Chapter 6: Globalization: The New Frontier

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II. Features of globalization
   A. The spread of communication and information technologies
      1. The new technologies overcome geography and produce the rapid movement of persons, things, and ideas across national borders
      2. The sovereign boundaries of states are becoming more porous every day
   B. The declining importance of territory
      1. The declining role of geographic distance means that territory is less important than in past centuries
      2. Distance no longer poses a significant obstacle to important global economic, political, and military activities
   C. The spread of knowledge and skills and the participation explosion
      1. The spread of mass media and the communications and transportation revolutions enable ever more people to be informed about the world, form opinions about events, and get involved in politics in ways that were previously unimaginable
      2. As people acquire access to more information by means of technologies ranging from the Internet to satellite television, they are likely to understand their interests and act in ways that defend them
      3. This creates new problems for states, as well, as seen in the efforts of China and Iran to limit access to information and in the spread of the 2007–2008 economic and financial crisis
   D. The global triumph of capitalism and the emergence of a global market
      1. After the end of the Cold War, free-market capitalism as an economic ideology took root in much of the world
2. Free-market capitalism is largely responsible for driving and sustaining economic globalization

3. Markets stretch beyond the boundaries of states, making it more difficult for countries to control their own economies

4. Economic globalization became complete with China’s (2001) and Russia’s (2012) accession to the World Trade Organization

5. US–Chinese interdependence has also thickened as trade increased

E. The privatization of public functions

1. Globalization encourages competition, which prompts governments to privatize many functions in order to keep costs and taxes low

2. Privatization is occurring in many realms, from the economy to the military

F. The spread of global culture

1. Globalization has been accompanied by the spread of culture, originally Western, featuring shared norms based on free-market or neoliberal capitalism, secularism, and consumerism

2. Homogenization of mass culture can be seen in everything from dress, diet, and education to advertising and the spreading belief in women’s rights

3. This process undermines local cultures and religious beliefs and has caused a backlash among some local political elites who believe global culture produces uniformity and undermines traditional authority, mores, and values causing social instability

4. The spread of religious fundamentalism reflects this backlash

5. One factor involved in the spread of a global culture is the unique status enjoyed by English as the language of globalization

G. The spread of democratic norms

1. Globalization has been accompanied by the spread of democratic norms from core areas of North America, Western Europe, and Japan to Latin America, Asia, the countries of the former Soviet bloc, and parts of Africa and the Middle East

2. Globalization is witnessing growing acceptance of individual rights, including that of choosing one’s own leaders

3. Although some countries are globalizing in the absence of democracy, the desire of people to control their destinies seems likely to intensify

H. The emergence of global civil society
1. The proliferation and networking of intergovernmental (IGOs) and transnational nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have led some to suggest that a global civil society is beginning to coalesce
   a. Until recently, most NGOs were limited to placing issues on the global agenda by publicizing them, but increasingly they have become authoritative actors in their own right, with legitimacy derived from expertise, information, and innovative political techniques

2. Equally important is NGOs’ growing role in creating norms that states feel obliged to follow
   a. NGOs have formed effective networks of experts and advocates, called epistemic communities, and according to constructivist theorists the information and ideas they disseminate play an important role in changing norms that define states’ interests
   b. NGOs committed to finding cooperative solutions to collective dilemmas are, according to liberal theorists, creating a global civil society in which like-minded individuals from many countries communicate ideas and pursue cooperative activities to promote democracy, human rights, environmental protection, racial and religious tolerance, and similar norms
   c. The idea of civic politics is that NGOs can contribute to global change and, with international organizations like the UN, as well as states, can contribute to the spread of global governance

I. Diffusion of global power
   1. Today, although the United States remains the world’s leading military power, other major powers such as China, Russia, and India are rapidly increasing their military and economic capabilities
   2. America’s military superiority is no guarantee that it can realize its political objectives
   3. US economic superiority is also eroding as other centers of economic power become competitors in global trade and as US dependence on foreign energy and foreign loans remains high

J. The changing nature of security
   1. Interstate warfare between uniformed and organized armies is in decline owing to
      a. the declining importance of territory
b. the growing difficulty in occupying other countries
c. the role of economic interdependence
d. the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
e. the spread of civil war

2. The distinction between legitimate war and crime is increasingly blurred

3. Increasingly, the knowledge revolution caused by new communications and information technologies is promoting greater recognition that there are other threats to human welfare besides those of a military nature

   a. poverty
   b. drugs
   c. famine
   d. crime
   e. disease
   f. environmental challenges
   g. human rights abuses

K. The growing importance of nonstate identities and loyalties

   1. Powerful loyalties to nonstate groups are spreading and, in some cases, these groups are leading a backlash against globalization

   2. National, ethnic, tribal, and religious groups increasingly demand self-determination, and their aspiration for autonomy within or secession from existing states threatens the integrity of heterogeneous societies like Russia, Nigeria, Afghanistan, and Pakistan

III. The historical roots of globalization

   A. Although certain features of globalization such as the introduction of new information and communication technologies are arguably novel, debate swirls around the question of whether the phenomenon as a whole is new or whether it reflects continuity in global politics

   1. Sociologist Jan Nederveen Pieterse views globalization as a deep historical process involving

      a. The ancient population movements across and between continents
      b. Long-distance cross-cultural trade
      c. The making and spread of the world religions
      d. the diffusion of technologies including agricultural know-
how, military technologies, numeracy, literacy, sciences and philosophies

2. Journalist Nayan Chanda also views globalization as a product of our original ancestors' movements in search of a better life

3. Others seek globalization's roots in Europe's imperial expansion and colonization of non-European regions or in 19th- and 20th-century industrialization

4. There are differences that distinguish contemporary globalization
   a. the velocity, volume, and visibility of the flows of persons, things, and ideas globally
   b. the vulnerability of people to these flows

IV. Competing perspectives on globalization

A. David Held and his colleagues identify three distinct perspectives toward globalization

1. Hyperglobalists
   a. focus on the economic dimension of globalization and include both neoliberal and Marxist theorists
   b. They believe that changes in the global economy are ushering in “a new epoch of human history” in which territorial states have become obsolete economic units

2. Skeptics
   a. contemporary globalization is neither new nor revolutionary
   b. focus on the economic dimension of globalization
   c. argue that its high levels of interstate trade and regional integration actually reduce global economic integration
   d. States retain a dominant role

3. Transformationalists
   a. globalization is reshaping modern societies and world order
   b. A merging of foreign and domestic policy arenas
   c. Territory is becoming less significant as cyberspace becomes more important

V. The globalization debate

A. Numerous controversies surround globalization

1. Is the process beneficial or harmful?

2. What effect does it have on local and national identities? On
sovereignty?

B. The anti-globalizers

1. Globalization has created a democratic deficit by empowering institutions in which people have no voice and unleashing economic and cultural forces over which they have no control

2. Globalization increases poverty in the developing world and economic inequality within and between countries

3. The operations of giant multinational conglomerates and financial institutions undermine national economic and social policies and, consequently, constitute a form of structural violence against the poor

4. The movement of investment capital to countries with low environmental and labor standards threatens reductions in living, working, and environmental standards

5. The search for cheap labor, minimal protection for workers, and minimal environmental standards to maximize global competitiveness is “the race to the bottom”

6. The global economy and global culture have homogenized distinctive local tastes, traditions, and even languages

7. Globalization prompts massive migrations of people, who leave in search of jobs or to flee violence, and these migrations disrupt communities, create cultural ghettos, and foster transnational criminal industries in drug smuggling and human trafficking

8. Modern technologies facilitates financial speculation and aids political fanatics and terrorists

9. Nationalism undermines the cohesion of international institutions, as seen in Brexit

C. The pro-globalizers

1. Globalization dissolves barriers of nationalism and makes people more prosperous, interdependent, and cosmopolitan

2. Globalization fosters liberal democracy, which will assure the democratic peace

3. International law has expanded to protect people rather than states

4. Globalization has reduced global poverty and stimulated economic growth in formerly impoverished regions

5. Globalization has produced sustained growth and brought countless workers new jobs and higher living standards

6. The threat of cultural homogeneity is overstated and
oversimplified; local cultures can thrive alongside the global culture of modernity

7. Modern technology creates an informed citizenry, enhances democracy, facilitates the networking of NGOs for civil society, and enables the mobilization of people for political ends

VI. The state in decline?

A. Until recent decades, international relations scholars viewed states and their relations as all that mattered

B. Virtually all of the features of globalization indicate that states are less central to global politics than in recent centuries

1. New technologies link people transnationally

2. Territory, the defining attribute of sovereign states, is declining in significance

3. The spread of knowledge and skills reduces the dependence of people on their governments and makes it easier for them to oppose their leaders

4. The spread of global culture undermines local cultures and traditions

5. The emergence of a global civil society has brought forth nonstate actors that compete with the state

6. The changing nature of global violence has reduced the capacity of states to protect their citizens

7. New threats to security are global in scope

8. The emergence of a global market forces states to compete globally and reduces their control of their economies

C. The limits of sovereignty

1. Many scholars still regard state sovereignty as the defining characteristic of global politics

   a. Realists treat sovereignty as a given

   b. Liberals regard sovereignty as something to be overcome to achieve numerous desirable goals

   c. Constructivists view sovereignty as an institution invented by European political leaders to accumulate personal power and create the territorial state

2. Today, sovereignty tells us little about real states

3. Sovereignty is often confused with genuine authority and autonomy

4. Realists and neorealists argue that little has changed and that
state sovereignty remains important today

5. Krasner identifies four aspects of state sovereignty
   a. domestic sovereignty: the exercise of authority within a state
   b. interdependence sovereignty: control of movements across borders
   c. international legal sovereignty: a state's recognition by other states as their legal equal
   d. Westphalian sovereignty: the exclusion of unwanted external interference within a state

6. Sovereignty never provided states the protection it promised

7. In recent decades, there has been a growing gap between the promise and the reality of sovereignty
   a. With few exceptions, today’s states are less autonomous and less able to protect or inspire citizens than at any time in recent centuries
   b. No longer are states always the principal identity of its citizens
   c. The capacity of states in postcolonial countries of the developing world to protect citizens and provide for their well-being has declined
   d. Nevertheless, the state is not vanishing

8. State erosion is not universally recognized partly because of three paradoxes that Susan Strange describes
   a. While overall state power and capacity have declined, some governments do retain a major role in public education, policing, and health and welfare
   b. There is a growing “queue” of subnational groups that want to have their own state
   c. The apparent success of the Asian state model as reflected in strong states like Japan

9. The global economic crisis that began in 2007–2008 resuscitated the state to some extent
   a. State intervention throughout the developed world has grown—at least, temporarily—in an effort to ease the effects of recession
   b. There is little evidence that these challenges have curbed globalization
VII. Conclusion

A. Globalization reflects both change and continuity

B. Recent events have challenged the globalization process, including the collapse of the Doha Round of global trade negotiations and the revival of nationalism

C. These events and trends suggest the world is still divided into hostile “tribes” and cultures

D. Nevertheless, there is little evidence these trends have curbed globalization and the problems associated with globalization are likely to become more pressing