

The Blackwell Companion to Globalization

Edited by

George Ritzer

THE BLACKWELL COMPANION TO GLOBALIZATION

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Introduction

GEORGE RITZER

While this essay constitutes an introduction to this volume, it is being written after all the chapters have been submitted (and revised, sometimes several times) and the introductions to each of the three parts of the book have been completed. It is actually more of an epilogue than an introduction; a reflection on the chapters in the volume and, more importantly, on what they have to tell us about the state and quality of our knowledge and understanding of one of the most important phenomena of our times – globalization.

One of the points that is almost always made about the study of globalization is how contested almost everything is, including the definition of globalization itself. In terms of the latter, it is interesting how many authors of the chapters to follow found it necessary to define globalization, often in the first paragraph or so of the chapter. That act indicates, I think, that there is no consensus on the definition and each of the authors who offered one wanted to make something clear that they felt was not clear or agreed-upon.

If the need to define globalization indicated a lack of consensus, most of the definitions proffered used similar ideas and demonstrated more consensus than is usually assumed (including by the authors represented here). Among the terms usually included in the definitions offered were, in order of frequency, speed and time (accelerating, rapidly developing etc.), processes and flows, space (encompassing ever greater amounts of it), and increasing integration and interconnectivity. A composite definition, therefore, might be: Globalization is an accelerating set of processes involving flows that encompass ever-greater numbers of the world's spaces and that lead to increasing integration and interconnectivity among those spaces.

A basic distinction among positions taken on globalization, one made several times in this book, is *globophilia* versus *globophobia*. In fact, the chapters in this volume, indeed in much of the social science literature on globalization (contrary to what Turner argues in the concluding chapter), are much more informed by *globophobia* than *globophilia*. While most of the authors here lean toward the former, it is almost always from the political left (rather than the right), and involves a wide

range of criticisms of globalization in general, as well as the specific aspects of it of concern to them.

Globophilia is generally associated with a view, the mainstream neoliberal, 'Washington Consensus', that tends to be disliked, if not despised, by most of the authors represented here (see, especially, Antonio and his critique of a well-known cheerleader for this position, Thomas Friedman; neoliberalism has pride of place in Steger's delineation of the elements of 'globalism' as the hegemonic ideology in the epoch of globalization). It is generally associated by its critics with economic domination, exploitation and growing global inequality. McMichael focuses, specifically, on neoliberal agricultural policies such as the 'law of comparative advantage' which has had a variety of devastating effects (for example, de-agrarianization and de-peasantization) on the agriculture of the South. And, it has led, among many other things, to the growth of rural industrialization (e.g. *maquiladores*) and to the underpaid jobs associated with it that force workers to supplement their wages in various ways. Yearley suggests that neo-liberal policies have led to many of the devastating environmental problems that have faced, are facing and are increasingly likely to face much, if not all, of the globe.

Relatedly, in an analysis of a key economic aspect of globalization – outsourcing – Ritzer and Lair take on a favourite theoretical perspective of the neoliberals, Schumpeter's (1950) 'creative destruction', and argue (at least in the case of outsourcing), contrary to the theory and its adherents, that destruction is *not* always creative (for a similar use of creative destruction, see Korzeniewicz and Moran). Thus, in terms of issues discussed above, it may well be that the destruction of Southern peasants and agriculture is just destructive, at least for them; there is little or no construction (save the highly exploitative *macquiladores*) taking place at least in the South to compensate for the losses. More clearly, the destruction of the environment is certainly not accompanied by *any* constructive ecological developments. At a more general level, many of the inadequacies of the theory of creative destruction, at least as Schumpeter envisioned it, are traceable to the fact that it was created to deal with an economic world that existed long before the current boom in globalization and it is ill-suited to dealing with new global realities where destruction is at least as prevalent in many domains as creation.

Before we leave globophilia in general and Friedman (2005) in particular, it is worth mentioning, and casting a critical eye on, his recent and highly positive view that globalization is leading to a flat world. Among many other things, this means that barriers to participation are coming down throughout the world and, as a result, involvement is growing more democratic and the world less unequal (see below; Firebaugh and Goesling). While a laudable view, and one with at least some merit, the fact remains that it flies in the face of not only the considerable (although debatable, see below) evidence on increasing inequality, but virtually the entirety of the field of sociology and its study of innumerable structures and institutions that are erected, and often serve as barriers (sometimes insuperable mountains), on the global landscape. From a sociological view, the world is, and is likely to remain, at least hilly, if not downright mountainous, impeding the development of easy participation, greater democracy and less inequality. Among those hills, if not mountains, are cities (Timberlake and Ma), nation-states (Delanty and Rumford), transnational corporations (Dicken), educational (especially higher education)

systems (Manicas), systems of healthcare (Hashemian and Yach), organized corruption (Warner) and so on. Were the flat world envisioned by Friedman ever to come about, we would either need to abandon sociology (an act that would be welcomed by many) or so alter it to make it unrecognizable.

This view on the continuation of barriers in the world is supported by Guhathakurta, Jacobson and DelSordi who take on the issue of the idea of the 'end of globalization' in the context of migration. Some argue that globalization has ended because we have achieved free and easy movement of people through and across borders. Guhathakurta et al. contend, however, that creating borders is 'natural' (an essentializing view that is questionable in light of postmodern theory) and the continued creation of such barriers means that we are unlikely ever to see the free movement of people and therefore the end of globalization (at least in the sense they are using that idea here).

In spite of the predominance of globophobia in this volume, none of the authors rejects globalization outright and in its entirety. Rather, their view is that the problem lies *not* in globalization per se, but in the way globalization currently operates. There is a widespread sense that globalization is with us for the foreseeable future, if not forever (it is often portrayed here as 'inevitable' or 'inexorable'; see, for example, Steger), so the issue is one of what is needed in order to create a 'better' form of globalization. For example, the problems of globalization are often associated with its economic¹ aspects (usually accorded pride of place in the process) and, more specifically, its domination by capitalism. Capitalism, by its very nature, is seen as leading to various problems such as global inequality and exploitation. Thus, for some, the answer lies in the creation of a different kind of economic globalization that leads to greater equality, and less exploitation, in the world (e.g. Antonio; more below).

This, of course, bears on the normative aspects of globalization and, as with all aspects of this phenomenon, there are great differences and important disputes. For example, there are those more radical than Antonio who would reject a role for all forms of capitalism in globalization, while there are others, more to the right, who would find his ideas on the sources of a reformed type of globalization far too radical.

But much more is in dispute in the study of globalization including fundamental images of the nature of the subject matter in globalization studies (McGrew), as well as basic theories (Robinson) and methods (Babones). One way of looking at this is to say that there is great richness in globalization studies with a wide range of perspectives, normative orientations, theories and methods to choose from. But another is to suggest that these profound differences, this near-total lack of agreement, are representative of a 'crisis' that can only be resolved through a paradigmatic revolution and the creation of a new paradigm not only for the study of globalization, but for the social sciences in general. Such a new paradigm – cosmopolitanism – is suggested in this volume (and in many other works) by Ulrich Beck who argues that the social sciences (e.g. sociology, political science, international relations) are still locked into older paradigms which, among other commonalities, take the nation-state as their basic unit of analysis (this is also criticized by Korzeniewicz and Moran). Suggested in Beck's position is a paradigmatic revolution in which the globe becomes the basic unit of analysis (for Korzeniewicz and

Moran it is the world-system) and new normative orientations, overarching perspectives, theories and methods are created to fit better with such a revolutionary new focus.

While we await such a paradigmatic revolution, which of course may never come, we are left with all sorts of intellectual differences in the study of globalization. However, those differences pale in comparison to those to be found in work on a wide range of substantive issues that relate to globalization. These include whether there is any such thing as globalization and, if there is, when it began and how is it different from prior stages in the history of the globe. Obviously, by its very existence, this volume indicates support for the view that there *is* such a thing as globalization, but that is not terribly helpful because under that heading there exist a bewildering array of players (Thomas) and every conceivable social structure and social institution (Boli and Petrova, as well as at least all of the chapters in Part II of this book). In addition, there are all sorts of new players (learning the names of, and the difference between, international governmental organizations [IGOs] and international non-governmental organizations [INGOs] is a necessity) and more are coming into existence all the time. Furthermore, virtually every aspect of the social world, including all social structures and institutions, is undergoing dramatic changes because, at least in part, of globalization. As a result, the global is a near-impossible world to master both because our intellectual tools are inadequate, in dispute and perhaps out of date and because we are trying to deal with so much and everything we seek to analyze is changing, coming into existence and disappearing. Paraphrasing Marx in his analysis of capitalism, in globalization all that has seemed to be solid is melting into thin air and that which is to be re-formed or newly created seems likely to melt away very soon.

The result of all of this is that everything in globalization studies seems to be up-for-grabs. Much of the field appears to be dominated by debates of all sorts. Let us enumerate at least some of those debates that are dealt with, or touched on, in these pages.

Perhaps the most important substantive debate is whether globalization brings with it more (Korzeniewicz and Moran; relatedly, Blackman wonders whether globalization is causing greater inequality) or less (Firebaugh and Goesling) inequality. (Babones both casts light on this issue and seems to suggest that at least from a methodological ground the former are on the stronger footing.)

At a scholarly level, Beck makes the point that the tendency to take the state as the unit of analysis leads to a focus on, and concern for, the relatively small inequalities within nation-states. More importantly, this leads to a tendency to ignore the glaring and enormous inequalities that exist at a global level. This is a key reason why he argues for a paradigmatic shift involving, among other things, a change in the unit of analysis from the nation-state to the globe.

Beyond these general issues, inequality comes up in many other ways both in the literature on globalization as a whole and in this volume. A range of positions are represented here including the oft-repeated view that the dominant neo-liberal approach inevitably leads to global inequality (Antonio) and that there is relatively little that can be done about it within the confines of that orientation versus what Steger calls 'universalist protectionism', which seeks at least a reduction in global inequality (as do, as Blackman shows, various government policies). Then there is

the fact that some IGOs support this unequal system and even serve to increase such inequality. However it is also true that this inequality has spawned various organizations (especially INGOs) seeking to combat this tendency toward increasing inequality.

While there is much debate, there are areas of some agreement on the issue of inequality and globalization. For example, inequality can be seen as a major cause of migration. The poverty in the South and relative affluence in the North can be viewed as push-pull factors in migration from the former to the latter. Of course, inequalities are also caused by migration as, for example, those that result from the fact that highly skilled and educated migrants are more likely to be welcomed in the North (and virtually everywhere else) and to fare better than their less skilled and educated compatriots (with illegal migrants apt to fare worst of all). Remittances home from those who have successfully migrated (to the North) enhance the economic status of some back home (in the South), while others lag behind. The loss by the South of highly trained and skilled workers tends to increase the economic gap between it and the North. Huge agricultural inequalities, especially between North and South, are being exacerbated by such aspects of globalization as the development of international standards for foodstuffs that adversely affect the economically worse off countries that may be unable to afford to do what is necessary to meet these standards. This tends to worsen their situation and to increase the likelihood of poverty and hunger amidst abundance (McMichael). There are also inequalities between global/world cities and the rest, as well as inequalities within all types of cities (Timberlake and Ma). There are certainly gross inequalities in healthcare between the developed and less developed (especially Africa) world (Hashemian and Yach). Finally, there is the narrower issue of the degree to which sex work draws on and increases inequality (Farr).

Closely related to the issue of inequality is power, especially the unequal division of power in the globe; the ability of some to exercise enormous power over others (North over South; United States and/or the West over the rest). This is implicit in many chapters in this volume, and explicit in several others such as Steger's discussion of the asymmetrical power relations in the world and the fact that the ideology of globalism is used to support that system.

Technology (and its relationship to power) also gets a great deal of attention here as, for example, in Kellner and Pierce's discussion of the technologies associated with the global media. (Relatedly, Tumber and Webster detail the increasing role of advanced technologies in 'soft' and especially 'hard' information war. This emphasis on technology also informs, at least in part, their grand narrative of the transition from 'industrial' war to 'information' war.) While, as Marcuse (1964) pointed out long ago, technology itself is neutral (in contrast to McLuhan's [1964] view that the 'medium is the message'), it is clear that it is being used and controlled by those who gain from globalization to further their gains and to better entrench them in their powerful and enriching position. However, the media and their technologies are also employed by forces opposing the elites. This is clearest in Kahn and Kellner's discussion of the technopolitics of the resisters of globalization. Thus, the issue is whether, in the end, technology favours the further entrenchment of those who gain from globalization or those who are seeking an alternative global system.

Another pervasive debate is between those who see globalization producing greater heterogeneity and those who view it as leading to increasing homogeneity. This issue arises over and over in this book with virtually all of those who address it coming down in the end squarely on the side of the idea that globalization leads to increased heterogenization. This great consensus is a bit bothersome, especially to me, since I perceive a tendency to underplay the degree and significance of homogenization in globalization. Further, I think, as suggested by Goodman, that having to choose sides on this issue is probably the wrong thing to do and a waste of effort. It is probably well past time for declaration of a hiatus on the useless debate between homogenization and heterogenization (especially when the former is usually set up as a 'straw man' in the debate). I very much like Goodman's notions that *both* homogenization and heterogenization are *always* involved and that globalization, especially of consumer culture, 'makes people more different, but in a similar way'. Similar viewpoints are expressed by the ideas that 'diversity takes standardized form', and at least global consumer culture is a 'global system of common difference'.

Related to the consensus on heterogenization (even though those who support it almost always tend, self-consciously, to critique any hint of the idea of homogenization) is the widespread acceptance and use of the idea of glocalization (Robertson and White). Indeed that term, and related concepts like hybridization and creolization, derive their popularity from the fact that they all imply heterogeneity *and* the absence of homogenization). The power of this idea is reflected in McGrew's chapter in which he identifies the glocal as one of the four 'modes' of analyzing globalization. Not only does this serve to give exaggerated significance to this idea, but seeing it as a mode of analysis seems inconsistent with the other three modes identified by McGrew – defensive globalization, post-globalizing and critical globalism – because all of them are much broader theoretically than glocalism. That is, glocalism seems of an entirely different order than the other three.

The rush to accept the glocal position is best seen in the chapters by Robertson and White, Andrews and Grainger, and Caldwell and Lozada. While I think they are too accepting of this idea (Robertson and White even imply that glocalization *is* globalization), I do think nonetheless that they produce some useful ideas that can help move work in this area forward. For example, Caldwell and Lozada suggest that it is better to see the (g)local not so much as a thing to be discovered, but rather as a set of processes of social change. The issue, then, becomes how to best represent these processes. The focus should be on the processes through which the (g)local is generated; on 'location-work'. In general, (g)localism is a dynamic, interactive and continually renegotiated process. From my perspective, such a view does not pre-judge whether something is glocal (or local), but rather focuses on ongoing processes that may, or may not, involve glocalization. Or, if it is glocalization that is seen as occurring, the issue becomes the relative mix of homogenization and heterogenization involved.

Also useful is Andrews and Grainger's distinction between two types of glocalization – the *organic glocal* involving the incorporation of globalized, internationalized sport (and much else) into the local and the *strategic glocal* which involves transnational corporations (TNCs) exploiting the local, through either 'interiorized glocal strategizing' (global sport coopting and exploiting sport's local dimension) or

'exteriorized glocal strategizing' (importation and mobilization of sporting differences into the local market).

However, my problem with all of this is the continued hegemony of the idea of the glocal (as well as heterogenization), no matter how much more nuanced it becomes as a result of the contributions of Caldwell and Lozada and Andrews and Grainger. As I have argued elsewhere (Ritzer 2004a), the emphasis on glocalization and heterogeneity needs to be complemented (*not* replaced) by a concern with *globalization* (defined as the growing imperialistic influences of business, states and so on) and homogeneity. In terms of Caldwell and Lozada's location work, in my view that takes place in the context of *both* glocal and grobal influences. And, when we look at the conceptual elaboration of Grainger and Andrews what we see there is not just glocalization, but substantial globalization (in both types, 'grobale' sport is 'incorporating' itself into, or coopting, local sport). All of this makes the Robertson and White position highly questionable (in spite of their brief and undeveloped recognition of globalization), especially when they go so far as to say that as 'a homogenizing force, globalization really makes no sense'. To me globalization makes no sense without examining *both* the homogenizing *and* heterogenizing effects of, the globalization *and* glocalization involved in, globalization.

Related to, but more general than, the various global-local issues is the idea that globalization is a *contingent* phenomenon. In the case of the global/local relationship, the contingency is in effect the local (although it is also possible to see the global in contingent terms). That is, the nature of the impact of the global depends on, is contingent on, the nature of the local (and the agents involved, see below), as well as the ways in which the global and local interact. Since no two local settings are exactly alike, the impact of globalization will vary from one local setting to another. However, this is far from the only contingency of interest and importance in globalization in general and in the global-local relationship in particular.

A second key phenomenon is agency (the local and agency are directly linked by Caldwell and Lozada; Turner integrates agency into his 'neo-Malthusian' approach; but agency is devalued by the dominant ideology of globalism; see Steger) and another important contingency involves the differences among people and therefore the differences in the way they react to, and interact with, globalization. This is consistent with poststructuralist or constructivist approaches to globalization (McGrew) which, in turn, alerts us to the idea that it is not the inherent nature of globalization (if there is such a thing) that is of greatest importance, but rather agents' highly variable social constructions of that process. Ultimately, what matter most from this perspective are those constructions and *not* globalization *per se*. This obviously accords great (too much?) power to agents and their constructions. It also leads to the possibility of constructions that run counter to globalization and ultimately to the possibility of alternative globalizations (see below for more on resistance and revolution).

Much of the preceding discussion can be subsumed under a distinction that appears at several points in this book between *globalization from above* and *globalization from below*. While we need to be wary of *all* such binaries in this post-postmodern era, especially the gross oversimplifications that they involve, it is clear that this distinction is intimately related to important issues such as inequality, power and the global-local relationship. That is, globalization from above clearly

favours wealthy nations, especially the economic elites in those countries, as well as the well-to-do in less well-off nations. The poor are exploited across the board and they do not share in the wealth generated by globalization from above. Similarly, power is linked to globalization from above while a relative lack of power is linked to globalization from below. And, globalization is associated, and may be nearly synonymous with, globalization from above, while glocalization is more tied to globalization from below. The local is even more linked to the latter perspective, but it can be argued that the 'truly' local is increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to find in a globalizing world (in fact, I have gone so far as to discuss the 'death of the local' [Ritzer 2004a]).

As a result of these associations, globalization from below describes not only a process, but also a rallying cry and a political programme to be followed by the have-nots in society in order to attempt to create, among other things, an equal, or at least a less unequal, global system. In fact, Kahn and Kellner suggest that we use the idea of globalization from below (or others such as *alter globalization*) instead of the popular idea (and movement) of anti-globalization. The point that is often made is that people and groups associated with this idea and movement do not oppose globalization *per se* (hence they are not anti-globalization), but they oppose more specifically the current form of globalization dominated by neoliberalism that is exploitative of the poor, the weak and the local of less developed nations.

Another perennial issue and subject of debate is the continuing importance of the nation-state in general, and the United States in particular, in the era of globalization. Let us begin with the latter, especially in the form of the process of Americanization, since it is directly related to preceding discussions of the glocal and of agency. According great importance to the glocal (or local) and/or the agent leads to a de-emphasis on all global forces, especially those emanating from the United States. However, one of the interesting things about the chapters in this volume is the fact that a number of them accord great significance to Americanization. For example, Antonio recognizes (albeit critically) the importance of the neoliberal, Washington Consensus in the process of globalization. McMichael gives great centrality to the exportation of American consumption patterns, its agro-business, and the supermarket (to say nothing of the fast food restaurant [Ritzer 2004b]).

Clegg and Carter see much of global business having its roots in the United States, including the global proliferation of America's MBA programmes and the importance and power it grants to those with MBAs ('neo-colonial domination of an American educational model on a global scale'), American management gurus (e.g. Tom Peters) and American business 'fashions'. Clegg and Carter argue, correctly in my view, that Americanization is *not* primarily about the consumption of American products (Big Macs, Whoppers), but about the global spread of a given way of doing business; a particular 'system'. However, Clegg and Carter do not accept a totalizing conception of Americanization, but argue that there are other models, and reverse processes of colonization, that lead to hybrid forms of business that reflect, only in part, Americanization.

Americanization is also important in Kellner and Pierce's discussion of the media and of even greater importance in Manicas's discussion of the globalization of the American model of higher education. Warner sees the United States as the global leader in efforts to reduce corruption (many would question this) and in seeking to

create Americanized anti-corruption norms and laws throughout the world. These essays indicate that in spite of a rejection of the importance of Americanization in much of the general literature on globalization, when it comes to analyses of more concrete and specific institutions and structures, there is far greater recognition of its importance and, in my view, a far more realistic assessment of its true and continuing significance. This suggests, more generally, that highly abstract and general discussions of globalization may be of far less utility than those that have greater concreteness.

One issue that is implicit in many of the chapters mentioned above and in much of the literature on Americanization is the fact that it is often not the best that America has to offer that is being exported throughout globe. Manicas makes this point in terms of the various deleterious aspects of American higher education (over-specialization, for-profit universities) that are being globalized. Much of my work has dealt with a variety of American exports – fast food restaurants, credit cards (Ritzer 1995), shopping malls (Ritzer 2005) and so on – that bring with them that which is, for example, mediocre, dangerous in terms of leading to high levels of debt and hyper-consumption, empty and ultimately ‘nothing’ (Ritzer 2004a).

Turning to the more general issue of the significance of the nation-state in contemporary globalization, there is as much disagreement among the authors represented here as there is in the globalization literature as a whole. Thomas sees the nation-state as one of the two strong actors in the world today; to Dicken the nation-state has been overwhelmed by TNCs (but is still one of their important adversaries); Beck, and Robertson and White see it as of continuing importance but only as one of many elements of, actors in, the global world (Delanty and Rumford offer a similar view); late modern and postmodern theories tend to see the state as being of declining importance; Kellner and Pierce and Tumber and Webster see the nation-state as increasingly porous; the emergence of ‘enemies without states’ (e.g. Al-Qaeda) and ‘states without enemies’ (as a result of increasingly open and porous borders, especially in the EU) both suggest a decline in the significance of the nation-state as does the literature on the increasing importance of global civil society; and finally to those who accept the post-globalizing orientation (McGrew), the nation-state may have declined, but it is now in the process of reasserting itself (through, for example, a reassertion of the importance of borders). Whether the nation-state is of continued importance in the era of globalization is one of the most contentious issues in the field of globalization studies today.

Clearly, this debate, and most others, cannot be settled at a general level. What is needed is more analyses of specific nation-states and the role of each in globalization. Furthermore, the importance of the nation-state should be discussed in the context of specific substantive issues – trade, migration, media, criminal networks and so on – and not in airy general terms. Clearly, at least some nation-states remain important (especially the United States) and on some issues the nation-state is more important than on others. Rather than endlessly and fruitlessly debating the fate of the nation-state in general, we might gain much more through such more limited analyses.

In addition to all of the problematic aspects of globalization dealt with above (e.g. poverty, powerlessness, the loss of the local), there is also the much more obvious and blatant ‘dark side’ of globalization (Delanty and Rumford). For

example, Martin analyzes the 'new' terrorism, Farr deals with sex trafficking and Warner works with corruption, but there are other dark sides of globalization such as the global drug trade and international criminal cartels that are only touched on in various places in this volume. While it is not usually included under this heading, we might also discuss, as another of globalization's dark sides, the increasing danger posed by so-called *borderless diseases* such as AIDS and the threat of avian flu (Hashemian and Yach).

Given all of the problems associated with globalization, reforms of various types are on the minds of many of the authors in this volume, especially reforms that address the centrally important issue of inequality stemming especially from the workings of global capitalism. On a practical level, there are already in existence many groups, most notably a number of well-known INGOs, that seek to combat some of the worst excesses of capitalism. Most abstractly and generally, one of the things that defines the transformationalist perspective identified by McGrew is democratic reform in search of a better combination of economic efficiency and social justice. Following his critique of neo-liberalism (as expressed in Friedman's work), Antonio argues for the need for a more just society and world. Thus, Antonio accepts the idea (inevitability) of capitalism and its advance, but argues that it needs to be a democratic form of capitalism. Such a form of capitalism needs to be both socially regulated and embedded in, and controlled by, a number of institutions, not just the economic institution. Thus, Antonio wants a new form of global capitalism that draws on an array of older democratic and socialist ideas. While laudable, one wonders whether the solution to the problems created by such a new and emergent world as global capitalism can be dealt with by a system that takes as its basis ideas created decades, if not centuries, ago to respond to a very different world and form of capitalism (this is similar to the critique of the theory of creative destruction; see above).

Kahn and Kellner review a wide range of types of resistance to globalization (see also McMichael on rural resistance) from conservative to moderate and even radical forms. While Kahn and Kellner's underlying sympathies seem to lie with a more radical approach, in the end they urge, at least theoretically, for a more moderate orientation that avoids the extremes of globophilia and globophobia. Of course, there are some who do not think reform is enough and are in favour of more revolutionary change. In McGrew's typology, the critical globalists, especially those oriented to Marxian theory, adopt such an orientation. Perhaps the best-known example of this orientation is Hardt and Negri's (2000, 2004) approach (critiqued by Kahn and Kellner) that favours a revolution by the multitude and its triumph over the emerging global hegemony of empire.

While much of the conventional wisdom on globalization (e.g. the [over-] emphasis of glocalization) is affirmed in this collection of essays, there are occasions when it is challenged. For example, Yearley takes on the idea that environmental problems are global problems arguing that not everyone or every part of the world contributes equally to those problems; not everyone and all areas of the world are affected in the same way; there are great differences in the importance accorded, and the dangers associated with, these problems; there are other possibilities as globally important environmental problems; and the causes of environmental problems change, especially in terms of their geographical source(s). Among other things, this

implies not only a lack of consensus on global environmental problems, but also then a lack of agreement on what, if anything, can or should be done about them. This, obviously, has grave implications for the future of those problems and the likelihood that anything substantial will be done about them. Indeed, it supports the idea that nothing of any great consequence will be done until, and if, a global ecological catastrophe (the results of global warming seem like the most likely possibility now) occurs.

In another example of this kind of counter-hegemonic thinking, Dicken challenges the idea that TNCs are as powerful as many laypeople and globalization scholars seem to feel. In addition, Dicken takes on the 'placelessness' idea that pervades various perspectives on globalization such as those that emphasize flows (Castells 1996 and Appadurai 1996), networks (Castells 1996), and non-places (Auge 1995; Ritzer 2004a). He argues that the place of origin continues to affect large organizations long after they have become multinationals (and this tends to support the idea of Americanization since so many of these organizations have their roots there).

There is a tendency in the globalization literature to deal with globalization in a totalizing, even reified, way and thereby to overlook the significance of other aspects of the social world. This is clear, for example, in Ritzer and Lair's discussion of outsourcing (and other forms of sourcing), an idea that is closely associated in the public mind, especially in the United States, with globalization. However, outsourcing (as well as related ideas) is far broader and has far wider implications than simply those associated with globalization. Thus, Ritzer and Lair go 'beyond' globalization to discuss outsourcing at the meso- and micro-levels (although, of course, globalization can be implicated at those levels, as well). The irony is that while thinking on globalization seems to offer something approaching an all-inclusive perspective, its very 'globalness' causes it to lose sight of many important social issues and phenomena. It is important to focus on global issues, but in doing so analysts ought not to lose sight of other dimensions involved in what they are studying.

The conceptual elaborations in Ritzer and Lair's discussion of outsourcing remind us, as do other chapters in this volume (e.g. Andrews and Grainger on elaborations of the glocal; see above), of the need to refine our conceptual arsenal in the area of globalization. It is clear that far too many things are discussed under the heading of the concept of outsourcing and that teasing out a range of related concepts greatly refines our ability to think about all this. For example, the distinction between outsourcing and in-sourcing permits us to understand that all forms of outsourcing in the realm of globalization (and elsewhere) from one part of the world involve in-sourcing in other parts of the world. Furthermore, this makes it clear that critics of outsourcing, especially in the United States, such as Lou Dobbs (2004), ignore the fact that the United States is not only outsourcing work, but also in-sourcing it. While there are legitimate criticisms of, and problems with, outsourcing, the fact is that the United States gains by *both* outsourcing (getting lower priced goods and services in return) and in-sourcing (new jobs to replace those that are lost due to outsourcing). This is not to say that the United States overall is a net gainer in global sourcing (although it may be), but it is to suggest that we need to take a deeper and more nuanced look at this than is characteristic of examinations by critics like Dobbs.

Above all, what emerges from these essays is a sense of the complexity of globalization and its widely diverse, even conflicting, effects. For example, Kellner and Pierce discuss the use of the media to exert hegemony, but also its increasing utilization by the forces of globalization from below (e.g. Indymedia) to oppose successfully such efforts and exercise counter-hegemonic power from below. Staying within the media, complexity is increasing as conflicting messages emerge from the mainstream media and from the increasingly important alternative media forms (e.g. the publication of photos of the Abu Ghraib atrocities appearing first on the Internet thereby forcing their publication in mainstream media, many of which would have undoubtedly preferred that they not be published).

In warfare, the media once were employed and controlled by the motherland to supply a uniform message, but now that control has eroded with the result that innumerable complex and ambiguous messages emerge in wartime from highly diverse media outlets. The latter, in turn, makes becoming involved in war, and remaining in it, much more complicated. Warner points out how globalization is simultaneously increasing and reducing the possibilities of corruption. Schneider advances a theory of war that includes the view that globalization can both increase and decrease the possibility of war. Globalization simultaneously creates the new terrorism as well as the means to combat it (Martin). One could go on with this kind of enumeration, but it is clear that globalization is, to put it mildly, a complex process with many diverse and conflicting effects.

While the vast majority of the analyses represented in this volume are largely critical of globalization (especially Turner's concluding chapter), there are positive images and evaluations to be found in these pages. For example, several argue that we are witnessing an increase in democracy and democratization as a result of globalization (Delanty and Rumford; Tumber and Webster; the same view, albeit more critical, is found in Steger's outline of the ideology of globalism).

Another positive aspect of globalization for many (e.g. Tumber and Webster) is the growth of global civil society (such a development is consistent with Beck's cosmopolitanism). Indeed, Tumber and Webster argue that we should be 'grateful' for its development and the common orientation associated with it. Delanty and Rumford are extremely strong on the importance of global civil society arguing that it is of growing importance (Thomas discusses the possibility of the World Social Forum offering the possibility of such a global civil society) on such issues as human rights, the environment, health and security, the development of a global normative culture and the ability of both that culture and global civil society to confront the abuses of globalization, especially in the economic sphere.

Thus, this introduction ends on several positive notes about globalization. However, while globalization certainly has its positive sides, it is important to remember that the thrust of these essays, and of the literature in the social sciences on this topic, is globophobic. It may not be uplifting to read this literature, but it does have the merit of offering a nuanced (contra the gross criticisms of someone like Lou Dobbs) and detailed critique (contra the cheerleading of someone like Thomas Friedman) of globalization. It is only by understanding the problems associated with globalization that we can begin to address what needs to be done to redress them.

Note

- 1 Many of the authors in this volume (Tomlinson, Steger, Beyer et al.) feel that their focal interest, be it culture, ideology or religion, and its relationship to globalization, have tended to be downplayed or ignored because of the overwhelming focus on the economy.

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Part I

Introduction

Introduction to Part I

GEORGE RITZER

Part I offers a series of essays that, in combination, constitute a general introduction to the study and phenomenon of globalization, especially from the point of view of sociology and the other social sciences.

We begin with Anthony McGrew's wide-ranging and magisterial overview of globalization studies from both an intellectual and political perspective. In fact, the issue of globalization, and the debate over it, has served to invigorate *both* scholarly work and political action. On the one hand, many scholars have been drawn to the study of globalization and, because it is such a highly contested idea, into many scholarly debates, as well. On the other hand, many politicians, lay people and activists (and some scholars) have become enmeshed in the red-hot political debates on problems, and protests over them, associated with many of the real-world effects of contemporary globalization. Since the process of globalization is not going away anytime soon, if ever, public discussion, protests and scholarly work will continue and, if anything, accelerate. At the same time, the political issues that surround globalization (for example, the inequities that seem endemic to the process), like the scholarly ones, show every sign of continuing, and likely increasing in number and intensity.

Broadly speaking, the debate involves, as discussed in the Introduction to this volume, those who have 'globophilia' versus those who suffer from 'globophobia'. The former group includes, among others, those who adopt a neoliberal approach, especially capitalists and politicians who see their firms and countries benefiting from globalization. Those who can be said to suffer from globophobia include those who adopt both far right and far left political positions. Those on the right often see their nation and identity being threatened by global flows, while those on the left are enraged by the injustices associated with globalization. Many activists, both from the right and especially the left, can be seen as having globophilia.

Among scholars, especially sociologists, another source of their interest in, and concern about, globalization is that it threatens some of their most basic and long-lasting ideas. Many of the basic units of analysis in sociology – economy,

polity, society and especially the state – are threatened, if not undermined, by globalization. All of these phenomena seem to interpenetrate in a global world and are increasingly difficult to clearly distinguish from one another. Many of them, but especially the state, seem to be undermined by the process of globalization. Most generally, there are those who believe that the basic unit of analysis in today's world should be the globe rather than social science's traditional units of analysis.

At its most extreme, this indicates that the social sciences in general, and sociology in particular, are in need of, if not undergoing, a paradigm shift. In Thomas Kuhn's (1962/1970) now classic work on paradigms and revolutions in scientific fields, basic to any paradigm is its fundamental image of the subject matter of the science in question (Ritzer 1975/1980). It is arguable that in the past sociology, at least at the macro-level, has focused on society in general and the nation-state in particular, but such foci seem weak in the era of globalization since society and the nation-state are being penetrated and eroded by the process of globalization. This is leading to a shift towards the globe as the fundamental unit of analysis, at least in macro-sociology. Such a shift would have profound implications for much of sociology, especially its theories and methods (see Robinson and Babones in this part of the book). It could be argued that sociology, and other social sciences, are undergoing a paradigm shift, a revolution, as a result of the growing power and importance of globalization.

McGrew outlines two basic ways of mapping globalization scholarship. The first involves outlining four 'waves' that have framed academic scholarship on the topic. The second is four 'modes' of analyzing globalization.

The first 'wave' is *theoreticist* involving theoretical work that addresses several basic issues, all of which are contested and hotly debated. First, there is the issue of how to conceptualize globalization. This issue, and differences among scholars on it, will reappear throughout this book, especially in the various efforts to define globalization. Indeed, the very fact that there are such differences in definition makes it clear just how contested the entire idea of globalization is and remains. Second, there is the question of what are the basic dynamics involved in the process of globalization. Finally, there is the question of the systemic and structural consequences of globalization as a secular process of social change. That is, what is its impact on, among others, social structures, social institutions and so on.

A second wave of scholarship is *historicist*. Here a key issue, indeed a central issue in globalization scholarship in general, is what, if anything, is new about globalization today in comparison to other periods in history. There are those who see globalization as beginning with the fall of the Soviet Union, others who trace it to the end of World War II, still others who see its beginnings centuries ago, and even those who argue that globalization can be traced back thousands of years. For those who see globalization today as something unique in history, there is the issue of its general implications, and most specifically its implications for progressive values and projects of human emancipation. Most generally, the issue is whether globalization improves or worsens the overall human condition. A key question is whether globalization promises to reduce or exacerbate social inequality within given nations (say, the United States) and the world (say, between the global North and the South).

The third wave identified by McGrew is *institutionalist* (the Thomas and Boli and Petrova chapters in this section are strongly affected by this wave). Here the focus is on social institutions, especially economic, political and cultural institutions. The issue is, most generally, whether – and in what ways – globalization is leading to change in these institutions, especially whether there is continued global divergence, or increasing convergence, throughout the world in these institutions. This bears on a general issue that is central to the globalization literature in general, and this volume in particular, and that is whether globalization brings with it increasing homogenization, supports extant heterogenization or even brings with it further heterogeneity.

The final wave identified by McGrew is the *poststructuralist* (or *constructivist*). This involves several shifts in focus in globalization scholarship. For one thing, concern moves from globalization as an all-encompassing macro-process to one that is contingent and that involves the importance of agents and the ways in which they construct it as a process. Relatedly, this involves a shift in the direction of the importance of ideas about globalization, especially as both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse. This focus leads to several key issues such as whether the definitions of agents and the rise of counter-globalization discourse is leading to the demise of globalization; whether we are in, or moving toward, a post-global age. At the minimum, it leads to the view that there is not one form of globalization, but multiple globalizations. That is, we should think in terms of globalizations rather than globalization.

Given these four waves of globalization scholarship, McGrew turns to a second mapping device – four modes for analyzing globalization, the first of which is *defensive globalization*. In this view, globalization is a really existing and enduring condition (although far from inexorable or irresistible) that is changing societies throughout the world. It can be divided into liberal and transformationalist perspectives.

In the liberal view (for an overview and critique, see Antonio, below), globalization is generally seen as a benign process that has continuities with the past and historical changes. It is primarily economic in nature and leads to increasing integration through the market and technology. While liberals see merit in globalization, they can be differentiated from the crude neoliberal, Washington Consensus view that globalization is an unmitigated good producing increased prosperity, democratization, cosmopolitanism and peace throughout the world. The liberals recognize that there are problems associated with globalization, but adopt the view that it can be made to function better.

In contrast, the transformationalist position is that globalization today is unique in history and that it involves much more than simply economic changes. Not only are there political, cultural and social manifestations of globalization above and beyond the economic manifestations, but all of them, including the economic, can be distinguished from one another and are often contradictory. While there are benefits to globalization, especially market-led globalization, there are also problems such as great inequality in and across societies. Democratic reforms are needed to produce a process of globalization that leads to both economic efficiency and social justice.

Post-globalizing is the second mode of analysis. Here the view is that globalization either never occurred, or that it is in decline or disappearing as borders of