

— Preeti Kante

Answer Booklet

UPSC TREE | 2

Write TWO essays, choosing from the following, in about 1000-1200 words each.

1. "There is good in all of us"
2. God always forgives, Man often forgives, Nature never forgives
3. When you find hope, you find a middle class
4. Isolation, Protection and Secession – the rising tide of de-globalization in a globalized world.

③ When you find hope, you find a middle class

In socio-economic terms, the middle class is the broad group of people in contemporary society who fall socio-economically between the working class and the upper class. However, the common measures of what constitutes middle class vary significantly among cultures. The size of the middle class depends on how it is defined. For example, India's NCAER has used a cut-off of Rs 2,50,000 of annual income or about \$10 a day. By this measure, nearly 350 million Indians can be described as "middle class" currently. The rapid growth of the Indian economy over the past three decades has led to a substantial expansion of the middle class, which is considered an important driver of a country's economic, political and social developments.

is also part of middle class

The interrelationship between "hope" and the "middle class" as the heading points out is a close one. While some of the factors often ascribed in modern usage to a "middle class" are achievement of higher education, holding professional qualifications, belief in bourgeois values such as high rates of house ownership, savings and jobs which are perceived to be secure etc., an important factor that characterizes this class is their aspirations - for a better future for themselves and their children. This hope they hold for a brighter future has important economic, social, cultural, political and environmental ramifications. In this essay, I will examine

Space for review

Anecdotal
first person

the aspirational role of the middle class in modern societies of the past and the present in order to ascertain the importance of the hope they hold. (I) → will also throw light upon some challenges facing the Indian middle class and give suggestions on overcoming them.

Try to avoid 'first person' in Essays

better

Different factors play a role in the emergence of middle class in different cultures at different times. In India, some of these factors were english education, modern technology, modern means of communication, changes in the land revenue and legal systems & arrival of modern capitalist enterprise with the establishment of British colonial rule in India over a period of 200 years. In more recent times there were three structural changes in India that resulted in a massive expansion of the Indian middle class: service sector-led growth, rapid expansion of urbanisation and higher education. Depending on the parameters used to define middle class, economists estimate that between 10-30% of Indians are middle class.

This is a very wide range - Try to quote exact no. and report name

Historically speaking, the credit of spreading national consciousness among the masses of the people, organizing national liberation movement and ultimately emancipating the country from foreign rule must go to this class. The role of the middle class, especially the intelligentsia in bringing about social reform is second to none. Great leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, M.G. Ranade,

Space for review

excellent examples

Jyotiba Phule, Savitribai Phule and the like in the 19th and early 20th century acted as agents of social change in Indian society. Although they belonged to different castes, regions, backgrounds etc., a common connecting thread is that they belonged to the middle class and hoped, aspired to and worked towards an Indian society that is free of social ills such as Sati, child marriage, ill-treatment of widows, an oppressive caste system etc. In addition, the members of the Indian National Congress, especially during its "Moderate" phase majority belonged to the middle class. With their strong economic critique of British rule, they laid a strong foundation for the Indian freedom struggle which would go on to later include the masses, also under the leadership of the middle class mainly. Mahatma Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and other greats of 20th century struggle for our independence used their middle class values and work ethic to bring subjective realization among the larger masses about the already existing objective reality of economic, socio-cultural and political oppression by the British rulers. Moreover, they should be commended for assimilation of western democratic culture in India and more importantly, for coming together and drafting an egalitarian, progressive and just Constitution that has stood the test of time. In their hope for an India with equality, liberty, fraternity, respect for the integrity and dignity of every individual, these middle class leaders set a noble vision for India in the social, economic and political spheres in its Constitution. It will not be an exaggeration to say that India would have been a very different country - balkanised into pieces across different dividing lines - if it weren't for the unifying vision of the middle class leadership.

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The above page is a single paragraph.
Try to write short and meaningful paragraphs as it imparts clarity to your essay.

~~Third~~

Let us now examine the importance of the aspirational middle class and their hope for a better life in the economic sphere. There was a time when a majority of the Indians were desiring of "Roti, kapada aur mahaan". However, with the burgeoning of the middle class and the ensuing growth in the buying power of this class, we have ushered in the consumerist culture. McKinsey, a global consulting firm has described the Indian middle class as India's "bird of gold". For companies - both Indian and foreign - it is the growing buying power of this middle class that forms their main market for goods and services. The "demand" part of Prime Minister's ~~3Ds~~ Democracy, Demography and Demand comes mainly from the middle class.

Very good

Their buying power accompanied with the growing role of class as a marker of status leads to a consumerist culture where one's materialistic possessions tend to define one's social standing in the society. This is good news for the capitalistic system of production, especially in today's globalized world. Huge demand enables foreign companies to invest in India, thus providing employment to skilled and semi-skilled Indian workers while also easing the state its tax income.

However, it is important to note that such consumerism has serious negative environmental ramifications. Production to quench not just the need but also the greed of middle class consumers is unsustainable. The amount of waste generated, resources utilized, pollution generated - especially by the consumerist middle classes of the developed world is both unproductive and unsustainable. Because "hope" of the middle class is often incessant and unsatisfiable, uncontrolled

This is an issue regarding consumerism - does not (excessive) - cover well to the subject of the essay.

levels of consumerism is already unleashing its wrath in the form of increased pollution, unscientific land use changes and ultimately destruction of the very ecosystems that help keep us alive.

try to avoid

Moving on to the socio-cultural dimension, let us take a moment to understand why hope is generally associated with the middle class and not their poorer brethren. This is because of a concept called "culture of poverty." Sociologists point out that the people in the culture of poverty have a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, of not belonging. Along with this feeling of powerlessness is a widespread feeling of inferiority and of personal unworthiness? This pessimism that is forced upon the poor due to the condition of poverty leads to a vicious cycle in which they get trapped for long. Thus, the lack of hope becomes both a cause and consequence of their inert and self-perpetuating cycle of poverty. Just like this cycle of poverty, the middle class goes through a cycle of social reproduction. In this, the middle class grooms each future generation to take over from the previous one. To do this, the middle class have almost developed a system for turning children of the middle class into successful citizens, by giving great importance to education, for example. Members of the middle-class consciously use their available sources of capital to prepare their children for the adult world. In this manner, the hopes and aspirations of the middle class for a good life are passed onto the future generations along with the resources such as education to achieve this. This is why it is important that the middle class members who have the resources to "exit" out of government ^{provided} services such as government schools, hospitals etc. are incentivised not to do so. The Economic Survey points out that the disproportionately

Space for review

*try to write
small para's*

*f
gw d*

vocal middle class is absolutely necessary to bring about government accountability to the public. good

This brings us to the political sphere. As seen through urban protests in recent years globally, the middle class are no longer passive consumers or merely decile voters but are demanding that governments start acting like true democracies. Some examples are the protests in India against Nirbhaya case, protests in Brazil against rise in urban transport fares to cover the huge spending on FIFA Worldcup etc.

The middle class' hope for a better and secure future for themselves and their children depends very heavily on whether governments will work to provide greater opportunities and progress for the nation as a whole. Thus, the aspirational middle class works as a great tool to check and balance government accountability, keep corruption and other forms of rent-seeking in check etc. The arrival and widespread use of social media has increased the power of the voice of the middle class and politicians world over sit up and listen to their concerns.

Speaking of middle class' concerns, let us briefly examine the challenges facing the Indian middle class in current times that is creating insecurity and unrest among this section of society, thereby dashing some of their hopes. Economically speaking, a lot of this middle class has little money to spend. Due to poor service provision by the public sector establishments, the middle class' spending on health, education etc. has gone up with higher out-of-pocket expenditure. Also, as pointed out by 'The Economist' recently, India's mean GDP per head at PPP terms is just \$6600. This is less than half that for China. Moreover, 80% of the Indian population makes less than this amount. Companies such as Apple, Starbucks etc. that have tried

Rephrase
is a
more
subtle
way

Space for review

to top the Indian opportunity have found that returns fell short of the hype. This led to 'the Economist' terming this the case of the "Missing Indian Middle Class" because relatively speaking, the Indian middle class still makes far lesser when compared to their global counterparts. In addition, the sorts of jobs that have conventionally provided middle class incomes are drying up - government jobs are disappearing at a fast rate with increasing privatisation and contractualisation of work. The Information Technology (IT) sector which has provided productive white collar jobs is undergoing retrenching amid technological upheaval and threats of protectionism.

Due to a lack of emphasis on employability, skill development and vocational training until recently, around a third of under-25s are not in employment, education or training. Only around 15% of our graduating youth are found to be employable. All of the above have led to a situation of occupational mismatches between middle class aspirations and jobs. This aggravated feelings of relative deprivation among the youth of this class, thereby leading to growing demands for reservation for socially dominant castes such as Jats, Kapus, Marathas, Patidars etc.

Another challenge facing the middle class - especially its women - is that of low level of female labour force participation rate of only 27% in India. What is worse is that it has fallen by about 10 percentage points since 2005, as households used increases in income to keep women at home. Thus, it is clear that while financial aspirations of the middle class are soaring, the social aspirations are lagging behind.

V. GOOD

The Government of India recognized these challenges and has taken steps towards addressing them such as Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana for Middle Income

Space for review

for affordable housing, National Apprenticeship Promotion Scheme, Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana for skill development, Start up India, Stand up India and MUDRA Yojana to promote entrepreneurship etc. However, the welfare of the middle classes depends on the overall progress, economic growth and development of the entire nation. Improvements in delivery of public services, greater transparency through e-governance, better grievance redressal systems at all levels of the government and good governance in general are prerequisites for the fulfilment of the hopes and aspirations of this class. But it is not just the government who should be held responsible. The middle class should hold up a mirror to itself and question whether they have brought in adequate social change within themselves in order to help India transition to a truly modern society. The middle class always used to be the originators of social change in society. But post-1991 globalized era, the class of upwardly mobile professionals are no longer concerned with the ground realities of our societies. The middle class has almost become an "I, me, myself" community. This needs to change in order to better the lives of not just themselves but that of the rest of India as well.

In conclusion, I have put forth my views on the relationship between hope and the middle class in India and elsewhere by pointing out the importance of such hope, the manifestations of this hope as well as the challenges this class faces in fulfilling its hopes. The middle class' political, socio-cultural, economic optimism often drove change away from status quo in modern societies towards a better future. It is thus crucial that we cherish, nurture and strengthen the middle class by understanding the hope it holds for itself, the nation and the globe and letting it guide our vision for a better future ahead for all, middle class or otherwise.

Space for review

Arid
first person

Review

Answer Booklet

UPSC TREE | 11

Dear Smiti,

Your essay makes an interesting reading. Usage of critical words, understanding of themes ~~etc~~ and command over language is very good.

Ideas for Improvement:-

- (1) Try to avoid using 'I' (first person) in the essay.
- (2) Try to write smaller paragraphs as it imparts clarity to the essay.
- (3) Provide adequate time for framework (20-30 mins).
- (4) You have to diversify the essay.
- (5) Try to use as many examples as possible.

Content wise :-

- (1) The essay is not specific to India, so you can ~~use both~~ take a bird's eye view of the globe and pick out few good examples.

(2) few examples are:-

- (a) french revolution is essentially driven by the middle class as they were taxed where as the king & nobles enjoyed a tax-free regime (Creation of estates)
- (b) All the key people in American revolution were from middle class and the same applied to India's struggle for independence.
- (c) you have mentioned about Raja ~~and~~ Ram Mohan Ray, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar etc which is apt and very good..
- (d) you can also give examples like Mandela etc to enrich your content
- (e) The 'Arab Spring' and demand for democracy and responsible govt. in communist regimes are also driven by middle class intelligentsia.

(3) overall, from content perspective, you have good ideas, Space for review but certainly you can add few more examples.

(4) Also throw light on what constitutes the middle class intelligentsia -
doctors, lawyers, administrators, army men, professors,
scientists etc and
how they are the key drivers of reform
and how they contribute towards creating a
just society.

(5) Develop by giving varied examples such as
middle class and their role in
child labour (Kailash Satyarthi and Bachpan Bachao Andolan)
Women empowerment
Demand for transparency
in governance
(Lokpal, RTI ~~etc~~ etc)
(India against corruption)
(mat)

In sum, you have good writing abilities; but
you have to work on aesthetics and
content diversification.

Keep writing; your essays are only going to be
better.

marks:-

Aesthetics, dexterity,
language competency etc :- 10/10

Content, diversity, critical
aspect etc :- 12/10

52/100

④ Isolation, Protection and Secession - the rising tide of de-globalization in a globalized world

~~very good opening statement~~

At a time when 21st century capitalism is struggling to find a way out of a period of marked uncertainty ushered in by the Financial Crisis of 2008,

globalization is at a crossroads. What is ironic is that de-globalization is being driven by countries that promoted the construction of an international economic order ~~excellently~~ in the second half of the 20th century. At the turn of 2018, evidence has piled up in the last few years that the globalisation of the world economy and more broadly, the international liberal order, was in ~~retreat~~. In a campaign dominated by immigration and a return to national sovereignty, the UK had reversed its four decades of political integration with Europe and voted for Brexit. The US elected a president

~~whose~~ ~~candidate~~ who is seen to be right wing and populist and is talking about taking protectionist measures while already isolating his country from the Paris Climate Agreement.

The world is now experiencing the longest period of trade stagnation in 70 years (UNCTAD). The Doha Development Round of the WTO that aimed to lower trade barriers around the world ~~actually~~ has failed. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Trans Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) are both being presumed to be dead after the exit of the US. All of these are being seen as proof that even if globalisation itself isn't over yet, it is on the decline.

Too many examples
in a single para.
pick to one para - are there more

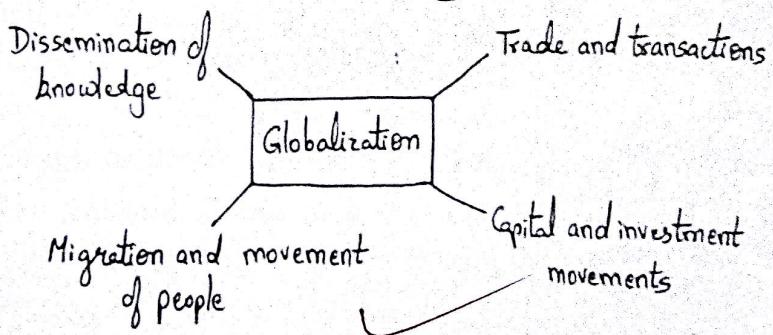
Space for review

And

In this essay I will examine the concept of globalization, the latest wave of de-globalization and the causes for it, its manifestations and will put forth my view that isolation, protectionism and secession will do more harm over the long term than good. I will also throw light upon better approaches to manage globalization in a manner that benefits everyone i.e. in a manner that "transcends the logic of capitalism", to use words of Hugo Chavez.

Concept of globalization

Globalization can be defined as the increasing interaction of people & countries through the growth of the international flow of money, ideas and culture. Globalization is primarily an economic process of integration that has social and cultural aspects. The IMF identified four basic aspects of globalization:



~~very and~~

Although the term globalization has gained currency only recently, the forces driving this trend can be traced back to the end of the Middle Ages in Europe. There have been different phases/waves of globalization. The first phase began in the 16th century

Space for review

Scattered movement of goods
people, services

• ever simpler
• globalization which once
• geographically
• simple city is the
• ultimate
• globalization

with improvements in maritime technology leading to the great age of maritime exploration, discovery and mercantilism, the European Renaissance and the emergence of modern nation states following the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. The second phase from the late 18th century was marked by the spread of Industrial Revolution and vast improvements in technology which in turn led to mass production and conveyance of goods and people. Cross-border integration during this phase also occurred through European imperial expansion which saw the flag follow trade across the globe. The globalising trend was halted by the two great wars of the 20th century and an anti-imperial, nationalist interlude as trade and flags disengaged. During the third phase, the engine of hyper growth in East Asia from the 1970s was the major driver of growth in merchandise trade. The fourth phase was brought upon by the fall of the Soviet Union and the awakening of the ancient sleeping giants, China and India. Merchandise trade is being swamped by the invisible trade in services, led by rapid technological advances in information technology and volatile capital flows.

As seen above, the world economy did go through periods of de-globalization previously and it is important for us to take lessons from such period so as to avoid the same mistakes. As with globalization, de-globalization can refer to economic, trade, social, technological, cultural and political dimensions. Let us now study some of the causes of disillusion and disenchantment with globalization that paved the way for the current rising tide of de-globalization.

1. Geopolitical factors
2. Different political systems
3. Space and review

Causes of the rising tide of de-globalization

In previous episodes of deglobalization, catastrophic events such as World Wars or the financial crash of 1929 disrupted the flows of commerce, finance, and people that had previously linked countries together. One result of these causes was that nationality and citizenship became the key components of political and social life. A similar wave of deglobalization was triggered by the Financial Crisis of 2008 that wiped out the wealth of millions of people. Thus, this ^{rising} tide of deglobalization can be said to be a natural consequence of the fear and suspicion that this catastrophic event had caused.

Another important cause is the job displacement especially felt in developed countries like the US. While job displacement could have been caused to a certain extent by the heightened mobility of the forces of production, thanks to ~~globalization~~, globalization, labour displacement is caused by automation of work through robotics and other advances in technology. However, the one aspect of globalization that often faces the wrath for allegedly having displaced jobs is immigration. Migration has been a critical issue in the Brexit campaign, in the election and Presidency of Donald Trump and in the refugee crisis faced by Europe. Effects of large scale migration fall most heavily on the poor and unskilled who saw their incomes erode by competition for jobs.

Globalization also brought upon its own decline by promoting informalization of the economy (as in India) and causing a fight to the bottom in terms of labour standards and worker protection in order to stay cost competitive. Globalization

Space for review

~~and
the strength of
parties are
good~~

also increased the levels of inequality within and between countries. According to a recent Oxfam report, in 2017, 1 billionaire was created every 2 days while the bottom 50% of the global population bagged less than 1% of total wealth. Over a decade ending in 2015, ordinary workers saw their incomes rise by an average of just 2% a year while billionaire wealth rose almost 6 times faster. Thus, it is clear that globalization did not lead to a rising tide of income which raised all boats as was promised earlier. Moreover, globalization also makes it difficult for nation-states to fight such growing inequality through redistributive policies at a national level because it made factors of production mobile. Companies just pack up and leave to greener shores ~~at the slightest hint of raise in taxes.~~

Globalization and the consumerist culture that it has brought about has caused environmental degradation at a scale never seen before. Moreover, externalities like pollution, deforestation, land degradation etc. are forced upon the Third World manufacturing countries like China while the consumers of the developed world enjoy the fruits of cheap consumer goods. What is even worse is that the US, the largest historical polluter of the world has now excluded itself from the Paris Climate Agreement that aims at limiting rise in temperatures beyond 2°C above pre-industrial levels.

Some of the backlash against globalization in terms of culture was due to cultural incompatibilities caused by large-scale migration. A move towards revival of local culture can be seen in many countries to fight against perceived homogenizing influence of globalization. For example: celebration of International Yoga Day, religious

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CGPSD //

revivalism etc.

The failure of global governance platforms such as IMF, World Bank and WTO has also been a cause that brought about this phase of de-globalization. This is because these organizations are seen by the majority of nations as being biased, undemocratic and as providing slow and insufficient responses to contemporary challenges. Despite some recent successes such as the Trade Facilitation Agreement, this failure of global governance organizations led to the re-birth of the Nation-state as the dominant actor in the global scene.

While we recognized the causes at the roots of the current wave of deglobalization, let us now see if these challenges will indeed be dealt with effectively through isolation, protection, secession and other manifestations of deglobalization.

Is deglobalization the answer to current woes?

Globalization has benefited almost all countries, especially those in the developing world by lifting millions of people out of poverty. It led to exchange of ideas and very rapid technical advance, thereby providing for better living standards across the world. For example, Green Revolution in India was a result of dissemination of technology of high yielding variety seeds developed collaboratively by American and Indian scientists. It led to a country going from ship-to-mouth existence to becoming fully self-sufficient in terms of foodgrain production. The link between openness and technical change is at the heart of human progress. Globalization also provided access to larger markets, greater specialization opportunities and increased ability to

very ^{Qn} part for review

exploit economies of scale and scope. It enhanced the variety, quality and affordability of goods & services for consumers. It also put greater competitive pressure on domestic firms to increase their productivity. Collectively, these forces lead to a more efficient allocation of a country's scarce resources - one that is more closely aligned to its international comparative advantage.

Deglobalization would lead to a loss of many of these benefits. Moreover, deglobalization represents a narrow view of short term gains for certain sections of people in certain sectors of industry but lacks a long term view of benefits to the broader economy. Countries need to compete better, not compete less. In fact, the Great Depression of the 1930s was aggravated by US protectionism displayed through the Smoot-Hawley Act which raised tariffs against agricultural imports into the US. In a sign of disapproval towards this act, other countries retaliated and also increased their tariffs. The ensuing trade war led to failure of several banks and drastic decline in international trade between 1929 and 1934. Barriers to trade and movement of people across borders are a very expensive way to preserve jobs in less competitive or declining industries.

Deglobalization which leads to losses in efficiency and thus fall in productivity growth will only reduce the size of the economic pie for all - the rich and the poor.

In fact, a study by Columbia University suggests that in an average country, people with high incomes would lose 30% of their purchasing power if borders were closed to trade. But the poorest 10% would lose 65% of their spending power, because they buy relatively more imported goods. Thus, clearly deglobalization is not the answer.

Better approaches to manage globalization

At WEF, Davos meet in 2018, PM Modi equated protectionism with terrorism. As is clear from the discussion above, we need to find better ways to deal with globalization. For this we would need to enable globalization but contain its adverse effects. One way to do this is through strengthened social security systems and active labour market policies such as retraining, employment subsidies and so on. Long-postponed measures of equitable income redistribution and land reforms must be implemented to create a vibrant internal market. We also need to do a better job positioning our workforce to cope with globalization and technological change. This will involve improvements across a range of areas including not only education & training, but also the business regulatory environment and infrastructure investment that could support greater worker mobility. It is also crucial that we plug the "leaking wealth bucket" of tax evasion by MNCs through global cooperation and information sharing, for example through BEPS standards. Lastly, there are measures available in current trade agreements, such as antidumping measures and countervailing duties for dealing with unfair trade.

Conclusion

In conclusion, if we are to maintain a more open trade regime, globalization must be socially and politically sustainable. I have outlined in this essay the causes and manifestations of the worsening trend of deglobalization in an effort to show that there are better ways to deal with globalization in lieu of protectionism, isolation and secession from interdependence which is in vogue now. While the value from

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a globalized world is very high, the associated adjustment costs can be significant and will require greater attention if globalization is to work for all of us.

Dear Smt,

You have a good understanding of this essay and you have very well done justice to the demands of the essay. Keep it up.

It is indeed a pleasure to read this essay and content wise, you have covered it well.

I try to mention the book "the world is flat" which will add a "Scholar" tinge to the essay. You no need to read the whole book, a summary reading will do.

This is a near perfect essay, but you have to avoid certain points as explored in the page-wise review.

Space for review

Moreover, a heartfelt strategy & content guidance is gathered in the portal, hence I am refraining from attaching them here.

Do read the strategy in castrree.com portal (is globalisation digging its own grave in the form deglobalization?)

↳ Read this strategy ~~too~~ which may enrich your content further.

Do send me a request for tele-counselling and you can discuss any doubts you may have
keep writing, you stand to score high
in this paper.

Marks
Aesthetics, depth etc:- 12/12
content, diversity, critical aspects :- 50/100

62/122

This is a well-formatted essay.

→ Best of luck -