

GSCHE 2A06
Introduction to Globalization
OVERHEADS

What is a theme school?

What is the theme school on globalization, social change and the human experience all about?

Who is William Coleman? Can he really teach this course?

What will we do in the course?

- course objectives
- course content
- self-directed learning skills
- requirements
- books and readings
- office hours

Who are you and what do you expect to learn in this course?

2. The Global Field: Historical Perspectives

Introductory Comments

- Fernand Braudel remarked that “Europe invented historians and then made good use of them” .
Accurate?
- Europeans also developed a Eurocentric view of geography.
- According to André Gunder Frank, history has often run through a “tunnel of time from the ancient Egyptians and Mesopotamians, to the classical Greeks and Romans, through medieval (western) Europe to modern times. Persians, Turks, Arabs, Indians and Chinese received at best polite, and often not so polite bows. Other peoples like Africans, Japanese, Southeast Asians, and Central Asians received no mention as contributors to or even participants in history at all, except as ‘barbarian’ nomadic hordes who periodically emerged out of Central Asia to make war on ‘civilized’ settled peoples.”
- Europe did not pull itself up thanks to any kind of European ‘exceptionalism’ of rationality, institutions, entrepreneurship, technology, geniality, in a word--of race.
- Early modern Europe was neither more advanced in

any way than other regions of the world, nor more important in the world economy.

Some core concepts for looking at globalization

1. Some Space-Time Dimensions

Extensity: to what extent do social, political, economic and cultural activities stretch across frontiers such that events, decisions and activities in one region of the world can come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe?

Intensity: to what extent are connections across borders regularized such that there is a detectable growing magnitude of interconnectedness, patterns of interaction and flows which transcend the constituent societies and states of the world order?

Velocity: to what extent are global interconnections speeding up as the development of worldwide systems of transport and communication increase the potential velocity of the global diffusion of ideas, goods, information, capital and people?

Impact: to what extent is the deepening enmeshment of the local and global such that the impact of distant events is magnified while even the most local events can be seen to have global consequences?

2. Some Organizational Dimensions

What kind of physical, legal/regulative or symbolic *infrastructures* facilitate or carry global flows, networks and relations?

To what extent are global networks, flows and relations *institutionalized* (patterns are regularized)?

To what extent are the organization, distribution and exercise of power transformed? What is the distinctive pattern of global *stratification*?

What is the dominant *mode of interaction*? Imperial or coercive, cooperative, competitive, conflictual? What are the primary instruments of power--economic, military, knowledge?

2a. The nation-state

2.a.1 Why should we focus on the European conception of the nation-state?

2.a.2 The Previous Situation

territory was fragmented into many small autonomous polities.

control over territory was perpetually in dispute
political power tended to be rather *local* and *personal* in focus

ongoing competition between spiritual and secular authority

2.a.3 Moving toward the modern state: the absolutist rulers

absorbed smaller and weaker political units into larger and stronger political structures

showed a strengthened ability to rule over a unified territorial area

beginnings of a uniform system of law and of a centralized administrative structure

2.a.4 The modern state and “sovereignty From “subjects” to “citizens”

The state: an organization which controls the population occupying a definite territory, that is differentiated from other organizations operating in the territory, is autonomous, is centralized and its divisions are formally coordinated with one another. Undergirding these characteristics there will be an impersonal and privileged legal order which delimits how that organization will control the given territory.

Sovereignty: the untrammelled and undivided power to make laws; it is the right to impose laws generally on all subjects regardless of their consent.

Where does sovereign authority properly lay? With the state, the ruler, or the “people”? For the French philosopher Rousseau, sovereignty lay with the people.

What limits exist and how much scope is there for state action?

2.a.5 Forms of the Modern State

1. *Constitutionalism or the constitutional state*
2. *The liberal state*

3. *Liberal or representative democracy.*

Representative means that decisions affecting a population are not taken by that population as a whole but by a sub-group of “representatives” who have been elected by “the people” to govern within the framework of the rule of law.

Its distinguishing institutions include:

- constitutional entrenchment of control over government policy in elected officials

- the establishment of mechanisms for the choice and peaceful removal of elected officials in frequent, fair and free elections

- the right to vote for all adults, however defined.

- the right to run for office

- an effective right to freedom of expression, including the freedom to criticize the conduct of government and the socio-economic system in which it is embedded

- accessible sources of information other than those controlled by government or by any other single body or group

- an established right to form and join independent associations, whether they be political social or cultural, that could shape public life through legitimate, peaceful means

2.a.6 Liberal Democracy and capitalism

	Liberal Democracies	Authoritarian or one party states
Market-oriented economies	Canada, US, France, Germany, Australia etc.	Mexico, Nigeria, Ghana
Centralized command economies		Former East bloc countries, Others?

2.a.7 Citizenship, Political rights, Civil rights

civil rights: those necessary for the establishment of individual autonomy (able to reflect upon and take decisions about the basic conditions of life)

Political rights then are those that are necessary for participation in the exercise of political power in a given polity

2.b The System of States

2.b.1 Introduction

2.b.1 The Westphalian States System

- 1. The world consists of, and is divided by, sovereign states which recognize no sovereign authority.*
- 2. The processes of law-making, the settlement of disputes and the law enforcement are largely in the hands of individual states.*
- 3. International law is orientated to the establishment of minimal rules of coexistence; the creation of enduring relationships among states and peoples is an aim, but only to the extent that it allows national and political objectives to be met.*
- 4. Responsibility for cross-border wrongful acts is a 'private matter' concerning only those affected.*
- 5. All states are regarded as equal before the law: legal rules do not take account of asymmetries of power.*
- 6. Differences among states are ultimately settled by force; virtually no legal fetters exist to curb the resort to force; international legal standards afford minimal protection*
- 7. The minimization of impediments to state freedom is the 'collective' priority.*

2.b.3 The “long peace” of the 19th Century

The Great Transformation, Karl Polanyi

	Political	Economic/ private
International	“Balance of power”	Gold Standard and <i>Haute Finance</i>
National	Liberal state	National self-regulating market

2.b.4 The postwar international order and the United Nations

1. *The world community consists of sovereign states, connected through a dense network of relations, both ad hoc and institutionalized. Individuals and groups are regarded as legitimate actors in international relations (albeit with limited roles).*
2. *Certain peoples oppressed by colonial powers, racist regimes or foreign occupants are assigned rights of recognition and a determinate role in articulating their future and interests.*
3. *There is a gradual acceptance of standards and values which call into question the principle of effective power;*

accordingly, major violations of given international rules are not in theory to be regarded as legitimate.

Restrictions are placed on the resort to force, including the unwarranted use of economic force.

4. New rules, procedures and institutions designed to aid law-making and law enforcement in international affairs are created.

5. Legal principles delimiting the form and scope of the conduct of all members of the international community, and providing a set of guidelines for the structuring of international rules, are adopted.

6. Fundamental concern is expressed for the rights of individuals, and a corpus of international rules is created seeking to constrain states to observe certain standards in the treatment of all, including their own citizens.

7. The preservation of peace, the advancement of human rights and the establishment of greater social justice are the stated collective priorities; 'public affairs' include the whole of the international community. With respect to certain values--peace, the prohibition of genocide--international rules now provide in principle for the personal responsibility of state officials and the attribution of criminal acts to states.

8. Systematic inequalities among peoples and states are recognized and new rules--including the concept of the common heritage of mankind--are established to create

ways of governing the distribution, appropriation, and exploitation of territory, property and natural resources.

2.b.5 An emerging global order?

2.c Imperialism

2.c.1 What is an empire?

The word “empire” can be traced to the Latin word *imperium* and to *imperare* which means *to command*.

an extensive aggregate of territories ruled over by an emperor or by a sovereign state.

2.c.2 What might be the relationship between imperialism and globalization?

2.c.3 Background Information: The Roman, Ottoman and British Empires

Gradually, the Roman Empire spread to:

Spain and Portugal (Iberia), France (Gaul), Britain
other smaller areas of central Europe (western Germany, Switzerland)

to North Africa including present-day Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt

to the Near East including present-day Israel, Jordan and Lebanon

to the territories across the Adriatic Sea (present-day Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Macedonia, Greece) and then along the coast of the Aegean Sea to present-day Turkey.

The Ottoman Empire at its height covered much of the present-day Middle East and parts of North Africa and then many of the states along the Eastern Mediterranean including the Balkan states. It reached inland to present-day Rumania, Bulgaria, Armenia plus some of the Muslim territories in the former Soviet Union.

Estimates of its population composition taken in the 19th century show it has having Ottoman Turks (35%), Arabs, 13.8%, Romanians, 11.4%, Bulgarians, 7.85, Serbo-croatians, 7%, Armenians 6.5%, Greeks, 5.5% Albanians, 3.1 % plus a number of even smaller groups.

Muslims formed the largest religious group in the empire and dominated the political leadership.

The British Empire

At its height in the 19th century, it included Canada in North America plus many islands in the Caribbean
small parts of South America

New Zealand, Australia and various small islands in Oceania

India, Pakistan, Burma in South Asia

Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore in SE Asia

significant parts of East, West and South Africa.

“the sun never sets on the British Empire”

2.c.4 How did these Empires conceive of living together and what steps did they take to act on these integrative ideals?

Rome a policy of cultural integration and assimilation

Emperor
Senate
Equestrians
Plebeians
Slaves

Avenues to citizenship: designation by the centre or service in the military.

Took the auspices, i.e., they looked for omens

The Ottoman Empire

Gradual acceptance of religious differences (*millet*)

Equal citizenship for all

Limited, if any, recognition of nationality

The British Empire

Primary motive for growth was economic expansion

No common citizenship

Local self-government

2.c.5 Why did these Empires fall?

Rome: fragmentation at the centre

Ottoman, British: nationalism

2.c.6 An American Empire? American Imperialism?

theorists of *dependencia* or “dependency theory”

dependency refers to a relationship between two societies where the capacity of one society to develop is restricted or conditioned by another.

Development here refers to a society which has some capacity to initiate change on its own in ways designed to realize its own social, economic and cultural goals and to employ its own natural resources toward those ends.

The society adapts itself to its environment on its own initiative. It makes the major choices on how to deploy and use its resources.

In a dependent society, these choices are usually made in a dominant society. It finds itself geared to realizing not its own goals, but those of another, dominant society.

Other aspects: foreign control and ownership of the economy; the development of clientele social classes.

	Early Modern 14th to 18th C	Modern (19th-20th C)	Contemporary
Extensity	largely intraterritorial and intra regional, but beginnings of imperial expansion	global empires global system of nation-states emerges	global states system global political order regionalization of politics and interregionalism
Intensity	Low volume, but nodes of intensity when political and economic competitors meet and clash	Increasing volume and expansion of interconnections	Unprecedented level of flows, agreements, networks, inter-connections

Velocity	Limited, sporadic	Increasing	Speeding up as 'real time' communication emerges
Impact propensity	Low	Increasing	High
Infrastructures	Minimal	Emergence of international and transnational organizations and regimes	High: inter-connectedness
Institutionalization	Minimal; beginnings of development of diplomacy	Tentative development of rules, regimes, international law	Marked development of international law etc.

Stratification	Eurocentric world order begins Political organization weak	Political, economic, military hierarchy concentrated in North/West	North/South hierarchy eroded
Modes of interaction	Rivalry, 'limited war' Imperialist	Development of total war Imperialist	'Reasons of state' pursued within emerging collaborative framework Geo-Economic End of Empire

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SECTION 3: THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF GLOBALIZATION

3.a.1 The Information Technology Revolution?

. . . The history of life, as I read it, is a series of stable states, punctuated at rare intervals by major events that occur with great rapidity and help to establish the next stable era. Stephen J. Gould

My starting point . . . is that, at the end of the twentieth century, we are living through one of these rare intervals in history. An interval characterized by the transformation of our 'material culture' by the works of a new technological paradigm organized around information technologies. Manuel Castells

Information technologies: microelectronics, computing, telecommunications/broadcasting and optoelectronics, genetic engineering.

What is a technological revolution?

a pattern of discontinuity in the material basis of economy, society, and culture

impact is *pervasive*: penetrate all domains of human activity, as the fabric in which such activity is woven.

3.a.1.1 What is special about the information technology revolution?

Castells writes “What characterizes the current technological revolution is not the centrality of knowledge and information, but the application of such knowledge and information to knowledge generation and information processing/communication devices, in a cumulative feedback loop between innovation and the uses of innovation.”

New technologies over the past two decades go through three distinct stages:

- automation of tasks
- experimentation of uses
- reconfiguration of applications

For the first time in history, the human mind is a direct productive force, not just a decisive element of the production system.

3.a.1.2 Why might we argue that information technology brings with it a “revolution” like the industrial revolution?

To qualify as a revolution, the technology will need to bring a period of “accelerating and unprecedented technological change”.

What social and economic conditions existed in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries that permitted significant innovation to take place?

technological breakthroughs come in clusters, interacting with each other in a process of increasing returns. Hence innovation is not an isolated occurrence.

have present a certain level of knowledge, a certain availability to skills to define a technical problem and to solve it, and an economic mentality to make the application cost-efficient

there is a network of producers and users who can communicate their experiences cumulatively, learning by doing and using.

milieux of innovation

Producing a “revolution” however requires more even than these milieux of innovation. The innovations have to bring about significant change to core processes of activity in the given society.

The core of the argument: The information technology revolution involves significant technological changes that act on information. By making the assembling and application of information much easier and cheaper, information technologies have the potential to have an impact on all forms of human activity. Virtually all aspects of our individual and collective lives involve the receipt, assimilation, and application of information.

Accordingly, we have a series of technological changes that are:

pervasive

▶ *that are interrelated or networked* which seems to facilitate increasingly complex interactions and to lead to unpredictable consequences with considerable creative power.

flexible. Have the effect of leading to the reorganization of institutions or even their fundamental change by rearranging their components.

convergence of the technologies into an *integrated system.*

3.a.1.3 What happened in the early 1970s to make this kind of change possible?

1. Micro-electronics

Transistor ➡ Semi-conductor ➡ Micro-processor

2. *Computers*

ENIAC (Electronic Numerical Integrator and Calculator)

Ed Roberts, Steve Wozniak and Steve Jobs, Bill Gates and Paul Allen

3. *Telecommunications*

4. *Biotechnology.*

gene splicing and recombinant DNA

3.a.1.4 Why has the United States of America had the dominant initial role in the Information Technology Revolution?

Silicon Valley

Role of government

3.a.1.5 Why has the Information Technology Revolution facilitated globalization?

Globalization refers to a process whereby the boundaries and imagination of space become autonomous from location, and time becomes less of an obstacle to building human relationships in these new spaces. Individuals and the communities and organizations to which they belong themselves become more conscious of this compression of space and time. Participation in this phenomenon is not even across the globe.

3b Mass Media

3b.1 Global Infrastructures related to culture

- new technologies: fibre optic oceanic cable, communications satellites
- shared languages and linguistic competencies. Today about 10-12 languages out of a total of 5000 are spoken by about 60 per cent of the world's population. These shared languages fall into three groups:
 - a) Japanese, German, Bengali
 - b) Arabic, Malay, Hindi, Russian and Chinese
 - c) English, Spanish, French, Portugese

3b.1.1 Cultural Multinational Corporations

Five main trends in corporate organization and activity:

- increased concentration of ownership
- a general shift from public to private ownership
- increasingly transnational character of the corporations that have survived
- general corporate diversification across various media products
- increasing number of mergers between cultural producers, telecommunication companies, and computer hardware and software firms. This trend has been facilitated by the digitalization of information such that music, visual imagery and text

all are matters of interest to these kinds of firms.

Consequently, we have a situation where a group of around 20-30 very large MNCs dominate global markets for entertainment, news, television, etc and these have acquired a very significant cultural and economic presence on nearly every continent.

3b.1.2 Music

- music lends itself to globalization more effectively than other media
- core of the international industry is pop and rock, and not classical or religious.

3b.1.3 Film and Cinema

Cinema industry occupies a special place, aesthetically, culturally, politically

- premium products of the audio-visual industries.
- provide premium programming for nearly all television stations and have channels on cable and satellite television devoted exclusively to their broadcast.
- make up the oldest of the cultural industries *qua* industry and is the cultural industry that has globalized first.

Five countries might be considered large producers of films: *US, Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and India* produced more than 150 films per year.

- US has a strong, if not dominant, position

3b.1.4 Television

Globalization of television as a medium and as an industry.

- No. of countries with broadcasting systems and the number of televisions available on which to watch their output have steadily risen
- within the West, and then beyond, the no. of terrestrial channels has steadily climbed, but important differences remain between the developed and developing countries
- these shifts have been accelerated by technological and regulatory changes.

The USA again has a very strong position in international markets.

3b.2 Theories on the likely impact of cultural globalization

3b.2.1 The *cultural imperialism* or *hypodermic needle hypothesis*

Variation 1 The United States has developed a dominant place in the cultural industries. US-based transnational corporations specializing in cultural production are dominant in such key areas as music, cinema, and television. Over time, this dominance is likely to increase further. Two important consequences will come from this domination. First, the economic strength of the US-based companies will gradually lead to the pushing out of cultural production markets of smaller, locally-based cultural forms. As these cultural forms become marginalized, cultural diversity will be reduced, with the consequence that cultures the world over will become increasingly similar. Second, because these economic developments are changing culture into a commodity to be consumed, rather than a way of life passed down through tradition and socialization in a society, individuals across the globe will become even more consumerist and materialistic than before. Culture will shift and change as the market brings new “products” on stream, but culture will also become more homogeneous as it receives “injections” from a dominant global consumerist, materialist, American culture.

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Variation 2 The strongest market-oriented states in the world (USA, UK, Japan, Germany, France--sometimes represented as the “West”) have developed a dominant place in the cultural industries. Western transnational corporations specializing in cultural production are dominant in such key areas as music, cinema, and television. Over time, this dominance is likely to increase further. Two important consequences will come from this domination. First, the economic strength of the “Western” companies will gradually lead to the pushing out of cultural production markets of smaller, locally-based cultural forms. As these cultural forms become marginalized, cultural diversity will be reduced, with the consequence that cultures the world over will become increasingly similar. Second, because these economic developments are changing culture into a commodity to be consumed, rather than a way of life passed down through tradition and socialization in a society, individuals across the globe will become even more consumerist and materialistic than before. Culture will shift and change as the market brings new “products” on stream, but culture will also become more homogeneous as it receives “injections” from a dominant global consumerist, materialist, Western culture.

3b.2.2 The *active, creative* subjects hypothesis

Individuals and the communities in which they live are not passive receptacles into which culture is poured by outside external forces. Rather, they are active subjects rooted in local communities with definite cultural norms and practices. Accordingly, when cultural products from foreign sources enter their lives, they can respond, and even resist, in several ways. They may examine those cultural forms, adopt aspects of them as their own, while discarding others (*hybridization*). Or they may incorporate these cultural forms into their own cultures, reshape them and reinterpret them based on their own values, and thus change them so they become their own (*indigenization*).

Finally, these same subjects may strengthen these hybridization and indigenization practices further by taking advantage of the new technologies to build and reinforce cultures across traditional national boundaries (*transculturalism*). Consequently, there is no reason to assume that current globalizing processes in culture will reduce cultural diversity and render cultures more similar and homogeneous across the globe.

3b.2.3 Some Final Considerations

1. Morley and Robins suggest that we look on human societies as open systems ‘inextricably involved with other aggregates, near and far, in weblike, netlike connections.’

Is globalization is having any impact on this ingestion of foreign elements? Increases in extensity, intensity and velocity of global connections lead to:

- a wider range of cultural forms from more parts of the globe are available for ingestion.
- The ingestion process is probably more profound.
- change can come about more quickly.

2. Global cultural corporations construct their products with a certain bias or objective.

3. Are some of these processes of cultural globalization associated with the processes of national cultural fragmentation that we find?

- Canada with Québec
- the UK with Scotland
- Northern Italy
- Catalonia and the Basques in Spain
- Corsica and Brittany in France
- right wing anti-statist groups in the US
- the Sikhs in India
- the Sh’ia Muslims in Iraq
- indigenous peoples everywhere

3.b Economic and Financial Interdependence

3.b.1 Are nation-states losing autonomy in defining their economic policies?

3.b.1.1 The postwar Bretton Woods settlement

Harry Dexter White of the US, John Maynard Keynes of the UK.

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*

- *For once the economic system is organized in separate institutions, based on specific motives and conferring a special status, society must be shaped in such a manner as to allow that system to function according to its own laws.*
- the “self-regulating market.”
 1. An economic system controlled, regulated and directed by markets alone.
 2. Assumes that people behave in such a way as to achieve maximum money gains.
 3. It assumes markets in which the supply of goods (including services) available at a definite price will equal demand at that price (equilibrium).
 4. It assumes the presence of money, which functions as purchasing power in the hands of its owners.
 5. Production will then be controlled by prices. Order in the production and distribution of goods is ensured by prices alone.

Self-regulation implies that all production is for sale on the market and that all incomes derive from such sales. Accordingly, there are markets for all elements of industry, not only for goods and services, but also for labour, land, and money, their prices being called respectively commodity prices, wages, rent and interest.

- *But labour and land are not other than the human beings themselves of which every society consists and the natural surroundings in which it exists. To include them in the market mechanism means to subordinate the substance of society itself to the laws of the market.*
- *Labour is only another name for a human activity which goes with life itself, which in its turn is not produced for sale but for entirely different reasons, nor can that activity be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilized; land is only another name for nature, which is not produced by man. . . . The commodity description of labour, land and money is entirely fictitious.*

The postwar economic order was thus to be based on two possibly, conflicting principles.

1. International trade should be encouraged with nation-

states agreeing that they will treat trade from each and every country the same (*multilateralism*).

1947, the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* or the GATT.

2. Nation-states must assume responsibility for providing citizens with protection against the ravages of the market mechanism. In particular, this idea meant that governments would provide a “social safety net” that would protect citizens when they lost their jobs, or when they too old to work, or when they were unwell, or when they were disabled.

Implications for the international financial system.

1. The international monetary order would be based on fixed exchange rates in order to prevent the destructive competitive depreciations and policies of the 1930s.

2. Currencies were to be convertible for current account transactions, but otherwise the movement of capital was to be discouraged.

3. A supervisory organization, the International Monetary Fund, was to be created to supervise the operation of the monetary system and to provide medium-term lending to

countries experiencing temporary balance of payments difficulties.

3.b.1.2 Managing the Domestic Economy

Policy Instrument	Encourage economic expansion	Discourage economic expansion
Fiscal Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •government spends money on public works (highways, hospitals, schools, airports) even if it means going into debt •government cuts taxes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • government cuts its spending on public works and budgets for a surplus •government raises taxes
Monetary Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •central bank lowers interest rates which encourages banks to lower interest rates for loans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •central bank raises interest rates which discourages possible investors from seeking loans from banks

3.b.1.3 The Mundell-Fleming Theorem

Two economists examined the relationship among three variables:

- controlling the domestic supply of money through the raising and lowering of domestic interest rates.
- fixing a country's exchange rate with respect to another currency or currencies
- allowing the free movement of capital across one's border

The theorem shows that a country can only accomplish *two* of these *three* tasks at any given time

Scenario 1 A country wishes to control its domestic interest rates (autonomous monetary policy) and it wishes to fix its exchange rate vis à vis other currencies.

Condition: the movement of capital must be controlled. (Bretton Woods idea).

Scenario 2. A country wishes to control its domestic interest rates (autonomous monetary policy) and it wishes to support the free movement of capital. *Condition:* exchange rates will need to “float” and be determined by what foreign exchange markets indicate the currency is worth

Scenario 3. A country wishes to control its exchange rate vis à vis another currency and it wishes to support the free movement of capital. *Condition:* allow domestic interest rates to be determined largely by international financial markets.

3.1.b.4 The need for policy coordination among states

Degree of International Capital Mobility		
Level of international trade	Lower mobility	Higher Mobility
Lower Trade	<i>External:</i> trade controls, exchange rates (late 1940s and 1950s)	
Higher Trade	<i>Symptom Management:</i> foreign exchange intervention; balance of payments borrowing (late 1950s to 1970)	<i>Domestic Monetary and Fiscal Policies</i> (since mid-1970s)

Louvre Accord, 1987-1989

Principal obstacles to policy coordination

- Differences in domestic political interests.
- Lack of information sharing.
- Are all governments using macroeconomic policy instruments to target the same goal? What if a government cannot make up its mind as often occurs in the US?
- What happens when central banks do not want to participate or to share in policy-making with anyone?

Institutionalization of international discussions

- Annual summit meetings of the Group of Seven leaders. These summits are backed up by twice yearly meetings of the G7 finance ministers and the G7 central bank governors. For these meetings to take place, in turn, officials from the G7 have set up various working committees that meet even more frequently.
- Central bank governors meet monthly at the Bank for International Settlements (Group of 10).
- The IMF meets twice yearly, once in Washington, DC where it is headquartered and once in another country. These meetings are usually time to coordinate with the G7 finance ministers and central

bank governors meetings.

- Gradual development of common statistics and with these greater capacity in information sharing.

3.b.2 The Internationalization of the State

protector of vulnerable domestic groups *versus* *facilitator* of adjustment of the national economy to a new neo-liberal, globalizing, ideological consensus about a liberal world economy

'internationalization of the state' involves three dimensions:

1. Participation in new global decision-making fora.

- a process of interstate consensus formation
- the central agencies of these states, prime ministerial and presidential offices, foreign offices, treasuries, central banks

2. Participation in this process of consensus formation is hierarchically structured

- the new economic system is “highly dynamic, highly exclusionary, and highly unstable in its boundaries.”

3. The internal structures of states are adjusted so that each can best transform the global consensus into national policy and practice

- an emphasis on *competitiveness* and *productivity*

Keys to competitiveness: technological capacity; access to a large, integrated, affluent market; the differential between production costs and market prices

3.c Ecological Interdependence

3.c.1 Introduction

Typology of Environmental Movements			
Type	Identity	Adversary	Goal
Conservation of nature (Sierra Club)	nature lovers	uncontrolled development	wilderness
Defence of space (Not in my backyard)	local community	polluters	local quality of life or health
Counter-culture, deep ecology (Earth First!; eco-feminism, Ulrich Beck)	the green self	industrialism, technocracy and patriarchy	Ecotopia
Save the planet (Greenpeace)	internationalist eco-warriors	unfettered global development	sustainability

Typology of Environmental Movements			
Green politics (<i>Die Grünen</i>)	concerned citizens	political establishment	counter power

Adapted from Castells, *The Power of Identity*, p. 112.

Ulrich Beck, *Risikogesellschaft* which was translated into English in 1992 with the title *Risk Society*.

Risks today arise out of *modernization*. They are a *wholesale product* of industrialization that are systematically intensified because industrialization is global.

Risks induce systematic and often *irreversible harm*, generally remain *invisible*, are based on *causal interpretations*, and thus initially exist only in terms of the *scientific* knowledge about them. Hence mass media and the scientific and legal professions in charge of defining risks become key social and political positions in society.

Five theses:

Thesis 1. Risks such as those produced in late modernity differ essentially from wealth. Some of their effects may never be reversed while problems in the distribution of wealth can be addressed

Thesis 2. Some people are more affected than others by the distribution and growth of risks; *poverty is hierarchic, smog is democratic*

	Class or wealth society	Risk society
Societal ideal	equality, equality of opportunity	safety
Utopia	equality; having a share of the pie, positive goals of social change	preventing the worst; self-limitation; sparing everyone from poisoning
Driving Force	I am hungry! commonality of need	I am afraid! commonality of anxiety

Thesis 3. Risk raises capitalism to a new stage.

Thesis 4. Knowledge gains a new political significance. Science “determines risks” and the population then “perceives the risks”. The world is divided into experts and non-experts.

- “acceptable levels” of a given pollutant
- Science has become the protector of a global contamination of people and nature

Thesis 5. Socially recognized risks contain a particular political explosive; what was formerly considered *unpolitical* now becomes *political: the elimination of the causes in the industrialization process itself.*

Barbara Gowdy, “Disneyland”, Questions to Consider

1. What is the significance of the title? Is it surprising that the story was written by a Canadian author (and is presumably about a Canadian family)?
2. Why didn't they escape (a question posed in the text, p. 70)? This question might lead you to think a little further about autonomy here. What degree of autonomy do the characters exhibit?
3. What connections does the story suggest between the nuclear family and nuclear war? How does “Disneyland” help us think about notions of security?
4. How does the experience of time and space in the story help us reflect on lives lived in an era of globalization?

3d. Security Interdependence

3d.1 Weaponry and Conflict

Vertical proliferation refers to the expansion of the presence and use of weapons within a given nation-state.

Horizontal proliferation refers to the spread of particular types of weapons across states.

Conventional weapons include most guns, tanks, planes and ships.

Weapons of mass destruction are special weapons that have a devastating effect, even when used in small numbers. They also kill more indiscriminantly than conventional weapons. These include nuclear, chemical and biological weapons

- horizontal proliferation of conventional weapons makes extensive global conflict more possible as more states gain significant stockpiles of conventional weapons

By 1982, the number of military bases on foreign soil was about 3000. In 1985, at the height of the Cold War, the United States had close to 500,000 troops stationed worldwide in about 70 countries. The USSR had about 600,000 stationed abroad. The ratio of foreign troops deployed to total armed forces was probably higher in the late 20th century than it was at the height of the imperialist age in the 19th century.

When significant horizontal proliferation of WMD takes place, we can speak of the globalization of risk..

US, Russia, France, the United Kingdom and China all acknowledge having these types of weapons
India and Pakistan, Israel, Iraq and North Korea

3d.2 The armaments industry

At the height of the Cold War, in the mid 1980s, world military expenditure approached \$1000 billion per annum, nearly \$190 for every individual on the planet.

Trade in arms amounted to \$48 billion per year, with approximately 120 countries engaged in producing, buying and transferring arms and military technology.

> a global “arms transfer and production system” with its own “global arms dynamic.”

The arms transfer and production system can be broken down into four groups.

- first-tier suppliers, the military-technological innovators: US
- second-tier arms producers, major producers and adapters of weapons technology and systems.
- third-tier suppliers, those that reproduce and copy existing military technologies and hardware.
- fourth-tier arms producers, primarily purchasers of arms

3d.3 Political responses to military globalization and military risk

3d.3.1 Non-Proliferation Initiatives

- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: designed to limit horizontal proliferation (no signatory state was to transfer directly or indirectly nuclear weapons to another and sought to limit vertical proliferation by promoting disarmament.

International Atomic Energy Agency

- Biological Weapons Convention of 1972; the Chemical Weapons Convention (1993); and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1996.

3d.3.2 The United Nations

In theory, membership in the UN involves participation in a global collective security regime, since the UN Charter provides for the UN to act against aggression and to restore the peace.

- in the Cold War period there were 15 UN peacekeeping missions. Since 1989, there have been 30 such missions

	National or bloc wars	New wars
Actors	National armies Bloc Alliances	Paramilitary groups Organized crime groups Mercenaries Parts of national armies
Goals	National or bloc interest	Identity politics Ethnic exclusion
Mode of Warfare	Vertical, Hierarchical command Importance of battle Advanced military technology	Dispersed, fragmented Use of atrocities:rape, famine, sieges Use of light weapons, communications, land mines
External Support	Allies, imperialism Superpower patrons	Diaspora Transnational mafia Mercenaries Regional powers