A detailed engraving of a triumphal procession. In the center, a chariot is pulled by a team of horses, carrying a figure. Above the chariot, several flags are held aloft, with inscriptions like 'Ego', 'Egula', and 'Ecto'. To the left, a figure plays a trumpet, with 'Musæ' written above. To the right, a large eagle is depicted. Below the eagle, the text 'Bellona Timor Fames Eggesta Futura' is visible. In the foreground, a woman stands with a scale of justice, and another figure is seated. The background is filled with various allegorical figures and Latin text, including 'Pax', 'Victoria', and 'Dignitas'.

Nationalism in International Context

8. Globalisation-The End of Nations?

4 December 2012

Globalisation

- **Cosmopolitanism** and world citizenship are over **2500 years old**;
- The word 'global' is 400 years old, but the words 'globalism' and '**globalization**' date from **1960**.

Role of technology

McLuhan's 'global village', c. 1962

- TV and print media: **eclipse of space**
- synchronized, **simultaneous**, global village
- Individualism
- Global Consciousness
- A **Utopian dream** rather than reality?



The Globalisation Debate

- **Definitions**

- **Giddens:** ‘intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities’
- **Held:** ‘extent, intensity, velocity and impact of world-wide interconnectedness’

- **‘Camps’**

- **Neoliberal Globalists:** Kenichi Ohmae
- **‘Third Way’ Globalists:** David Held, Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck, Daniele Archibugi
- **Skeptics:** Hirst, Thompson, Mann, Smith.

Major Realms

1. ***Material***: technological, economic (trade, finance, global economic institutions, Euro/NAFTA institutions, TNCs)
2. ***Political***: NGOs, international bodies (regional, international), transnational bodies (EU), international civil society
3. ***Cultural***: scientific, mass/consumer culture, new class/elite culture, ideology, civil society?, international migration, tourism.

Material Globalisation

- **TECHNOLOGY:** internet, satellite TV, mobile phone networks, air travel
 - Step change in extent and intensity
- **ECONOMIC:** international **trade** in goods; global financial **markets** (trading of financial assets); global economic **institutions** (WTO, IMF, World Bank); EU/NAFTA and other **supranational economic institutions**.
 - Again, late 20th. C. step change.

Neoliberal Globalisation

- Economic principle: **theory of comparative advantage.**
 - If England and Portugal both try and produce milk and wine, the total will be less than if each specialised.
Global trade maximises specialisation and wealth
- **Factors of production** (labour, resources, capital) **flow** to where they are most productively used
- Factors flow **until productivity = price.**
 - If labour costs less in India than Britain but is as productive, then capital will flow from Britain to India (or labour moves from India to Britain).

Nationalism as the Bugbear of Neoclassical Economics

- National barriers are ‘**autarkic**’ and impede the efficiency of global markets
- The reason why capital cannot flow to where it is needed is due to **local barriers** (i.e. licenses, taxes, rules, patronage)
- Also **language, customs, culture**, nationalist desire not to be ‘owned’ by foreigners.

Nationalism as Barrier to the Free Market

- Factors of production blocked by nationalism: economic models always contrast free market with ‘autarkic’ inefficiency
- **Labour** flows are blocked by anti-immigrant sentiment
- **Resource** flows are blocked by those who decry the foreign control of ‘our’ resources
- **Capital** flows are blocked by capital controls, taxes, and resentful/uncooperative locals who make investment risky or raise transaction costs
- Nationalists **resist foreign capital owners**, land owners, employers, foreign goods, foreign culture.

Why not a Global Polity?

- You **need enforcement** of property rights, provision of public goods (i.e. utilities, regulation), so you need a **polity**
- Global polity is the ideal
- But given that it is unrealistic, **regionalisation is often seen as a first step**
 - EU as prototype, along with treaty organisations like ASEAN, NAFTA.

Ohmae's Neoliberal Globalisation

- States no longer the optimal economic unit
- **Regions** (Ontario-Michigan, Hong Kong-Canton) are **trans-national** and **more optimal**
- Cheaper resources for non-nations without nationalist hang-ups; can source anything globally
 - E.g., Singapore has cheaper food than Japan
- **Nation-states no longer provide** the 4 'I's: investment, industry, information and individuals
- A **TNC can source** or locate all these globally.

[ctnd.] Ohmae's Neoliberal Globalisation

- Firm can source capital in London, locate industrial plant in Malaysia, tap information from a database in Tokyo and hire individuals in California to design factory layouts
- **Enabled by digital technology**; communications
- TNCs or new MNEs have **no national identity**
- Financial decisions made with global operations in mind and **global profitability**
- Personnel are **recruited and promoted on merit**, nationally diverse
- High-tax, low-productivity, **over-regulated locations** will increasingly be **bypassed** by TNCs.

From Economics to Politics

- **‘Spillover’ theory:** As economic fields expand, you need politics to expand with it
- **Need to regulate transactions,** prosecute criminals, coordinate macroeconomic policy, provide public goods, protect property rights
- **Social democratic argument:** need to ensure **redistribution** from wealthy to poor, labour regulation, environmental standards, deal with information inequalities (i.e. supranational welfare state).

Political Globalisation

- **Regulation of anarchy** between states spawns international law, international organisations
- International institutions (UN)
- Regional institutions (EU)
- Do these institutions **entrench** national sovereignty through inter-governmentalism and national recognition **or** do they **transcend national sovereignty**?
- NGOs like WWF, Oxfam: lobby UN, national governments, WTO. Have global operations.

Normative Case for Global Governance

- **Environmental challenges** (ozone, global warming) know no bounds
- **Health challenges** (AIDS, superbugs)
- **Scientific issues** (biotechnology)
- **Labour**: child labour, trade union
- **Corporate regulation**: stakeholder consultation and corporate governance
- **Welfare**: modicum of redistribution from wealthy to poor nations
- **Democracy**: poor having some say in major decisions taken in developed world
- **D. Held**: multi-tier global polity

Held's Democratic Globalisation

- **Multiple levels** of power required
 - Global, regional, national, local
- Global governance is needed, but **not to exclusion of the national**
- **Ideas matter**: cosmopolitan democracy can make a difference
- People **already participate** in decision-making at various levels (local, EU, national, NGO)
- We need to **rethink governance and democracy**.

Skeptics: M. Mann

- **Five networks:** local, national, inter-national, transnational, global
- Local has diminished, rest have strengthened
- National + transnational networks **expand in tandem**
 - E.g., national + international transport/trade in 19th C.
- State **already lost power** in certain areas in **19th C.** - i.e. religion. But gained elsewhere.
 - Always ebbing and flowing state power in different realms
- Much of what we speak of as globalisation is in fact **traditional cross-border transnationalism** between developed countries
 - E.g., Canada is US' largest trading partner and this share has risen in past few decades despite talk of Asia-Pacific.

[ctnd.] Skeptics/Mann

- 80 pc of global production still domestic market-driven
- TNCs heavily **intertwined with 'home' state** and its politics (e.g., Finland-Nokia; Sony-Japan)
- Even international finance has many national constraints
- Inconceivable that **wealthy countries' working class** would accept a standard of living similar to Third World proletariat
- Global economic institutions always broker an ebb and flow toward freedom or autarky
 - [...] as in 19th C. with Corn Laws vs. anti-Corn Law lobbies in Britain.

[ctnd.2] Skeptics/Mann

- Industrial capital less mobile than financial; **‘real’ economy less so than virtual one**
- State expansion in terms of government spending as % of GDP is a postwar development and continues
- **State remains strong** in US and East Asia, growing in strength elsewhere as nations build and develop welfare states. This deepens national network
- **EU - important transnationalism** here, but **limited**. EU spends only 1.37% of European GDP prior to expansion. (Also intergovernmentalism, Euro-skepticism, much trade is still between neighbours)
- **New sub-state nationalisms** further nationalist ideal rather than detracting from it.

Hirst & Thompson

- Real democratic **legitimacy** rests at **state level**
- **Poor countries** (i.e. Iraq, Afghanistan) **need firm state order** to have security for development
- NGOs lobby the state and act through it. **You need a monopolist** on the use of force
- **Unaccountability of many elite global layers**
 - Problem of credible democratic constituencies for NGOs, other layers of governance.
- Movement from city-state to nation worked, but next step is much more difficult.

Cultural Globalisation

- Scientific discourse in **English**
- **Cosmopolitan class/elite** identity, global lifestyle identities based on international experience (academic, business, NGO)
- **Global civil society**
- **Increased diversity and hybridity** brought on by international migration
- **Increased cultural exchange**, tourism, shared material experience (global goods and mass culture of Hollywood).

[cntd.] Cultural Globalisation

- **Held:** moving from economic, political globalisation **to culture and law**
- **Waters: symbols** are most easily **globalised**. Political economists underplay role of cultural globalisation
- Waters: material (inc. human beings) relationships *localize*, power relationships *internationalize*, **symbolic relationships *globalize***
- **Ohmae:** globalisation of culture accompanies economic globalisation
- **Giddens: intertwining** of local and global.

Giddens on Cultural Globalisation

- **Modernisation and globalisation** fundamentally linked
- Globalisation alters our sense of what is local or national. Our **lifeworld includes global imagery and culture** alongside local and national
- Our **perception of space changes** as mediated images from distant events/culture inhabit our daily life
- **Expert systems are universal** in extent and impact; carry risks
 - A decision in New York can affect a Sudanese Village.

Cultural Skeptics

- **Culture is not identity**
 - E.g., Pakistani Militant in Chicago Bears t-shirt.
- **W. Connor:** globalisation of culture can lead to **hardening of identity** as **in nations** that lost cultural difference (i.e. Ireland)
- **Kotkin & Huntington:** global communications enables **long-distance nationalism**; diaspora ties
- **Smith:** improved communication technology enables **nationalist message**
 - E.g., cassettes and spread of Iranian revolution, radio and Hutu massacre, TV and Serbian nationalism.

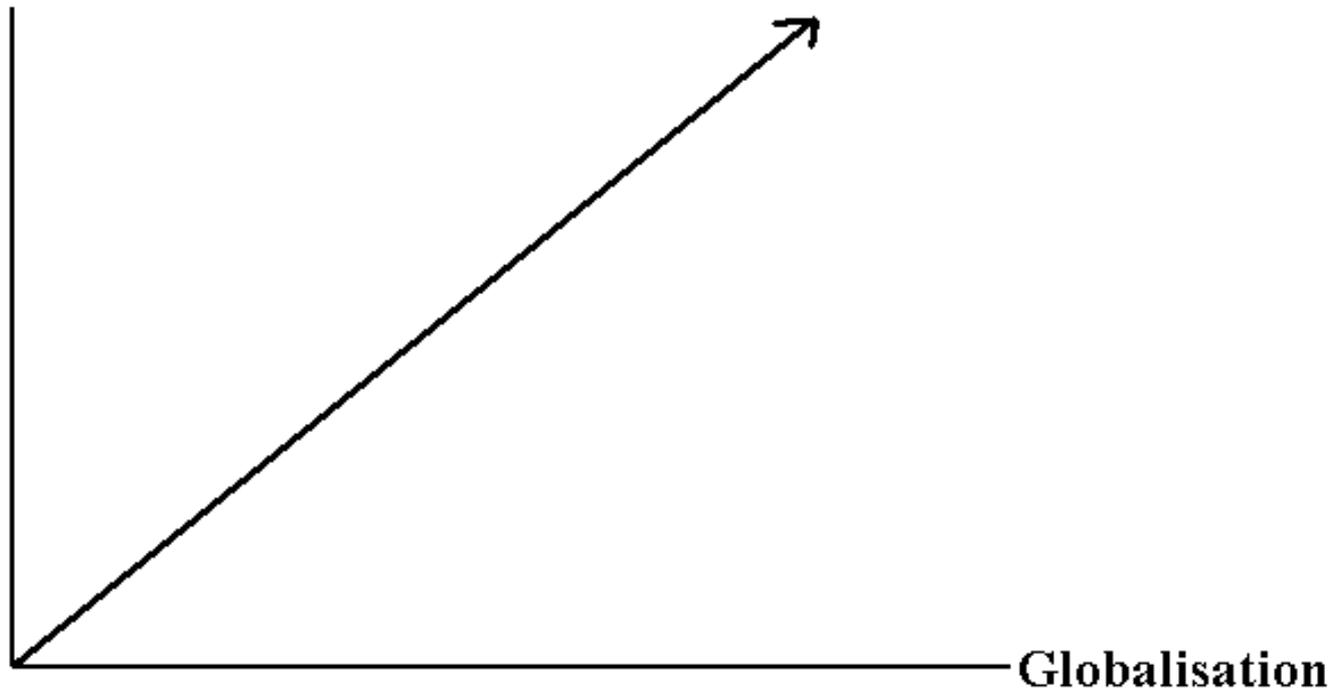
Smith's Skepticism

- Global scientific-technical networks have **no symbolic depth** and do not resonate
- Neither scientific modernism nor pastiche of diversity offer what **even empires** had in the way of **symbolism**
 - Older **cosmopolitan imperial projects** fell apart, but were sustained by symbolic repertoires **with historical depth and particularist ethnic origin.**

Are Globalists Techno-determinists?

Globalisation in Classical Modernisation Theory

Techno-Economic Change



Bell's Theory of Modernisation

THE TWO FACES OF GLOBALIZATION

SOCIAL SPHERE	TECHNO- ECONOMIC	POLITICO- CULTURAL
AXIAL PRINCIPLE	REFLEXIVE RATIONALITY	LIBERTY/EQUALITY
GLOBAL PROCESS	MODERNIZATION	COSMOPOLITANISM

Modernisation can be Cosmopolitan or Nationalist

The Cosmopolitan Effect (or Lack Thereof)

