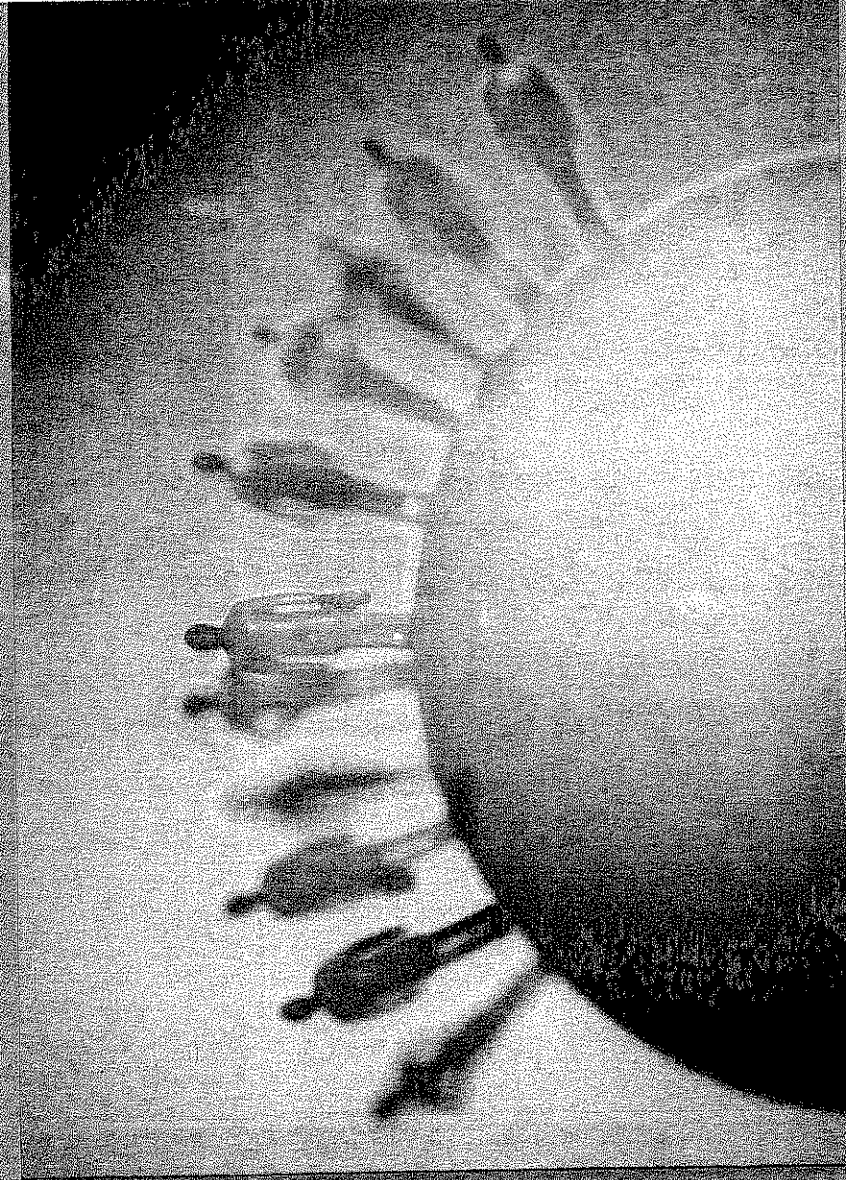


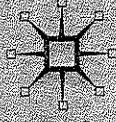
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Globalization

a critical introduction



Second Edition
Revised and Updated



Since everything concerning globalization is deeply contested, nothing about it can be taken for granted. Each account of the issue has to make its starting points explicit and clear. A lengthy first part of this book must therefore carefully establish a general framework for analysing globalization.

To this end Chapter 1 sets the scene of debate with a survey of the many points of disagreement about globalization. Chapter 2 examines various notions of globalization and particularly specifies the definition that guides the analysis in this book. Chapter 3 elaborates a chronology of globalization that corresponds to this conception. Chapter 4 then considers different explanations of globalization and presents the account that informs the present book. With the framework of analysis thus developed in hand, the consequences of globalization can be systematically explored in Parts II and III.

Chapter 1

Globalization Debates

Main points of this chapter
Where to start?
Continuity or change?
Liberation or shackles?
What to do?
Conclusion

Main points of this chapter

- globalization is a thoroughly contested subject
- many of the disputes relate to starting premises regarding the definition, measurement, chronology and explanation of globalization
- other debates concern the ways and extents that globalization has or has not changed society, including its primary structures of production, governance, identity and knowledge
- additional arguments centre on normative evaluations of globalization, namely, whether it enhances or undermines human security, social equality and democracy
- further disagreements revolve around policy responses to globalization, in particular between neoliberalist, rejectionist, reformist and transformationist strategies

Along the road between Iganga and Mbale, a crew heaves pickaxes to lay fibre-optic cable that will connect peripheral districts of eastern Uganda into global telecommunications networks. In New Delhi, taxi chauffeurs ask their foreign passengers how many hours' flying away they live. To mark post-Soviet times, a billboard in Moscow directs consumers to a 'Super Shop' called 'Global USA', located down the street from Lenin's tomb. Another sign, rising above the *favelas* of São Paulo, urges passing drivers to 'Globalize Jesus!', while an Islamist in Tehran celebrates global governance as the coming of the Mahdi, the twelfth Imam. In the Nile Delta a transborder company's local buyer of potatoes for the fryers of Europe adorns life with mobile phone, fashion spectacles, satellite television and sports utility vehicle, all the while dressed in traditional *galabeyya*. A boutique in Portland, Oregon,

professional, Judeo-Christian, middle-aged men. Given these biases, the existing literature – however wide-ranging it may be – does not adequately cover many experiences of globalization.

Where to start?

Many debates about globalization never get past disputes over starting premises regarding definition, scale, chronology and explanatory framework. On definition, people have often conceived of globalization in radically different terms, thereby talking past each other from the outset. On scale, people have made widely varying assessments of the extent of globalization. At one end of the spectrum certain observers claim that today's world is fully globalized; at the opposite pole ultra-sceptics deny that any globalization whatsoever has occurred. On questions of chronology, some accounts trace globalization back to ancient history, while others date its origins back only several decades. Regarding explanations, analysts have identified widely differing cultural, economic, political and/or technological dynamics of globalization. With such contrasting starting points, many globalization debates have been foredoomed to deadlock.

Whats in a word?

Disputes and confusions about globalization often begin around issues of definition. Indeed, many people invoke notions of globalization without indicating explicitly what they mean by the term. For example, various commentators have described globalization as 'a stage of capitalism' or 'late modernity' without specifying the content of such phrases. Or authors have made unfocused remarks that globalization is 'a new way of thinking'. Circular definitions are not much help either, with statements like 'globalization is the present process of becoming global' (Archer, 1990: 1). In these and other ways, 'globalization' has frequently become a label to cover whatever strikes the fancy. Little wonder, then, that critics have derided the emptiness of 'global babble'. As early as 1943 a US congresswoman complained that it was all 'globaloney' (Luce, 1943).

Yet such wholesale rejections are unfair. After all, many key notions in social analysis can be used loosely and vaguely. How often does one find 'international', etc.? Moreover, some usages of 'globalization' are considerably more illuminating than loose globe talk. A serious academic literature on the subject has developed over the past two decades.

All the same, confusion persists because the more specific ideas of globalization are often highly diverse. At least five broad conceptions can be

sells 'global clothing', while a restaurant on London's Brompton Road peddles 'global food'. From Beijing to Johannesburg, from Davos to Porto Alegre, a stream of world summits and world forums discuss the implications of globalization for human security, social equality and democracy.

These snapshots relate just a few of the countless occasions – across continents, age groups, classes, cultures, races, sexes, and urban and rural settings – when the present author has encountered 'global-ness' while writing (and now rewriting) this book. No doubt all readers can assemble their own collection of such incidents, if perhaps not as scattered as the above examples. It is today pretty well impossible to avoid the issue of globalization. 'Global-speak' has become standard fare among journalists, politicians, managers, advertisers, bankers, entertainers, officials, computer experts, activists and researchers across the planet. The vocabulary of 'globalization' has entered almost all of the world's major languages. Daily life now brings continual references to global communications, global finance, global health problems, global markets, global migration, and global justice.

'Globalization' has also become a heavily loaded word. People have linked the notion to pretty well every purported contemporary social change, with arguments about an emergent information age, a retreat of the state, the demise of traditional cultures, and the advent of a postmodern epoch. In normative terms, some people have associated globalization with progress, prosperity and peace. For others, however, the word has conjured up deprivation, disaster and doom. No one is indifferent. Most are confused.

To begin to bring some order to this analytical disarray, the present opening chapter maps the many claims and counterclaims that have been made about globalization. At the same time the following pages locate the arguments advanced in this book within those debates. From this discussion readers can obtain both a survey of existing globalization research and a preview of the particular perspective taken between these covers.

The first section notes the highly diverse starting points that people have adopted when they examine globalization. In other words, these paragraphs foreshadow the issues that are addressed in detail in the rest of Part I. The second section of the chapter surveys various affirmations and denials of social change that analysts have connected with globalization. These paragraphs thus introduce the questions treated more fully in Part II. The third section assembles multiple plaudits and denunciations of globalization, while the fourth section lays out the broad spectrum of policy lines that can be advocated in respect of globalization. These last two sections thereby review the matters that are handled at length in Part III.

Of course the diversity of published arguments about globalization must not be exaggerated. After all, most research on the subject has emanated from countries of the North and is published in English. Moreover, most studies of globalization have come from a limited social base of urban-based, white,

Anthony McGrew have defined globalization as 'a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions' (Held *et al.*, 1999: 16; also Massey, 1994; Short, 2001; Rosenau, 2003). In particular, some authors have associated contemporary globalization with a tendency towards deterritorialization, so that social space can no longer be wholly mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders (O Tuathail, 2000). In this vein the present book highlights the rise of supraterritoriality in contemporary globalization.

Each of these five conceptions can generate an elaborate and in one or another way revealing account of contemporary history. However, in spite of some overlap between these various notions, their respective foci are significantly different. Thus, for example, people who identify globalization as internationalization and people who approach it as respatialization develop very different understandings of the problem.

Fact or fantasy?

Both when they agree and when they disagree on the general definition of globalization, people have often held widely differing assessments regarding the extent of the development. On the one hand, analysts who might be characterized as 'globalists' claim that contemporary social relations have become thoroughly globalized. Globalists also tend to regard globalization as the single most important fact of contemporary history. In contrast, ultra-sceptics have dismissed any notion of globalization as myth. Between these extremes, other analysts have treated globalization as a significant trend, but one that coexists with other important developments and is far from finished. These more measured accounts have often also stressed the uneven incidence of globalization among countries, classes, and other social groupings.

Globalist pronouncements about the ubiquity and all-importance of globalization have issued both from gung-ho supporters of the trend and from its implacable opponents. The promoters have included a number of corporate consultants and champions of new technologies. For example, management gurus like Kenichi Ohmae and John Naisbitt have created bestsellers with their praises of a 'borderless world' (Ohmae, 1990; Naisbitt, 1994). Much of the business press has heralded 'the stateless enterprise' that maximizes efficiency and profits by operating freely across a global field (Holstein *et al.*, 1990). Similarly, many Internet enthusiasts have regularly overstated the number of online connections and the scale of electronic commerce. Many advertisers, journalists, politicians and others prone to hyperbole have also celebrated the present as a thoroughly globalized world.

Some critics of current directions of globalization have also made strong claims about the scale of the process. For instance, a number of civil society

distinguished. These definitions are in some ways related and to some extent overlapping, but their emphases are substantially different.

One common notion has conceived of globalization in terms of *internationalization*. From this perspective, 'global' is simply another adjective to describe cross-border relations between countries, and 'globalization' designates a growth of international exchange and interdependence. In this vein Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson have identified globalization in terms of large and growing flows of trade and capital investment between countries' (1996: 48). Evidence of such 'globalization' is purportedly also to be found in enlarged movements between countries of people, diseases, messages and ideas.

A second usage has viewed globalization as *liberalization*. Here 'globalization' refers to a process of removing state-imposed restrictions on movements between countries in order to create an 'open', 'borderless' world economy. On these lines one analyst suggests that 'globalization has become a prominent catchword for describing the process of international economic integration' (Sander, 1996: 27). Evidence for such 'globalization' in recent decades can be found in the widespread reduction or even abolition of regulatory trade barriers, foreign-exchange restrictions, capital controls, and (for citizens of certain states) visas.

A third conception has equated globalization with *universalization*. Indeed, when Oliver Reiser and Blodwen Davies coined the verb 'globalize' in the 1940s, they took it to mean 'universalize' and foresaw 'a planetary synthesis of cultures' in a 'global humanism' (1944: 39, 201, 205, 219, 225). In this usage, 'global' means 'worldwide', and 'globalization' is the process of spreading various objects and experiences to people at all corners of the earth. We could in this sense have a 'globalization' of automobiles, Chinese restaurants, decolonization, cattle farming, and much more.

A fourth definition has treated globalization as *westernization or modernization*, especially in an 'Americanized' form (Spybey, 1996; Taylor, 2000). Following this idea, globalization is a dynamic whereby the social structures of modernity (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism, bureaucracy, individualism, and so on) are spread the world over, normally destroying pre-existent cultures and local self-determination in the process. 'Globalization' in this sense is sometimes described as an imperialism of McDonald's, Hollywood and CNN (Schiller, 1991; Barber, 1996; Ritzer, 1996; Gowan, 1999). Martin Khor has similarly declared that 'globalization is what we in the Third World have for several centuries called colonization' (Khor, 1995; see also Biel, 2000; Ling, 2000).

A fifth approach – one that is developed in this book – has identified globalization as *respatialization*. Following this interpretation, globalization entails a reconfiguration of social geography with increased transplanetary connections between people. On these lines, for example, David Held and

its scale and consequences need to be carefully measured and qualified. Nor is globalization the only, or in all situations the most significant, trend in society today. Rather, it unfolds alongside – and is closely interlinked with – other major social trends, like the shifts in structures of production, governance, identity and knowledge that are considered in Part II.

In addition, more measured assessments of the scale of globalization have often emphasized the uneven spread of the process. On such an account, some countries (like the USA) and regions (like Western Europe) have generally experienced more globalization than others (like Mongolia or Sub-Saharan Africa). Likewise, urban centres have on the whole accumulated more global connections than rural areas. Global relations have also tended to fall unevenly across different age groups, classes, cultures, genders and races. In a word, measurements of globalization are far more complex than either the globalists or the ultra-sceptics make out.

Old or new?

Along with definition and scale, another issue of starting principles in debates about globalization concerns chronology. Is the spread of global relations new to contemporary history? Or did the trend start several generations, centuries or even millennia ago? Or is globalization a cyclical phenomenon that comes and goes from time to time? As might be expected, the chronology that one describes varies with the definition that one adopts.

For example, analysts who define globalization in terms of internationalization or liberalization often regard the process as a recurrent trend that has appeared at several previous junctures in the history of the modern states-system. In this vein Ian Clark has distinguished alternating phases of 'globalization' and 'fragmentation' in international history (Clark, 1997). A number of studies have emphasized that, in proportional terms, levels of trade, permanent migration and investment between countries were as high (if not higher) in the late nineteenth century as they were in the run-up to 2000 (cf. Zevin, 1992; Wade, 1996; Hirst and Thompson, 1999; O'Rourke and Williamson, 1999). On the grounds of such evidence many commentators have declared that there is nothing new in contemporary globalization.

Other accounts also give globalization a long history, but view it in linear rather than cyclical terms. These authors generally hold that globalization started on a small scale anywhere from 100 to 500 years ago and reached unprecedented rates in recent decades. In this fashion, Roland Robertson has spoken of a 'germination phase' of globalization between the early fifteenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries and a 'take-off' period from the middle of the nineteenth century (1992: 58–9). For their part, the business analyst Michael Porter and the world-systems theorist Christopher Chase-Dunn have located the start of globalization in the late nineteenth century (Porter,

activists and dissident academics have suggested that global corporations now rule the world (Barner and Cavanagh, 1994; Brecher and Costello, 1994; Korten, 1995; Berger *et al.*, 1998–9; Barlow and Clarke, 2001). On similar lines many of the same circles have denounced global governance agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the WTO for usurping power from states and local governments (Barker and Mander, n.d.; George and Sabell, 1994; Burbach and Danaher, 2000). Meanwhile a number of religious revivalists and reactionary nationalists have protested that a deluge of globalization is erasing traditional cultures. In this vein the National Front leader in France, Jean-Marie Le Pen, has rallied against his country being sent to the 'abattoirs of Euro-globalization' (*Globe and Mail*, 3 May 2002: A7).

Whether as supporters or as critics of globalization, globalists have regarded the trend as holding foremost and overriding importance in contemporary history. In this vein several writers have taken the current growth of global communications to be as significant as the spread of printing presses 500 years ago, the invention of writing 5,000 years ago, or the development of human speech 40,000 years ago (Ploman, 1984: 37; Gates, 1995: 8–9). For his part the former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, has affirmed that the implications of global consciousness are as great for the present day as was the Copernican revelation, five centuries ago, that the earth revolved about the sun rather than vice versa (Cardoso, 1996).

At an opposite extreme to globalist pronouncements, ultra-sceptics have denied the existence of any such thing as globalization. For these analysts, all globe-talk is empty jargon, fad, hype, myth and rhetoric. Claims concerning globalization are greatly exaggerated, if not utter fantasy. Doubters have dismissed talk of 'globalization' as new-fangled vocabulary for age-old conditions of world politics. Studies of this phantom subject are therefore a waste of time. Shut this book!

From the sceptics' standpoint, much that is said about the so-called 'global' economy is mythical (Zysman, 1996; Hirst and Thompson 1999: 2, 6; Hellmuth, 2000). Purportedly 'global' companies are in fact deeply embedded in their respective home countries, and their actions are thoroughly enmeshed in the logic of interstate relations (Kapstein, 1991–2; Ruggie and Van Tulder, 1995; Doremus *et al.*, 1998). Indeed, for these analysts alleged 'globalization' has done and will do nothing to alter the basic fact of world politics, namely, the sovereign state (Krasner, 1994; Nicholson, 1999). So-called 'global' governance institutions have not exercised any power separately from their state members. Talk of 'global' civil society and 'global' culture is similarly nonsense.

Others like the present author have fallen between the globalist and ultra-sceptical extremes. From such a perspective globalization is indeed a distinctive and important development in contemporary world history. However,

materialist approaches. Methodologically idealist accounts have regarded globalization as a product of mental forces such as imagination, invention, metaphor, identity and ideology. Examples of theories that tend towards idealism include social constructivism, postmodernism and postcolonialism. In contrast, methodological materialists have treated globalization as a result of concrete forces such as nature, production, technology, laws and institutions. Examples of theories that tend towards materialism include liberalism, political realism, Marxism, and social ecology. In contrast to both idealism and materialism, the eclectic approach adopted in this book treats both concrete and mental circumstances as important drivers and shapers of globalization. Hence, as elaborated in Chapter 4, and as reflected in the chapter themes of Part II, the analysis assigns causal significance to matters of identity and knowledge as well as to matters of production and governance. Indeed, the ideational and material aspects of globalization are held to be co-determining, such that each significantly moulds the other.

Cutting across the idealist-materialist divide, another key point of theoretical debate pits individualist against structuralist understandings of globalization. Methodologically individualist arguments regard globalization as an outcome of decisions made by social actors (such as businesspeople, citizens, officials and politicians). In contrast, methodologically structuralist perspectives treat globalization as a product of forces embedded in the social order (like capitalism, the states system, nationalism, rationalism, and so on). Thus theoretical debates about globalization replay age-old disputes in social enquiry between voluntarists and determinists over the degree to which agency (read, people's choices) shapes history. On this core methodological point the present account takes what some have called a 'structuralist' position, where structure and agency are mutually causative (Giddens, 1984; Scholte, 1993: ch 7). Hence the book is filled with references both to actor decisions (especially in Part III) and to deeper social forces (especially in Part II), as well as to the links between them.

A third broad methodological problem for globalization studies concerns following the presumptions of 'social science', many authors take a positivist position that academic investigations stand apart from, and need not have impact upon, the social reality that they study. From this methodological objectivist position, researchers on globalization can treat the knowledge that they produce as politically neutral. On the other hand, methodological subjectivists (like some radical postmodernists) argue that knowledge emanates entirely from the experience of the person who constructs it. These ultra-relativists may also maintain that all opinions have equal merits, with no scope for moral judgments between the contending positions. On the objectivist-subjectivist spectrum, as in the idealist-materialist and the agent-structure debates, the present book takes a middle perspective, with a

1986: 42; Chase-Dunn, 1989: 2). On the other hand, this perspective on the history of globalization sees important quantitative and qualitative differences between the nineteenth century and the present day (Baldwin and Martin, 1999; Bordo *et al.*, 1999; Keohane and Nye, 2000). Meanwhile, other arguments suggest that globalization has been entirely novel to present times. On these accounts global relations only dawned with the jet aeroplane and the computer network. From such a perspective, current history is experiencing a 'first global revolution' and a sudden leap to 'new realities' (Drucker, 1989; King and Schneider, 1991).

By adopting a conception of globalization as the growth of transplanetary and more particularly supraterritorial social relations, the present book draws mostly from the second of the three general chronological frameworks just summarized. Global connections have certain antecedents in earlier centuries, but they have figured as pervasive, major aspect of social life mainly since the middle of the twentieth century. Various indicators are presented in Chapter 3 to demonstrate exponential increases of globality in recent decades. That said, exact measurement of global relations remains difficult, inasmuch as most social data (trade and investment flows, political participation, recreational activities, and so on) are collected in relation to country and other territorial units. We lack sufficient global statistics. Further debates concerning the historical trajectory of globalization relate to its future course. According to some accounts the twenty-first century will experience a continuation – if not a further acceleration – of current high rates of globalization. A second perspective suggests that globalization will slow or stop once it reaches a certain plateau. A third forecast regards globalization as a cyclical trend, so that the recent phase of rising global relations is transient and will be succeeded by another phase of decline (Rugman, 2001; James, 2001). A fourth prediction anticipates a future of de-globalization as a consequence of nationalist and localist opposition. The analysis presented in this book expects further globalization for the foreseeable future, although policy choices will substantially affect the rates and directions of that expansion.

What drives globalization?

As with questions of definition, scale and chronology, no consensus exists in respect of the forces that propel globalization. In fact, most studies of the subject have largely ducked questions of explanation. Their descriptions, measurements, evaluations and prescriptions regarding globalization have not been rooted in an explicit theory. The present book attempts to avoid this shortcoming by laying out an explanatory framework in its fourth chapter. Even though most explorations of globalization have left their theoretical perspective implicit, a broad distinction can be discerned between idealist and

extent that this trend in geography has provoked changes in the prevailing modes of economy, regulation, social psychology and culture. As the following paragraphs indicate, analysts have developed widely varying assessments of the type and extent of social change in each of these four areas.

Production

In respect of economy, some research has linked globalization to a full-scale transformation of the mode of production, while other accounts have only seen continuity. On the 'all-change' side of this argument, many writers in business studies have claimed that global markets, global competition and global management have fundamentally reshaped the visions, organization and behaviour of firms (Porter, 1990; Pucik *et al.*, 1992; Blecke and Ernst, 1993; Taylor and Weber, 1996; Bartlett and Ghoshal, 1998). Countless authors have also stressed the relationship between globalization and technological revolutions in transport, communications and data processing. These developments have changed what is produced and how it is produced. Many observers have in this light characterized the global economy as an information, knowledge, postindustrial, network or service economy (Bell, 1973; Katz, 1988; Carnoy *et al.*, 1993; Castells, 1989, 1996-7; Bryson and Daniels, 1998; Neef, 1998; Shapiro and Varian, 1999). With a grand sweep, Alvin and Heidi Toffler have affirmed that human history has entered a 'third wave' of knowledge society after the 'first wave' of peasant life and the 'second wave' of industrial civilization (Toffler, 1980; Toffler and Toffler, 1994). Certain commentators have furthermore associated expanding global relations with a decline or even demise of capitalism. Thus some accounts have linked globalization with 'late capitalism' (initiating that this mode of production is nearing termination) or a 'postcapitalist society' (suggesting that the world has already moved beyond capitalism) (Jameson, 1991; Drucker, 1993).

These affirmations of structural change in the economy have provoked equally strong counterclaims of continuity in the general mode of production. For example, some analysts have insisted on the persistent centrality of manufacturing industry in a global economy (Cohen and Zyglid, 1987). More broadly, Marxists and others have highlighted the underlying persistence of capitalism in contemporary globalization (Magdoff, 1992; Chesnais, 1994; S. Amin, 1996, 1997; Marshall, 1996; Went, 1996; 2000; Burbach *et al.*, 1997; McChesney *et al.*, 1998; Berger *et al.*, 1998-9). A third general line of argument has regarded the relationship between globalization and capitalism as one of change-within-continuity. Such accounts argue that the spread of global relations has provoked shifts (or, to invoke the jargon, a 'restructuring') in the ways that surplus accumulation occurs. For example, globalization may have brought a new world division of

supposition that knowledge and other aspects of reality form a duality of reciprocal causation. In other words, an understanding of globalization reflects the social conditions that surround its construction; and at the same time that understanding reverberates back into and helps to shape those wider concrete circumstances. Thus academic knowledge of globalization not only has intellectual significance, but political consequence as well. Adopting this assumption of a mutual determination between theory and practice, the book makes no effort to skirt normative issues and policy challenges. On the contrary, explicit attention is given throughout to thinking through the political implications of the arguments presented.

Needless to say, the questions of theory just addressed – like those of definition, measurement and periodization – require far more elaboration than is given above. All of these matters are therefore treated at greater length in later chapters of Part I. The purpose in this opening chapter is merely to identify crucial issues of starting points that any account of globalization needs to address.

Continuity or change?

Along with arguments over definition, scale, periodization and explanation, discussions of globalization have tended in good part to be debates about change in contemporary society. Many people have shared the intuition, articulated here by the sociologist Anthony Giddens, that 'the emergence of globalized orders means that the world we live "in" is different from that of previous ages' (1991: 225; also Burbach and Robinson, 1999; Giddens, 2002). Accepting Philadelphia's Liberty Medal in 1994, Prague's playwright-politician Václav Havel suggested that, whereas previously war provided the chief stimulus to social transformation, now forces of change emanate mainly from globalization. Countless other social commentators have also been tempted at one or the other moment to issue a similar sweeping pronouncement about the world-historical significance of contemporary globalization. Yet what, more specifically, is the character of social change in the context of current globalization? Indeed, has increased global-ness in contemporary life significantly reshaped the primary structures of social relations? Is there anything veritably new in this purported 'new world order'? Or has globalization merely generated superficial shifts (that is, at the level of objects, institutions, perceptions, etc.) while leaving the underlying social framework intact? As intimated above, the approach adopted in this book regards social organization as having five interrelated primary aspects: that is, related to geography, production, governance, identity and knowledge. From this perspective, globalization would bring about social transformation to the

labour, a rise of regionalism, greater concentration of production in giant corporations, more accumulation through consumerism and finance capital, and a move from so-called 'Fordist' to 'post-Fordist' regimes for the control of labour. However, behind these changes capitalism remains firmly in place as the underlying mode of production.

As is elaborated in Chapter 5, the present account follows the third broad approach. Accelerated large-scale globalization in contemporary history has been closely associated with several important turns in the development of capitalism, but globalization has by no means been the midwife of a post-capitalist society. On the contrary, thus far globalization has left capitalism as entrenched as ever, if not more so, to the point that one could even speak of an onset of 'hypercapitalism'.

Governance

Along with questions of economy, much discussion of globalization and social change has focused on issues of governance (Prakash and Hart, 1999; Nye and Donahue, 2000; Keohane, 2001; Held and McGrew, 2002; Kahler and Lake, 2003). Has the development of a more global world brought fundamental changes in the ways that social life is regulated? Is contemporary society acquiring a new mode of governance because of globalization?

Many debates on globalization and governance have affirmed that and fate of the state. For example, various commentators have affirmed that contemporary globalization has deprived the state of sovereignty (Camilleri and Falk, 1992; Wriston, 1992; Sassen, 1997). More broadly, a number of analysts have linked the growth of global relations to 'the diminished nation-state', 'the decline of the nation-state', and 'the retreat of the state' (Cable, 1995; Schmidt, 1995; Strange, 1996). Other writers have gone still further to connect globalization with 'a crisis of the nation-state', 'the obsolescence of the state', and 'the extinction of nation-states' (Horsman and Marshall, 1994; Dunn, 1995; Ohmae, 1995; Khan, 1996; Bauman, 1998: ch 4; Hudson, 1999; Bamzeh, 2000). On these accounts, states are helpless victims of globalization.

Such assertions have triggered a host of rebuttals. For example, certain authors insist that globalization has done nothing to undermine sovereign state-hood (Thomson and Krasner, 1989; Krasner, 1993). According to this view a state could, if it wished, extricate itself from global relations that would otherwise limit its autonomy. Similar arguments have affirmed that global flows (in communications, ecology, etc.) do not necessarily undermine the state and indeed may in some cases strengthen it (Mann, 1997). Likewise, these perspectives maintain that the state retains substantial capacities to govern global economic activities (Boyer and Drache, 1996; Weiss, 1998; Hirst and Thompson, 1999). Indeed, say the continuity theorists, states (especially the

major states) remain the prime regulatory force even in that purportedly most globalized of economic sectors, namely finance (Kapstein, 1994; Pauly, 1997; Helleiner, 1998, 1999).

A third general strand in debates about globalization and governance – an approach that is also developed in Chapter 6 of this book – focuses less on the viability of the state *per se* and more on shifts in its character. These arguments hold that, while contemporary globalization has not threatened the existence of the state, the process has involved changes in its forms and functions (Jessop, 1994; Camilleri *et al.*, 1995; Panitch, 1996; Evans, 1997; Scholte, 1997; Shaw, 1997). For example, say such authors, sovereignty has acquired substantially different meanings and dynamics in a globalizing world (Lapidot, 1992; Spruyt, 1994; Gelber, 1997; Schrijver, 1997; Clark, 1999: ch 4). For his part, Bob Jessop has discerned a shift under the pressures of global capital from a Keynesian welfare state to what he calls a 'Schumpeterian workfare state' that subordinates social policy to the demands of labour market flexibility and the constraints of international competition (1993: 9). Meanwhile Philip Cerny has described a 'competition state' that takes measures (in exchange-rate, fiscal, monetary, regulatory and trade policies) to attract and retain footloose global capital (1990: ch 8; 1997; also Bratton *et al.*, 1996).

Various accounts of the mode of governance in a globalizing world – including the present book – have also described a more general structural shift away from the statist so-called 'Wesphalian system' that held sway prior to the late twentieth century (Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992; Rosenau, 1997; Herod *et al.*, 1998; Held *et al.*, 1999; Scholte, 2001; Keane, 2003). For these analysts, governance under conditions of large-scale globalization has come to involve more than states. Authority has become increasingly 'multi-level' or 'multi-scalar' across substate (municipal and provincial) bodies and suprasate (macro-regional and transworld) agencies as well as state organs. In addition, various private sector and civil society actors have taken on regulatory roles. On this line of argument states survive under globalization, but they are no longer the sole – and in some cases not even the principal – site of governance.

Identity

Another issue of globalization and social change that has provoked considerable controversy relates to identity and associated constructions of social bonds. In academic circles, these debates have unfolded mainly in anthropological and sociological writings (Featherstone, 1990; King, 1991; Mlinar, 1992; Robertson, 1992; Friedman, 1994; Appadurai, 1996; Cvetkovich and Kellner, 1997; Jameson and Miyoshi, 1998; Meyer and Geschiere, 1998; Tomlinson, 1999). However, much popular speculation has also enquired

Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Hedetoft and Hjort, 2002). A number of commentators have moreover suggested that these tendencies have created a need for alternative forms and ethics of identity politics, away from the old communitarian habits of dualistic 'us-them' oppositions between neatly defined and separated groups (Blaney and Inayatullah, 1994; Shapito, 1994; Scholte, 1996, 1999; Shapito and Alker, 1996; Linklater, 1998).

Knowledge

Although most debates about globalization and social change have centred on questions of production, governance and identity, it is possible also to reflect on the implications of a more global world for structures of knowledge. Have dominant modes of understanding shifted as society has acquired more global qualities? Does globalization generate fundamentally different ontologies (notions of reality), epistemologies (conceptions of knowledge), and methodologies (ways of constructing knowledge)?

Most accounts of globalization have been silent on its consequences for knowledge frameworks. Indeed, many researchers on globalization have apparently not regarded structures of knowledge as an important part of their study. Implicitly these analyses have thereby suggested that no significant changes have unfolded in this area.

However, some commentators have explored questions of knowledge and suggest that globalization has promoted shifts in the ways that people comprehend their situation. In terms of ontology, for example, certain authors have associated globalization with basic changes in understandings of space and time (Robertson, 1992). In terms of epistemology, various arguments have linked globalization with contemporary trends of religious revivalism (Robertson and Chirico, 1985). In terms of methodology, some scholars have regarded globalization as an occasion to depart from disciplinary divisions and other established academic conventions (Breton and Lambert, 2003; Scholte, 2004c).

The present book raises these issues in Chapter 8 and concludes that contemporary globalization has in certain respects encouraged challenges to the prevailing rationalist framework of knowledge. As a result, even staunch defenders of rationalism have tended to become more reflexive about their mode of understanding. However, this more self-critical awareness has by no means displaced rationalism as the predominant knowledge structure in today's world.

Systemic transformation?

The preceding survey makes it plain that no easy answers are available to questions of globalization and social change. Do global economics reproduce

whether globalization makes people more similar or more different. Does globalization encourage homogenization or heterogenization of identities? On the one hand, many commentators (particularly those who conceive of globalization in terms of liberalization or westernization) have argued that the process brings about a worldwide 'cultural synchronization' (Hamelink, 1983: 3; also Tomlinson, 1995; Norberg-Hodge, 1999b; Warner, 2003). In the words of Theodore Levitt, an early champion of global markets, 'everywhere everything gets more and more like everything else as the world's preference structure is relentlessly homogenized' (1983: 93). For these analysts, globalization has harmonized and unified, often crushing traditional ways of life when they have deviated from the dominant western pattern. As a result, cultural diversity has had its day. Globalization is diffusing a single world culture centred on consumerism, mass media, Americana, and the English language. Depending on one's perspective, this homogenization entails either progressive universalism or oppressive imperialism.

In contrast, other diagnoses – including the analysis elaborated in Chapter 7 of this book – have linked globalization with enduring or even increased cultural diversity (Appadurai, 1990; Hannerz, 1992: ch 7; Cable, 1994). For one thing, such accounts emphasize, global communications, markets, etc. are often adapted to fit diverse local contexts. Through so-called 'globalization', global news reports, global products, global social movements and the like take different forms and make different impacts depending on local particularities (Robertson, 1995; K. R. Cox, 1997). Likewise, large-scale globalization has not kept countless people from continuing to embrace national differences (Smith, 1990; Foster, 1991; Buell, 1994). Indeed, many groups have championed national, religious and other particularistic identities as a reaction to and defence against a universalizing 'McWorld' (Barber, 1996). For followers of Samuel Huntington, identity politics under contemporary globalization is marked by a clash of civilizations: Confucian, Eastern Orthodox, Hindu, Islamic, Judeo-Christian, etc. (Huntington, 1993, 1996). Others argue that globalization has promoted fragmentation, with a flourishing of substrate identities like ethno-nationalism and indigenous peoples' movements (Halperin and Scheffer, 1992; Wilmer, 1993; Connor, 1994; Brysk, 2000). In addition, some accounts suggest that global relations have increased opportunities for the development of nonterritorial identities and solidarities, for example, connected to class, gender, race, religion and sexual orientation.

A further tendency in debates about globalization and identity has highlighted the rise of more intercultural constructions of being and belonging. From this perspective, also developed in Chapter 7, globalization has encouraged countless new cultural combinations and blurred distinctions between nations and between civilizations. Various authors have in this respect associated globalization with 'creolization' and 'hybridization' (Hannerz, 1987;

moment most historical shifts associated with globalization can be understood as changes within continuities of modernity: hypercapitalism is still capitalist; polycentric governance is still bureaucratic; heterogeneous identities still tend to be formed through communitarian 'us-them' dynamics; reflexive rationalism is still rationalist. That said, however, transplanetary and supraterritorial connectivity could conceivably also be generated by and sustained with non-modern social forces. Thus, even if Giddens is right that 'modernity is inherently globalizing' (1990: 63, 177), it does not follow that only modernity can evoke globalizations (including postmodern globalizations) are possible, as various alternative social practices within current globalization-tion already intimate.

Liberation or shackles?

Next to disputes over starting premises and arguments about social change, a third cluster of globalization debates highlight normative issues. In a word, is globalization a good or a bad thing? Does the process enhance or degrade the human condition? Does the trend produce a utopia or a hell? Does globalization take history to a peak of progress or a trough of decay?

On these matters, too, opinions have been highly divided. On the one hand, many people have welcomed globalization as an emancipatory force. For these enthusiasts, global relations increase efficiency, sustainability, welfare, democracy, community, justice and peace. Globalization is a 'win-win' scenario where everyone in world society benefits. Against this rosy picture, many other people have rejected what they have variously described as 'global pillage', 'global apartheid' and 'the global trap' (Brecher and Costello, 1994; Alexander, 1996; Martin and Schumann, 1996). For critics, global relations undermine security, equality and democracy. The rest of this section considers normative debates about globalization in more detail under these three general headings.

Security

The first of these themes, security, encompasses various issues connected with human experiences of safety and confidence. Does globalization encourage protection or vulnerability, stability or uncertainty, well-being or misery, social integration or alienation, calm or stress, hope or fear? Is a more global world a more endangered world, objectively and/or perceptually?

Security has various dimensions: bodily safety, ecological integrity, material welfare, cultural protection, rule of law, and more. Indeed, one effect of contemporary globalization debates has been to broaden the security

capitalism or introduce postcapitalist modes of production? Do global politics perpetuate statism or create poststatist modes of governance? Does global culture reinforce nationalism or advance alternative frameworks of identity? In terms of knowledge, does globalization sustain rationalism or promote new frameworks of understanding?

Putting together various observations concerning globalization and social change, can one conclude that the process carries epochal significance? Is a more global world entail a fundamentally different kind of society? Is contemporary globalization propelling a systemic transition of the sort that in earlier history bridged feudalism and capitalism, or the medieval and the modern? Again, opinions are divided.

For some analysts, contemporary globalization entails the dawn of a post-modern era. For example, the geographer David Harvey has applied the label 'postmodernity' to global capitalism and associated cultural changes (Harvey, 1989). For his part, the sociologist Martin Albrow has declared that 'the Global Age' lies beyond modernity, because globally allegedly supplants rationality and the nation-state as the primary bases of social organization (Albrow, 1996). Meanwhile other theorists have identified postmodernity as a global world of 'informationalized', 'mediatized', 'hypertextual', 'virtual', 'simulated' social experiences in which people lose a stable sense of identity and knowledge (Axford, 1995; Luke, 1995; O Tuathail, 1996: ch 7; Peterson, 2003).

In contrast to such transformation theses, other accounts have seen only continuities of modernity in contemporary globalization. From such perspectives, a more global world exhibits the same basic modern attributes as preceding social relations. Globally is just as capitalist, just as industrialist, just as bureaucratist, just as militarist, just as nationalist, just as individualist, just as rationalist as earlier forms of modernity. Indeed, some analysts claim regarded globalization as an extension of modernization. Such authors claim that, by spreading and deepening the hold of modern social structures across the world, globalization is generating 'high', 'advanced', 'radical' or 'super' modernity (Giddens, 1990, 1991; Augé, 1992; Spybey, 1996). In a variation on this theme, Ulrich Beck has associated globalization with a 'new' and 'reflexive' modernity, a 'modernization of modernization' that replaces industrial society with a risk society wrought by insecurities (Beck, 1986, 1997).

The present book's account of globalization and social change falls somewhere between a high-modernity argument and a postmodernity thesis. From the perspective adopted in Part II, there is an intimate but not necessary connection between globalization and modernity. The main structural imperuses to contemporary intense globalization have indeed come from modern social patterns like capitalist production, bureaucratic governance, communitarian identity, and rationalist knowledge. Likewise, for the

For other observers, however, globalization has entailed environmental catastrophe. Since the 1960s a spate of Cassandras have warned of 'the chasm ahead', 'the closing circle', and 'global collapse' (Peccei, 1969; Commoner, 1971; Meadows *et al.*, 1992). A number of global ecological problems allegedly threaten human survival. Consider exhaustion of natural resources, excessive world population growth, nuclear holocaust, acid rain, climate change, species extinction, HIV/AIDS, BSE ('mad cow disease'), SARS, and GM (genetically modified) food crops. Meanwhile global trade has taken pollution to new heights, and global institutions like the World Bank have engineered ecologically unsustainable 'development' (Rich, 1994; Reed, 1996). Worries about global ecological despoliation have lain at the heart of Beck's previously mentioned 'risk society' (Beck, 1988).

Next to bodily security and ecological security, globalization is generally held also to have far-reaching implications for economic security. The enthusiasts have emphasized the gains in economic efficiency and growth that allegedly result when the world becomes a single open marketplace (Bergsten, 1996; Bryan and Farrell, 1996; Burtless *et al.*, 1998: ch 2). Moreover, global trade is said to enhance consumer satisfaction, distributing more products to more people at lower prices. With regard to employment, global investment creates jobs at host sites, and technological advances connected with globalization reduce the burdens of human labour in many industries. Globalization has also served as a primary engine of economic development, particularly in the so-called 'newly industrializing countries' (NICs) like Malaysia and South Korea and the so-called 'emerging markets' like Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). Meanwhile, when disasters strike, global communications and global organizations make possible humanitarian relief operations with a speed and on a scale never before available. In short, for its champions, globalization is a formula for unprecedented material prosperity across the planet.

For the critics, however, globalization has had calamitous consequences for economic security (Mander and Goldsmith, 1996). Global capitalism, warns William Greider, 'appears to be running out of control toward some sort of abyss' (1997: 12). The 'mad money' of 'casino capitalism' in global financial markets threatens even the largest of fortunes (Strange, 1986, 1998). Wild fluctuations in foreign exchange rates, stock prices and other financial values can destroy livelihoods in an instant. Global capital outflows have brought even major national economies like Mexico, Korea, Russia, Argentina, Brazil and Turkey to their knees in a matter of days. In the South and the East, global finance has saddled countries large and small with crippling debts. Concurrently, the pressures of global competition have reduced aid flows to poor countries. 'Globalization' and 'development' are antithetical, say the critics (Raghavan *et al.*, 1996; McMichael, 1996a; Thomas and Wilkin, 1997; Hoogvelt, 2001). 'Structural adjustment' in the

agenda in world politics beyond the military affairs of states (Booth, 1991; Krause and Williams, 1997; Thomas and Wilkin, 1999). Yet major disagreements have reigned regarding the effects of globalization on the different dimensions and issues of security.

The traditional focus of security has concerned peace and violence. Analysts who link globalization with a spread of free trade and democracy have often connected these developments to a decline in warfare. Observe, they emphasize, that armed conflict has disappeared between states in the more globalized parts of the world. By this account, globalization involves the growth of international cooperation and a one-world community. On broadly such lines, Hans-Henrik Holm and Georg Sørensen have in their assessment of globalization described an emergence of 'postmodern states' for which warfare is unthinkable (1995: 204; also Shaw, 2000).

From a contrary angle, prophets of doom have forecast 'the coming anarchy' of 'global disorder' (Harvey, 1995; Kaplan, 2000). From this pessimistic perspective, globalization has bred intolerance and violence, as manifested in ultra-nationalism, racism, religious fundamentalism, warlordism and terrorism. Civil wars have proliferated as globalization has

weakened the state, especially in the East and the South. The technologies of globalization (computers, missiles, satellites) have produced a barbarism of techno-war and a voyeurism of media war. Global resource wars allegedly loom over oil, diamonds, fresh water and more. The pains of global economic restructuring, often pursued through policies sponsored by global institutions like the IMF, have sparked urban riots (Walton and Seddon, 1994). At the same time global sex tourism, global trade in prostitutes, and the mail-order marriage business have increased violence towards women (Pertman, 1996; Skrobaneck *et al.*, 1997; Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998). Globalization has also generated new types of illegality such as computer crime and money laundering, as well as transworld criminal networks such as the Sicily-based Cosa Nostra and the Colombia-based Cali cartel (Williams, 1994; Shelley, 1995; Mittelman and Johnston, 1999; Berdal and Serrano, 2002).

A second major security concern in globalization debates is ecological integrity. On this subject the optimists have stressed how global conferences, global research programmes and global environmental movements have raised ecological awareness throughout the contemporary world (McCormick, 1989). The technologies of globalization can – in the case of digital computers, for example – vastly enhance environmental management. Global laws and institutions can provide indispensable frameworks of ecological protection and regeneration (Haas *et al.*, 1993; Young *et al.*, 1996). To take one outstanding example, global conventions and monitoring bodies have been successfully 'healing the sky' from ozone depletion (Tanner, 1997).

Equality

Alongside security, social equality has been a second major focal point of normative debates about globalization. Do people have equal opportunities to participate in global relations; or does globalization arbitrarily bypass, marginalize and silence much of the world's population? Do people fairly share the costs and the benefits of globalization; or does the process increase maldistribution in the world? Is globalization a force for social justice or exploitation?

Many commentators on globalization and equality have stressed the negative, with allegations that the process has sustained and indeed often deepened arbitrary social hierarchies. With respect to class, for example, many have claimed that globalization has increased the advantages of already privileged strata. Income gaps have grown in almost every country as wealthy circles have taken the lion's share of the material benefits from globalization. In the words of a peasant activist in Brazil, 'Globalization is a system where a few get a lot and a lot get too little' (Cervinski, 2004). At the same time, many argue, global markets have undermined the Keynesian welfare state as a mechanism for reducing social inequalities (Teple, 1995; Gray, 1998; Mishra, 1999).

Critics have also frequently alleged that globalization has perpetuated if not heightened inequality in relations between countries (Hurrell and Woods, 1999). In these accounts, globalization is a postcolonial imperialism that has not only reinvigorated the exploitation of the South by the North, but also added former communist-ruled areas to the list of victims. For poor countries, globalization allegedly means perpetual financial and related economic crises, the impoverishing effects of structural adjustment programmes imposed by the IMF and the World Bank, further subordination in world trade, ecological problems without economic benefits, and the cultural imperialism of global communications (Thomas and Wilkin, 1997). In the eyes of the pessimists, globalization has frustrated hopes and expectations that decolonization would give the South equal opportunity and self-determination in world affairs.

Meanwhile a number of feminist analyses have linked globalization with gender inequalities (Duggan and Dashner 1994; Eisenstein, 1998; Mies, 1998; Peterson and Runyan, 1999; Wichterich, 2000; Signs, 2001). For example, women are said to have had less access than men to global communications networks, global financial markets, global corporate management, and global governance institutions. The global trade regime has allegedly had gender-differentiated effects that can disadvantage women (Joekes and Weston, 1994; Moon, 1995; Fontana, 2003). Women have provided the bulk of low-paid and poorly protected labour in global service industries ('electronic sweatshops') and the 'global factories' of export processing zones

face of globalization has unravelled welfare provisions for vulnerable sectors of society (Cornia *et al.*, 1987–8; Ghai, 1991; Chossudovsky, 1997). Unemployment has burgeoned as countless companies relocate and 'downsize' in response to global competition. Full employment has become unrealistic. Some analysts have even foreseen a 'jobless future' and 'the end of work' (Aronowitz and DiFazio, 1994; Rifkin, 1995). As for people who remain in waged employment, they have allegedly been caught in a 'race to the bottom' of working conditions between 'lean and mean' global firms (Brecher and Costello, 1994; Tilly, 1995; Kapstein, 1996). In this 'world war' of 'savage capitalism' (Robinson, 1996a: 13, 27), governments and workers do anything to maintain the 'confidence' of global markets.

More ideological concerns in debates about globalization and security relate to culture. Do global circumstances make people secure in their ways of being, understanding and communicating? On this subject the optimists have celebrated the cultural pluralism and innovation that global relations purportedly promote. In line with previously described claims about heterogenization and hybridization, these commentators have argued that globalization creates space for thousands of flowers to bloom. Furthermore, the enthusiasts maintain, global communications through jet tourism, electronic mass media and the Internet promote greater intercultural understanding and are laying the foundations for a veritable world community.

In contrast, other commentators have suggested that globalization undermines security of identity and knowledge. From their perspective, global relations involve cultural imperialism (cf. Tomlinson, 1991; Petras, 1993; Golding and Harris, 1997). The new world order of globalization imposes 'western' and especially 'American' meanings that both obliterate older traditions and restrict the development of new alternatives. The resultant loss of cultural resources is not only tragic in its own right, but also limits the capacities of humankind to respond creatively and effectively to political, ecological and economic challenges.

From another angle, some analysts have affirmed that intense blending of cultures through globalization unsettles any and all truth claims. Even the Enlightenment vision of human progress becomes a casualty. Science is dead, relativism reigns, intellectual security dissolves.

In sum, globalization debates are littered with polarized claims and counter-claims about human security. At one extreme, enthusiasts have linked globalization to an 'end of history' where peace, sustainability, prosperity and truth are assured (Fukuyama, 1992). At another extreme, alarmists have warned of the 'global turmoil' of a 'new world disorder' (Brzezinski, 1993). These issues are treated at greater length in Chapter 9, where the evidence on these points is found on the whole to be rather negative. However, the fault for these unhappy outcomes lies with the policies adopted towards contemporary globalization rather than with the process as such.

(Elson and Pearson, 1981; Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1983; Runyan, 1996; Pearson, 1998). At the same time the pains of global economic restructuring (for example, reduced public services) are said to have fallen disproportionately on women (Vickers, 1991; Benéria and Feldman, 1992; Aslanbeigi *et al.*, 1994; Rajput and Swarup, 1994; Sparr, 1994; Marchand and Runyan, 2000).

Similarly, global relations have, by some claims, perpetuated and intensified racial inequalities. Like women, people of colour have, through what some have termed 'global apartheid', faced structural barriers to access global realms of travel, communications, organizations, finance and markets (Falk, 1993; Mazrui, 1994; Richmond, 1994). Several critics have suggested – implicitly or explicitly – that global agencies like the IMF and the World Bank have harboured institutional racism (Budhoo, 1990: 7, 48–9; Rich, 1994: 246–9). Meanwhile declining economic security in the North as a result of globalization has purportedly encouraged a growth of racial intolerance in society at large. Racism has also been quite plain in immigration controls against people of colour in the so-called 'open' world economy (Alexander, 1996: 181–3, 253). More subtle subordination has occurred through the global mass media's usual portrayal of black people 'either as victims of disaster or as exotic extras' (Alexander, 1996: 252).

Other commentators have highlighted still further inequalities in globalization with respect to rural peoples (Flora, 1990; McMichael, 1996b). The countryside has allegedly benefited far less from global flows than towns, as globalization perpetuates an urban bias in development paradigms. Meanwhile the 'global agro-food system' is said to have promoted big industrial and finance capital in the countryside at the expense of smallholder livelihoods and food security (LeHeron, 1993; McMichael, 1993, 1994; Wharmore, 1994). In particular, the ongoing transformation of the world economy has purportedly accelerated a process of 'global depasannization' whereby dispossessed rural populations have poured into sprawling urban slums (Araghi, 1995).

While many critics have regarded globalization as a catastrophe for social equality, others have made more positive diagnoses. For example, enthusiasts have argued that everyone is – or will be – better off in a global economy. These optimists often point to examples of Chile, China, Hungary, Kuwait and Uganda. Many people may struggle during the transition to a more globalized world, and some classes and countries may gain more, or sooner, than others. However, by following the right policies, in the long run substantial benefits will accrue to all. Already, the optimists affirm, global companies and industries have offered women more opportunities to enter paid employment, while global governance agencies and global social movements have helped to give gender equity issues a higher profile. Global regimes have also done much to advance principles of racial equality and human rights more

Democracy

generally, including for children and disabled persons. Global governance institutions like the World Bank and global nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) like Oxfam are, say some, addressing problems of rural development more effectively than state programmes have ever done. So does globalization favour the privileged and exploit the vulnerable? Or does globalization open new avenues to greater equality? Chapter 10 assesses a range of available evidence and concludes that, while globalization offers important possibilities to create greater social equality, other significant impacts to date have been negative. Again, however, these downsides have flowed from policy choices rather than from globalization *per se*.

A third area in the spotlight of contemporary normative debates about globalization is democracy (McGrew, 1997b; Holden, 2000). What does 'becoming global' imply for 'rule by the people'? Does globalization enhance or undermine the public's awareness of, involvement in, and control over the decisions that shape its destiny? Does globalization widen or restrict debate of public affairs? How does globalization affect participation, transparency and accountability in governance processes?

Many commentators have celebrated globalization as an occasion of unprecedented democratization. Following the end of the Cold War, liberal democracy has spread to more states than ever (Huntington, 1991; Shin, 1994; Diamond and Plattner, 1996). The military are out in Latin America and Asia. Apartheid is over in South Africa. The wall is down in Europe. Multiparty politics, 'free and fair' elections to representative institutions, and legal guarantees of civil rights have become the worldwide norm for national government. Global regulatory institutions and global civil society have greatly promoted human rights and norms of so-called 'good governance'. The global mass media have encouraged democracy activists from China to Nigeria, Georgia to Chile.

Many analysts have also championed purported democratizing impacts of the technologies of globalization (Abramson *et al.*, 1988; Rheingold, 1993; Budge, 1996; Hill and Hughes, 1998). With particular exuberance, Walter Wriston has enthused that 'the information age is rapidly giving power to the people in parts of the world and in a way that only a few years ago seemed impossible' (1992: 170–1). Electronic communications have given citizens access to unprecedented amounts of information at unprecedented speeds. Telephone, email, radio and television have allowed citizens to relay their views to governing authorities as never before. Electronic communications have also enabled civil society activists across the planet to exchange views and coordinate strategies in global democratic campaigns for progressive social change (Frederick, 1993; Lee, 1996; Harcourt, 1999).

democracy. The resultant new frameworks might well give voice and respond to public needs and wants better than state-centric mechanisms of old were ever able to do. For example, some commentators have welcomed globalization as a force that facilitates devolution and the principle of subsidiarity, whereby governing power is always located at the closest possible point to the citizen. Other reformers have stressed the need for a democratization of governance at the regional level, for instance, in relation to the European Union (EU). Meanwhile other analysts have advanced ideas of 'cosmopolitan democracy' through transworld institutions (Held, 1995a,b; Archibugi *et al.*, 1998). A number of specific proposals have suggested the creation in the United Nations of a People's Assembly of citizen representatives alongside the General Assembly of states. In other ways, too, promoters of innovation in democratic practice have endorsed the development of civil society as a 'multilateralism from below' that pursues the public good (Falk, 1992, 1995; Smith and Guarino, 1998; Smuts, 1999; Kaldor, 2003). Likewise, a number of political theorists have regarded globalization as a stimulus to develop new and more effective modes of citizenship (Steenbergen, 1994; Lacarte and Ragno, 1997; Castles and Davidson, 2000; Vandenbergh, 2000). In short, for these authors democracy is historically contingent, and globalization by altering the contours of governance demands that democracy be refashioned anew.

As with issues of security and equality, then, considerable discord exists concerning the implications of globalization for democracy. For some a more global world is a blessing for collective self-determination, while for others it is a bane. The relative merits of the various arguments are evaluated in Chapter 11, where it is concluded that contemporary globalization has indeed generated very serious democratic deficits, but also significant opportunities to redress them.

What to do?

On top of disagreeing about starting premises, assessments of social change, and normative evaluations, people have also taken radically different positions concerning the policy courses that should be adopted towards globalization. Almost no one argues that all is well in the current globalizing world, but commentators have advanced widely varying prescriptions to improve the situation (Higgott, 2000).

Four broad lines of policy response to contemporary globalization can be distinguished. On the one hand, neoliberals have championed globalization on a market-led path in which public authorities only facilitate and in no way interfere with the dynamics of demand and supply. In contrast, rejectionists have advocated 'de-globalization' and return to a pre-global status

However, against this applause, sceptics have painted globalization as antithetical to democracy (Gill, 1996; Robinson, 1996a: 20–1; Klein, 2000; Hertz, 2001). Various authors have associated this new world order with 'low-intensity democracy' and 'polyarchy' where a narrow elite holds control (Gills *et al.*, 1993; Robinson, 1996b). In apocalyptic terms, Claude Ake has described a 'deadly threat' of globalization that irreversibly shrinks democratic space and renders political participation irrelevant (1999: 179–80).

In particular, many critics have highlighted the alleged inadequacy in a globalizing world of democracy through the state. Of course, some objectors have rejected the principle that the state can ever be a suitable vehicle for democratic self-rule. For these dissenters, formal democracy of the ballot box is a cruel veneer for social injustice. What use, they ask, are referenda and multiparty elections organized by the state if these exercises do nothing to end class inequities, North–South gaps, gender hierarchies, and the subordination of minorities? For these critics, the modern state has never been democratic, and globalization has merely brought these intrinsic failings into sharper focus.

Other analysts have maintained that, while the state was an important agent of the popular will in an earlier era, forces of globalization have critically undermined the democratic capacities of country governments (Connolly, 1991; Held and McGrew, 1993; McGrew, 1997b). For example, say these commentators, states cannot tame the tyranny of global corporations (Korten, 1995). Global financial markets, too, have often constrained the possibilities for democratization through the state (Armijo, 1999). In addition, states – particularly small states – cannot ensure democracy for their citizens in respect of global governance bodies like the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the WTO. On this line of argument, territorial mechanisms like the state cannot – certainly by themselves – secure democratic governance of supraterritorial phenomena such as global communications and global ecological problems. Ironically, then, unprecedented numbers of states have adopted liberal democracy at the very moment when statist democracy has passed its historical sell-by date.

On notions of electronic democracy, sceptics have emphasized a digital divide whereby only a minority of the world's population – and a highly privileged minority at that – has had access to the Internet (Loader, 1998). As for home voting via interactive television, this practice would 'privatize politics and replace deliberative debate in public with the unconsidered instant expressions of private prejudices' (Barber, 1996: 270). Meanwhile new information and communications technologies supply authorities with unprecedented capacities for intrusive surveillance and the manipulation of public opinion.

Yet the critics have not been only negative. Many of them have also regarded globalization optimistically as an opportunity to reconstruct

quo ante. A third approach, reformism, has argued that globalization should be deliberately steered with public policies, including substantially increased global governance. Finally, transformationist strategies have variously drawn on anarchist, socialist, postmodernist and other radical visions to advocate a revolutionary globalization that transcends currently prevailing social structures like capitalism or rationalism.

Neoliberalism

As the name suggests, 'neo'-liberalism advances a new line on an old story. It draws on several centuries of modern thought dating back to treatises by the likes of John Locke and Adam Smith. Neoliberalism builds on the *laissez-faire* convictions of classical liberalism, which promise that unconstrained market forces will 'naturally' bring prosperity, liberty, democracy and peace to society. In particular, liberal trade theorists have argued since the seventeenth century that state borders should not form an artificial barrier (with tariffs and other officially imposed restrictions) to the efficient allocation of resources in the world economy.

Early intellectual exponents of neoliberalism between the 1930s and the 1960s included Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman. Since the 1970s neoliberals have revived classical liberal arguments for 'free markets' in relation to an economy that is becoming increasingly global (Gill, 1995a; Chomsky, 1998; Gore, 2000; Went, 2000; Gamble, 2001; Hovden and Keene, 2002; Scholte, 2003; Steger, 2004, 2005). According to neoliberalist tenets, globalization should be approached with large-scale removal of official interventions in the market, especially through measures of liberalization, deregulation, privatization and fiscal constraint. This policy package has often been termed 'the Washington Consensus', as the economist John Williamson dubbed the prevailing view of the US Government and the Washington-based global economic institutions in the 1980s (Williamson, 1990, 1997).

In a word, neoliberals have reacted against the statist strategies of economic management that prevailed (whether in a socialist, a fascist or a wellarist form) across the world between the 1930s and the 1970s. With liberalization, neoliberals have advocated the abolition of most state-imposed limitations on movements between countries of money, goods, services and capital. Logically, neoliberalism should also promote unrestricted cross-border movements of labour, but in practice its proponents have rarely pressed this point. With deregulation, neoliberals have called for the removal of various state controls, for example, on prices, wages and foreign exchange rates. With privatization, neoliberals have urged a major contraction of state ownership of productive assets and a transfer of many service provisions from government agencies to the private sector. And with

fiscal constraint, neoliberals have demanded tight controls on government spending in order to limit public-sector debt and reduce tax rates. This is not to say, as some commentators have mistakenly assumed, that neoliberalist approaches to globalization accord no role to the state and other governance institutions. Deregulation does not mean no regulation. On the contrary, neoliberalism recognizes the need for laws and institutions that uphold markets and promote their efficient operation, for example, with guarantees of property rights and contracts. Moreover, when a population is reluctant, the implementation of a neoliberalist agenda can depend on strong pressure from the state and/or supranational agencies like the IMF (A. Gamble, 1994). However, in neoliberalist eyes public-sector agencies should not attempt to direct the course of market forces in the global or any other realm. Hence neoliberalism prescribes a shift from state interventionism towards market-enabling governance.

Neoliberalism has generally prevailed as the reigning policy discourse for globalization since the early 1980s. Most governments – including in particular those of the major states – have adopted a neoliberalist orientation toward globalization over the past quarter-century. From the side of global institutions, agencies such as the IMF, the WTO and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have continually linked globalization with liberalization. Since the 1990s UN agencies have largely come to a neoliberalist orientation as well, albeit with greater hesitation and qualification. Meanwhile most schemes of regionalization in the contemporary globalizing economy have focused on the liberalization of cross-border traffic between the countries involved. Champions of neoliberalism have also abounded in commercial circles, particularly in the financial markets and among managers of global firms. Business associations like the International Organization of Employers (IOE) and the World Economic Forum (WEF) have likewise figured as bastions of neoliberalism. In the mass media, major business-oriented newspapers and magazines like the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) and *The Economist* have generally supported neoliberalist policies, as have business and economy programmes on mainstream radio and television. In academic quarters, conventional courses in Business Studies and Economics have extolled the virtues of global free markets from positions at renowned and obscure universities alike. Other researchers have promoted neoliberalist policies through influential think tanks such as the Institute for International Economics in Washington, DC (Bergsten, 1996).

Given this considerable hold on elite circles, neoliberalism has generally ranked as policy orthodoxy in respect of contemporary globalization. Indeed, neoliberalist ideas have held widespread unquestioned acceptance as 'commonsense'. Enjoying the strongest backing in official, business, media and academic circles, neoliberal measures towards globalization have usually been the easiest to endorse. Moreover, as later chapters make clear,

period, but they do not address the inherent shortcomings of a market-led strategy of globalization.

Rejectionism

The other three general policy approaches to globalization distinguished here have in different ways reacted against the harmful effects of neoliberalism. For their part, rejectionists have extrapolated from the failings of *laissez-faire* globalization to conclude that any and all forms of transworld connectedness have calamitous consequences. For these critics, globality is by its very nature deeply and unacceptably unsafe, unjust, undemocratic and unsustainable. Since these negative consequences are inherent in globalization, the rejectionists say, the process should be avoided in whatever guise. Only with a revision to national and local spheres can people rebuild a good society. 'De-globalization' is needed to recover ecological integrity, economic welfare, cultural security, self-determination and peace (Mander and Goldsmith, 1996; Hewison, 1999; Hines, 2000; Bello, 2004).

Rejectionist calls for de-globalization have come in diverse forms, including economic nationalism as well as some streams of religious revivalism and radical environmentalism. Economic nationalists (a group that has included some old-style socialists like the Communist Party in post-Soviet Russia) have put the emphasis on reestablishing self-determination of countries by delinking them from global economic activities (Raghavan *et al.*, 1996). Religious revivalists among some Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jews and Muslims have prescribed 'going local' to retrieve the original beliefs and practices of their faith. (That said, not all religious responses to globalization have taken a rejectionist line. See, for example, Muzaffar, 1993 for a modernist Islamic approach to globalization and Sulak, 1999 for a modernist Buddhist view.) Meanwhile some 'deep green' ecologists have aimed to restore pre-modern respect of, and harmony with, nature through self-sufficient local communities (Norberg-Hodge, 1999a; Shuman, 2000).

Rejectionists are the veritable anti-globalizers in contemporary politics. Confusingly, many commentators have also applied the label of 'anti-globalization movement' to reformists and transformationists who seek not to reverse globalization, but to redirect its course away from neoliberalism to alternative paths. Such critics would more accurately be called 're-globalizers' rather than 'de-globalizers'. Reformists and transformationists are proponents of 'alter-globalization' (after the French *alter-mondialisation*) or 'counter-globalizations' rather than 'anti-globalization'. Only rejectionist circles are actually against globalization *per se*. Even that opposition is qualified to the extent that, paradoxically, rejectionist anti-globalizers have often relied on global telecommunications, the Internet, air travel and transworld civil society networks to pursue their causes.

this approach has often generously served powerful interests, particularly those related to dominant classes and countries.

This is not to say that neoliberalist policies have been fully and consistently implemented. There have always been disconnects between ideology and practice. In particular, many powerful state and corporate actors have qualified or refused a 'free markets' approach when its adoption would disadvantage them. For instance, as already noted, few champions of global *laissez-faire* have taken the logical step of advocating unrestricted transworld movements of labour. In addition, the European Union and the US government have for many years obstructed efforts to liberalize trade in agriculture, a measure that would substantially benefit many poor countries. On these and other occasions, the practical application of neoliberalist principles has revealed glaring double standards. Yet in spite of these inconsistencies – or indeed perhaps because of them – neoliberalism has remained the dominant policy orientation towards globalization over the past quarter-century.

True, advocates of liberalization, deregulation, privatization and fiscal constraint have tended to become less dogmatic since the mid-1990s. While arguments (Dear Dorf, 2003; Segerstrom, 2003; Bhagwati, 2004), many neoliberals now concede that their policy instruments need to be formulated and executed with greater regard to particular contexts than was often done in the evangelical 1980s and early 1990s. Likewise, the 'Augmented Washington Consensus' of recent years has included more measures to address corruption, transparency, financial codes and standards, institution building, unsustainable debt burdens, better timing and sequencing of capital control removal, social safety nets, poverty reduction, corporate citizenship, civil society consultation, and so on (Burki and Perry, 1998; Siglitz, 1998, 2002; Coyle, 2000; CFGS, 2001; Rodrik, 2001; World Bank, 2001, 2002). Yet at its core 'Washington Plus' has retained the neoliberalist commitment to globalization-by-marketization. Indeed, in this sense it is somewhat misleading to speak – as some have done – of a 'Post-Washington Consensus', given that the broad underlying strategy has remained the same (Martib, 2000).

As elaborated in Part III, this book aligns itself with critics of neoliberalism. It judges that, although some liberalizations, deregulations, privatizations and fiscal disciplines have enhanced efficiencies in the contemporary globalizing economy, the magnitude of these gains has fallen far short of what is needed to ensure prosperity for all. On the contrary, as at other times in history, 'free markets' have generally directed disproportionate benefits to the already privileged and increased the marginalization of the disadvantaged. Unconstrained global markets have also tended to encourage greater cultural destruction, ecological degradation and human rights abuses. 'Post-Washington' reforms have certainly been an improvement on the ultra-liberalism of the 1980–95

The fact that even the greatest opponents of globalization are enveloped in it suggests the unviability of rejectionist strategies. Indeed, the present book takes the view that the forces behind globalization are currently far too strong to unravel the process. The (re)construction of nationalist or localist social orders, free of global links, is therefore not practicable. As indicated in Chapter 4, prevailing conditions with regard to capitalist development, governance arrangements, identity politics and knowledge structures all point decidedly towards sustained globalization for the foreseeable future. The idea of eliminating these powerful trends is unfeasible within current time horizons. The challenge is not to undo and abolish globalization, but to understand and shape the process in ways that avoid the pitfalls of neoliberalism.

Reformism

With the aim of building such alternative globalizations, a number of strategies have taken what can be termed a reformist approach. Like rejectionists, reformists oppose neoliberalist globalization for inflicting major cultural, ecological, economic, political and psychological harms. However, in contrast to rejectionists, reformists affirm that a more global world is here to stay, and they seek to redirect globalization more positively on non-marketist lines.

As the name suggests, reformists hold that capitalism can be a force for social good if it is 're-formed', that is, reorganized in non-liberalist ways that encourage economic efficiency and stability, promote equitable distribution, limit ecological damage, avoid cultural violence, and enhance democracy. In particular, reformists draw on social-democratic traditions such as Keynesian economics and the welfare state. In these visions, far-reaching proactive public policies backed by a strong and democratically controlled governance apparatus are required to achieve a socially progressive capitalist economy. For example, reformists have advocated controls on cross-border movements of resources when such constraints would reduce market volatility, social inequities and environmental costs. Reformists have also often argued for anti-trust measures and other official controls to limit corporate power. In addition, reformists have prescribed various statutory guarantees of minimum standards (including basic incomes, labour protections and environmental controls) in order to protect vulnerable circles from the ravages of unfettered capitalism. Other reformist policies have sought actively to promote opportunities for structurally disadvantaged social groups like people of colour, the unemployed, small cultivators, and women. Many reformist policies to tame global capitalism can be pursued through the state. A number of reformists have therefore argued for a reinvigoration of country-based social democracy to meet new global realities (Boyer and

Drache, 1996; Hutton, 1996; Martin and Schumann, 1996; Giddens, 1998; Hirst and Thompson, 1999; Held, 2004). These commentators have often expressed disappointment that purportedly social democratic governments have not done more to reign in global capital. Cardoso and Lula in Brazil, Blair in Britain, Schröder in Germany, and Mbeki in South Africa have, for these critics, conceded far too much to neoliberalism.

In part, as various social democrats have recognized, these failings of country governments arise because global capital cannot be effectively tamed through the state alone. To be effective, a reformist strategy of globalization also requires expanded global governance (Group of Lisbon, 1994; Carlsson *et al.*, 1995; Deacon, 1997; Reimicke, 1998; Cable, 1999; Falk, 1999; Kaul *et al.*, 1999, 2003; Brand, 2000; Nederveen Pieterse, 2000; Drache, 2001; Simmons and de Jonge Oudraat, 2001; Nayyar, 2002; Deacon *et al.*, 2003; Held and Koenig-Archibugi, 2003). For example, these reformists would argue, effective prevention of monopoly requires a global competition authority that works alongside state and regional anti-trust schemes. Likewise, labour standards and other social protections cannot be effectively secured in a context of global capitalism unless enforceable transworld conventions supplement and bolster relevant state statutes. Similarly, binding global ecological regimes administered through a World Environment Organization are needed as well as country and local laws. A fully-fledged global central bank is required to establish greater stability and justice in global financial markets. Redistributive global taxes (for example, on foreign-exchange transactions, air travel, carbon emissions, and the profits of transnational corporations) are needed to allocate the gains of global capitalism in more socially just ways.

Of course, global social democracy must be democratic. Reformists have therefore also urged that democracy be refashioned so that the prescribed enlargement of global governance involves appropriate forms and levels of public participation and public accountability. Reformist suggestions for such a democratization of globalization have included the creation of global parliamentary bodies, enhanced oversight of global governance by national legislatures, revised voting formulas for global institutions, and the promotion of an energetic global civil society.

Reformist strategies have on the whole held a weaker position in the politics of globalization than neoliberalism and rejectionism. Social-democratic proposals to *tame global capitalism* have gained much less support than 'post-Washington' measures to *improve global markets*. (Note the important difference of emphasis.) Nor have reformist visions of greater global governance mustered the mass appeal that some economic nationalists and religious revivalists have managed to attract for their de-globalization campaigns. Given this generally shallow support for reformist globalization, the strategy has to date yielded relatively few concrete results, except perhaps

to push neoliberals to greater moderation. Indeed, neoliberalist regimes have shown considerable adeptness in coopting reformist themes (like 'civil society' or 'sustainable development') and draining them of most social-democratic content.

Nevertheless, reformism has had important proponents. For example, several country governments have made pronouncements in favour of greater global governance. In this vein French President Jacques Chirac has, in rhetoric at least, supported the creation of an Economic and Social Security Council in the United Nations. Meanwhile several national parliaments (for example, in Belgium, Canada and Germany) have since 1999 passed resolutions in favour of a global tax on currency transactions. A vision of global social democracy has also underpinned notions of 'decent work' developed since 1999 at the International Labour Organization (ILO) and conceptions of a 'rights-based approach to development' pursued at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In addition, UNDP has popularized many global reform proposals through the *Human Development Report*, issued annually since 1990. In civil society numerous activists, including some prominent participants in the World Social Forum (WSF) process, have promoted greater global governance on social-democratic lines. In a similar vein, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has advocated 'international policies and institutions to manage the process of globalization in the service of the needs and aspirations of people' (ICFTU, 1998: 9).

As the tenor of the above remarks suggests, the present book is broadly sympathetic to reformist visions of global social democracy, albeit with several qualifications. For one thing, reformism tends to take an overly materialist approach, offering many proposals to reshape capitalism and governance while giving minimal attention to matters of identity and knowledge. Indeed, reformist ideas have been mostly drawn from Western Europe, and their proponents have generally given little thought to the intercultural negotiations that are necessary to make the strategy democratically viable in global spheres. More broadly, too, reformists have tended not adequately to think through the technicalities and the politics of implementing their programmes. Finally, reformist ideas concerning global democracy have often merely transposed models of national democracy to the global sphere, when globalization arguably calls for more far-reaching innovations in democratic practices.

Transformism

A fourth category of strategies towards globalization covers policies that go beyond reformism to advocate more fundamental social change. These approaches treat the emergence of a more global world as an occasion to create a thoroughly different society. Transformists do not seek, like

reformists, only to produce new laws and institutions that make the existing social order work better. Rather, these advocates aim to transcend prevailing social structures with radically new arrangements. Whereas reformists accept primary ordering principles of contemporary life like capitalism and rationalism, transformists regard these frameworks as incorrigible and look to use globalization to build a fundamentally different society.

Like neoliberalism, rejectionism and reformism, transformist strategies have come in various guises. For example, many in a new generation of anarchists and socialists have seen contemporary globalization as a moment to resist and transcend capitalism and associated violences (Gills, 1997; Rupert, 2000; Bircham and Charlton, 2001; Epstein, 2001; Broad, 2002; Graeber, 2002; Danaher and Marks, 2003; Kingsnorth, 2003; Notes from Nowhere, 2003; Sandbrook, 2003; Mertes, 2004; Eschle and Maiguashca, 2005; Starr, 2005). Often these radicals have dismissed as outdated the traditional socialist strategy of overturning capitalism through a proletarian capture of the state. Instead they have championed new global social movements of the oppressed that include indigenous peoples, peasants, sexual minorities and women as well as working classes. For their part, a number of postmodernists have argued for radically different kinds of global identity politics and radically new forms of global knowledge (O Tuathail, 1996; Shapiro and Alker, 1996). With a religious emphasis, certain theologians have regarded expanded globality as a context for a post-rationalist spiritual revolution (Küng, 1990; Riffkin, 2003).

Transformist visions of globalization have mainly been pursued outside conventional politics: away from governments and political parties; away from mainstream media and large publishers; away from leading universities and academic conferences; indeed, often away from formal organizations of any kind. Instead, transformists have often worked outside the spotlight through loose and decentralized networks. The casual observer can therefore readily overlook these activities.

Examples of transformist initiatives in contemporary politics of globalization include the grassroots peasant activists of the worldwide Via Campesina coalition, including the media-savvy Zapatistas of Chiapas State in southern Mexico (Bové and Dufour, 2001; Olesen, 2002). In addition, globally oriented socialism has inspired the efforts of some alternative labour movements that work outside traditional trade union arrangements (Waternman, 1998). Students and other youth have figured prominently in transformist groups such as Reclaim the Streets in Britain, Montreal Anti-Capitalist Convergence in Canada, Ya Basta in Italy, and Direct Action Network in the USA. Postmodernist politics have marked various dissident academic and artistic circles, mainly in the OECD countries. Liberation theology has assembled followings among radical priests in the global Catholic Church, while Hindu revivalists and Islamists have also formed transplanetary networks.

On the whole, however, transformationist policies toward globalization have attracted even weaker support than reformist strategies. These visions have taken no noteworthy hold in official governance of globalization. The numbers of transformationist activists and academics have remained small, and the relevant grassroots movements in particular have generally suffered from very limited resources. For the moment it seems highly unlikely that transformationist campaigns can gain the upper hand in globalization politics. Even in their present weak position, these radicals have experienced some pretty violent suppression by official authorities.

Transformationist initiatives have also had their own limitations. For example, these visions have tended to be incompletely articulated, saying much more about what is opposed than what is proposed. Moreover, it is not always clear that the new worlds on offer through transformation would indeed improve upon the limitations and failings of currently prevailing social structures. For example, transformationist movements have often struggled with their own internal age, class, country, culture, gender and race hierarchies. White middle-class Anglo-Saxon Protestant males (WMCASPMs) have readily dominated movements to overcome domination, too!

In its final chapter this book adopts some caution towards transformationist strategies and draws more from reformist programmes of global social democracy (with the qualifications noted earlier). Transformationist critiques of other approaches to globalization have the vitally important effect of stimulating searching debates of what is and creative explorations of what could be. However, transformationist strategies of globalization are not sufficiently developed either intellectually or politically to be practicable in the short or medium term. Indeed, the achievement of global social democracy within the next generation might provide ripe ground for deeper progressive transformation in the longer run.

Conclusion

As this opening chapter has indicated – and as the summary in the box below recapitulates – the only consensus about globalization is that it is contested. People have held widely differing views regarding definition, scale, chronology, explanation, impact and policy. Everyone – including each reader of this book – has to see their way through the debates to their own understanding and practice of globalization.

The remaining chapters return to the different contentious points surveyed in successive sections of this opening chapter. Chapters 2 to 4 elaborate starting premises. Chapters 5 to 8 examine implications for social structures. Chapters 9 to 11 explore impacts on the human condition. Chapter 12 considers policy options.

Globalization debates in summary

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p><i>Starting premises</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • competing definitions: internationalization or something different? • varying measurements of scale: globalism or scepticism? • contrasting chronologies: old or new? • diverse explanations: materialist or idealist, individualist or structuralist? | <p><i>Implications for social change</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • old capitalism, new capitalism or postcapitalism? • persistent statism or poststatist governance? • homogenization or heterogenization of identities? • old lines or new turns in knowledge? • extension of modernity or dawn of postmodernity? | <p><i>Impacts on the human condition</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased or decreased security? • more or less social equality? • greater or reduced democracy? <p><i>Policy responses</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • neoliberalist reliance on market forces? • rejectionist reliance on localism? • reformist reliance on public policies? • transformationist reliance on social revolution? |
|---|--|---|

However, before entering into that more detailed discussion, what does the preceding review of research and policy reveal concerning the present state of knowledge about globalization? Clearly a great deal has been pronounced on the subject. Indeed, thanks to burgeoning studies we are today much better placed than we were only a decade ago to make sense of globalization. Nevertheless, our understanding of the process remains quite limited in important respects. Although some of the literature has become conceptually more sophisticated and empirically more rigorous, the overall level of globalization debates is still disappointing. Too much discussion continues to be couched in soundbite, overgeneralization and blatant prejudice. Too little research breaks out of disciplinary corners to draw together the various dimensions of globalization: cultural, ecological, economic, geographical, historical, legal, political and psychological.

It may be hoped that this book makes some inroads on these limitations; however, it can do little to counter another key shortcoming. As noted earlier, the protagonists in globalization debates have been disproportionately

urban, white, middle-class, Judeo-Christian, older English-speaking men resident in the North (especially the USA and the UK). Notable books on globalization have appeared in Argentina (Ferrer, 1997; Seoane and Taddei, 2001), Brazil (Ianni, 1992, 1996; Gómez, 2000), China (Wang Ning, 2002), Japan (Kaneko, 1999; Inoguchi, 2001), Malaysia (Khor, 2001; Mittelmann and Othman, 2001), Poland (Aniol, 2002), Russia (Gorbachev Foundation, 2003), South Africa (Mhone and Edigheji, 2003), Thailand (Sulak, 1999) and elsewhere. However, these works are few in number and tend to have small circulation. As a result, many views on globalization are marginalized or silenced altogether. Much of the debate is never heard. The present book can alert the reader to these sidelined voices, but it cannot speak for them.

Chapter 2

Defining Globalization

Main points of this chapter
 Rise of the g-word
 Starting premises for definition
 Redundant concepts of globalization
 A way forward
 Qualifications
 Conclusion

Main points of this chapter

- general notions of global-ness have a long history, but talk of 'globality' (the condition) and 'globalization' (the trend) has mainly arisen since 1980
- a clear and precise definition of the global is crucial to advance both knowledge and policy in contemporary society
- when taken to mean internationalization, liberalization, universalization or westernization, ideas of globalization reveal little new and can have objectionable political implications
- important new insight is provided when globalization is understood in spatial terms as the spread of transplanetary – and in recent times more particularly supraterritorial – connections between people
- globally in the sense of transworld connectivity is manifested across multiple areas of social life, including communication, travel, production, markets, money, finance, organizations, military, ecology, health, law and consciousness
- notions of globalization as the rise of transplanetary and supraterritorial links between people need to be carefully qualified in order to avoid globalist excesses

Definition is not everything, but everything involves definition. Knowledge of globalization is substantially a function of how the word is defined. Thus every study of globalization should include a careful and critical examination of the term itself. A muddled or misguided core concept compromises our overall comprehension of the phenomenon. In contrast, a sharp and revealing definition promotes insightful, interesting and empowering knowledge, an

understanding that helps people to shape their destiny in directions of their choosing.

Notions of globalization have grabbed many an intellectual imagination over the past two decades. In academic and lay circles alike, many have pursued an intuition that this concept could provide an analytical lynchpin for understanding contemporary society. 'Globalization' is not the only (or necessarily the best) entry point for such an enquiry, of course, but it has generated a lot of provocative and sometimes highly insightful commentary on present times.

Yet what lies in this word? What, precisely, is 'global' about globalization (Maclean, 1999)? The present chapter develops a definition in five main steps. The first section traces the rise of the vocabulary of globalization in academic and lay thinking. The second section elaborates some general principles about the nature and role of definition. The third section identifies several analytical cul-de-sacs with respect to globalization: that is, definitions that generate redundant and in some respects also unhelpful knowledge. The fourth section sets out a conceptualization of globalization as the spread of transplanetary and, in present times more specifically, supraterritorial social relations.

To stress that this analysis does not succumb to globalist exaggerations, the fifth section adds half a dozen key qualifications to this definition. First, territorial geography continues to be important alongside increased supra-territoriality. Second, globalization is interrelated with, rather than contradictory to, other social spaces. Third, the global is not inherently contradictory to the local. Fourth, globalization is not intrinsically a culturally homogenizing process. Fifth, global relations have spread unevenly across regions and social sectors, so that people experience globality to different extents. Sixth, globalization is a thoroughly political matter, empowering some people and disempowering others.

Rise of the g-word

Although the term 'globalization' was not coined until the second half of the twentieth century, it has a longer pedigree. In the English language, the noun 'globe' dates from the fifteenth century (derived from the Latin *globus*) and began to denote a spherical representation of the earth several hundred years ago (Robertson, 2001: 6, 254; MWD, 2003). The adjective 'global' entered circulation in the late seventeenth century and began to designate 'planetary scale' in the late nineteenth century. The verb 'globalize' appeared in the 1940s, 'spherical' (OED, 1989: VI, 582). The term 'globalism' (Reiser and Davies, 1944: 212, 219). The word 'globalization', as a process, first surfaced in the English language in

1959 and entered a dictionary two years later (Webster, 1961: 965; Schreier, 1997). Notions of 'globality', as a condition, began to circulate in the 1980s (Robertson, 1983). The vocabulary of globalization has also spread in other languages over the past several decades. The many examples include the terms *il'alam* in Arabic, *quanqunhua* in Chinese, *mondialisaton* in French, *gorobanuka* in Japanese, *globalizatsia* in Russian, *globalizatsion* in Spanish, and *kure-sellesime* in Turkish. Among the major world languages, only Swahili has not (yet) acquired a globalization concept, and that exception is perhaps largely explained by the widespread use of English in elite circles of the African countries concerned. Yet less widely used languages, too, now incorporate words such as *globalisaatio* (Finnish), *bishwavyapikaraan* (Nepalese), *luan bo'ot* (Timorese), and so on.

Talk of 'globalization' has become rife among academics, journalists, politicians, business people, advertisers and entertainers. Everyday conversation now includes regular reference to global markets, global communications, global conferences, global threats, the global environment, and so on. A recent children's T-shirt was inscribed with the words 'Global Generation' – and well they might be.

When new vocabulary gains such wide currency across continents, languages and walks of life, can it just be explained away as fad? Or does the novel word highlight a significant change in the world, where new terminology is needed to discuss new conditions? For example, when Jeremy Bentham coined the word 'international' in the 1780s the concept caught hold because it resonated of a growing trend of his day, namely, the rise of nation-states and cross-border transactions between them (Bentham, 1789: 326; Suganami, 1978). The current proliferation of global talk also seems unlikely to be accidental. The popularity of the terminology arguably reflects a widespread intuition that contemporary social relations are undergoing an important shift in character. The challenge – indeed, the urgent need – is to move beyond the buzzword to a tight concept.

As a deliberately fashioned analytical tool, notions of the global appeared roughly simultaneously and independently in several academic fields around the early 1980s. In Sociology, for example, Roland Robertson began to 'interpret globality' in 1983 (Robertson, 1983). Concurrently, in Business Studies, Theodore Levitt wrote of 'the globalization of markets' (Levitt, 1983). These years also saw some researchers in International Relations shift their focus to 'global interdependence' (Rosenau, 1980; Maghroori and Ramberg, 1982). Economists, geographers and others picked up the concept later in the 1980s. Since the 1990s globalization has become a major academic growth industry. The problem is now explored across disciplines, across continents, across theoretical approaches, and across the political spectrum. Countless academics have rushed to claim the cliché of the day. The number of references to

Second, no conceptualization is normatively and politically neutral. It is therefore necessary carefully to reflect on the priorities and power relations that any definition reflects – and also helps to (re)produce. Different definitions of globalization may promote different values and interests. Indeed, certain critics find that the word 'globalization' itself is so loaded with an imposed alien ideological agenda that they prefer to avoid the term in scholarly analysis (Grzybowski, 2004). Farsi speakers make a political statement in their choice between the terms *jahānīshāsi* and *jāhānīshodan*. The first word, 'making global', carries connotations of a US-led imperialist project, while the second, 'becoming global', carries connotations of an open process that can be shaped in various future directions.

Third, every definition is relative to a context. Each understanding of a key concept reflects a historical moment, a cultural setting, a geographical location, a social status, an individual personality and – as already noted – a normative and political commitment. Indeed, in the details if not in the general framework, every account of an idea is unique. Each person develops a conception that corresponds to their particular experiences and aspirations. No universally endurable definition is available. To ask everyone to conform to a single view would be to ask many people to abandon themselves. The object of definition is not to discover one sole understanding that secures universal acceptance, but to generate insight that can be effectively communicated to, and debated with, others.

Fourth, no definition is definitive. Definitions of core concepts are necessary to lend clarity, focus and internal consistency to arguments. However, definition is tentative and subject to reappraisal. Definition is in motion rather than fixed. The point of the exercise is not to end in a full stop, but to stimulate discussion that prompts further redefinition as situations change and (one hopes) wisdom deepens.

Fifth, the variability of definition means that each formulation should be as clear, precise, concise, explicit, consistent and cogent as possible. With clarity, a good definition readily captures and communicates insight. With precision, it brings the issue at hand into sharp focus. With conciseness, it encompasses the greatest understanding in the fewest words. With explicitness, it leaves a minimum unsaid and to the reader's inference. With consistency, it lends internal coherence from start to finish of an argument. With cogency, it relates convincingly to empirical evidence and policy needs. To be sure, no definition ever fully meets these criteria, but the better conceptions come closer to the ideal.

Not everyone agrees with these starting premises, of course. For example, some commentators accept that globalization is a vague concept and see little point in trying to define it in a clear, specific, succinct, distinctive way. On this relaxed approach, globalization is a malleable catchall term that can be

'globalization' in titles held by the United States Library of Congress multiplied from 34 in 1994 to 693 in 1999 and 5,245 in early 2005 (Waters, 1995; LOC, 1999, 2005). Google hits for 'globalization' on the World Wide Web have risen to 23.3 million as this book goes to press. A host of research institutes, degree programmes, course modules, textbooks and websites now focus on the problem. The recent appearance of several globalization anthologies, the preparation of the first *Encyclopedia of Globalization*, and the development of an online 'Globalization Compendium' further attest to the consolidation of a new field of enquiry (Beynon and Dunkerley, 2000; Higgott and Payne, 2000; Lechner and Boli, 2000; Robertson and White, 2002; Held and McGrew, 2003; Michie, 2003; Global Compendium, 2005; Robertson and Scholte, 2006). Since 2000 several new professional groups have also emerged: Global Studies Associations in Britain and the USA; and a Globalization Studies Network with worldwide membership. Some theorists have even presented globalization as the focal point for an alternative paradigm of social enquiry (cf. Shaw, 1994, 1999; Cerny, 1996; Mitterman, 2002). Yet ideas of globalization tend to remain as elusive as they are pervasive. We sense that the vocabulary means something – and something significant – but we are far from sure what that something is. Anthony Giddens has observed that 'there are few terms that we use so frequently but which are in fact as poorly conceptualized as globalization' (Giddens, 1996).

Persistent ambiguity and confusion over the term has fed considerable scepticism about 'globaloney', 'global babble', 'glob-blah-blah', 'glob-yak-yak'. One critic has pointedly dismissed the idea of lending analytical weight to the notion of globalization as 'folly' (Rosenberg, 2001, 2005). True, some of these objectors have had dubious motives, such as vested interests in orthodox theory, or an intellectual laziness that resists rethinking conceptual starting points. However, other doubters have quite rightly demanded a full conceptualization before they will treat globalization as a serious scholarly category.

Starting premises for definition

Before addressing the challenge of tightly conceptualizing the global, it is well to reflect on the nature and purpose of definition. The exercise of naming and identifying things is much more than a lexicographical curiosity. Five points deserve particular emphasis.

First, definition serves – or should serve – to advance knowledge. A definition should pave the way to greater insight. Thus, to be maximally helpful, a new notion like globalization should be defined in a way that opens new understanding. The word should not merely restate what can already be known with other terminology.

between national-state-territorial units. For certain authors, like Hirst and Thompson, globalization is an especially intense form of internationalization, so that the global is a particular subset of the international (1999: 7-13). Many other analysts are less discriminating and simply regard the words 'global' and 'international' as synonyms to be used interchangeably.

Most attempts to quantify globalization have conceived of the process as internationalization. Thus, for example, Dani Rodrik has measured globalization in terms of current account transactions as a proportion of GDP (Rodrik, 2001). Similarly, globalization indexes issued by A. T. Kearney consultants and *Foreign Policy* (FP) magazine since 2001 and by the Centre for the Study of Globalization and Regionalization (CSGR) since 2005 have been largely calculated with reference to amounts of cross-border activities between countries. That is, the scores mainly relate to FDI, international travel, membership in international organizations, international telephone traffic, etc. Moreover, the calculations measure and compare the indicators on a territorial basis, so that one country is said to be more, or less, globalized than another (Kearney/FP, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004; CSGR, 2005).

Ideas of globalization-as-internationalization are attractive insofar as they entail a minimum of intellectual and political adjustments. Global relations of this kind can be examined on the same ontological and methodological grounds as international relations. Global economics can be the same sort of enquiry as international economics. The study of global politics need not differ substantially from traditional international politics. Global culture would be considered equivalent to international culture. Globalization-as-internationalization gives the comforting message that the new can be wholly understood in terms of the familiar.

Indeed, most accounts of globalization-as-internationalization stress that contemporary trends are replaying earlier historical scenarios. In particular, these analyses frequently note that, in proportional terms, levels of cross-border trade, direct investment, and permanent migration were as great or greater in the late nineteenth century as they were a hundred years later. The suggestion is that globalization (read greater international interdependence) is a feature of the modern states-system and world economy that ebbs and flows over time. So today's social researchers can relax and carry on their enquiries more or less as previous generations have done.

Yet these very claims of familiarity and historical repetition constitute strong grounds for rejecting the definition of globalization-as-internationalization. If globality is nothing other than internationality – except perhaps larger amounts of it – then why bother with new vocabulary? No one needed a concept of globalization to make sense of earlier experiences of greater international interaction and interdependence, and this notion is similarly redundant today.

invoked in whatever way the user finds convenient. Thus many a politician has blamed an undefined 'globalization' for a variety of policy difficulties, sometimes to divert attention from their own failures. Many a social activist has rallied under an unspecified 'anti-globalization' banner, so that this movement has encompassed enormously diverse (and sometimes strikingly contradictory) elements. Many an author and publisher have put 'globalization' into the titles of writings that actually say very little on the subject. While such loose approaches may be politically and commercially useful, they are deeply unsatisfactory for serious social analysis and the policy implications that flow from it. Definitions fundamentally shape descriptions, explanations, evaluations, prescriptions and actions. If a definition of a core concept is slippery, then the knowledge built upon it is likely to be similarly shaky and, in turn, the actions pursued on the basis of that knowledge can very well be misguided.

Unfortunately, as the next section indicates, a great deal of thinking about globalization has not followed one or several of the above principles of definition. However, the fact that many conceptions have gone astray does not mean that there is no way forward with the term. On the contrary, too much is at stake in globalization debates – both theoretically and practically – to abandon the journey.

Redundant concepts of globalization

Much if not most existing analysis of globalization is flawed because it is redundant. Such research does not meet the first criterion above, namely, to generate new understanding that is not attainable with other concepts. Four main definitions have led into this cul-de-sac: globalization as internationalization; globalization as liberalization; globalization as universalization; and globalization as westernization. Arguments that only build on these conceptions fail to open insights that are not available through preexistent vocabulary. Deployed on any of these four lines, 'globalization' provides no distinct analytical value-added. Commentators who reject the novelty and transformative potential of globalization in contemporary history have almost invariably defined the term in one or several of these four redundant ways. Moreover, these conceptions can also raise political objections.

When globalization is interpreted as internationalization, the term refers to a perspective, a more global world is one where more messages, ideas, growth of transactions and interdependence between countries. From this perspective, a more global world is one where more messages, ideas, merchandise, money, investments, pollutants and people cross borders

Ideas of globalization-as-internationalization can also be politically objectionable. They readily imply that world social relations are – and can only be – organized in terms of country units, state governments, and national communities. As such, the vocabulary of internationality tends to ignore, marginalize and silence other modes of organization, governance and identity that exist and are highly valued by, for example, indigenous peoples, regionalists, and various kinds of cosmopolitans.

Liberalization

A second common analytical dead-end in discussions of globalization has equated the notion with liberalization. In this case, globalization denotes a process of removing officially imposed constraints on movements of resources between countries in order to form an 'open' and 'borderless' world economy. On this understanding, globalization occurs as authorities reduce or abolish regulatory measures like trade barriers, foreign-exchange restrictions, capital controls, and visa requirements.

Using this definition, the study of globalization is a debate about contemporary neoliberalist macroeconomic policies. On one side of this argument, many academics, business executives and policymakers have supported neoliberalist prescriptions, with the promise that worldwide liberalization, privatization, deregulation and fiscal restraint would in time bring prosperity, freedom, peace and democracy for all. On the other side, critics in what is often called the 'anti-globalization' movement have opposed neoliberalist policies, contending that a *laissez-faire* world economy produces greater poverty, inequality, conflict, cultural destruction, ecological damage and democratic deficits.

To be sure, large-scale globalization and widespread economic liberalization have frequently transpired concurrently in the past quarter-century. For example, average tariff rates for non-agricultural products have fallen to record low levels. Moreover, this wave of neoliberalism has often played a significant (albeit not necessary) facilitating role in respect of contemporary globalization. However, it is quite something else to conflate the two concepts, so that globalization and liberalization become the same thing. Furthermore, such an equation can carry the dubious – and potentially harmful – political implication that neoliberalism is the only available policy framework for a more global world.

Indeed, on cross-examination most 'anti-globalization' protesters are seen to reject *neoliberalist* globalization rather than globalization per se. True, some of these critics have adopted a rejectionist, mercantilist position that advocates 'de-globalization' to a world of autarkic regional, national or local economies. However, most opponents of neoliberalism have sought different approaches to globalization – 'alter-globalizations' or 'counter-globalizations' – that might

Universalization

In any case, the language of globalization is unnecessary to rehearse arguments for and against *laissez-faire* economics. People have debated theories and practices of 'free' markets for several centuries without invoking talk of globalization. For example, no one needed the concept of globalization when the international economy experienced substantial liberalization in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Marriott, 1998). Likewise, globalization-as-liberalization opens no new insight today.

better advance human security, social justice and democracy. Many in mainstream circles, too, have recently suggested that globalization can be rescued with social, environmental and human rights safeguards. They have thereby also acknowledged that neoliberalist policies are not intrinsic to globalization.

A third cul-de-sac appears in analyses of globalization when the notion is conceived as universalization. In this case, globalization is taken to describe a process of dispersing various objects and experiences to people at all inhabited parts of the earth. On these lines, 'global' means 'worldwide' and 'everywhere'. Hence there is a 'globalization' of the Gregorian calendar, tobacco, business suits, the state, curry dinners, bungalows, school curricula, Barbie dolls, shotguns, and so on. Frequently, globalization-as-universalization is assumed to entail standardization and homogenization with worldwide cultural, economic, legal and political convergence. For example, some economists have assessed globalization in terms of the degree to which prices for particular goods and services become the same across countries (Bradford and Lawrence, 2004).

Yet this third type of conception, too, opens no new and distinctive insight. To be sure, some striking worldwide diffusion has transpired in contemporary history. Moreover, substantial cultural destruction in recent times has appeared to lend credence to the homogenization thesis (although, as is elaborated later in this chapter, the cultural dynamics of globalization are actually more complex). However, universalization is an age-old feature of world history. Indeed, Clive Gamble has written of 'our global prehistory', arguing that the transcontinental spread of the human species – begun a million years ago – constitutes the initial instance of globalization (1994: ix, 8–9). Various aptly named 'world religions' have extended across large expanses of the earth for centuries, and several of these faiths have held explicit universalistic pretensions. Transoceanic trade has distributed various goods over long distances on multiple prior occasions during the past millennium. No concept of globalization was devised to describe universalization in earlier times, and there is no need to create new vocabulary to analyse this old phenomenon now either.

prevailing forms of globality could be analysed as a particular aspect, phase and type of modernity. On this reading, a definition of globalization would need to specify what makes *global* modernity distinctive. Yet in this approach, too, westernization and globalization are not coterminous. In sum, then, much talk of globalization has been analytically redundant. The four types of definition outlined above between them cover much current academic, corporate, journalistic, official and popular discussions of things global. Critics of 'globaloney' are right to assail the historical illiteracy that marks most claims of novelty associated with these conceptions of globalization.

Of course, this is not to suggest that debates about international interdependence, neoliberalism, universalism-versus-cultural diversity, modernity, and imperialism are unimportant. Indeed, a well-fashioned concept of globalization could shed significant light on these issues. However, it is not helpful to define globalization as – to treat it as equivalent to – internationalization, liberalization, universalization or westernization. Not only do we thereby merely rehash old knowledge, but we also lose a major opportunity to grasp – and act upon – certain key circumstances of our times.

A way forward

Fortunately, the four definitions critiqued above do not exhaust the possible conceptions of globalization. Important new insight into historically relatively new conditions is available from a fifth notion. This approach identifies globalization as the spread of ~~supranational~~ ^{transplanetary} – connections between people. A global (in the sense of transplanetary) social relation is one that (like an Internet chat room and certain communicable diseases) can link persons situated at any inhabitable points on the earth. Globalization involves reductions of barriers to such transworld social contacts. With globalization people become more able – physically, legally, linguistically, culturally and psychologically – to engage with each other wherever on planet Earth they might be. In this fifth usage, globalization refers to a shift in the nature of social space. This conception contrasts with the other four notions of globalization discussed above, all of which presume (usually implicitly rather than explicitly) a continuity in the underlying character of social geography. To clarify this crucial point, the following pages first note the general importance of space in social relations and then elaborate on the features of transplanetary and, more specifically, supranational links between persons. The far-reaching methodological implications of this understanding of globalization are also noted, although the final section of the chapter highlights several major qualifications to the definition of globalization as growing transplanetary connectivity.

Moreover, inasmuch as notions of globalization-as-universalization carry misguided assumptions of globalization-as-homogenization, this definition can have unhappy political consequences. Cultural protectionists can be led to oppose globalization *per se*, when they are in fact only against one of its possible results. Indeed, as later chapters show, globalization can when handled in certain ways promote cultural diversity, revival and innovation.

Westernization

A fourth common conception of globalization has defined it as westernization. As such, globalization is regarded as a particular type of universalization, one in which social structures of modernity (capitalism, industrialism, rationalism, urbanism, individualism, etc.) are spread across all of humanity, in the process destroying pre-existent cultures and local autonomy. Globalization understood in this way is often interpreted as colonization, Americanization and (in the vocabulary of the Iranian intellectual, Ali Ahmad) 'westoxification'. For these critics, talk of globalization is a hegemonic discourse, an ideology of supposed progress that masks far-reaching subordination by the West of the rest (Petras and Veltemeyer, 2001).

To be sure, a cogent case can be made that current large-scale globalization has resulted mainly from forces of modernity like rationalist knowledge, capitalist production, and bureaucratic governance (cf. Giddens, 1990). At the same time, early global consciousness arguably facilitated the onset of modernity, too (Robertson, 1992: 170). In turn, contemporary globalization has often inserted patterns of modern, western social relations more widely and deeply across the planet. Sometimes this westernization has involved violent impositions that could indeed warrant descriptions as imperialism. Moreover, it is true that governance institutions, firms, mass media, academics and civil society associations in Western Europe and North America have ranked among the most enthusiastic promoters of contemporary globalization.

Yet it is one thing to assert that globalization and westernization have had interconnections and quite another to equate the two developments. After all, modernity and western civilization have appeared in many other guises besides contemporary globality. Moreover – and it is politically important to acknowledge this – globalization could in principle be taken in non-western directions: for example, Buddhist globalizations, Confucian globalizations, Islamic globalizations, or possible future postmodern globalizations (cf. Petman, 2005). Also, it is by no means clear that globalization is intrinsically imperialist, given that there are emancipatory global social movements as well as exploitative global processes. In any case, westernization and colonization have a much longer history than contemporary intense globalization. Perhaps currently

To clarify the vocabulary, in the approach adopted here, the words 'global', 'transplanetary' and 'transworld' are treated as synonyms. They are therefore used interchangeably in the rest of this book. References to 'supraterritoriality' are made whenever that more particular quality of globality comes into play.

Space

The term globality resonates of spatiality. It says something about the arena and the *place* of human action and experience: the *where* of social life. In particular, globality identifies the planet – the earth as a whole – as a field of social relations in its own right. Talk of the global indicates that people may interact not only in built, local, provincial, country and macro-regional realms, but also in transplanetary spaces where the earth is a single place.

Why highlight issues of space? Most social analysis takes the spatial aspect as an unexplored given. Yet geography is a defining feature of social life (cf. Lefebvre, 1974; Gregory and Urry, 1985; Massey, 1994; Thrift, 1996; Brenner *et al.*, 2003). Relations between people always occur somewhere: in a place, a location, a domain, a site. No description of a social circumstance is complete without a spatial component.

Moreover, no social explanation is complete without a geographical dimension either. Space matters. To take one ready example, geographical differences mean that desert nomads and urban dwellers lead very diverse lives. Space is a core feature – as both cause and effect – of social life. On the one hand, the geographical context shapes the ways that people formulate knowledge, relate to nature, undertake production, experience time, organize governance, construct identities, and form collectivities. Concurrently, culture, ecology, economics, history, politics and psychology also shape the spatial contours of social relations.

Given these dense interconnections, a major change of spatial structure affects society as a whole. A reconfiguration of social geography is intimately interlinked with shifts in patterns of knowledge, production, governance, identity, and social ecology. So a transformation of social space – like large-scale globalization – is enveloped in larger dynamics of social change.

Globality: transplanetary relations and supraterritoriality

Globality in the conception adopted here has two qualities. The more general feature, transplanetary connectivity, has figured in human history for many centuries. The more specific characteristic, supraterritoriality, is relatively new to contemporary history. Inasmuch as the recent rise of globality marks a striking break from the territorialist geography that came before, this trend potentially has major implications for wider social transformation.

Globality in the broader sense of transplanetary ('across the planet') relations refers to social links between people located at points anywhere on globe, planet Earth, is not simply a collection of smaller geographical units like regions, countries and localities; it is also itself a specific arena of social life. A fundamental distinction can therefore be drawn between 'international relations' (as exchanges between countries) and 'global relations' (as exchanges within a planetary realm).

Of course, this more general kind of globality – transplanetary connections between people – is by no means new to the past few decades. As the next chapter stresses, long-distance and intercontinental domains have had age-old importance in human history. On the other hand, as Chapter 3 also shows, contemporary transplanetary links are denser than those of any previous epoch. More people, more often, more extensively and more intensely engage with the planetary arena as a single social place. Volumes of transworld associations, communications, diseases, finance, investment, travel and trade have never been as great.

However, the distinctiveness of recent globalization involves more than the quantity, frequency, scope and depth of transplanetary social links. Qualitatively, too, much of today's global connectivity is different. Unlike earlier times, contemporary globalization has been marked by a large-scale spread of supraterritoriality.

As the word suggests, 'supraterritorial' relations are social connections that substantially transcend territorial geography. They are relatively delinked from territory, that is, spatial domains that are mapped on the land surface of the earth, plus any adjoining waters and air spheres. Territorial space is plotted on the three axes of longitude, latitude and altitude. In territorial geography, place refers to locations situated on this three-dimensional grid; distance refers to the extent of territory separating territorial places; and border refers to a territorial delimitation of sections of the earth's surface. (For more on territorial geography, see Gottman, 1973; Sack, 1986; Storey, 2001; Paasi, 2003; Elden, 2005.)

Yet territorial locations, territorial distances and territorial borders do not define the whole geography of today's transplanetary flows. These global connections often also have qualities of *transworld simultaneity* (that is, they extend anywhere across the planet at the same time) and *transworld instantaneity* (that is, they move anywhere on the planet in no time). Thus, for example, on average 3,000 cups of Nescafé are reputedly drunk around the planet every second (Nescafé, 2003), and telephone links permit immediate communication across the ocean as readily as across the street. Global relations with supraterritorial features are not adequately mapped on a territorial grid. Supraterritorial forms of globality are evident in countless facets of

contemporary life. For instance, jet aeroplanes transport passengers and cargo across any distance on the planet within twenty-four hours. Telecommunications networks effect instantaneous links between points all over the earth, so that a call centre or data processing bureau for customers in North America may be located twelve time zones away in India. The global mass media spread messages simultaneously to transworld audiences. The US dollar and the euro are examples of money that has instantaneous transplanetary circulation. In global finance, various types of savings and investment instruments (for example, offshore bank deposits and eurobonds) flow instantaneously in transworld domains. Ecologically, developments such as climate change, stratospheric ozone depletion, and losses of biological diversity unfold simultaneously on a global scale. Ideally, many people have a supraterritorial experience of place, for instance, when watching televised moon landings and global sports events simultaneously with hundreds of millions of other people scattered across the planet. Global human rights campaigns do not measure their support for a cause as a function of the territorial distance and territorial borders that lie between advocates and victims. With these and many more instances of supraterritoriality, current globalization has constituted more than an extension of the compression of time relative to territorial space that has unfolded over a number of past centuries. In this long-term trend, developments in transportation technology like motor ships, railways and early aircraft progressively reduced the time needed to cover a given distance over the earth's surface. Thus, while Marco Polo took years to complete his journey across Eurasia in the thirteenth century, by 1850 a sea voyage from South East Asia to North West Europe could be completed in 59 days (PTT, 1951: 11). In the twentieth century, motorized ships and land vehicles took progressively less time again to link territorial locations. Nevertheless, such transport still required substantial time spans to cross long distances and moreover still faced substantial controls at territorial frontiers.

Whereas this older trend towards a shrinking world occurred *within* territorial geography, the newer spread of transplanetary simultaneity and instantaneity takes social relations substantially *beyond* territorial space. In cases of supraterritoriality, place is not territorially fixed, territorial distance is covered in no time, and territorial boundaries present no particular impediment. The difference between territorial time-space compression and the rise of supraterritoriality is qualitative and entails a deeper structural change of geography.

A number of social researchers across a range of academic disciplines have discerned this reconfiguration of space, albeit without invoking the term 'supraterritoriality' to describe the shift. Half a century ago, for example, the philosopher Martin Heidegger proclaimed the advent of 'distancelessness' and an 'abolition of every possibility of remoteness' (1950: 165–6). Forty

years later the geographer David Harvey discussed 'processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves' (1989: 240). The sociologist Manuel Castells has distinguished a 'network society', in which a new 'space of flows' exists alongside the old 'space of places' (1989: 348; also Castells, 1996–7; 2001). The anthropologist Marc Augé has described an instantaneity that puts 'any person into relation with the entire world' (1994: 95). In the field of International Relations, John Ruggie has written of a 'nonterritorial region' in the contemporary world (1993: 172).

Might such a geographical transformation in the longer term prove to be as epochal as the shift to territorialism was at an earlier historical juncture? After all, social relations have not always and everywhere operated with a macro spatial framework that is overridingly territorial. For instance, cultures with a metaphysical cosmology have assigned only secondary if any importance to territorial referents. In fact, a territorial grid to locate points on a map was not introduced anywhere until the second century AD, by Zhang Heng in China (Douglas, 1996: 22). Medieval people in Europe did not have a notion of territory defined by three-dimensional geometry applied to the earth's surface (Zumthor, 1993; Hanawalt and Kobialka, 2000). Images of the world showing the continents in anything like the territorial shapes that are commonly recognized today were not drawn before the late fifteenth century. It took a further two hundred years before the first maps depicting country units appeared (Campbell, 1987; Whitfield, 1994). Not until the high tide of colonialism at the end of the nineteenth century did a territorial logic dominate the construction of macro social spaces across the earth. From then until the third quarter of the twentieth century, social spaces of a macro kind (that is, as opposed to directly perceived micro social spaces like built environments) nearly always took a territorial form. Indeed, one could say that a structure of territorialism governed social geography. In a territorial situation, people identify their location in the world primarily in relation to territorial position. (In most cases the territorial reference points are fixed, though for nomadic groups the spots may shift.) Moreover, in territorialist social relations the length of territorial distances between places and the presence or absence of territorial (especially state) borders between places heavily influences the frequency and significance of contacts that people at different territorial sites have with each other.

However, like any social structure, territorialism as the prevailing mode of geography was specific to a particular historical and cultural context. True, many people today still use the terms 'geography' and 'territory' interchangeably, as if to exclude the possibility that social space could have other than territorial forms. Yet world geography today is in an important respect not like that of the period to the mid-twentieth century. Following several

'world' in terms of a Middle Kingdom surrounded by peripheries of barbarians. Other ancient civilizations unfolded in a Mediterranean 'world'. Medieval Europeans conceived of the 'world' in terms of relations between humanity, nature and God, without resort to an atlas. Hence 'world' is a more generic notion. Globality (in the sense of connectivity across the earthly planetary realm) has featured in some social 'worlds' throughout history, but far from all.

Moreover, the contemporary world has multiple spatial dimensions in addition to the global. World social relations today have regional, country, local, household and other geographical aspects alongside the transplanetary facets. Thus 'world' is the social-geographical whole, while 'global' is only one of its spatial qualities.

The distinction between 'global' and 'international' has been stressed already, but it bears reiteration. 'International' exchanges occur between country units, while 'global' transactions occur within a planetary unit. Whereas international relations are *inter-territorial* relations, global relations are *trans- and sometimes supra-territorial* relations. Thus global economics is different from international economics, global politics is different from international politics, and so on.

Finally, a number of researchers have since the 1970s adopted a discourse of 'transnational' relations to analyse social interchange beyond the state and national society (Merle 1974; Keohane and Nye, 1977). This conception has the merit of highlighting non-governmental relations between countries and non-national forms of social bonds (e.g., transnational religious and class solidarities). However, ideas of transnationalism offer less when it comes to elaborating a more specific conception of the character of these non-statist and non-nationalist circumstances. In contrast, notions of global relations positively identify the transplanetary and supraterritorial qualities of various social relations.

Another objection to the vocabulary of *transnationality* is that it still takes the nation-state-country as its reference point and to that extent retains traces of methodological nationalism and statism. Indeed, transnational relations are usually conceived as transactions across state borders. On the other hand, ideas of globality avoid domestic/foreign, internal/external dichotomies and thereby foster a clear and important methodological reorientation.

Methodological implications

If contemporary social geography is no longer territorialist in character, then traditional habits of social research need to be adjusted. Methodological territorialism has exercised a pervasive and deep hold on the conventions of social enquiry. The spread of transplanetary and supraterritorial links requires an important shift of approach.

decades of proliferating and expanding supraterritorial connections, territoriality has lost its monopoly hold. Territorial domains remain very important, but they no longer define the entire macro spatial framework. As Chapter 3 indicates in detail, most of the rise of supraterritoriality is recent. As with any development, longer-term antecedents can of course be found. However, supraterritorial connectivity has reached by far its greatest extents during the past half-century. Earlier periods did not know jet travel, intercontinental missiles, transworld migrants with transborder remittances, satellite communications, facsimiles, the Internet, instant transplanetary television broadcasts, intercontinental production chains, transworld retailers, global credit cards, a continuous diet of global sports tournaments, or large-scale transplanetary anthropogenic ecological changes. Contemporary history is supraterritorial to degrees well beyond anything previously known. True, enthusiasm at discovering something new – a significant reconfiguration of social geography – must not prompt overstatements of its extent. Globalization in the more specific sense of the spread of supraterritoriality has been less extensive than globalization in the more general sense of the growth of transplanetary connections. The supraterritorial aspects of contemporary globalization have far-reaching transformative potentials, but they constitute only part of the larger trend, and assessments of currently unfolding social change need to be correspondingly tempered.

Global, world, international and transnational

Further clarification of the idea of globality that is suggested here may be obtained by comparing the term with cognate concepts such as 'world', 'international' and 'transnational' links. All of these words put the spotlight on social relations beyond society conceived on nation/state/country lines. However, the four notions imply different emphases and should not be conflated.

At first glance, 'world' might seem synonymous with 'global', since in contemporary modern society 'the world' is generally conceived as planetary earth. Indeed, this book invokes 'transworld' as a synonym for 'transplanetary'. The so-called Stanford School of sociologists in the USA has explored themes of globalization under the label of 'world society theory' (Meyer *et al.*, 1997; Boli and Thomas, 1999). In Germany Niklas Luhmann and his followers have developed arguments about *Weltgesellschaft* (Luhmann, 1982; Albert and Hilknermeier, 2004). In the field of International Relations a number of scholars have also invoked notions of 'world society' to designate a transplanetary cobweb of human interaction (Burton, 1972; Bull, 1977). However, 'world' can denote the totality of social relations in other than planetary contexts. People in other eras and cultures have identified their social relations with the global waves. For example, the ancient Chinese mapped their

in some quarters. It is difficult and even painful to change taken-for-granted knowledge, to reassess a cornerstone of understanding of social relations, to endure the disruption and confusion that comes in the transition between abandoning one set of first principles and consolidating another. Moreover, a postterritorialist methodology has political implications that vested interests could oppose. For example, postterritorialist social knowledge would logically undercut the primacy of both state-centric research and state-centric governance.

Yet it can arguably be quite dangerous to give methodological territorialism further lease on life in the contemporary more global world. For example, territorialist assumptions are obviously unsuitable to understand – and address – transplanetary ecological issues. Likewise, if significant parts of capitalism now operate with relative autonomy from territorial space, then old intellectual frameworks cannot adequately address the issues of distributive justice that invariably accompany processes of surplus accumulation. Similarly, a political theory that offers today's world only territorial constructions of community, citizenship and democracy is obsolete. Hence the stakes in the call for postterritorialist enquiry are much more than academic alone.

Manifestations of globality

The character and scale of globalization as the spread of transplanetary connections – including many (mainly recent) links that have a supraterritorial quality – may be further clarified with a survey of transworld activities. Such a review indicates that globality can touch pretty well all aspects of social life. That said, as the final section of this chapter emphasizes, it does not follow that global relations have become anything close to the only feature of social geography, either today or in the foreseeable future.

A great deal of globality is manifested through communications, that is, exchanges of ideas, information, images, signals, sounds and text. Transworld communication can be effected by means of the book trade, postal services, telex, text messaging, video-conference, computer networks, newspaper, magazine, radio, television, video and film. Supraterritoriality comes into global communications when, for example, certain publications (like Harry Potter books) and recordings (like Enigma CDs) are released simultaneously across the planet. In addition, satellite broadcasts and transoceanic cables enable communication to be effected instantaneously between any points on earth, irrespective of the territorial distances and territorial borders that lie between them. Thus toll-free numbers can link up to a call centre on any continent.

The Internet is supraterritorial communication par excellence, instantly relaying a full range of visual and auditory signals anywhere on the planet

Methodological territorialism refers to the practice of understanding and investigating social relations through the lens of territorial geography. Territorialist method means formulating concepts, asking questions, constructing hypotheses, gathering and interpreting evidence, and drawing conclusions in a spatial framework that is wholly territorial. These intellectual habits are so engrained that most social researchers reproduce them more or less unconsciously.

Methodological territorialism lies at the heart of currently prevailing commonsense notions of geography, economy, governance, history, literature, culture and society. Thus the vast majority of social and political geographers have conceived of the world in terms of bordered territorial (especially country) units. Likewise, macroeconomists have normally studied (production, exchange and consumption in relation to national (read territorial) and international (read inter-territorial) realms. Students of politics have conventionally regarded governance as a territorial question, that is, as a matter of local and country governments, with the latter sometimes meeting in 'international' (again, code for inter-territorial) organizations. Similarly, mainstream historians have examined continuity and change over time in respect of territorial contexts such as localities and countries (cf. Mazlish and Buultjens, 1993; Geyer and Bright, 1995; Schäfer, 2003). Literature has generally been classed in terms of national-territorial genres: English literature, Indonesian literature, etc. For their part, anthropologists have almost invariably conceived of culture and community with reference to territorial units, in the sense of local and national peoples (Ekholm and Friedman, 1985). Meanwhile territorialist premises have led sociologists usually to assume that society by definition takes a territorial (usually national) form: hence Albanian society, Bolivian society, Chinese society, etc. (Mann, 1986: 13–17; Wallerstein, 1986).

Like any analytical device, methodological territorialism involves simplification. Actual social practice has always been more complicated. Nevertheless, this assumption offered a broadly viable intellectual shortcut for earlier generations of scholars. Methodological territorialism reflected the social conditions of a particular epoch when territorial places situated within bordered territorial units and separated by territorial distances formed far and away the overriding framework for macro social geography. However, territorialist analysis is not a timeless or universally applicable method. The emergence of the states-system, the growth of mercantile and industrial capitalism, and the rise of national identities all understandably encouraged researchers of earlier times to adopt methodologically territorialist perspectives. Yet today large-scale globalization – including the substantial spread of supraterritoriality – should stimulate a reconstruction of methodology on alternative, nonterritorialist premises.

This call for different intellectual foundations no doubt provokes resistance

electronics, semiconductors, aircraft and construction equipment. A global production process has supraterritorial qualities inasmuch as it occurs simultaneously and with tight coordination across a transworld space.

Globality can be manifested in consumption as well as production. Many commodities are distributed and sold through global markets, sometimes in the context of a tightly coordinated supraterritorial business strategy. In this way consumers dispersed across the planet purchase the same good or service, often under a single brand name like Nike, Pepsi-Cola or Toyota. Already in the 1980s, Howard Perlmutter of the Wharton Business School identified 136 industries where a global marketing strategy had supposedly become vital to commercial success (Main, 1989: 55). The vast range of global products has come to include many raw materials, GM plants, packaged foods, bottled beverages, cigarettes, designer clothes, household articles and appliances, pharmaceuticals, music recordings, audio-visual productions, printed publications, online information services, financial instruments, office equipment, armaments, transport vehicles, travel services and much more. Citicorp has proclaimed itself to be 'your global bank', and Peter Stuyvesant has marketed itself as 'the global cigarette'. Transworld products have come to figure in the everyday lives of much of humanity, whether through actual purchases or through unfulfilled desires evoked by global advertising.

Global communications, global travel, global production and global exchange have all promoted, and been facilitated by, global money. That is, some units of account, means of payment, stores of value and mediums of exchange have transplanetary circulation. For example, the 'US' dollar, the 'Japanese' yen, the 'British' pound and other major denominations are much more than national currencies. As supraterritorial monies, they are used anywhere on earth at the same time and move (electronically and via air transport) anywhere on earth in effectively no time. In addition, the Special Drawing Right (SDR) and the euro have emerged through the IMF and the EU, respectively, as suprasubstate monies with transworld circulation. Many bankcards can extract cash in local currency from automated teller machines (ATMs) connected to supraterritorial networks like Maestro and Cirrus. Several credit cards like Visa, MasterCard and American Express can be used for payments at countless establishments in almost every country across the planet (Mandell, 1990; Ritzer, 1995). An exception like Iran stands out by outlawing global credit cards. Although not yet in wide usage, digital money can be stored on certain smart cards (so-called electronic purses) in multiple currencies at once, creating something of a global wallet.

Globality also appears in many areas of finance. For instance, most foreign exchange transactions today take place through a round-the-globe, round-the-clock market that connects the dealing rooms of New York, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore, Hong Kong, Zurich, Frankfurt and London. In global

that terminals exist to send and receive them. Much of today's globality is an 'e-world' of e-commerce, e-friendship, e-government, and e-mail. Indeed, in September 2001 the Internet allowed doctors in New York, USA to perform transoceanic robot-assisted telesurgery on a patient in Strasbourg, France (Pogue, 2001). The notion that the Internet involves new kinds of social geography is well conveyed by the term 'cyberspace' (Kitchin, 1998; Kitchin and Dodge, 2002).

Other globality occurs in the transplanetary movement of people. Global travel is undertaken by many migrant labourers, professionals, pilgrims, refugees, tourists, adventurers, adopted children and more. Relevant modes of transworld transport include caravans, ships, trains, motor vehicles and aeroplanes. Jet aircraft in particular have introduced something approaching a supraterritorial quality into contemporary global travel, as passengers can be flown between any two locations on the earth within a day. Transworld travel enables the occurrence of large global convocations like the *ha!*, professional congresses, tourist resorts, trade fairs, and United Nations summits. Transplanetary movements of domestics and sex workers have brought globalization into many a household and brothel (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002). Some business travellers have the globe as their office, working from hotels and airport lounges as much as a fixed home base. Increasing numbers of pensioners have undertaken 'retirement migration' for their sunset years (King *et al.*, 2000). Conflicts in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Somalia and elsewhere have generated global waves of refugees and asylum seekers. Although state border controls restrict global travel in many cases, millions upon millions of people each year move about the planet as a single place.

Further globality is manifested in certain production processes. In so-called 'global factories' (Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1983) or 'global commodity chains' (Gereffi and Korzeniewicz, 1994), different stages of the production of a commodity are sited at several (perhaps very widely scattered) locations on the planet. Thus, in principle, the research centre, design unit, procurement office, fabrication plant, finishing point, assembly line, quality control operation, data processing office, advertising bureau and after-sales service could each be situated in different provinces, countries and continents across the planet. Global production involves intra-firm trade within a transworld company as well as, if not more than, inter-national trade between countries. Through so-called 'global sourcing', a producer draws the required inputs from a transplanetary field, rather than being restricted to a particular country or region. Differences in local costs of labour, raw materials, regulation and taxation often figure more importantly in these business calculations than the costs of transport across territorial distance and borders between the various sites in the global production chain. This type of manufacture has developed especially in respect of textiles, clothing, motor vehicle parts, sports articles, toys, optical products, consumer

Inter Press Service, Mitsubishi, Nokia, Novartis, Standard Chartered, and Royal Dutch/Shell. In addition, many businesses have developed various types of transworld coalitions, often termed 'strategic alliances' (for instance, joint ventures, subcontracting arrangements, franchises, and so on). Highly visible examples include the One World and Sky Team airline groups. Other transplanetary organizations have mainly regulatory functions and can suitably be called global governance institutions. For instance, activities of the IMF, the WTO and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) extend across the planet. Some regionally, country-, and locally-based governance bodies like the EU, the United States government and the London municipal authorities also have significant global reach. Along with commercial and governance agencies, many civil society associations also have a global organization. They include faith-based groups like the World Fellowship of Buddhists, labour movements like the ICFTU, NGOs like Amnesty International, peasant coalitions like Via Campesina, and philanthropic bodies like the Ford Foundation. In addition, many localized civil society associations organize globally through coalitions and other networks. For example, the global Oxfam network encompassed nearly 3,000 local associations in some 80 countries in the year 2000 (Hajnal, 2002: 57, 60). Still other global organizations involve clandestine operations like transworld criminal networks (Berdal and Serrano, 2002).

Globality is further manifested in some military activities. Contemporary arsenals include a number of global weapons that can range across pretty well any distance over the earth. Examples include spy satellites, long-range bomber and surveillance aircraft, and unpiloted intercontinental missiles. Global warfare occurs when a campaign of armed combat is pursued from widely spread points across the planet. For instance, although the battlefields lay in Iraq, the 2003 war against Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath regime involved command headquarters in the USA and Qatar, air bases in Europe and Kuwait, troops and arms from several continents, and satellites in outer space. Likewise, the British military has maintained a global presence with contingents in over 80 countries as of 2002, whereas 250,000 US troops were stationed in 120 countries as of 2005 (FT, 12 July 2002). So-called 'rapid reaction forces' can be deployed anywhere on the planet within hours. UN peacekeeping operations involve multinational armies deployed anywhere on earth. Certain paramilitary groups like Al-Qaida and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) have also operated as transworld networks. The attacks of 11 September 2001 brought home as never before the potential impact of informal global militias using global communications and global finance.

Ecologically, a planetary life-support system has of course operated from the moment that the first organisms appeared on earth. However, some

banking, depositors place their savings in a global currency and/or at a global bank and/or at a global branch location such as a so-called 'offshore' financial centre. These practices contrast with territorial banking, in which clients deposit their savings in their national currency at a local or national bank within their country of residence. With transworld payments, migrant workers use global banking networks to remit some of their earnings to relations at another corner of the planet. Meanwhile global bank loans occur when a lender (or syndicate of lenders, perhaps spread across several countries) provides credit in a global currency. Thus, for example, a group of banks based in Austria, the Netherlands and the UK might issue a loan in US dollars to a borrower in the Dominican Republic. The level of interest on such a credit is generally not the prevailing national percentage, but a function of a supraterritorial benchmark like the London Inter-Bank Offered Rate (LIBOR). At the same time, micro-credit schemes in local communities can be linked to global institutions like the World Bank. Similarly, global bonds (often called 'eurobonds') involve a transworld currency as well as borrowing, investors, a syndicate of managers, and securities exchanges that are spread across multiple countries. Global financial transactions also occur on similar lines in respect of medium-term notes and short-term credit instruments like treasury bills and commercial paper. In equity markets, meanwhile, global shares are company stocks that are: (a) listed on several securities exchanges across the earth; and/or (b) held by investors spread across the planet. For their part derivatives have a global character when, for example, the same futures contract is traded simultaneously on the Chicago, Singapore and London markets, as well as through electronic links between them. Insurance policies, too, can have global coverage in a global currency and/or are handled by global companies in global financial centres. In addition, many private and institutional investors maintain global portfolios. That is, they spread their funds across banks, stocks, bonds, money-market tools, derivatives contracts and insurance policies from around the globe. Indeed, with supraterritorial dealing, a broker can buy and sell financial instruments anywhere on the planet instantaneously with a telephone call or the click of a mouse. Several major financial markets like the National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotation system (Nasdaq), set up in 1971, and its European counterpart (Easdaq), launched in 1996, have no fixed territorial meeting place at all. In sum, then, much of today's foreign exchange, banking, securities, derivatives and insurance business occurs globally and with considerable delinkage from territorial space.

Through all of the activities already mentioned, people may be globally connected through organizations, that is, associations that coordinate the activities of individuals spread across the planet. Many of these organizations pursue mainly commercial purposes as global companies (often imprecisely named 'multinational corporations'). The thousands of examples include

matters of *social* ecology can also have global qualities. Several major anthropogenic (i.e., human-induced) environmental changes have had a pronounced transworld dimension. For example, the anthropogenic greenhouse effect is allegedly producing planetary climate change, popularly known as 'global warming'. Neither the causes nor the effects of this trend can be territorially specified and restricted. Similarly, stratospheric ozone depletion (and its reversal) is largely a distanceless and borderless process. With respect to the biosphere, the contemporary more global world is experiencing major reductions in the diversity of ecosystems, in the number of species of life, and in the variety of genes that circulate within individual species. In contemporary genetic engineering, recombinant DNA techniques allow a gene to be taken from one organism anywhere on earth and put into a second organism at any other location. Another headline global ecological issue asks how many people the planet can support at one time. Further environmental conditions with global aspects include radioactive fallout, atmospheric flows of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxide (so-called 'acid rain'), the depletion of tropical moist forests, desertification, changes in sea level, marine pollution, management of ocean fish stocks, big dams, possible future shortages of fresh water and arable soil, and waste disposal in outer space. Although the severity of these various ecological problems can be debated, it is clear that none of them is confined to a particular country or region.

Sometimes closely related with ecological concerns, a number of health matters, too, have global dimensions (WHO, 2001; Lee, 2002, 2003; Prages, 2006). Since prehistory natural forces of waters and winds have transported micro-organisms across the planet. In addition, people have for many centuries carried a number of communicable diseases across and between continents, including plague, small pox, anthrax, cholera, syphilis, measles, tuberculosis and influenza. Yet contemporary times have raised the speed and magnitude of global spreads of various human, animal and plant diseases. Examples include HIV/AIDS, SARS, BSE, foot and mouth disease, and gemini viruses. For bacteria and viruses, the planet is one microbial pool in which pathogens don't carry passports. Other questions of human health with transplanetary aspects include bodily harms related to tobacco consumption, illicit drug use, and occupational conditions. In 2002 the World Health Organization (WHO) warned of a 'globesity' pandemic of overweight middle classes across the planet. Needless to say, successful strategies to address these health issues also require a partly global approach. Much globality is also found in the area of law. Countless formal rules and regulations have acquired a transworld character. The widely diverse examples include various arms control schemes, criminal laws, environmental agreements, human rights conventions, technical standards, and trade rules. In addition, some law firms have developed transworld networks of offices, while police forces have pursued transplanetary cooperation through the

International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol). Global supranational courts include the International Court of Justice (ICJ), ad hoc war crimes tribunals, and the recently established International Criminal Court (ICC). In addition, some national courts hear cases that relate to transworld issues, such as various global intellectual property claims that are brought before US tribunals.

Finally, globality is evident in social relations through global consciousness. In other words, people often think globally. In addition to holding microcosmic conceptions of the social realm as a district or a country, people can also hold macrocosmic notions, where the planet is regarded as a 'global village'. Globally minded people regard the planet as a principal source of their food supplies, their entertainments, their threats and their friends. Some workers like Ghanaian traders and Filipina domestics see the whole earth (as opposed to a particular locality or country) as their potential workplace. Transworld consciousness also takes form in certain languages (e.g., English, Esperanto and Spanish), certain icons (e.g., Coca-Cola labels), certain narratives (e.g., soap operas), certain fashions (e.g., blue jeans), certain rituals (e.g., sending postcards), and other symbols. Awareness of the planet as a single social place is furthermore evident in events like global sports competitions (including global supporters clubs for some teams), global exhibitions, global film festivals, global tours by music superstars, global conferences, and global panics (Taylor, 1997; Giulianotti, 1999). Since 1982 Disney World has taken thousands of visitors through its 'Spaceship Earth' attraction, a ride through world history (Schäfer, 2005). Over 750 properties have been placed on UNESCO's World Heritage List of sites holding 'outstanding value to humanity' since the launch of that programme in 1972 (WHC, 2004). The UN has nurtured global culture through the dedication since 1949 of over 125 decades, years, weeks and days, including a succession of Development Decades, the International Year of Indigenous Peoples, and World AIDS Day (Droti, forthcoming). In addition, global consciousness has arisen when people conceive of their social affiliations in transplanetary and supranational terms, for instance, with transworld solidarities based on class, gender, generation, profession, race, religion, sexual orientation and indeed humanity as such. Stories of aliens from outer space seem telling in this regard: the foreign other is conceived not as another nationality from another territory, but as another life form from another planet, thereby defining humanity and the earth as one.

All of the many instances of globality just described (and summarized in the following box) are discussed in greater detail later in this book, where these activities are also related to questions of deeper social structure. The present concise survey merely serves to demonstrate the widespread incidence of transplanetary – including more particularly supranational – circumstances across contemporary social life. Cumulatively, all of this global communication,

global travel, global production, global consumption, global money, global finance, global organization, global military, global ecology, global health, global law and global consciousness indicates that contemporary social relations cannot be described without extensive reference to transworld spaces.

Manifestations of globality in summary

- post
- telecommunications
- mass media

Travel

- migrant labour
- pilgrims
- refugees
- tourists
- business travellers

Production

- transworld production chains
- global sourcing of inputs

Markets

- global products
- global marketing and sales strategies

Money

- global currencies
- bank cards with access to global ATM networks
- global credit cards
- digital cash in electronic purses

Finance

- foreign exchange markets
- banking (deposits, payments and loans)
- securities markets
- derivatives trading
- insurance business

Organizations

- global commercial enterprises
- global governance agencies
- global civil society associations



Military

- global weapons
- global campaigns

Ecology

- global atmosphere (climate change, ozone depletion, radioactive fallout, acid rain)
- global biosphere (loss of biological diversity, deforestation)
- global hydrosphere (rising sea level, marine pollution, reduced fresh water)
- global geosphere (desertification, loss of arable soil)

Health

- global communicable diseases
- global aspects of diet, drug use and occupational conditions
- global campaigns of health improvement

Law

- global rules and regulations
- transworld networks of lawyers and police
- global courts

Consciousness

- conceptions of the planet as a single place
- global symbols
- global events
- transworld solidarities

Globalism

The preceding discussion has made a strong case for what globalization is, in terms of a change in social space that is both quantitatively and qualitatively significant. However, it is equally important to emphasize what the growth in transplanetary connections and the spread of supraterritoriality do *not* entail. In particular it is crucial to reject the following six non sequiturs: globalism, reification, global/local binaries, cultural homogenization, universality, and political neutrality.

First, then, the rise of transplanetary and supraterritorial connectivity in no way means that territorial space has ceased to matter. We should not replace

methodological territorialism with a globalism that looks *only* at transplanetary relations and ignores the importance of territorial spaces. We do not live in a 'borderless world' where territory is 'obsolescent' (Ohmae, 1990, 1995; O'Brien, 1992; Rosecrance, 1995; also Badie, 1995). Although contemporary history has witnessed the end of territorialism (where social space is effectively reducible to territorial grids), we have certainly not seen the end of territoriality. To say that social geography can no longer be understood in terms of territorial spaces alone is of course not to say that territoriality has become irrelevant.

On the contrary, territorial production arrangements, territorial governance mechanisms, territorial ecology and territorial identities remain highly significant at the start of the twenty-first century, even if territoriality does not monopolize the situation as before. For example, many communications links like airports, roads, railways and shipping lanes remain territorially fixed. Several recent economic studies have suggested that territorial distance remains a strong influence on trade in manufactures as well as – perhaps more surprisingly – financial assets (Portes and Rey, 1999; Aviat and Coeurdacier, 2004). In other words, people are still more likely to do foreign business with countries that are territorially closer. In addition, territorial borders continue to exert strong influences on movements of material goods and people (Helliwell, 1998). It can take months to complete the dozens of official documents required to export legally from India. Meanwhile countless localized products remain bound to particular territorial markets. Largely territorially bound commodities derived from agriculture and mining have persisted at the same time that largely supraterritorial commodities like information and communications have risen to prominence. While US dollars and Visa card payments cross the planet instantly, many other forms of money continue to have restricted circulation within a given territorial domain, and national currencies show no sign of disappearing altogether (Gilbert and Helleiner, 1999). Most people today still hold their bank accounts at a local branch or do no banking at all. Much ecological degradation is linked to specific territorial locations, for instance, of overgrazing, salination, or dumping of toxic wastes. In terms of social affiliations, some observers have suggested that territorially bound identities could even have become more rather than less significant in a world of diminishing territorial barriers (Mlinar, 1992; Harvey, 1993). Certainly territorial politics surrounding Palestine and Taiwan remain as heated as ever.

So the end of territorialism has not marked the start of globalism. The addition of supraterritorial qualities of geography has not eliminated the territorial aspects (Brenner, 1998, 1999). Indeed, as later chapters in this book indicate, contemporary globalization has been closely connected with certain forms of *re*territorialization like the rise of micro-nationalist politics, urbanization and the growth of globally connected cities, and the proliferation of offshore arrangements.

Perhaps the most striking *re*territorialization to accompany recent global-ization has been regionalization (Gamble and Payne, 1996; Frankel, 1998). Some of this regionalization has occurred within states, in cases like Flanders in Belgium or Siberia in Russia. Other regionalization has had a trans-state character, such as the Basque area across France and Spain or the Kurdish movement across Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Still other regionalization has happened intergovernmentally, in projects like the East African Community (EAC) and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). And considerable regionalization has had an unofficial character, as in citizen action initiatives like the European Social Forum (ESF) or academic networks such as the Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA).

Clearly, social space in today's world is *both* territorial *and* supraterritorial. Indeed, in social practice the two qualities always intersect. Supraterritoriality is only relatively deterritorialized, and contemporary territoriality is only partly supraterritorialized. Territorial relations are no longer purely territorial, and supraterritorial relations are not wholly non-territorial.

In short, contemporary society knows no 'pure' globality that exists independently of territorial spaces. The recent accelerated growth of supraterritoriality has brought a relative retreat from territoriality rather than its complete removal from social life. In this sense the term 'deterritorialization' can have misleading connotations and is therefore avoided in this book (O Tuathail, 1998, 2000). Global relations today substantially rather than wholly transcend territorial space. Although territoriality does not place insurmountable constraints on supraterritoriality, global flows still have to engage with territorial locations. The present world is globalizing, not totally globalized.

By the same token, however, little if any territoriality today exists independently of supraterritoriality. Most contemporary regional, country, provincial and local conditions coexist with – and are influenced by – global circumstances. Indeed, territoriality is changed by its encounters with supraterritoriality. For example, as indicated in Chapter 6, territorial states act differently in a globalizing world than in a territorialist one. Similarly, territorial identities obtain different dynamics when they are associated with global diasporas (e.g., of Armenians and Sikhs). Territorial environmental

issues like local water shortages acquire different significance when they form part of a transworld problem.

In sum, current globalization is not replacing one compact formula of spatiality (territorialism) with another (globalism). Rather, the rise of supraterritoriality is bringing greater complexity to geography – and by extension to territoriality – politics and social psychology as well. The culture, ecology, economics, history, politics and social psychology as well. The relative simplicity of a territorialist-statist-nationalist world is fading.

Reification

The preceding point regarding the interrelation of supraterritorial and territorial spaces points to a second caution, namely, regarding reification. While territorial spaces are not global or national or local or some other scale, but an intersection of global and other spatial qualities. The global is a dimension of social geography rather than a space in its own right. It is heuristically helpful to distinguish a global quality of contemporary social space, but we must not turn the global into a 'thing' that is separate from regional, national, local and household 'things'.

For example, a government may be sited at a country 'level', but it is a place where supranational, national and subnational spaces converge. Thus states are involved in transworld law and regional arrangements as well as national regulation and relations with provincial and local authorities. Likewise, firms and other actors in today's globalizing circumstances are meeting points for co-constituting transworld, regional, national and local aspects of geography. Hence the vocabulary of interconnected 'scales' is preferable to that of separated 'levels'.

Avoidance of reification is especially important in these early days of global studies. Several centuries of international studies have suffered dearly from a reified distinction between the national and the international, where the 'internal' and 'domestic' was ontologically separated from the 'external' and 'foreign'. In practice, of course, the 'inside' and the 'outside' of countries are deeply intertwined. These old errors of reifying the international must not be carried over into new research of the global.

Global/local binaries

The interrelatedness of dimensions of social space (as opposed to the existence of separate domains) suggests that it is mistaken – as many have done – to set up oppositions between the global and the local. Such a binary resurrects in new form the misguided domestic/international dichotomy of old. Typically, local/global polarizations have depicted the local as 'here', immediate and intimate, as against the global being 'there', distant and isolating. The local is concrete, grounded, authentic, and meaningful, whereas the global is abstract, unconnected, artificial and meaningless. The local purportedly provides security and community, while the global houses danger and violence. The local is innocent, the global manipulative. The local is the arena for autonomy and empowerment, the global the realm of dependence and domination. On such assumptions, some critics have rejected globalization with calls for localization (Hewison, 1999; Hines, 2000).

Yet these global/local binaries do not bear up to closer scrutiny. After all, people can have very immediate and intimate transworld relationships with each other via jet travel, telephone and Internet. In contrast, many next-door neighbours in contemporary cities do not even know each other's names. Supraterritorial communities of people (for example, sharing the same class position, disability, religious faith or sexual orientation) can have far-reaching solidarity, whereas localities can experience deep fear, hatred and intolerance. Global flows frequently involve ordinary people leading everyday lives (listening to radio and munching brand-name fast food), while various exhibits of local culture are contrived. Indigenous peoples have used transworld networks and laws to promote their self-determination, while many a local elite has exercised repression over a district. Local officials can be as inaccessible, unsympathetic, secretive, arbitrary and unaccountable as authorities in global spheres. Devolution has brought greater popular control through the regions in Spain, but it has also brought oppression through many provinces in the Russian Federation. In short, there is nothing inherently alienating about the global and nothing intrinsically liberating about the local.

Instead, both the local and the global have enabling and disabling potentials. Indeed, as already stressed, the two qualities are inseparable in social practice; so terming one circumstance 'local' and another 'global' is actually arbitrary and confusing. For example, globally mobile companies may follow locally tailored marketing strategies, while locally grounded peasants may be globalized through their televisions and religions. A social condition is not positive or negative according to whether it is local as against global, since the situation is generally both local and global at the same time. It is the particular blend of local and global (and other spatial spheres) that matters, not locality versus globality.

Cultural homogenization

The complexity of multidimensional social space likewise suggests that it is mistaken – as many observers have done – to associate globalization with homogenization. The growth of transplanetary and supraterritorial connectivity does not ipso facto reduce cultural diversity. After all, the global, the regional, the national, the provincial, and the local aspects of social space can intertwine in innumerable different combinations. Indeed, by injecting a further dimension into the geographical spectrum – thereby adding to its complexity – globalization could just as well increase cultural pluralism.

True, the contemporary world has experienced considerable cultural destruction. For example, languages have been disappearing at rates as worrying as those for species extinction (Wurm, 1996). Indigenous peoples' heritages have been undercut or erased across the planet. 'Science' has triumphed worldwide as the most authoritative form of knowledge, often running roughshod over religious and other thought (Droti *et al.*, 2003). A high tide of consumerism has seemingly imposed cultural levelling across the world, including via a multitude of global agents such as Carrefour, Michael Jackson, Microsoft, and Madison Avenue advertisers.

On the other hand, perceptions of cultural homogenization in the context of globalization can be exaggerated. For example, what appears on the surface to be the same transplanetary language can in fact harbour widely varying vocabularies and understandings across different social contexts. So the English of Nairobi markets is not the English of the Scottish Highlands, and the Spanish of East Los Angeles barrios is not the Spanish of Santiago office blocs (Rhedding-Jones, 2002). Likewise, as reception research has shown, different parts of a transworld audience can read hugely different meanings into a Hollywood blockbuster. In this regard it can be questioned how far the diverse viewers actually 'see' the same global film (Tomlinson, 1991). Similarly, global marketers often have to adjust the design and advertisement of transworld products in ways that appeal to diverse cultural contexts. Even an icon of global Americanization like McDonald's varies its menu considerably across the planet in relation to local sensibilities, with kosher Big Macs in Jerusalem, vegetable McNuggets in New Delhi, and McHuevo in Montevideo (Watson, 2000: 122). Even global laws like labour standards could be applied variably in accordance with local contexts. Thus globalization is also glocalization (Robertson, 1992: 173–4; Kraidy, 1999; Salcedo, 2003).

In any case, losses of cultural diversity are not intrinsic to globalization as such. On the contrary, transplanetary and supraterritorial relations can host great cultural heterogeneity (cf. Breidenbach and Zukrigl, 1998). For instance, female genital cutting remains a matter of heated global cultural

multiple world religions occupy sites on the

Internet, and all manner of peoples from racial diasporas to sexual minorities have formed transworld associations.

Indeed, globalization has offered opportunities to reassess cultural distinctiveness. For example, indigenous peoples have used UN mechanisms and electronic mass media to promote their particularity (Dowmunt, 1993; Wilmer, 1993). Various movements of religious revivalism have used global communications like Internet and satellite television to considerable effect in advancing their causes. As elaborated in Chapter 7, globalization has also promoted the growth of a host of other supraterritorial identities.

By breaking down territorial distances that previously effected considerable segregation of cultures, globalization can also foster innovative blends of traditions. For example, ethnic minority youth in Frankfurt-am-Main have combined aspects of African-American rap music and hip-hop culture with elements of their North African and Turkish heritages to create novel modes of expression for their hybrid identities in contemporary Germany (Bennett, 1999). So-called 'world music' has mixed different strains to the point that the original elements are no longer distinguishable. Similarly, fusion cooking combines elements of traditional cuisines from widely scattered parts of the planet to create new menus. Some observers take such developments as evidence that contemporary globality is increasingly less west-centric (Appiah and Gates, 1997: ix; Leclerc, 2000).

In any case, it is clear that globalization can have heterogenizing as well as homogenizing effects. There can be, and are, many globalizations (Berger and Huntington, 2002). Globalization can – and many argue should – be pursued under a rainbow motif of diversity. The overall balance between cultural divergence and convergence lies not in globality as such, but in the way that transworld relations are handled. The social power relations that shape planetary connections are particularly important in this regard. Thus, to the extent that cultural imperialism afflicts contemporary history, it is largely a problem of the voracity of western modernity rather than an outcome of globalization per se.

Universality

A further qualification to notions of globalization as increased transworld and supraterritorial connectivity must note that the trend has not touched all of humanity to the same extent. Globality links people *anywhere* on the planet, but it does not follow that it connects people *everywhere*, or everywhere to the same degree. To repeat the earlier disclaimer, under the definition suggested here globalization is not universalization. On the contrary, the incidence of contemporary transplanetary connectivity has varied considerably in relation to territorial location and social status. Indeed, some people continue to live lives that are relatively untouched by globality.

In terms of territorial position, global networks have generally involved populations of North America, Western Europe and East Asia more than people in other world regions. For example, although McDonald's had over 25,000 outlets in 119 countries as of June 1999, four-fifths of them were found in just 10 countries (Watson, 2000: 122–3). Variations in the intensity of globality have also occurred among regions within countries. For example, coastal provinces of China have undergone greater globalization than the interior of the country. In the USA, residents of Silicon Valley have been more enveloped in global communications than inhabitants of the Dakotas. Across the earth, patterns of contemporary globalization have broadly followed urban–rural lines, with cities and towns generally experiencing more trans-planetary connectivity than countryside.

With regard to social position, wealthy people have on the whole accessed transworld relations more than the poor. While those with the means rush from their global bank to the airport lounge, hundreds of millions of low-income people alive today have never made a telephone call. With respect to gender, men have generally linked up to the Internet much more than women (HDR, 1999: 62). Other patterns of uneven entry to, and benefit from, global flows can be discerned in respect of civilization and race.

Contemporary globality has not been an exclusively Northern, urban, elite, male, western, white preserve. At the territorial margins, for example, transworld links have extended to remote villages in Africa (Pior, 1999; Mendonsa, 2001). At the social margins, the homeless of Rio de Janeiro often request a television even before they demand running water (Mariana, 2002). Yet, although globality may have become pervasive, prevailing cultural frameworks, resource distributions and power relationships have produced a highly uneven spread of transplanetary and supraterritorial relations in today's world.

Political neutrality

The foregoing remarks concerning unequal opportunities to use and shape transworld connections highlight the thoroughly political character of globalization. Human geography is no more politically neutral than any other aspect of social relations like culture or economics. Space always involves politics: processes of acquiring, distributing and exercising social power. A social field is never a level field. Thus transplanetary and supraterritorial connections invariably house power relations and associated power struggles, whether latent or overt. Global links are venues of conflict and cooperation, hierarchy and equality, opportunity and its denial.

Indeed, nothing in globalization is apolitical. Even seemingly tame questions of transplanetary technical harmonization have provoked power struggles. For example, in the nineteenth century the British and French

governments competed to have the prime meridian (for the measure of longitude and universal standard time) pass through their respective capitals, with Greenwich eventually winning out. More recently, different computer operating systems have offered users different degrees of initiative and control (Raymond, 1999). It is illusory to think that anything in globality can be divorced from issues of power – and thus also justice.

Any analysis of globalization must therefore examine the political aspects involved. On the one hand, these politics involve actors: that is, power relations among individuals, households, associations, firms and governance organizations. In addition, the politics of globalization involve social structures: that is, power relations between genders, between races, between people holding different sexual orientations, and so on. Like any significant historical trend, the growth of transplanetary and supraterritorial connections empowers some people and disempowers others.

So, as a political process, globalization is about contests between different interests and competing values. The spread of globality is – and cannot but be – normatively laden and politically charged. It is important to determine whose power rises and whose suffers under currently prevailing practices of globalization and to consider whether alternative policies could have better political implications.

Indeed, much of the politics of globalization is about choices. True, powerful forces connected with dominant actors, deep social structures and long-term historical processes have promoted the recent large-scale expansion of transplanetary and supraterritorial connectivity. However, all social actors – including the writer and readers of this book – have opportunities (admittedly unequal) to respond to and mould this trend.

Multiple globalizations are possible. There is nothing inevitable about the scope, speed, direction and consequences of the trend. In particular, as stressed earlier, globalization as a geographical process and neoliberalism as a political project are not the same thing. Alternative paths of globalization might be more desirable than the directions that have prevailed over the past quarter-century. Personal and collective decisions (both active and passive) can make a substantial difference.

These ethical choices and political moves include the way that one defines globalization. As ever, theory and practice are inseparable. Who gets to define globalization, and who benefits (and loses) from the resultant definition? In particular, does a given conception of globalization help or hurt the subordinated and the oppressed? Each definition and associated understanding of globality reflects certain interests and political positions and feeds into struggles to sustain or alter prevailing power relations.

Hence part of the justification for the definition of globalization adopted here must be political. To address the challenges of contemporary society

people need a conception of globalization that not only provides intellectual clarification, but also helps to make relevant, wise, responsible and empowering decisions. As the third part of this book suggests, notions of globality as transplanetary and supraterritorial connectivity can well serve the promotion of human security, social equality, and democracy in contemporary history.

Conclusion

This book argues that, when defined in a particular geographical fashion, notions of 'globality' and 'globalization' can be valuable additions to the conceptual toolkit for understanding social relations. Yes, much globe-talk of recent years has revealed nothing new. And yes, loose thinking and careless politics have devalued many ideas of 'globalization'. However, these shortcomings do not discredit the concept in every form. After all, widespread sloppy usage of other key ideas – 'class', 'democracy', 'rationality' and 'soul', to name but a few – has not been reason to discard these notions altogether.

On the contrary, a definition of globalization as a respatialization of social life opens up new knowledge and engages key policy challenges of current history in a constructively critical manner. Notions of 'globality' and 'globalization' can capture, as no other vocabulary, the present ongoing large-scale growth of transplanetary – and often also supraterritorial – connectivity. Such an insight offers a highly promising entry point for research and action on contemporary history.

To reiterate, this conception of globalization has a distinctive focus. It is different from ideas of internationalization, liberalization, universalization and westernization. The transterritorial connections of globality are different from the inter-territorial connections of internationality. The transborder transactions of globality are different from the open-border transactions of liberality. The transplanetary simultaneity and instantaneity of supraterritoriality is different from the worldwideness of universality. The geographical focus of globality is different from the cultural focus of western modernity. Although globalization as defined in this book has some overlap with, and connections to, internationalization, liberalization, universalization and westernization, it is not equivalent to any of these older concepts and trends. Of course, the conception of globalization elaborated in this chapter is in no way intended to be the last word about what the term might mean. As stressed earlier, no definition is definitive. The aim of this book is not to issue a final pronouncement, but to offer ever-provisional ideas that provoke further reflection, debate and, in time no doubt, another rewrite of this text.

Chapter 3

Globalization in History

Main points of this chapter
 Intimations of globality: to the nineteenth century
 Incipient globalization: to the mid-twentieth century
 Contemporary accelerated globalization
 Conclusion

Main points of this chapter

- when understood as transworld connectivity, globality has figured (at least marginally and in prototypical forms) in human history for centuries
- transplanetary relations, including some with supraterritorial qualities, experienced growth to unprecedented levels from around the middle of the nineteenth century
- the main, greatly accelerated rise of globality, including pronounced supraterritorial aspects, has occurred since the middle of the twentieth century

Where is globalization located historically? When did globality first become part of social relations? How has globalization spread over time? How does the extent of contemporary globality compare with the scale of earlier periods? How far will globalization figure in future society?

Next to arguments over definition, some of the most frequent and deepest debates about globalization concern its history. The two issues are inextricably linked, of course. Different definitions generate different chronologies and periodizations.

The principal debate regarding the history of globalization is whether this development is new or old. On the one hand, proponents of a novelty thesis assert that globalization is entirely recent. Globalists tend to adopt this position that contemporary society is experiencing something that no previous time has known. In contrast, proponents of an 'old-hat' argument affirm that today's globalization repeats earlier scenarios and/or is part of far longer historical processes. Conceptions of globalization as internationalization, liberalization, universalization and westernization tend to hold a longer chronology.