methods favour the qualitative and in-depth analysis of social and human-signifying practices.

Various Media Forms: Print, Film, Broadcasting and Recording

It has set out the approximate sequence of development of the present-day set of mass media by indicating briefly major turning points of the circumstances of time and place in which different media acquired their public definitions in the sense of their perceived utility or role in society. These definitions have tended to form in early period of development of any given medium and later have become fixed by circumstances as well as by any intrinsic properties of means of communication. In tracing history of mass media the main element such as technology; the political, social, economic and cultural situation of a society, a set of activities, functions or needs, and people especially as formed into groups, classes or interests are to be taken into consideration, which have interacted in different ways with different orders of primacy.43

The history of modern media began with the printing innovation, which was certainly a kind of revolution and initially used as only a technical device for reproducing the same, or rather a similar, range of texts to what was already being extensively copied by hand. Gradually, printing led to a change in content of more secular, practical and popular works, which played a part in the transformation of the society in which the book played an inseparable part. The early newspaper was almost two hundred years after the invention of printing but before it in late 16th and early 17th century the handbills, pamphlets and newsletters were recognised and distinguished as a prototypical newspaper form. The commercial newspaper was the form which had given shape to the newspaper institution and its development can be seen in retrospect as a major turning point in communication history by offering first of all a service to its anonymous readers rather than an instrument to propagandists or potentates. In a sense the newspaper was more of an innovation than the printed book, considered as invention of a new literary, social and

cultural form. Its distinctiveness lies in its individualism, reality-orientation, utility, secularity and suitability for the needs of a new class, which was town-based business and professional people in early phase but its latter development trespass such limits. The struggles for freedom to publish, often within a broader movement for freedom democracy and citizen rights, are desired and emphasised widely. The influence of newspaper reaching to the masses beyond the limited circle of an educated elite or business class has been a familiar feature of press history across the world with improved technology, rising literacy, commerce, democracy and popular demand and all played a part and they largely coincided in their timing.\textsuperscript{44}

The mass newspaper has been called commercial for two main reasons. Firstly, it is operated for profit by monopolistic concerns and secondly, it is heavily dependent on product advertising revenue. Both of these make possible and advantageous to develop a mass readership for press industry. The commercial aims and underpinnings of the mass newspaper have exerted considerable influence on content, political populism, business, consumerism and free enterprise. It is more relevant to as a result of commercialisation, the emergence of a new kind of newspaper lighter and more entertaining, which emphasise human interest, more sensational in its attention to crime, violence, scandals and entertainment, and having a very large readership of lower-income and lower-education groups and sometimes this may now appear to be the dominant readership newspaper form in many parts of the world.

In the end of the 19th century film began as a technological novelty and it offered scarcely new in content or function. It transferred the old way of presentation and distribution to a new means of presentation and distribution, an older tradition of entertainment, offering stories, spectacles, music, drama, humour and technical tricks for popular consumption. As a mass medium, the development of film was probably a response to the invention of leisure time out of work and also an answer to the demand for economical and respectable ways of enjoying free time for and with the entire family. Thus it has provided for the working class with some of the cultural benefits, which was already enjoyed by better background people. To judge from its phenomenal growth, the latent demand met by film was enormous; and if we choose from the main formative

elements named above, it would not be the technology or the social climate but the needs met by the film for a class of urban lower-middle and working background earlier but latter for almost all. Along with the characterisation of the film as show business of a new form for an expanded market, there have been three other significant strands in film history: the use of film for propaganda is noteworthy, the emergence of several schools of film art and the rise of the social documentary film movement. Especially, when applied to national or societal purpose, based on its great reach, supposed realism, emotional impact and popularity the practice of combining improving message with entertainment has been long established in literature and drama, but new elements in film were the capacity to reach so many people and to be able to manipulate the seeming reality of the photographic message without loss of credibility.

Two turning points in film history have been the invention and use of television, and the Americanisation of the film industry and film culture in the years of global era. The relative decline of nascent, but flourishing European film industries at time of the Second World War probably contributed to a homogenisation of film culture. Television took away a large part of the film-viewing public, especially the general family audience, leaving a much smaller and younger film audience. It also took away or diverted the social documentary stream of film development and gave it a more congenial home in television. However, it did not do the same for the art film or for film aesthetics, although the art film may have benefited from the demassification and greater specialisation of the film/cinema medium. In the view of Danis McQuail, an additional consequence of this turning point is the reduced need for respectability.

And the film became more free to cater to the demand for violent, horrific or pornographic content. Despite the liberation entailed in becoming a less mass medium, the film has not been able to claim full rights to political and artistic self expression, and many countries retain an apparatus of licensing, censorship and powers of control. A last concomitant of film's subordination to television in audience appeal has been its integration with other media, especially book publishing, popular music and television itself. It has acquired a central space despite the reduction of its immediate audience, as a

showcase for other media and as a cultural source, out of which come books, strip cartoons, songs, and television stars and series. Thus film is as much as ever a mass culture creator and the loss of the cinema audience has been more than compensated by a new domestic audience reached by television, video recordings, cable and satellite channels. 48

Radio and television have, almost 70 years and 40 years history of mass media respectively, and both grew out of pre-existing – telephone, telegraph, moving and still photography, and sound recording technologies. Despite their obvious differences, now wide in content and use, radio and television can be treated together. Both radio and television came to borrow from existing media, and most of the popular content forms of both are derivative – film, music, stories, news, various talks and competitions and sport. Both television and radio seem to have been a technology looking for a use, rather than a response to a demand for a new kind of service or content, and much the same is true of television. R. Williams (1975) says that unlike all previous communications technologies, radio and television are systems primarily designed for transmission and reception as abstract process, with little or no definition of preceding content. 49

The first most common innovations to both radio and television have been based on the possibility of direct observation, transmission and recording of events and activities. A second distinctive feature of radio and television has been their high degree of regulation, control or licensing by public authority. It was initially because of technical necessity and then later from a mixture of democratic choice, state self-interest, economic convenience and sheer institutional custom. A third and related historical feature of radio and television media has been their pattern of centre and periphery distribution and the association of national television with political life and the power centers of society, as they have become established as both popular and politically important. Despite such closeness to power politics, both radio and television have hardly acquired, the same right and the same freedom that the press enjoys, to express views and act with political independence. 50

It has been noticed that relatively little attention have been given to music and
discontinuities in the possibilities offered by successive technologies of recording
and reproduction/transmission as a mass medium probably because of their implications
for society, which have never been clear. The recorded and replayed music has not even
enjoyed a convenient label to describe its numerous media manifestations. However, R.
Burnett, (1990) has suggested the generic term phonogram to cover music accessed via
use of record players, tape players, compact disc players, video cassette recorders
(VCRs), broadcasting and cable, etc. Although, the recording and replaying of music has
begun around 1880 and are quite rapidly diffused because of wide appeal of popular
songs and melodies.51

The big changes in the broad character of the phonogram have been noticed since
its beginnings. The first is the addition of radio broadcast music to phonogram records,
which greatly increased the range and amount of music available to many more people
than has been access to gramophones. The second major change has been transition of
radio from a family to an individual medium in the post-war period, which is known as
're transistor' revolution and it has opened up a relatively new market of young people for
what became a burgeoning record industry. The development of each portable tape
players, the Sony Walkman, the compact disc and music video has given the spiral
another twist, which has predominantly been based on young audience since then.
Though social significance of music has received sporadic attention, its relationship to
social events has always been recognised and occasionally celebrated or feared. Since
the rise of the youth-based industry in the 1960s, the mass-mediated popular music has
been linked to youthful idealism and political concern, to supposed degeneration and
hedonism, to drug-taking, violence and antisocial attitudes. The content of music has
never been easy to regulate, its distribution has predominantly been in the hands of
established institutions, and its perceived deviant tendencies subject to some sanctions.52

New Electronic Media and Internet

The 'telematic' media, combine telecommunications and informatics, has been heralded as the key component in the latest communication revolution which dominates other media form. The term covers a set of development at the core of which is a visual display unit like television screen linked to a computer network. It is sometimes referred to as the 'new media', which has put in appearance since the 1970s, is in fact a set of different electronic technologies with varied applications which has widely taken up as mass media. Several kinds of technologies are involved in the transmission like cable or satellite, of miniaturisation, of storage and retrieval, of display by using flexible combinations of text and graphics and control is done by computer. The main features, by contrast with the 'old media' as described are decentralisation – supply and choice are no longer predominantly in the hands of the supplier of communication; high capacity cable or satellite delivery overcomes the former restrictions of cost, distance and capacity, interactivity – the receiver can select, answer back, exchange and be linked to other receivers directly, and flexibility of form, content and use.53

Besides facilitating the distribution of existing radio and television, new telematic media has been offered to the general public in two main forms: one is known as teletext, the other as videotext. The former makes available much additional textual information by way of over-air broadcasting to supplement normal television programming on adapted receivers, and it can be called up at the viewer’s initiative. The second provides, usually via the telephone network, a much larger and more varied supply of computer stored information which can be consulted and/or interrogated by users equipped with a terminal and television screen. It also offers a wide range of interactive services, which include a form of visual communication between centers and peripherals and in principle between all those connected on the same network. Videotext can also be used to supply printed material.54

The new media includes computer, video games, virtual reality and video recordings of all kinds. The home video can be considered as an extension of television and cinema, with greatly increased flexibility in use. It is thus a hybrid medium like

television, borrowing essential features from film and television for content and for forms taking from the book and music industries for means of distribution and content of selling. The other innovation, compact disc (CD) and read only memory (ROM)), provide flexible and easy access to very large stores of information, by way of computer-readable disc. Thus the new media has bridged differences both between media with convergence of technology, and also between public and private definitions of communication activities. The same medium can now be used interchangeably for public and private purpose and both for receiving and self-production. In the long run this has implications not only for definitions of separate media but also for the boundaries of the media institution. Initially, the ‘new media’ was in its initial stages, taken up mainly as extensions of existing audiovisual media, they represent a challenge to the production, distribution and basic forms of the latter.  

Internet is an infrastructural substrate possessing, which is innovative in all social, cultural and economic features. It allows creativity based on openness standardised process. The term Internet or net is often used for the same. It is an important part of new information technology. The Internet is built upon e-mail, World Wide Web (WWW), online gambling, e-commerce, e-governance, etc., which is different from other technology. It is a vast global system of interconnected network of technology. In the global age Internet is used by all generation people for their activities. These are related to all the fields like academics, administration, governance, entertainments, shopping, banking, trade and business. Internet was discovered by Advanced Research Project Agency (ARPA) in Department of Defense in USA in the beginning of late 1960s. Internet was known as ARPAnet. It was focused on the advance concept in computing, graphics, time-sharing, and networking. The Internet was officially named and practiced in 1983, and in 1993 Internet was brought to the broader audience. The core component of Internet is standardised protocol not hardware or software.  

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Market, Transnational Corporations, Liberalisation and Privatisation

The notion of consumer sovereignty exemplifies the concern of the liberal tradition, which makes ground of social processes in the private desires of individuals and ensuring safeguard of privacy for the purpose of making it powerful social institutions. The liberal tradition develops philosophical, political and juridical basis of these themes but the role of market and the rational economic behaviour of individuals are equally important and are placed at the heart of things for its formation. The market is a mechanism for translating privately formulated individual preferences into a socially coordinated allocation of resources among different spheres of production and between individuals with different kinds and degrees of desire. It is crucial to understand that all events and all outcomes like different prices, levels of production, kinds of goods, etc. in the marketplace can be explained as a result of individuals pursuing their privately defined interests.

Market is like society in its existence, market like society as such does not exist. For liberals, the market itself is not a social authority, nor a social institution, which has aims, organisation, management, roles allocated by a plan or organisation chart. Dan Slater quotes Thompson et al. (1991) to explain the term market, it is seen as an impersonal mechanism or means of coordination, which allows social order to emerge from the anarchy of diverse desires of individual. The social coordination through the market is achieved when all individuals, with their disparate desires, rationally orient themselves to the common denominator of price and it involves a very complex idea of what social action means, and how it relates to private interests. Essentially, desire is a private matter of the consumers, which appear in the market, as they know what they want, their desires are formed outside the market and before they engage in economic action. For the nature of their specific desires in the market, consumers relate to only through the calculation of price not through producers, other consumers or products in terms of their particular needs. As a consumer, he enters in the market already knowing what things he wants, how much he wants them and how much money he has at his disposal to purchase them.

Price is not a reflection of the value of goods, but it is regarded simply a social compromise between the agendas of wants followed by each private individual. It is an aggregation or averaging of individual decisions rather than a social entity in its own.

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Price is also the common denominator in relation to which individual producers and consumers can orient themselves. Two orienting functions for price can be identified. Firstly, it is a common denominator or unit of calculation by which economic actors can compare a potentially infinite range of possible courses of action. All questions can be reduced to the rationally calculable question of cost and utility. Secondly, price provides an information system to fluctuate freely though competition since the economic actors have a complete knowledge of prices in order to orient their actions rationally. Thus, price automatically aggregates the multitude of individual decisions about utility and communicates this information to producers, who can respond both to lowering price when demand falls and raise it to take advantage of rising perceptions of the product’s relative utility. Therefore, it is considered an efficient mechanism for allocating social resources in terms of the only standard liberalism, which recognises, the preferences of individuals. These preferences discipline the behaviour of firms automatically as they are less interested to satisfy individuals’ needs and more in the marginal utility calculations in order to stay in business and in the process TNCs provide impetus to market, goods, brands, consumers and their choices with fastening liberalisation and privatisation. Liberalisation allows member countries to the specialize production and export in their areas of relative strength and to import products from other comprised can make at lower cost. It helps access to a wider range of products, and foreign products help in diffusing innovation and need technologies and openers to trade providers additional competition that can spur local firm to the greater efficiency on the one hand and keep domestic prices low for the consumers. Till 19060s most of the countries had various kind of trade restrictions like high tariff rates, non tariff barriers, office exchange rates exceeded black market exchange rate and government enclosed control over exports and other trade related matters. It has been considered remarkable transformation and highlights the importance of liberalisation process in the global economy. This lowering down of trade liberalisation occurs under the auspicious of General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) and industrialised countries has fallen down their manufacturing trade from 40 percent to 04 percent only and world trade has increased 18 fold and initial GATT

58 Ibid., p. 42.
membership increased from 23 countries to 148 countries in the world with agreeing rules for informational trade. The lower tariffs and import might stimulate productivity. And if the domestic producers are technologically backward then import competition may give then little impact on profit if domestic producers are comparable to foreign counter parts then they can accuse profits, thus suggest a trade adjustment package and safety package for those who have disadvantage of trade liberalisation.  

A transnational corporation (TNC) is a company that operates in more than one country and such operations entail the setting up of productive activities, although production in this context may refer to industrial production, services and finance, factories, mines, plantations, etc. The most visible features of the process of globalisation is the rise of giant companies which operate in and influence national economics across the world and by the early 1990s, 37,000 transnational corporations (TNCs) controlling over 200,000 foreign affiliates worldwide, generating sales of more than $8 trillion were reported. The combined sales of few TNCs are nearly one-third of the combined gross national products (GNPs) of the advanced capitalist countries and these are as powerful in the world economy that one no longer talks about national economies but focuses once attention on how these institutions undermine national sovereignty and invest wherever they like in a footloose manner. They do so by examining the nature and direction of global capital flows, using their influence in the world economy, their influence on both production and consumption, etc. across the world in general and the Third World in particular.

TNCs have been operating since the 19th century. They have grown in significance since the 1950s, particularly in manufacturing and the US-based TNCs responded to the particular conditions such as market saturation in some sectors; a developed international communications and transportations system; and a growing economic challenge that existed within and beyond the domestic economy of the United States, Europe and Japan. By the early 1990s, there was a small number of giant TNCs

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60 Ibid., p. 428.
whose assets were comparable to at least some developing countries gross national products (GNPs).\textsuperscript{64} International trade remains important and the key factor is now said to be investment flows by TNCs and such flow is said to be so mobile that national boundaries can effectively be ignored or eroded and so economic activity can easily be shifted from one part of the world to another and in addition, TNCs influence over consumption, which is so great that markets have now taken on a global character.\textsuperscript{65} The development of this global economy has enormous implications for the emergence of a new international division of labour in terms of production, due to lower labour cost in the Third World. This relocation has been facilitated by the development of transport and communications which enabled companies to shift out production tasks and bring back finished products relatively quickly. The implications of TNCs are said to be unfavourable for the Third World since mobile capital may take advantage of cheaper labour thereby promoting industrialisation and the character of this industrial development is not very desirable in the periphery. It is based on low-value production and the super exploitation of Third World workers, as states lower standards on wages, working conditions, etc in order to attract foreign investment. The special areas, often called export-processing zones (EPZs), have been established in parts of the world in order to attract foreign capital. Such attractions include low wages, minimal regulations and tax holidays. The result has been the growth of industrial employment but at the cost of low wages and poor working conditions, and in which the capacity of the Third World states to regulate transnational corporate behaviour is severely undermined. The growth of ‘stateless’ multinational corporations (MNCs) has been desired because it undermines the capacity of inefficient states to regulate and distort the efficiency of market forces.

The influx of multinational corporations (MNCs) in the Third World have been subject to considerable controversy as some scholars argue that multinational corporations provide necessary and realistic resources to assist the development of the Third World and others assert that these corporations cause distortion in the Third World nations’ development as they take out more wealth than they bring in. Notwithstanding, in the contemporary age, multinational corporations have tremendous interest in Third

World and these nations are primary target for their involvement and economic activities. Multinational corporations have tremendous interest in the Third World as they lack sufficient investment capital and having lucrative access to raw materials, lower wage rate in developing nations, lower levels of accumulated wealth coupled with high and widespread unemployment compel them to invite MNCs in such ventures as local mining, agricultural, fishing operations, with the aim of sharing in revenue generation with these extractive industries. The substantial raw materials, strategic raw materials and products such as sugar, cotton, petroleum, which commonly commercialised by MNCs, are produced in the Third World, fueled in industrial developments in advanced countries. Third World developing countries heavily rely upon import of equipments, spare parts, managerial or technical equipments and services in order to develop their own industries as they act as new big market for goods produced in the advanced countries of the First World. And MNCs are deeply involved in marketing of such products either by commercial sales and trade ventures or by means of internal distribution processes into their operations in the Third World.66

MNCs enjoy frequently additional incentives from both the side, on the one hand from Third World side as developing countries offer substantial exemption on paying taxes on the profit and on the other hand it is coupled with home country tax exemption that permit tax free profit on multinational investment in particular countries as part of their foreign policy, which is designed to assist developing countries. MNCs slowly gain foothold in the developing nations and their competitive power is overwhelming to the local industrialists and even acquiring state aid for these local industrialists depend upon their political strength and workers of these countries also soon realise that employers of MNCs are more powerful than local employers. MNCs slowly pose challenges to these local employers or businesses. But in this time of crisis, MNCs try to win the backing of their powerful home governments and sometimes even military interventions by their home governments. Several MNCs like Standard Fruit Company, United Fruit Company and others actively opposed governments in ‘banana republic’ governments in Central

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America, who protected their both local workers and businessmen’s interest, are glaring examples in this regard.\textsuperscript{67}

In the joint ownership venture of MNCs with local private or public ventures both investment resource and risks are shared with the profits resulting from their successful operations. In the time of political turmoil an extra support of political security in defense of such joint operations are provided by local influential people to MNCs. During 1980s, in African countries like Angola and Nicaragua when civil strife threatened action upon MNCs investment then their governments steadfast in their armed defense of these MNCs large oil holdings.\textsuperscript{68} MNCs operating in the Third World developing countries learn to operate on a contractual agreement and by doing it they try to avoid risk factors of nationalisation, decision-making power, environmental degradation in the host country and growing political resentment and high unemployment in their home countries, on the one hand, and on the other this contractual agreement of involvement of MNCs is the technical/service contract, a variety of marketing, managerial, financial services on the payment for services rendered areas. And local authority enjoys control over economic assets, strategic, operational decision-making in the developing countries and in turn local authority offers substantial profit to MNCs and also immunity from risks in developing counties and in doing so they prefer to go for privatising market and favoring privatisation process.

The privatisation process helps spreading globalization and affecting every sector of production and consumption of economy such as natural resources, telecommunication networks, transformation networks, industrial sectors, transportation, markets, media, and others. The deeper meaning of privatisation can be understood and analysed by placing it in the broader structural and historical framework. It starts with the crucial analysis of the assumptions about origin and growth of public enterprises and also of the internal and external sources of the crises in the public sectors, nature of privatisation and its socio-cultural, political and economic consequences. Privatisation has several notions and dimensions like it is related to political forces acting on coercive apparatus rather than on the market rationality in Latin America, crisis of public enterprises is the large part a

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., p. 869.  
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., p. 870.
product of the failures and products of private sector corporations and the political styles of capitalist politicians, based on the changes in both ideological and class structures, that in turn can play a major role in undermining local representatives of governments and fostering authoritarianism, producing an economic structure that is unresponsive to domestic users and the lower echelons of the 'civil society', which should be framed in a way where private-public relationship is made compatible with the needs of the national majority since public enterprises were a response to the failure and crises of free market regimes and its development was a response to the pragmatic relations to the crises and necessity.\textsuperscript{69} Privatisation is not an isolated phenomenon and it has been understood as a part of global strategy that routing for an attack on the civil society, democratic politics, violent military interventions and use of arbitrary executive decrees. It is carried out under the orders of imperial controlled international banks, imperial funded constellations and government agencies who decided on the programmes, prices and potential buyers. The economic process decides and dictates the time frame and scope of privatisation and their interest is to run through transfer of property aiming for the transition to the irreversible neo-liberal capitalism.

The process of privatisation is associated with the denationalisation of economy, using policies and strategies by the western economic support to impose free market policies, for accessing foreign capable against nationalists and socialist regimes and overcoming economies and hegemonies civil society. It is a part of general process of conversing through involving transfer of publicly owned and taxpayer financed enterprises to private corporation rather than transferring income from private companies through public welfare programmes to wage and salary workers. The matrix of privatisation involves international actors and overseas consultants, advisers and financiaries inevitably lead to the inclusion of foreign capitals. The privatisation process has been becoming synonym with the denationalising markets and increasing formation of political clout of TNCs.\textsuperscript{70}

The regional pattern of privatisation has been undermining social organisation and popular power and reversing social welfare.


\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., pp. 93-94.
In the West and South popular struggle against liberal export model of the 19th and early 20th century, when the people were facing difficulty in the absence of drinkable water, adequate and inexpensive transportations and investment in strategic electric and energy sectors, health epidemic, infrastructure for facilitating trade and manufacturing, electric and energy sectors, lead to the state interventions for the public ownership. However, in the eastern Europe the public ownership was imposed from above and outside that was referred as an anomaly in the historic pattern. The privatisation has been thus a counter reform movement endeavouring to sublet the welfare state, mixed economics and classes based social movements. The free markets defend the traditional families, their politics encourage the creation of single parent families and forced labour of women for low wages. In the several senses privatisation as a global strategy is directed towards eliminating political-economic alternatives, and a domestic strategy to re-concentrate wealth and power for living up economic responses, and it is originated in political matrix. The crises of export-elite model of a free market and the incapacity of the liberal state to meet the development needs of manufacturers, the occupational demands of the middle class, health and education needs of the working class have provided the political context of privatisation. The growth of private industry was essentially related to the public enterprises since private sector was unable and unwilling to meet the bourgeoising needs of the new productive class. A coalition of working, middle class and bourgeoisie class emerged as nationalist forces to provide low-cost energy and transportation networks necessary for production and distribution. Public sectors not only sold their produce to the private sector at the low prices for accumulating profits but also subcontracted several contribution works of high ways dam, ports, etc. to the private sector, that stimulated growth of private firms and enabled them to compete. However, state promoted activities and huge push from public sector helped in establishing basic infrastructure and industry, state financing and contracts, exports oriented activities for the today's free marketers. For the pragmatic reasons public ownership emerged and replaced private activities and in more efficient manner diversifying economy, stimulating economic recovery and mobilising unused capacity under the previous free market and export model. Public enterprises took reshaping development agenda by providing employment and increasing the capacity of
natural decision makers. The public ownership and national development helped economy to avoid experiencing extreme fluctuations experienced during the previous export based liberal economy based on raw material and foreign conclaves.

The crisis of public ownership was seen by the contribution of both internal and external factors. The external factors exist outside the public enterprises and internal factors are considered with the structure and function of the enterprises itself. A strong support has been offered to the public sectors by a political coalition, that includes urban labour, public employees, the middle class and capitalist particularly industrialist, construction contractors, and intellectuals, which have provided roles, technical support, economic resources, political leadership and occasional social mobilisations. The crisis in the coalition has emerged from growth of internationalisation of ‘national capital’ and development of diverse interest of labour and capital. The coalition of labour and capital, the trade union representatives, began demanding social legislations on greater employment security, high wages through social organisation and mobilisation rather than securing employment and minimal recognition from state. The employers searched for lower cost, greater freedom from state and labour obligations for increasing profits and interest after achieving state’s protection, subsidiaries and monopoly process. The problems before employers come from the national industrial framework that inhibited the imports and transfer of capitals but not simply from the profit squeeze employers who wanted to dispose of profit capitals, and investment, whenever they wanted. The crisis in the coalition of public ownership has been raised alone due to internationalisation of ‘national capital’. Under the protectionist region the high profit in the form of ‘surplus capital’ was secured and channeled in the form of ‘portfolio investment’ in overseas that was targeted to seek increasing access to technology, market and financial recourses. The domestic market no longer considered for earning high and fast profit because of entangling with the major changes in land tenure, agrarian reform investment in technology and plant. The pitfalls of internal market are provided with the two solutions—the revolutionary choices of deepening the national industrial project and counter revolutionary choices of dismantaling it in the favour of wealth strategy and linking up

71 Ibid., pp. 95-99.
with the overseas capital. The macroeconomic has provided external factors for the crises in public ownership. The state in general and state in particular has begun running and protecting private sector in the absence of capitalist concern for social wages of labour. The public enterprise sold their product at the subsidised prices since private enterprises monopolised prices for the previous products. The state not only subsidised imports for private industrialists without demanding commensurate export earning to pay for them but also lowered down the cost of labour for capital by paying for social benefits for workers.

Theoretical Perspectives of Globalisation

Globalisation is a multifaceted and multi-dimensional phenomena. At the same time, it convey, relatively specific meanings in different regions, societies, disciplines and so on. Some writers have treated it as a process of the creation of a global economy; others have talked of political and social globalisation, a globalisation of ideas or a process of technological change. There are many classifications of theories of the global system and I try to comprehensively analyse the contemporary theoretical approaches and debates on globalisation under following.

1. Theory of Dependency
2. Theory of Modernisation
3. Theory of Cultural Imperialism
4. Theory of Cultural Consumerism

1. Theory of Dependency

The emergence and intellectual roots of this theory has been stretched into the post war period and it has been fallen and branded as classical imperialist theory that addressed relation of nation-state into two folds of domination and subjugation. It is viewed that classical theories of imperialism and their scholars like Hilferding, Bukharin, Lenin, and Luxemberg appeared interacted more in the case of imperialism and did not bother with the study of the effect of imperialism overseas.\(^72\) For the classical imperialist exports of

capitalist relations of production and capitalism works has seen everywhere in the social
tension and class conflicts between bourgeoisie and proletariat. In the beginning Paul
Baran has outlived the original version of dependency and underdeveloped theory but
Andre Gunder Frank has developed it gradually and made very popular. Leon Trotesky
was exception in the classical Marxist, who formulated the unicity of world system in his
Law of Combined and Uneven Development. He argued that world system has become
contradictory and concrete due to internalisation of capital in the development of
capitalism. The development of country in relation to one another and even inside the
backward nation primitive features of economy and society coexist, this unique situation
was ripe for socialist revolution. The complex views of history made Trotesky differing
from the evolutionist concept of history, on the line of liberal western model. The
dependency theorists Paul Baran, A.G. Frank, T. Dos, Sontos and others were akined to
Trotesky line of view and concentrating on tracing location of cause of break down of the
Third World countries within the dynamics of world capitalist system.

Underdevelopment is distinct from development and it is also the result of the same
historical process in which now developed countries have become developed. From very
beginning dependency approach has been a world system approach that rejects the
concept of unified state as actor and notion of the global system as a collection of nation
state. The dependency theory assumes that a distorted economy and society, which have
been created in the colonial countries by colonial capital will reproduce by overall
economic stagnation and extreme pauperisation of the masses. The distorted structure of
economy implies external orientation and the subordination of economy. This theory
shows that export oriented production structure is being frozen in the internal class
structure dominated by a small landed and mercantile elite. The economic interest of
these classes has increasingly become intertwined with the advanced capitalist states. The
cultural life styles and task of these elite classes have been a sincere and failure initiation
of these small states. The second structural feature of extreme pattern of social inequality
and its dependency on such relations generates a structure of the internal social relations,
which imposes specialisation of production and continuation of coincidence of interest
between the imperial states and ex-colonial elites even after independence that restricts
any attempt of independence industrialistaion and internal social transformation. This
dependency and social and economic relations produces overall economic stagnations and pauperisation in Latin American countries, which lasted short for a while that was criticised on the basis of external dependency and constriction (internal restricted to) of producing luxury consumer goods of economy and the third world countries structured in such a way that it was producing primary goods for the advanced industrialised countries. Further this structuring of Third World economy on the lives of subordination to the industrialised countries present their local industrialisation. However, this production structure was limited in scope and diversity. A United Nation’s report observed that 90 percent of the export earning of the developing countries was derived from the primary products, half of those countries earned more than 50 percent of their export from a single primary commodity and three-quarter of these countries earned 60 percent from three primary products. The second external orientation that means high dependency has been exacerbated by extreme concentration of dependency upon few metropolitan rather than money. The external concentration reflects through imperial indicators such as trade partner, aid donor, export products, etc.

The distorted structure of society in the dependency theory refers to two main features—a class attitude and evolution of extreme patterns of social inequality. This capital intervene industrialisation has marginalised a greater number of proletariat by throwing them out of existing jobs. This theory terms distorted structure of economy and society, which is referred as peripheral economy/society continued development. This peripheral nature of the economy and society creates its won developing dynamics by denying autocentric development. It refers to a process of development where the entire cycle of production, reproduction of capital, relation of capital and valorisation of capital and the relationship between producer and goods are admirable contained within the same economy and society. The constant interaction between the counter countries and the peripheral countries involves transferring of values. It is an appropriation of economic surplus by the centre countries from the poor countries and resulted in accumulation of capital in the advanced countries and stagnation and impoverishment in the poor countries. Both the development and underdevelopment is a two way process, as underdevelopment is one part of the world goes hand in hand with development in the

other part. It means underdevelopment in the peripheral countries contributed to the further development in the core and advanced countries, the key mechanism operates for this duel development and underdevelopment is unequal exchange.\textsuperscript{74}

The influence of political ideology of dependency theory on the development of poor countries cannot be undermined. It has not only shaped and determined the nature of external relations between poor and rich countries, in the neocolonial countries but also acted as panacea for their development by advocating radical break with the world capitalist system. This theory helped in developing a 'Third World' perspective on international capital flows by underpinning a strong populist tradition favouring domestic policies of economic nationalism and self reliance. The Third World countries took a united stand in demanding fundamental change in the world market system at various international organisation forum and discussion. They wished to get better and more secured prices for their traditional exports, preferential access to domestic markets in advanced countries for their infant manufacturing countries, general aid flows, reform in international monetary forum, and code conduct for multinational companies. And in effect of such unity and demand the world capitalist system has shown profound changes over a period of time.\textsuperscript{75}

2. Theory of Modernisation

This theory marks the continuous imperialist nature of the relationship and accepts uncritically structural relationship between rich and poor, which has evolved during capitalist expansion. These theories are problem solving in nature and also called policy oriented theories of social change and economic development. Taking the orientation and understanding from these theories many countries have policy of aiding the efforts of the people of economically underdeveloped areas to develop their resources and infrastructure to improve their living condition by developed countries like the U. S. The policy of providing aid for development of the less developed countries has been put forward against keeping Third World underdeveloped countries out of the communists

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 40.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., pp. 42-43.
The economic and technological aid has been mean for development but very soon it has realised and relocated by them that traditional culture and orthodoxy played negative role in blocking development against various outside cultural diffusion and introduction of technology. The policy makers of their aid providing developed countries discern and recognise that transplantation of aiding technology and capitalist to these underdeveloped countries of world, which would not bear desired fruits unless it was accompanied by wider and consistent social, cultural and political changes in These Third world society. In the late 1950s several social scientists such as N. J. Smelser (1964), B. F. Hoslitz and W. E. Moore (1963) and A. M. M. Hoogvelt (1976) have called for comprehensive social and economic changes. They viewed the contribution of the economist as piece meal and not going beyond economic observation for the capital and technological aid to the third world society, which had been packed with ascriptive attribute of kinship obligation and communal fringes over technological innovation and merits. These several social scientists W. W. Rostove (1960), A. Lewis (1955), E.E. Hagen (1962), Gunnar Myrdal et. al (1968) had set a task of developing a comprehensive all encompassing theory of processual and structural changes, which need a huge transformation of non industrial Third World society into industrial society. The modernisation theories are termed as theories of social evolution and such theories had themselves been scripted on the circumstances from which historical development of the West had occurred. The western model had portrayed that underdeveloped societies of all the period were thought to be becoming developed with the help of using interaction process. The compatibility and correspondence between certain advanced institution like money, market, occupational specialisation and profit maximisation and certain modern political, cultural and social form is required. In such interaction process facilitation of the modern political, cultural and social forms, which act as prerequisites or logical requirements. If traditional institutions or values do not fit for the development process they are considered dysfunctional and regarded as a problem. The modernisation theory can be examined by launching modernisation studies to see the effect and impact of process of secularisation, industrialisation, multi-party

\[\text{76 Ibid., pp. 35-37.}\]
\[\text{77 Ibid., p.35.}\]
democracy etc on the traditional family system, division of labour, etc. The modernisation theory tends to advocate the convergence of less developed societies to the western model of development by highlighting the complementary between compatible institution and the values.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 36-37.} The theoretical frame of modernisation assumes society as a self-regulating 'social whole' within which, social, political institutions, cultural values as well as economic organisations are comprehended as constitutive parts of high integrity. Various scholars describe such theoretical framework that enshrined independence and sovereignty of national development and state help in strengthening such illusion.

3. Theory of Cultural Imperialism

John Tomlinson (1991) has tried to analyse successfully theory of cultural imperialism on the following four grounds: cultural imperialism as a media imperialism, cultural imperialism as a discourse of nationality, cultural imperialism as the critique of global capitalism, and cultural imperialism as the critique of modernity.\footnote{John Tomlinson, \textit{Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction.} (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991), pp. 19-28.}

\textit{A. Cultural Imperialism as the Critique of Modernity}

The effects of cultural imperialism has not been seen on individual culture but on the world itself, and a discourse is not directly on about cultural imperialism but it is a way of speaking about global historical developments, which encompass and reformulate the claims about theories of cultural imperialism.\footnote{Ibid., pp.26-28.} The process of modernity refers to the main cultural direction of global development. The drift towards the global cultural hegemony is recognised and seen in such discourse and is directed from a particular modern way of life. This criticism can be targeted against homogenisation championing of cultural diversity, and reduction of idea of modernity to that of 'capitalist society'. Cultural imperialism generates deeper question about cultural identity and it requires attention to the historical process of cultural change and to the process of modernity. The common argument about linking cultural imperialism is to the spread of capitalism and in
the services of capitalism, which enables spread of capitalism as an economic system. Thus cultural imperialism produces sameness and scholars have seen it as a threat to the diversity and richness of global culture. The cultural synchronisation poses threat to the cultural autonomy and cultural practices, these are necessary for actual survival of a cultural community that can be referred to the survival of people or society or culture itself. The sameness constantly destroys the rich diversity of culture that is produced by the capacity of adoption to the physical environment. And TNCs are the major players for cultural synchronisation and spread of cultural capitalism.

B. Cultural Imperialism as the Discourse of Nationality

Many scholars talk about cultural imperialism, by viewing media as the most common focus of discussion of cultural imperialism and the commonest way of articulating the involved process in the invasion of an indigenous culture by a foreign and it poses a threat to the ‘local culture’ posed by cultural exports from the West/USA. The indigenous culture means ‘native’, meaning belonging to one geographical area naturally. Culture may belong to a region, which means in the sense that flora and fauna are natural to the region and authentic culture is also something natural. The culture of the region, a village, a nation or a supra nation and Tomlinson here, takes the natural culture and he examines the idea around a national cultural identity and threats posed to it by cultural imperialism. The concept of national culture and cultural imperialism and their uses have been existing in United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in parameters of international institutional settings. The pronouncement of UNESCO has been vacillating between observed in the reports of UNESCO world conference on cultural politics held in Mexico City in 1982 and the fundamental item of the agenda was the respect for the cultural identity of the all.\textsuperscript{81} It asserted the right to peaceful coexistence of all cultural differences, recognition and respect for difference, tolerance and spirit of brotherhood, and culture for all men are not one i.e. a universal culture.\textsuperscript{82} A. Benedict and A. Giddens have defined nation on the grounds- imagination, territory and sovereignty. The nation is an imagined political community. Both Andrson


and Giddens have discussed useful ways of thinking about identity and its implications for this particular discourse of cultural imperialism. As both have stressed upon 'imagined' the essential nature of this belonging, which is particular to the broader social condition of modernity, particularly to the convergence of social space and time brought about technological advancement in the broader communication and so on. Both argue that identifying with the nations, somehow replaces cultural identities formed around culture 'given' and supplied the existential certainties and 'ontological securities' term given by Giddens, which reflects that structure of kinship, religion and tradition, which produce the meaning and moral orientation to the people.  

Tomlinson describes culture, and autonomy in the frame of reference of time in discourse of cultural imperialism. The conceptual problems arise here when we try to understand exclusively spatial-synchronic mode and leave out the historical nature of dynamic cultural process. The idea of cultural imperialism conceives that the living of one community as 'how we live' is being threatened by the imposition of others- 'how they live'. The living of one community has been a dynamic not a static set of circumstances, Tomlinson has made two points in this regard. Firstly, the content of culture has been shifting with the passes of time and any culture at any point of time will be totalisation of its memory. Secondly, as a consequence, our culture is 'local produce' that contains the previous borrowing or influence and have become the part of totalising. The Tomlinson has given the example of such deliberate borrowing/invention in all settings like Gothic Style of British Parliament building, the Flemish taught in Belgium, Festival of Nine Lesson and Carols of British, European appropriation of Jazz, Rock n' Roll, various languages are full of several idioms and phrases, etc. It is to see that the traditional practice of today has been the cultural construction of past/yesterday. He says that cultural imperialism not poses threat to cultural pattern but to the cultural imagination. The resistance to cultural imports has been really a resistance to the change and imperialism of culture has been roots for incorporation of these practices into a culture over a period of time. Tomlinson now, tries to analyse the conception of

domination in the discourse of cultural imperialism.85 The notion of domination implies alien cultural products and practices, which are imposed on a culture. This domination is involved in cultural imperialism at the level of whole, as the right to develop along its own line is threatened by external forces.

C. Cultural Imperialism as Media Imperialism

Media imperialism concerns with three main issues. The first, specify the culture within the wider context of political-economic domination. The second is related to the first, the cultural effects of media imperialism are reverted to economic account, which is invariably problematic. Third is related to the way in which media figure in the contemporary western culture. The media has been placed at the centre of things in the majority of the published material on cultural imperialism but at the outset one may note the differences in the use of the terms cultural imperialism and media imperialism.86 On the one hand, neo-marxists prefer to use cultural imperialism, accepting a more holistic view of the role of the media in a larger totality of domination and, on the other hand, non-marxists prefer to use the term media imperialism rather than the all encompassing cultural imperialism. The latter denies the broader context of domination.87 Here, John Tomlinson (1991) accepts media imperialism has been a particular way of discussing cultural imperialism. The critics of media imperialism focuses on the structural and institutional aspects of media, deception of cheap TV programmes, advertisements, comics, exaggeration of unimportant things. They are basically related to political and economic forms of domination. Media imperialists focus on its centrality and using it synonymous to cultural imperialism.

If one sees carefully the relationship of media and culture, both critics and proponents of media imperialism keep media somehow at the centre of cultural processes and turn the issue of cultural domination into media domination.88 Here, the danger implies that one may take media issue as the substance of cultural imperialism. And in its opposite Lodziak (1986) said that people work in this taking culture and ideological

process at the centre of social reality and media like TV significance has been put down in a narrow perspective. TV is very strongly powerful and why TV has become so dominant and powerful in the majority of western societies in leisure activities to grasp the social significance of it, which is against media centredness of media theory. Tomlinson claims the importance of virtual identity between media and culture in contemporary societies. And again Krober and Cook (1988) provide TV as a real world of post-modern culture, society and economy, which is typified by the dynamic momentum of the spirit of technicism triumphant and of real popular culture driven by the ecstasy and decay of the obscene spectacle. In fact, it is driven by everything which escapes by real world of TV, not videated as its identity principle, not processed through TV as technical apparatus of relational power par excellence, is peripheral to the main tendency of contemporary century. In the post-modern culture it is not TV, a mirror of society but it is society as mirror of TV. The contemporary culture is theoretically situated by the mass media that it is impossible to separate out an immediate real cultural experience from the grip of flat TV screen. Tomlinson quotes Boudrillard, Krober and Cook’s idea that medium and real are such interwoven that it has been impossible to decipherable. J. Baudrillard rightly describes that the media has been transformed from the idea of means–the form and institutions, of communication to which Baudrillard sees media as seen of obscenity ground, which grasps the most intimate aspects of our life for feeding virtual reality of media, but the mass media, i.e., Television has radically altered the sense of culture boundaries of public and private making all experience equally visible. D. Harvey (1989) attempts to get the feel of culture by asking when people in American society give several hours to see the programmes or to feel the cultural description in the same way as Baudrillard and others experience in the decomposition of cultural meaning in American society.

The second issue is related to the first because the cultural effect of media imperialism is posited as invariably problematic. Here, Tomlinson (1991) has given the

example of the American TV series Dallas, which had become the byword for cultural imperialism in 1980s. Tomlinson (1991) quotes Ian Angis (1985) and her study of ‘Watching Dallas’, which takes a central question of tension between massive international popularity of nine countries ranging from Turkey to Australia, from Hong Kong to Great Britain. And the cultural commentators view the success of Dallas as a more evident threat posed by American style of commercial culture against authentic national identities of these nation states. She also shows the hostility towards imported products of American mass culture industry and it has become perfect hate symbol and which one struggles against it.

Tomlinson (1991) quotes Herbet Schilber, the most prolific writer on media imperialism. And in the H. Schiller approach of development of the systemic nature of modern global capitalism, multinational corporations (MNCs) or transnational corporations (TNCs), represent the most significant unit of system of global capitalism. Schiller focuses on how media gets fit into the world system of capitalism and the multinational corporations and their provision provides the ideologically supportive infrastructure. MNCs act as agents for promotion, protection, and extension of modern-global world system. The media roles are witnessed in corporate marketing, manipulating audiences to deliver them as good consumers of capitalism production. Media helps in providing brand loyalties and commodity satisfaction at the scale of social reality. Transnational media is described as capitalism virtue, in the world system of resource allocation, as an inseparable element, which creates and reinforces their audiences to the overall system involves.

D. Cultural Imperialism as the Critique of Global Capitalism

Cultural imperialism generates the question of cultural identity and it requires attention to the historical process of cultural change in particular reference of the process of modernity. Cultural imperialism has cast capitalism as the enemy of culture and the real issues involve capitalist modernity. The most common argument of linking cultural imperialism to the spread of capitalism and enabling it as an economic system, and this spread of capitalism is seen as the spread of a distinctive cultural dominant in its own right and nature of multinational capitalism produces a homogenised global culture. The
cultural imperialism has been in the service of capitalist system as the good life of capitalist consumers lures the powerful people in the developing countries. Tomlinson writes (1991) that capitalist world system appears to be in a cultural totality and a developmental path and in such a way cultural imperialism appears spreading a culture of capitalism. Tomlinson quotes Flora and Flora’s work the *Fotonovela*, a tool for domination of class and cultural. It is a love story narrating in photographs to the masses of Latin America, North Africa, France and Italy and fulfilling the ideological functions of reinforcing capitalist relations by stressing a shift in values. The story focuses on highly mobile and inter-replaceable working force, separate working individual from primary ties and integrating them to the urban life by escaping from the real problem of life. This encourages compulsion of middle class item, and integrating and accepting capitalist monopoly and capitalist values. 93

Cultural imperialism takes capitalism at its target and is having a tendency or producing cultural convergence and cultural homogenisation. C. J. Hamelink (1983) in his work refers to cultural autonomy and cultural homogenisation as ‘cultural synchronisation’ at the centre of his analysis. And he claims that this process has too been at the centre stage for the spread of global capitalism. 94 To illustrate his thesis of synchronisation, he tries to show it in experiences of international scene in Singapore, Mexico, Saudi Arabia in the various cultural fields, in Mexican village the traditional ritual dance, performance features in a gigantic coca-cola bottle, precedes a soccer match, a band dressed in traditional Malaya costumes offers invitation of Fats Domino in a heart-breaking way, North-American cops and robbers yield to the traditional muezzin, a call for 5 times Moslem prayer by T. V. in Saudi Arabia are example given by Hamelink. 95

The transnational corporations are the principal agents in cultural synchronisation. They develop global investment and marketing strategies and transnational advertising considering as ‘cultural defences’ of its target markets, logic of multinational markets through the spread of world brands. These world brands through advertising try to identify with the cultural features of target market and produces stock of knowledge of

95 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
national cultural identity. The culture of capitalism has placed concepts of consumption at the centre and placing goods in the market for generating profit from them is essential. W. W. Rostow (1960) saw high mass consumption for the development of capitalist modernity as a common feature.

4. Theory of Global Consumerism or Global System

L. Sklair has chosen to analyse global consumerism theory with the help of global consumerism as global system, globalisation and transnational practices, economic and political transnational practices, transnational practices in third world, cultural ideology of consumerism and sexual division of labour.

A. Global Consumerism or Global System

L. Sklair (1991) proposes theory of global system or global consumerism, which is based on three spheres- the economic, political, and cultural-ideological. Each sphere is typically characterised by a representative institution, cohesive structure of practices, organised and patterned which can only be properly understood in terms of their transnational effect. The primary agent of institutional practice is the transnational corporation. However, there are three - the World Bank, the IMF, commodity exchange and so on are driven by TNCs. The primary agent of politico and cultural-ideological transnational practices (TNPs) may be contentious. The primary agent in the political sphere is still the transnational capitalist class (TCC). The institution of cultural ideology of consumerism is expressed through transnational mass media, which is the primary agent in the cultural ideological sphere. Each of this primary agent typically produces the result of its practices. TNCs produce commodities and services necessary to manufacture and sell them. TCC produces the political environment within which the product of one country can be successfully marketed in another. The cultural ideology of consumerism produces the values and attitudes that create and sustain the need for the product.

B. Globalisation and Transnational Corporation

One of the most visible features of the process of globalisation is the rise of giant companies that is transnational corporations (TNCs) which operate in the influence of national economy throughout the world. A transnational corporation can be defined as a company that operates in more than one country. Such operations entail the setting up of productive activities, although production in this context may refer to services and finance, as well as factories, mines and plantations. Although TNCs have operated since the 19th century but have grown in significance since the 1950s, and by the early 1990s, there was a small number of giant TNCs whose assets were comparable to at least some developing countries’ GNPs such as Royal Dutch Shell, General Motors, General Electric, Exxon, General Motors, Ford, Mitsubishi and Mitsui. All had global sales figures totalling in billion. According to some commentators the growth of above mentioned TNCs represents development of a qualitative shift from world economy to the global economy. The world economy is an international economy based on trade between nations that has existed between and through controls over the movement of capital and labour. A global economy on the other hand, is one in which the stress is placed upon the erosion of national barriers and the movement of economic activities across national boundaries.

Leslie Sklair (1991) sketches out the theory of the global system or global consumerism to analyse the activities and impacts of transnational corporations which are supposed to be the wheels of the process of institutions of culture-ideology of consumerism, as expressed through the transnational mass media, is the primary agent in the cultural-ideological sphere. TNCs produce commodities and the services necessary to manufacture and sell them out. The transnational capitalist class produces the political environment within which the products of one country can be successfully marketed in another. The culture-ideology of consumerism produces values and attitudes that create

empirical distinctions. TNCs get involved in host country politics, and the culture-ideology of consumerism is largely promulgated through the transnational corporations involved in mass media and advertising. Members of the transnational capitalist class often work directly for TNCs, and their lifestyles are a major exemplar for the spread of consumerism.\(^{104}\)

C. Economic and Political Transnational Practices

Economic transnational practices are economic practices that transcend national boundaries. These may be entirely contained within the borders of a single country even though their effects are transnational. For example, there may, within one country, be a consumer demand for a product which is unavailable from domestic supply. The retailer places an order with a supplier who fills the order from a foreign source. Neither the retailer nor the consumer needs to know or care where the product comes from, though some countries now have made country of origin rules mandatory to display of this information. The transnational corporation enters into scene when sellers, intermediaries and buyers are parts of the same global organisation. One important consequence of the expansion of the capitalist world economy has been that individual economic actors (like workers and entrepreneurs) and collective economic actors like trade unions and TNCs have become much more conscious of the transnationality of their practices and have striven to extend their transnationality of practices and have striven to extend their global influence. For describing political transnational practices, L. Sklair used the term transnational capitalist class (TCC). The transnational capitalist class is defined as: "a socially comprehensive category, encompassing the entrepreneurial elite, managers of firms, senior state functionaries, leading politicians, members of the learned professions, and persons of similar standing in all spheres of society."\(^{105}\)

The political practices of the transnational capitalist class (TCC) can be analysed in terms of two issues. Firstly, how the TCC operates to change nature of political


struggle between capital and labour. This can be measured in terms of its domestic and transnational political organisation, direct and indirect TNC interference in host country politics and the extent to which these are constrained by the domestic or transnational labour movement. Secondly, the transnational capitalist class aims to downgrade certain domestic practices by comparison with new and more glamorous transnational practices and to create a comprador mentality.

A comprador mentality is the attitude that the best practices are invariably connected with the global capitalist system. It is an ideological struggle between those who believe that TNCs will inevitably damage Third World development prospects in the long run, against those who believe that there will be no development prospects without TNCs. This struggle revolves around opposing materials interests of competing classes and groups in all countries. There are those who see destiny of the Third World is bound up with the adoption of all that is modern. And it is often embodied in the products and practices of the TNCs. The transnational capitalist class, fractions of the labour force, and other support that the TNCs have increasingly identify their own interest with those of the capitalist global system. The specific functions of the agents of transnational political practices are to create and sustain the organisational forms. This penetrates and connects domestic practices that can be incorporated and mobilised in the interests of the global capitalist system. In order to do this the TCC must promote a comprador mentality throughout society. TNCs make linkages for the successful transnational practices, as L. Sklair talks about two linkages: backward and forward in this regard.

D. The Culture-Ideology of Consumerism

The mass media perform many functions for global capitalism. They speed up the circulation of material goods through advertising, which reduces the time between production and consumption. This helps in creating the political/cultural demand for the survival of capitalism. The systematic blurring of the lines between information, entertainment, and promotion of products lies at the heart of this practice. It has not in

itself created a culture and ideology of consumerism, for such practices it has been in place for at least the last century and perhaps longer in the First World and among comprador classes elsewhere. It has created reformulation of consumerism that transforms all the public mass media and their contents into opportunities to sell ideas, values, products, in short, a consumerist worldview. The medium is the message because the message, the culture and ideology of consumerism, has engulfed the medium. In connections between global capitalism and the culture-ideology of consumerism Featherstone (1987) has developed a useful composite picture of contemporary consumer culture under the following: (a) Goods are framed and displayed to entice the customer, and shopping becomes an overtly symbolic event; (b) images play a central part, constantly created and circulated by the mass media; (c) acquisition of goods leads to a greater aestheticisation of reality.107

Summary

In contemporary world globalisation as a multi dimensional process has affected all spheres of national, regional and international economics, policy, trade, market, environment, society, culture, etc. The various elements and dimensions of globalisation like market, state and institution, social and political movements, technical changes, communication system, media, music, films, internet, network of information, nation-states, capital economy, division of labour, global-local, homogenisation and heterogenisation, and development of perspective of globalisation have been discussed and analysed by various scholars. The historical perspective of globalisation has been traced in four phase- pre-modern, early-modern, modern and contemporary. In the second section of the chapter mass media like news papers, radio, TV, films, construct and express image of changing values, culture, and social reality in modern society. The latter part of the section describe market, consumer sovereignty, freedom, choices and performances, production, goods and services provide universal and impersonal mechanism of market activities. Both TNCs and privatisation with combined effects of

media and market have successfully spreaded consumerism, consumer culture and openness among individuals and groups in society affecting their identity. The final section of the chapter analyses theoretical construction of globalisation in dependency, modernisation, global consumerism and theory of cultural imperialism frame.