



Globalisation and nationalism in India: A theoretical perspective

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Abstract

The globalization, a phenomenon in the economies across the world has been inconsistent and the existing literature on nationalism sends the clue about its departure. The contradicting views argue that it has indeed strengthened the history. The evolutionary nationalism and the global economies are feeling the underscoring in respect of the same. The present study is theoretically explores the nationalism with the globalization undercurrent in the Indian context.

Keywords: nationalism, globalisation, economies

Introduction

Building on a broad-based socio-historical and political economy analysis, this article explains the characteristics of the emerging nationalism. It argues that the new global economic order is gradually undermining the economic and socio-political structure that sustained the classical nation state and nationalism. It suggests that the formation of autonomous nation state among nations without the state is currently taking place in the context of global integration of markets, where the associated economic restructuring provides opportunities to sub-state nationalists for promoting their nationalist agenda. Consequently, rather than weakening nationalism, the modern global political economy is shaping a new form of nationalism: A globalist nationalism that complements the economic policies of Globalising states and sub-state nations. (Dr. Anwar Anaid, 2014) [8]

Meaning of Globalization

There is a lot of confusion about the term, and about the rhetoric of the ‘new world order’ following the end of the Cold War. Hence, globalization can be conceived as a myth, a rhetorical device, a phenomenon, an ideology, a reality, orthodoxy, rationality. In both academic and popular discourses globalization has become one of the catchwords of the 1990s. In fact, globalization is a short form for a cluster of related changes: economic, ideological, technological, and cultural. Economic changes include the internationalization of production, the greatly increased mobility of capital and of transnational corporations, and the deepening and intensification of economic interdependence [1] (Arie M. Kacowicz, 1998) [3].

To sum up, the concept of globalization is frequently employed but seldom clearly defined. It means many

Different things for different people. Among the possible definitions we might include:

1. Intensification of economic, political, social, and cultural relations across borders
2. The historical period (or historical epoch) launched since the end of the Cold War
3. The transformation of the world economy epitomized by the anarchy (literally defined) of the financial markets;
4. The triumph of the US values, through the combined agenda of neoliberalism in economics and political democracy;
5. An ideology and orthodoxy about the logical and inevitable culmination of the powerful tendencies of the market at work;
6. A technological revolution, with social implications;
7. The inability of nation-states to cope with global problems that require global solutions, such as demography, ecology, human rights, and nuclear proliferation (Cox Robert W, 1996) [6] (Reich, 1998.) [12]

Table 1: Summary of classifications and some combinations

Stances Toward	Combination	
Globalism Globalization Cosmopolitanism Isolationism	1. Globalization (Regionalization) Nationalism Quasi-Autocracy	5. Isolationism Nationalism Quasi-Autocracy
National orientations Nationalism Global citizenship	2. Globalization (Regionalization) Nationalism Responsive Leadership	6. Isolationism Nationalism Responsive Leadership
Leadership Quasi-Autocratic Responsive to Citizens	3. Globalization (Regionalization) Global Citizenship Quasi-Autocracy	7. Cosmopolitanism Global citizenship Quasi-autocracy
	4. Globalization (Regionalization) Global citizenship Responsive Leadership	8. Cosmopolitanism Global citizenship Responsive leadership

¹ Regionalization, Globalization and Nationalism: Convergent, Divergent, or Overlapping? Arie M. Kacowicz 1998 1-47

1. All nations should set as a goal to promote a culture of global citizenship and to adopt cosmopolitan policies in their compartments with respect to other nation. This means that national chauvinistic and isolationist stances should be vigorously opposed at the same time that a national autonomy is sustained that is sufficiently sensitive to the legitimate needs of other nations and the exigencies of international cooperation to motivate appropriate ceding of some powers.
2. Democratic structures and processes beyond quasi-autocratic leadership should be put in place.
3. Neoliberal economic practices and processes along with the politics that support them should be avoided and combatted.
4. Nationalist and intolerant aspects of a nation's past as well as present aspects should be exposed and criticized.
5. In the content of its educational institutions at all levels, through its immigration policies and in international cultural exchanges, a state should aim to break down prejudicial attitudes toward peoples of other nations.

Ten Theses on Globalisation

1. Anti-globalisation protests are not about globalisation since these protests are among the most globalised events in the world.
2. Globalisation is not new; nor is it just westernization.
3. Globalisation is not in itself a folly, it has already enriched the world.
4. What is needed is fairer distribution of the fruits of globalisation.
5. The central issue, directly or indirectly, is inequality.
6. The primary concern is the level of inequality, not its marginal change for the better. Appalling poverty and staggering inequalities demand urgent attention.
7. The question is not just whether there exists some gain for all parties, but whether the distribution of gains is fair.
8. Market economy is consistent with many different institutional conditions and, in conjunction with the latter, can produce different outcomes. Aside from the need for pro-poor public policies, the distribution of benefits depends on a host of global arrangements (e.g. trade agreements, patent laws, environmental protection etc).
9. The world has changed since the Bretton Woods agreement. Decolonisation, human rights, NGOs and movements for gender and environmental equity and justice have come up anew.
10. Both policy and institutional changes are needed. Global governance is changing under open leadership of the World Bank and the UNO but the Third World governments have been found to be indulging in violence and waste.
11. Finally, we have reason enough to support globalisation in the best sense of that idea since some institutional and policy issues deserve to be addressed more.

The Core Themes of Nationalist Ideology

1. Humanity is naturally divided into nations.
2. Each nation has its peculiar character.
3. The source of all political power is the nation, the whole collectivity.

4. For freedom and self-realization, men must identify with a nation.
5. Nations can only be fulfilled in their own states.
6. Loyalty to the nation-state overrides other loyalties.
7. The primary condition of global freedom and harmony is the strengthening of the nation-state (Adam Smith).

Eight Reasons to Resist Economic Nationalism ^[2]

Fundamental Processes of Wealth Creation Rely on Trade

An increasing degree of specialisation has been one of the driving forces of increasing prosperity since Adam Smith's time at least. We rarely comment on such fundamentals and most policy decisions do not affect them. But protectionism is different; protectionism limits and can even reverse this most basic process of wealth creation. If we don't need growth, we have nothing to fear from protectionism. The problem is that employment requires growth.

Gains from Trade

Protectionism leaves goods unmade and services unemployed across the global economy. But it does not necessarily reduce the rate at which we consume our natural resources, nor does it leave us with money to save, quite the reverse: *protectionism is about paying more to get less*. Less consumption, less employment, less carbon reducing innovation.

Efficiency

Preventing trade increases the cost of production. Rising prices reduce demand and the poorest people's demand falls first and furthest. Falling demand reduces the opportunity to make and sell other goods and services. The prices of intermediate goods rise, reducing output across the economy. A vicious cycle of contraction and unemployment sets in.

Incentives

Incentives the more certain a government bailout, the less likely is any management or workforce to invest in reducing costs, increasing output or adopting new technology. The more protected an industry, the more resources it will soak up and the less it will produce. Protectionism increases costs within a given technology – increasing the rate at which it becomes an unsustainable policy.

Escalation

We cannot make decisions about economic nationalism in isolation; we either encourage our partners' destructive tendencies, or demonstrate more sustainable solutions to domestic and international challenges.

Falling Prices

Falling prices make a wage go further and help keep inflation under control; this is good for growth and our quality of life. Spending less on basic goods produced abroad increases demand for high quality goods and services produced domestically. Trade changes national economies; it does destroy industries, but it also creates new ones. It is a fallacy to argue that trade replaces jobs with

² Economic Nationalism or Progressive Globalisation? The choice for modern government by Alex Karalis Isaac

cheap goods; it increases both employment and consumption.

Productivity

Innovation provides new jobs and higher wages. Openness encourages the exchange and development of new ideas and it increases competition, which is the major incentive for adopting these new techniques. Only countries with open product markets have been able to remain relatively on top of technological developments. Allocating resources more efficiently is another source of productivity growth. The more we allow prices to allocate resources, the more this happens. Again this relies on trade.

Employment

Trade lowers prices and increases future incomes. This can sustain rising demand, enabling high levels of employment even with high levels of competition and innovation.

The First Wave of Globalization: 1870–1914

The first wave of global integration, from 1870 to 1914, was triggered by a combination of falling transport costs, such as the switch from sail to steamships, and reductions in tariff barriers, pioneered by an Anglo-French agreement. Cheaper transport and the lifting of man-made barriers opened up the possibility of using abundant land. New technologies such as railways created huge opportunities for land intensive commodity exports. The resulting pattern of trade was that land-intensive primary commodities were exchanged for manufactures. Exports as a share of world income nearly doubled to about 8 percent (Maddison 2001).

The production of primary commodities for export required not just labor but large amounts of capital. As of 1870 the foreign capital stock in developing countries was only about 9 percent of their income. However, institutions needed for financial markets were copied. These institutions, combined with the improvements in information permitted by the telegraph, enabled governments in developing countries to tap into the major capital markets. Indeed, during this period around half of all British savings were channeled abroad.

By 1914 the foreign capital stock of developing countries had risen to 32 percent of their income. Globally, growth accelerated sharply. Per capita incomes, which had risen by 0.5 percent per year in the previous 50 years, rose by an annual average of 1.3 percent. Did this lead to more or less equality? The countries that participated in it often took off economically, both the exporters of manufactures, people and capital, and the importers. Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States became among the richest countries in the world by exporting primary commodities while importing people, institutions, and capital. All these countries left the rest of the world behind.

The New wave of Globalization

The new wave of globalization, which began about 1980, is distinctive. First, and most spectacularly, a large group of developing countries broke into global markets. Second, other developing countries became increasingly marginalized in the world economy and suffered declining incomes and rising poverty. Third, international migration and capital movements, which were negligible during second wave globalization, have again become substantial. We take these features of the new global economy in turn.

This is an astonishing transformation over a very short period. The developing countries that have shifted into manufactures trade are quite diverse. Relatively low-income countries such as China, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka have manufactures shares in their exports that are above the world average of 81 percent. Others, such as India, Turkey, Morocco, and Indonesia, have shares that are nearly as high as the world average. Another important change in the pattern of developing country exports has been their substantial increase in exports of services. In the early 1980s, commercial services made up 17 percent of the exports of rich countries but only 9 percent of the exports of developing countries. During the third wave of globalization the share of services in rich country exports increased slightly—to 20 percent—but for developing countries the share almost doubled to 17 percent.

Review of Literature

Venkteshwar (2019) ^[13] Globalisation is the free movement of people, goods, and services across boundaries. This movement is managed in a unified and integrated manner. Further, it can be seen as a scheme to open the global economy as well as the associated growth in trade (global). Hence, the countries that were previously shut to foreign investment and trade have now burned down their barriers. Considering a precise definition, countries that abide by the rules and regulations set by WTO (World Trade Organization) are part of Globalisation. These procedures include overseas trade conditions among countries. Apart from this, there are other organizations such as the UN and different arbitration bodies available for supervision (Venkteshwar, 2019) ^[13]. Maurice Obstfeld (2019) ^[11] Nationalism is on the rise throughout the world – with peoples’ national attachments often driven by ethnic, racial, religious, or political identifications. The trend is evident in countries ranging from Myanmar, India, and China, to Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Nationalism’s rise connects inseparably to globalization, if for no other reason than globalization’s capacity to confront a country’s residents with the outside world through trade, immigration, and media. The current *zeitgeist*, however, endangers a postwar structure of international economic linkages and institutions whose architects were convinced both that nationalistic policy helped bring on global depression and war and that global economic cooperation could promote prosperity and peace (Maurice Obstfeld, 2019) ^[11].

Bhaduri (2000) ^[5] contends that *raison d’etre* of the nation-state is the ideology of nationalism. Yet, nationalism is a complex notion which encompasses the society, the state and the economy. It comprises of a complex nexus of multiple loyalties of an individual as a member of the society, duties and rights of the citizen in a reciprocal political arrangement with the state, and the role of the individual as a producer and consumer in the economy. While the balance among these different aspects of nationalism evolved historically, in the present area of globalization this balance seems to be shifting in favour of global market forces. Its consequences for the nation-state, and the new role that it needs to define for itself, especially in terms of economic policy (Bhaduri, 2000) ^[5].

Haidt (2016) ^[9] Countries seem to move in two directions, along two axes: first, as they industrialize, they move away from ‘traditional values’ in which religion, ritual and deference to authorities are important, and toward ‘secular

rational' values that are more open to change, progress and social engineering based on rational considerations. Second, as they grow wealthier and more citizens move into the service sector, nations move away from 'survival values' emphasizing the economic and physical security found in one's family, tribe and other parochial groups, toward 'self-expression or 'emancipative values' that emphasise individual rights and protections— not just for oneself, but as a matter of principle, for everyone (Haidt, 2016) [9].

Md. Suresh Khan (2015) [1] highlights the measures taken by the government to improve the economy of our country. Globalisation has opened up new and tremendous opportunities for worldwide developers. To accrue the benefits of globalisation, India introduced economic policy changes and integrated its economy to the international economy since the Cold War end. It has brought far-reaching implications on India's economic, trade and investment relations with the countries of the world. India's economic achievement over the last two decades has attracted the attention of other regional and global powers for closer cooperation with India. The paper seeks to analyse the implications of globalisation to the Indian economy in the post-cold war era. It first discusses the concept of globalisation and its chief features. It also examines the performance of the Indian economy since the arrival of globalisation in India (Md. Suresh Khan, 2015) [1]. Lushaj (2014) [10] Islamic movements can be seen as conservatives and progressive, because such terms bear a deep ideological connotation. In conditions of weak states with economic, political social and cultural problems, they can produce geopolitical effects in the states foreign policy. In such state and social environments especially extremist ideologies are more prone to use terrorist violence in order to promote their political and/or geopolitical interests. This shows how alive is the power of religion as a source of political and social change, not only for the Muslim countries (especially those of the Middle East), but also for other religions (Lushaj, 2014) [10]

Dr.Anwar Anaid (2014) [8] Stressing the evolutionary nature of nationalism and the global market economy, this study explores the possibility of the rise of a nationalism that is adapting to globalization and global integration of the market economy. It suggests rather than weakening nationalism, the modern global political economy is shaping a new form of nationalism: A globalist nationalism that complements the economic policies of globalising states and sub-state nations (Dr.Anwar Anaid, 2014) [8].

Daniele Conversi (2014) [7] the force of nationalism has spread well over the nineteenth century into the age of globalization. There are thus parallels between modernization and globalization as stimulating factors for nationalism and ethnic conflict. Although the reach of globalization is historically unprecedented, some of its features accompanied the rise of modernity and the advent of the modern nation state. In particular, both resulted in the demise of older boundaries and the construction of new ones.

Whereas industrialization destroyed local and regional boundaries by superimposing national boundaries on them, globalization destroyed national boundaries by superimposing a plethora of supra-national and corporate networks on them, including mafias, organized crime, and multi-national corporations (MNCs), none of which are as

easily identifiable on a political map as 'sovereign' countries still are (Daniele Conversi, 2014) [7].

Athreya (2016) [4] Nationalism in the third world countries was and is a response to colonialism and it must be noted that most pluralist nations evolved in the Asian, African and Latin American Continents, where colonialism played a very important role in the formation of these states through the recent historical past but failed to take into account the multi-cultural set up of these colonies. The colonial power played an important role in creating or fostering identities to ensure control by using the policy of divide and rule while the process of state formation during the process of independence (from the colonial power) ignored and even curbed the multiculturalist set up to create a single identity (Athreya, 2016) [4].

The Evolving Nature of the Nation-State and Globalization

The gradual erosion in the authority of the nation-state from its past height achieved during its golden age in the decades following the Second World War is attributable to several intertwined tendencies. They impose serious limitations on the economic role of the state. Although they coincide in time with the current phase of 'globalization', it would be a misleading over-simplification to suggest that these tendencies are generated entirely by the world economy globalizing at a rapid pace. Because some of these tendencies are the consequence of the economically active role which the nation-state played in the past; others are attributable to the process of globalization. For expositional clarity, it may be useful to distinguish these tendencies under four different heads, while bearing in mind that they interact with each other in the process of eroding and reorienting the authority of the nation-state. They are:

1. The resurfacing of capital-labour conflict, especially in an era of sluggish growth and high unemployment in several industrially advanced nations;
2. The consolidation of multinational corporations in production related activities as well as in the field of international finance;
3. The overwhelming quantitative importance of international financial capital flows, mostly from private sources; and,
4. Finally, technological development especially in communication technology. (Bhaduri, 2000) [5]

The Impact of the Globalization of Markets on Nations and Nationalism

The intensity of modern global economic transactions characterized by the globalization of the production processes has altered the economic basis that has, so far, sustained the classical nation-state in many parts of the world. Global integration of the market economy has created a multinational and multiethnic mode of existence in many regions. In countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia such a mode of existence is more noticeable as these countries have a large annual intake of migrants who are accepted mainly to sustain and expand these countries national markets. Similar processes are occurring in the other parts of the world to various degrees because of a higher volume of global trade and economic transactions. The globalization of production processes is a consequence of further global division of labour, the movement of capital and labour to the most productive

corners of the world and expansion of global markets in general.

Modern economic conditions require a compatible socio-political organisation that may alter the way the established nation-states have so far operated and influences the way new nation-states are formed, and they have changed the nature of nation-state and nationalism of our times. In many developed countries, both state and sub-state nationalist policies (and their associated majority and minority nationalisms) are transformed by the strategic importance of globalizing economic policies and global economic integration.

This is widely the case in Quebec, Scotland and Catalonia with their respective host-states of Canada, the United Kingdom, and Spain. Most importantly, sub-state politicized economic policies in these countries depend on their host-states being under the pressure of similar structural economic imperatives. If a host-state is not seriously affected by market based economic policy imperatives (which seems to be the case in many developing countries), it is unlikely that the associated sub-state minority can do so as a result of an inhospitable host state's economic and political conditions.

In essence, due to its globalist nature, a global capitalist economy transcends the political, geographical, social and ideological boundaries of nationalism in the post nation-state era. The expansionist, competitive and efficiency-seeking markets go beyond the limits of nations and the boundaries of nationalism. Such globalist tendencies in the nature of the market are supported by the need for further division of labour that are explained in detail in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nation* and the works of his socialist critics.

In other words, economic globalization has a tendency to transform exclusionist nationalism to an accommodating globalist nationalism that is directed by economic pragmatism. The transformation of ideological and ethnocentric nationalism to a space-oriented globalist nationalism is a qualitative process that is formed by the marketization process and consequential to the global structural economic changes that have occurred in modern times. Globalist nationalism is product of market-driven civilization and the invisible force of the global market (Dr. Anwar Anaid, 2014) [8].

India's Economy after the Dawn of Globalisation

The emergence of globalisation has a close linkage with progress in Indian economy. In a follow up to the Cold War end, India took the bold steps of implementing economic reforms that finally brings an end to license raj and opening up of private sectors. The reforms process introduced were reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers, relaxation of FDI rules, International Journal of exchange rate and banking reforms. The decision to open up its economy and integrate it to the international economy would always remain the sound basis for the success behind Indian economy. With this, trade and investment relations with other countries and foreign investment inflows started improving in a way that had never experienced before. FDI inflow to India in 1990 was just US\$ 100 million, but within six years, it jumped to US\$ 2.4 billion. The ratio of FDI inflows to GDP has also improved in a significant way. However, the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the Indian decision to carry out nuclear tests in May 1998 brought a temporary setback to the

prospering Indian economy. The average GDP growth rate in the first decade after the liberalization of Indian economy hovers around 5.6 per cent. By the turn of the twenty-first century, there is no way of backtracking India's economic growth that had started improving.⁷ The Indian economic growth rate of 8.5 per cent each in 2004 and 2005 was quite impressive, followed by a much better growth rate of 9.4 per cent in 2006. Because of which, India has emerged as the twelfth largest global economy when measured by the size of its GDP in market rate and the fifth-largest global economy in terms of purchasing power parity. However, today, Indian economy is the fourth largest in the world behind the U.S., China and Japan. India is most likely to replace Japan in the coming few years. This is justified by the fact that the size of India's economy was 73 per cent that of Japan. However, in 2006, the figure has risen to 99 per cent. India's economic performance would have been much better had there been continuous step-by-step reforms. Continuous trade and investment reforms would hold the key India's economic progress in future. (Md. Suresh Khan, 2015) [1].

Effects of Globalisation on Indian Society

Globalization is a significant factor in competitive world that integrate and mobilize cultural values of people at global level. In the age of rapid technical progression, many countries are unified and transformed due to the process of globalization. Globalization has a huge impact on cultural, social, monetary, political, and communal life of countries. Abundant theoretical studies demonstrated that globalization intercedes in a cultural life of populace that raises numerous critical issues (Robertson, 1992). In broad sense, the term 'globalization' means combination of economies and societies through cross country flows of information, ideas, technologies, goods, services, capital, finance and people. Globalization is described by theorists as the process through which societies and economies are integrated through cross border flows of ideas, communication, technology, capital, people, finance, goods, services and information.

Technology and Cultural Impact of Globalization in India

With the process of globalization, there is an access to television grew from 20% of the urban Population (1991) to 90% of the urban population (2009). Even in the rural areas satellite television has a grown up market. In the cities, Internet facility is everywhere and extension of internet facilities even to rural areas. There is an increase of global food chain /restaurants in the urban areas of India. Excessive Multiplex movie halls, big shopping malls and high rise residential are seen in every city. Entertainment sector in India has a global market. After economic liberalization, Bollywood expanded its area and showed a major presence in the global scale. The industry began to explore new ways to become more global and modern. In India, modernity is observed with the West. Therefore, Western philosophy began to be incorporated into Bollywood films. As these new cultural messages began to reach the Indian population, Indian moviegoers were pushed to re-evaluate their traditional Indian cultural ideology.

Bollywood movies are also distributed and accepted at international level. Big international companies (Walt Disney, 20th Century Fox, and Columbia Pictures) are investing on this sector. Famous International brands such as Armani, Gucci, Nike, and Omega are also making investment in the Indian market with the changing of fashion statement of Indians. Impact of globalization on education in India

India AS A “Third-World” Superpower *Past, Present, and Future*

The increasingly popular concept of India as an economic superpower is not at all new. According to some studies, India and China were the largest economies in the world until the eighteenth century, with each of them counting for more or less 23 percent of the world’s GDP, 1 and with India considered the world’s leading manufacturer.

The incredible riches of India are not a one-thousand-and-one Nights tale; Indian empires, like the Maurya (322-185 B.C.) and the Gupta (250-550 C.E.) in the north of India, or Vijaynagar (1336-1646 C.E.) in current day Karnataka, or the same Mughal Empire (1556-1739 C.E.), 3 were important actors on the world economic stage, participating in a wide network of trade and commercial relations. But they were also true empires in the sense of diplomatic, political, and cultural influence, playing key roles in the spread of major religions and cultures—Buddhism (and Hinduism) to China and Southeast Asia and Islam in Asia through Indian Muslim traders/missionaries. In addition, the epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana are still an essential part of popular culture and religious traditions in the whole of South and Southeast Asia.

“If we were once rich, why are we poor now?” asks a very young Gurcharan Das of his grandfather—an admirer of British colonial rule and administration—in his *India Unbound*. Actually, looking at the data, the impact of British rule on India seems to be truly devastating, both for the Indian manufacturing industry⁴ (especially textiles) and for the countryside itself. There, the changes of the old land revenue system did not take into account the capriciousness of the monsoons, which are still essential for determining a good or bad harvesting season; and basically, thanks to the British reforms, farmers lost their ability to save and to protect themselves from famine

Conclusion

In evaluating the interrelation between economic globalization and nationalism the innovative and adaptive nature of a capitalist global political economy as well as nationalism and nationalist policies should not be underestimated. Economic globalization undermines the socio-political structures that are incapable of adapting to its economic prescriptions or stands in opposition to its commercializing impact. The current phase of economic globalization is promoting a form of nationalism that thrives on global and regional economic integration and it is pragmatically re-creating nationalism in line with its marketization and commercialization logic, which is globalist nationalism. Economic globalization has created the possibility for the conception of a form of nationalism that is structurally consistent with the current economic agenda of globalizing state and sub-state entities. If the sub-state nationalists in developing countries desire to use

economic globalization for pursuing their nationalist agenda, they may not be able to escape its implications both for the nature of their nationalist project and the methods they use for promoting it (Dr. Anwar Anaid, 2014) ^[8].

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