Third Year

L4043
Globalisation: Migration, Economy, Politics

global a. world-wide; pertaining to or embracing the whole of a group of items etc; total; hence ~ly adv.

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Aims and Objectives

We are living in a fast-changing and exciting world where companies produce international goods and the media carries news, images and cultural products across the globe in massive quantities in an instant. Trade goes across national boundaries, as can money with the click of a mouse. We can communicate instantly with people right across the globe and with travel, trade and tourism experience many cultures and national identities on a continuous basis. Politics seems to be transforming with states having to cope with the shift of power to smaller units or to globalised forces such as capital, or global political organisations or alliances or social movements. The drive for profit and new technological developments make spatial distances less important and lead to the interpenetration and spread of cultures. All of this has consequences for our social and individual experiences and identities.

But what are we to make of all this? How can it be explained and what exactly is going on? Are we living in a globalised world? If so what aspects of our lives are affected by globalisation, how, to what extent and for how long has this been the case and why? Is it all as exciting and thrilling as the description above sounds or are there impositions of power and exacerbations of inequalities, conflict and violence that make the whole scene much less attractive? This is the aim of the Globalisation modules in the department – to investigate the causes, nature and consequences of globalisation.

Structure of the module

There are two Globalisation modules. The first in the autumn looks at concepts, history, and perspectives on globalisation and at the cases of cultural and urban globalisation.

The second, this term, looks at migration, the economy, inequality, politics, war and the future of global power.

Topics
1 – Migration: what’s behind migration and what types have there been?
2 – Migration: the effects of migration – is it a problem or a solution?
3 – Economy: production and finance – do we now live in a global economy?
4 – Economy and Inequality: can globalisation solve global poverty?
5 – Inequality: gender and globalisation – does globalisation effect women differently?
6 – Politics: have the nation-state and social democracy been made redundant?
7 – Politics: global politics and cosmopolitan democracy – can we have global government?
8 – Global social movements and anti-globalization – what’s the anti-globalisation movement all about?
9 - Global protest after 2010 – are there new forms of global protest after the financial crisis?
10 – The Decline of American Power and the Rise of China – is China replacing the US as the dominant world power?
11 – War and globalisation – how is war globalised and how are societies effected?

There will also be an essay tutorial week when the lecture and seminar will be replaced by tutorials to discuss your essay. This will be in a week to be notified during the term.

Module evaluation
There will be a module evaluation questionnaire at the end of term for you to assess the module and teaching. It’s anonymous and will be available online on Sussex Direct. The feedback is taken very seriously by tutors so please do help future students and us by filling it in. There may also be a mid-term feedback session. We also welcome your feedback, suggestions or criticism at any point in the module.

**Lectures and Seminars**

There will be a one hour **lecture** every week. There will then be a two hour **seminar** every week on the same topic.

There are 11 topics and one week will be set aside for tutorials for your 6000 word undergraduate thesis. But you’re welcome to come and talk to me about the essay in other weeks too. I will have office hours when you can come and see me about the essay or anything else.

Under each topic there are a list of questions to help with guiding your reading and seminar discussion. Think about how you would answer the questions when you are doing the reading and come along to the seminar with your own answers to as many of the questions as you can.

**Reading**

Reading every week is necessary to get a good understanding of the module. The seminars will assume you have done substantial reading each week. You should read two or three article or chapter length pieces each week. (A note, especially for V & E students - you don’t need to read all of the reading listed each week. More than necessary is listed to help with availability, choice and essay writing).

There are some core books that are relevant to a number of the topics, listed below.


Frank Lechner and John Boli, *The Globalization Reader*, 2000, collection of many short extracts relevant to a number of the topics


Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization: a very short introduction*, 2003, as it says, this is a very short introduction!


Robin Cohen and Paul Kennedy, *Global Sociology*, 2000, more relevant to a first year than third year level, but useful as a good basic introduction.

You will see that there are millions of books and articles on globalisation that have been published! So the reading list below is based on those I think you will find the most useful (or that I like best!). But there are many more so feel free to go beyond the reading on this list if you find other things you think look good and interesting.

**Journals and Electronic Journals**

Journals that are useful throughout the module include:
*Global Networks*
*Globalizations*
*Journal of Critical Globalization Studies*
*Review of International Political Economy*
*Journal of World Systems Research*
*Millennium*
*International Studies Review*

But there are also many others that will be useful.

**Assessment**
The assessment weightings of modules (ie how much of your degree they are worth) match the credit weighting, and then are weighted so that the second year is worth 40% of your degree and the third year 60%. This module is worth 30 credits.

For this module the assessment is a 6000 word undergraduate thesis to be submitted at the end of the course. There is one week set aside for essay tutorials and advice when you can come and see me about your essay ideas and plans but you’re welcome to come and see me about this in other weeks too.

Assessment Guidance

There are suggested essay questions on the module document below, but feel free to narrow, shorten or amend these or come up with alternative ones, as long as you check them with me first. During the module please feel free to ask at any time about any ideas you have for the essays or any advice you would like.

The emphasis in the assessment is on in-depth work appropriate for a specialist final year module. See below a ‘Guide to Essay Assessment’ and ‘Criteria for Essay Classification’. You should use these when writing your essays as a guide to the sort of things tutors are looking for when marking. It’s essential you read the handbook for candidates for rules and regulations on assessment.

Plagiarism

You should read the section on plagiarism in the ‘Handbook for Candidates’. The definition of plagiarism in the 2011-12 examinations handbook is as follows (but see the latest handbook for up to date rules and definitions):

“Plagiarism is the use, without acknowledgement, of the intellectual work of other people, and the act of representing the ideas or discoveries of another as one’s own in written work submitted for assessment. To copy sentences, phrases or even striking expressions without acknowledgement of the source (either by inadequate citation or failure to indicate verbatim quotations), is plagiarism; to paraphrase without acknowledgement is likewise plagiarism. Where such copying or paraphrase has occurred the mere mention of the source in the bibliography shall not be deemed sufficient acknowledgement; each such instance must be referred specifically to its source. Verbatim quotations must be either in inverted commas, or indented, and directly acknowledged”.

The library web site has a good area on how to reference: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/library/infosuss/referencing/index.shtml

GUIDE TO ESSAY ASSESSMENT

Below are key questions which guide the assessment of your essay:

Structure and Quality of Argument
Is the essay plan stated in the introduction?
Is the overall structure of the argument clear and coherent?
Are the points made in a logical sequence?
Is the argument sufficiently analytical?
Is there a conclusion?
Does the conclusion address the essay question directly?
Is the conclusion adequately supported by the preceding argument?

Use of Evidence
Are the points made supported by evidence from cited sources?
Are the sources drawn on sufficient and appropriate?
If empirical evidence is used, is it described clearly and in appropriate detail?
Does the evidence presented support the conclusions reached?
Is the interpretation of the evidence presented appropriately qualified (i.e. avoiding overgeneralisations and sweeping statements)?

Contents
Is the writer's argument adequately backed up rather than just asserted?
Are the sources used subjected to analysis and critical reflection?
Has the student researched the topic sufficiently?
Are there any important omissions?
Has the student thought about what they have read or simply reproduced material from sources?
Is there evidence of critical thinking or an original synthesis?
Does the student have an argument?
Has the student gone beyond the essential reading?

Writing and Presentation Skills
Is the essay referenced correctly, including page numbers of passages referred to?
Are quotations and paraphrases of others' work identified and fully referenced?
Are the ideas presented fully credited?
Is there any evidence of plagiarism?
Is the essay fluent and readable?
Is the grammar and spelling adequate?
Has the writer made an effort to use their own words?

Generic Assessment Criteria

Basis on which marks are awarded

0-19 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is far below the standard required at the current level of your degree programme. It indicates that the work is extremely weak and seriously inadequate. This will be because either the work is far too short, is badly jumbled and incoherent in content, or fails to address the essay title or question asked. It will show very little evidence of knowledge or understanding of the relevant module material and may exhibit very weak writing and/or analytical skills.

20-39 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is below, but at the upper end is approaching, the standard required at the current level of your degree programme. It
indicates weak work of an inadequate standard. This will be because either the work is too short, is very poorly organized, or is poorly directed at the essay title or question asked. It will show very limited knowledge or understanding of the relevant module material and display weak writing and/or analytical skills. Essay work will exhibit no clear argument, may have very weak spelling and grammar, very inadequate or absent references and/or bibliography and may contain major factual errors. Quantitative work will contain significant errors and incorrect conclusions.

40-49 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is of an acceptable standard at the current the level of your degree programme. Work of this type will show limited knowledge and understanding of relevant module material. It will show evidence of some reading and comprehension, but the essay or answer may be weakly structured, cover only a limited range of the relevant material or have a weakly developed or incomplete argument. The work will exhibit weak essay writing or analytical skills. It may be poorly-presented without properly laid out footnotes and/or a bibliography, or in the case of quantitative work, it may not be possible to follow the several steps in the logic and reasoning leading to the results obtained and the conclusions reached.

50-59 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is of a satisfactory to very satisfactory standard at the current level of your degree programme. Work of this quality will show clear knowledge and understanding of relevant module material. It will focus on the essay title or question posed and show evidence that relevant basic works of reference have been read and understood. The work will exhibit sound essay writing and/or analytical skills. It will be reasonably well structured and coherently presented. Essay work should exhibit satisfactory use of footnotes and/or a bibliography and in more quantitative work it should be possible to follow the logical steps leading to the answer obtained and the conclusions reached. Arguments and issues should be discussed and illustrated by reference to examples, but these may not fully documented or detailed.

60-69 A mark in this range is indicative of that the work is of a good to very good standard for the current level of your degree programme. Work of this quality shows a good level of knowledge and understanding of relevant module material. It will show evidence of reading a wide diversity of material and of being able to use ideas gleaned from this reading to support and develop arguments. Essay work will exhibit good writing skills with well organized, accurate footnotes and/or a bibliography that follows the accepted ‘style’ of the subject. Arguments and issues will be illustrated by reference to well documented, detailed and relevant examples. There should be clear evidence of critical engagement with the objects, issues or topics being analyzed. Any quantitative work will be clearly presented, the results should be correct and any conclusions clearly and accurately expressed.

70– 84 A mark in this range is indicative that the work is of an excellent standard for the current level of your degree programme. The work will exhibit excellent levels of knowledge and understanding comprising all the qualities of good work stated above, with additional elements of originality and flair. The work will demonstrate a range of critical reading that goes well beyond that provided on reading lists. Answers or essays will be fluently-written and include independent argument that demonstrate an awareness of the nuances and assumptions of the question or title. Essays will make excellent use of appropriate, fully referenced, detailed examples.
85 - 100 A mark in this range is indicative of outstanding work. Marks in this range will be awarded for work that exhibits all the attributes of excellent work but has very substantial elements of originality and flair. Marks at the upper end of the range will indicate that the work is of publishable, or near publishable academic standard.

Marks may be reduced by up to 10% for inadequate referencing.

http://www.sussex.ac.uk/s3/ - Study Success at Sussex pages, brings together many of the most useful Sussex links on studying.

Contacts

Important information about the module may be sent to you by email (eg any changes to timetabling arrangements or information on top of this module document). You should check your email every day.

The best ways of getting hold of tutors are either in their office hours or by email or phone. I'll have office hours every week and will tell you when they are when the module starts. If you can’t make office hours you can email or arrange another time to meet up that is better.

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Department co-ordinator: Linda Cooper, Friston, LPS school office, room 121, phone (67)8890, email l.cooper@sussex.ac.uk.

Topic 1: Migration – causes, types and patterns

People moving may seem on the face of it to be a simple thing. But in fact they move for a huge number of different reasons and there are all sorts of different types of migration. And which are predominant vary over time. Why people move, what kinds of migration, and how this has been different through history is what we will be looking at this week.

Global migration has been happening for a long time and was intense in the period before the First World War. There has also been a great deal of migration in the last 50 years, sometimes with implications for the cultural identity of societies and raising political questions about citizenship, inequality, power, racism, etc as well as having positive consequences for new forms of cultural experience and intermixing.

This week we will focus on causes and patterns of migration over time, recently and now. There are many causes. As Castles and Miller show there have been changing trends and types of migration through history. They identify recent trends as the globalisation of migration, acceleration, differentiation, feminisation and politicisation.

Next week we will look more at the impact and reception of migration.
1. Why does migration happen?
2. What types of migration are there?
3. How has migration been different in different historical periods?
4. What types and patterns of migration were there in pre-modern periods, early and late modernity, before the 1st World War, after 1945, and since the 1980s?
5. What do Castles and Miller mean when they say trends in migration have been globalisation, acceleration, differentiation, feminisation, and politicisation?
6. How is travel and tourism changing and what effect does that have?
7. Was migration more globalised in the past than now?
8. To what extent is migration just another aspect of neoliberal globalisation?

Main reading

Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 2009 (also 1993, 1998 and 2003 editions), a key textbook on global migrations in the 20th century, with a focus on the consequences for ethnic minorities. They identify 5 trends in migration. Chs 1 & 2 especially, but all is useful.

Introduction is online at http://www.age-of-migration.com/uk/assets/pdfs/sample.pdf
There is a website for the 2009 4th edn at: http://www.age-of-migration.com/uk/index.asp

David Held et al, *Global Transformations*, 1999, Ch. 6 looks at patterns of migration globally and historically.

Further Reading


Russell King, 'Migration in a World Historical Perspective', ch. 1 in Julien van den Broeck *The Economics of Labour Migration*, 1996, looks at global migrations historically with a focus on economic and labour migration.


Russell King, 'Migrations, Globalization and Place', in D. Massey and P. Jess eds *A Place in the World?*, 1995, similar to the above King chapter.


Anthony Messina and Gallya Lahav, *The Migration Reader*, 2006, recent collection with a political and policy slant. Parts 1 and 2 and ch 13 most relevant this week and Parts 3 and 4 most relevant to next week.


Thomas Faist, *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, 2000, looks at ways in which migration leads to transnational spaces and links.


Robin Cohen, *Migration and its Enemies: global capital, migrant labour and the nation-state*, 2006, looks at the roles of these three actors in international migration.

*International Migration Review*, 40, 1, March 2006, special issue on gender and migration, other issues of this journal also useful for this week and next week.


Adam McKeown, ‘Global Migration 1846-1940’, *Journal of World History*, 15, 2, 2004, historical focus on pre-war period of intense migration and brings out non-Western migrations.

Hélène Pellerin, ‘The Cart before the Horse? The coordination of migration policies in the Americas and the neoliberal economic project of integration’, *Review of International Political Economy*, 6, 4, 1999, sees migration as part of a neoliberal project of integration.

**Useful Journals**

*International Migration Systems* and *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* are useful journals throughout this and next week’s topics.

International Migration is a relevant journal published by the IOM (see below).

Ethnic and Racial Studies has many articles on migration, including some in special editions on the topic eg the edition 32, 1, 2009.

The journal Global Networks also has many articles on migration and diaspora.

See also the Journal for Refugee Studies.

Websites

http://www.iom.int/ - International Organisation for Migration

http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/home/ - Oxford Centre on Migration, Policy and Society.


http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/ - Oxford Transnational Communities programme - relevant to this week, next week and also other parts of the module. Some useful resources here.

http://www.sussex.ac.uk/migration/ - Sussex Centre for Migration Research

http://www.migrationordrc.org/ - migration, globalisation and poverty site, with Sussex links, lots of useful resources and links.

http://www.childmigration.net/ - run by the above Sussex migration centre.

http://www.migrationinformation.org - site run by the Migration Policy Institute

http://www.unhcr.org - UN refugee agency

http://www.opendemocracy.net/blog/migrantvoice-on-refuge - Open Democracy debate on refugees

http://www.migrationpolicy.org/ - Migration Policy Institute

See also some of the reading for next week.

Essay Topics

NB For this topic and others feel free to shorten or narrow essay titles or suggest alternatives of your own, as long as you check them with me first.

‘While movements of people across borders have shaped states and societies since time immemorial, what is distinctive in recent years is their global scope, their centrality to
domestic and international politics and their enormous economic and social consequences’. (Castles and Miller 2003: 2). Discuss.

Is global migration just another dimension of neoliberal globalisation?

Is economics usually the reason people migrate?

**Topic 2: Migration – Effects of Migration**

Different societies have had different ways of responding to migration and adapting to the entry of migrant communities into their countries. There are many migration systems (eg postcolonial, guestworker, assimilationist, multiculturalist, etc) which respond to immigration. Some forms of migration are very temporary (eg tourism) while others are more lasting and raise different questions for host societies.

Migration has all sorts of impacts on the economy, politics, state, and culture, including employment, wages, national identity, citizenship and belonging, welfare and public services. We will be looking at common beliefs, often negative, about the effects of migration and evidence for or against them. We will be looking at whether there may be benefits for migrants and sending and receiving societies. We will also examine at evidence on what public attitudes to immigration are.

Do they boost or undermine the economy, public services and community? Is migration a problem or a solution? Should we be restricting it or opening our borders?

1. What effects does migration have?
2. How is migration received differently in different places and times?
3. What do the following migration systems entail: classical/permanent, post-colonial, guestworker, imperial, folk/ethnic, assimilationist, multicultural, transnational citizenship (Castles and Miller)?
4. What are the effects of migration economically, politically, socially, and culturally, on citizenship, public services, and culture and identity? Is migration a problem or solution in Britain?
5. Does migration cause unemployment and lower wages or does it boost the economy?
6. Is it a drain on public services and welfare?
7. Does globalisation signal the beginning of the end for national identities?
8. Are global or cosmopolitan identities replacing national identities?
9. How might different sorts of national identities have strengthened as a result of globalisation?
10. What sorts of non-territorial communities have grown and why? (Scholte).
11. Is a global culture or identity possible? (Smith)
12. What are public attitudes in Britain to immigration?
13. What are the consequences of migration for countries of origin?

**Main Reading**

Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 2003 (also 1993 and 1998 editions),
identify 8 migration systems. Chs 1 & 2 especially, but all is useful. Introduction is online at http://www.age-of-migration.com/uk/assets/pdfs/sample.pdf

Articles about immigration in the UK, can be found online:
- Sam Bowman, ‘Time to reject false choices and fears about immigration’, New Statesman, 17 September 2012, pro-immigration argument from the right
- Jonathan Portes, ‘Labour is wrong to apologise for its record on immigration’, The Independent, 27 September 2011, corrects facts in Labour’s criticism of its own record in being open to European immigration.
- Matthew Goodwin, ‘Far-right ideas: Britain’s generation Gap’, The Guardian, 16 September, 2012, says the young are much more pro-immigration.
- Robert Ford, Parochial and Cosmopolitan Britain, Transatlantic Trends, 2012, more on attitudes to immigration.

Further Reading

Guy Arnold, Migration: Changing the World, 2011, on the consequences of migration across a range of different parts of the world.

Nigel Harris, Thinking the Unthinkable, 2003

Jonathon Moses, International Migration, 2006


Howard Reed and Maria Latorre, The Economic Impacts of Migration on the UK Labour Market, IPPR, 2009, can be found online.


Adrian Favell, 'Integration Nations: the nation-state and research on immigrants in Western Europe' Comparative Social Research, 22, 2003 and also in Bommes and Morawska International Migration Research. Overview of research on the nation-state and integration of migrants, looks at nation-state perspectives on integration and those which are more transnational and bottom-up in focus. http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/favell/grete.pdf

Anthony Messina and Gallya Lahav, eds, The Migration Reader, 2006, political and policy angle, parts 3 and 4 most relevant to this week.


Paul Kennedy and Catherine J. Danks (eds), *Globalization and National Identities*, 2001, series of studies of the effects of globalisation on different national identities from 12 countries across 4 continents. People try to reaffirm their national identities in the face of globalisation, sometimes these disintegrate and make way for new ones in a way that can be disruptive, but also new hybrid identities can evolve.


Nina Glick Schiller et al eds, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, 1992

International Organization for Migration, useful sources here: http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/lang/en/pid/1

Daniele Joly, ‘Some Structural Effects of Migration on Receiving and Sending Countries’, *International Migration*, 38, 5, 2000, links effects with causes.


Paul Kennedy, 'The Subversive Element in Interpersonal Relations - Cultural Border Crossings and Third Spaces: Migrants at Work and Play in the Global System', *Globalizations*, 4, 3, 2007, article on studies of skilled migrant workers, says they develop post-national socialities.

*Journal of International Development*, 18, 6, 2006, article by Mackintosh et al on impact of health workers' migration from developing countries on the source countries, and by Appleton et al, similar theme but on teacher migration.

Also in *Journal of International Development*, 18, 6, 2006, article by Marina Della Giusta and Uma Kambhampati, 'Migrant workers in the UK: social capital, well-being and integration' focuses on gender and social capital angles.


Adrian Favell, 'Games without Frontiers? Questioning the transnational social power of migrants in Europe', *Archives Europeenes de Sociologie*, Winter 2003, XLIV, 3, questions whether poorer or more elite migrants have gained transnational power as claimed by some commentators.

Michael Bommes and Ewa Morawska (eds), 2005, *International Migration Research*, a stocktaking of multidisciplinary research on international migration, especially chapters by Favell (see above) and Morawska on integration and assimilation.

Jan Aart Scholte, *Globalization*, 2005, ch 7 on globalisation and identity (or community in the 2000 edition) looks at the effects of globalisation on national identities and other forms of identity. He says national identities have even strengthened sometimes, but non-territorial communities have also grown as have universalistic cosmopolitanism and hybridisation.

Anthony D. Smith, ‘Towards a Global Culture?’, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7, 1990, pp 171-91; also in Held and McGrew reader and in Mike Featherstone ed. *Global Culture*, 1990. Argues that national identities are not being swept away by global or cosmopolitan identities.


Sam Pryke, *Nationalism in a Global Age*, 2009, discusses whether globalisation has eroded national identity.

John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: mobilities for the twenty-first century*, 2000, influential social theory perspective on mobilities of people and other things (ideas, images, things, money, etc) and their implications for social life and sociology.

Some of last week’s reading will also be useful in parts.

**Essay Questions**

Is migration a problem or a solution?

Does immigration damage the UK economy or boost it?

Is immigration a drain on welfare and public services?

Does British opposition to immigration mean politicians have to restrict it?

Is transnational identity taking over from national identity?
'All these ideal types have one factor in common: they are premised on citizens who belong to just one nation-state. Migrant settlement is seen as a process of transferring primary loyalty from the state of origin to the new state of residence … Transnational theory … argues that this no longer applies for growing groups of migrants who form transnational communities and maintain strong cross-border affiliations … social and cultural identities which transcend national boundaries, leading to multiple and differentiated forms of belonging’ (Castles and Miller 2003: 44-5). What are the implications of transnationality for identity and politics?

‘We are still far from even mapping out the kind of global culture and cosmopolitan ideal that can truly supersede a world of nations, each cultivating its distinctive historical character and rediscovering its national myths, memories and symbols in past golden ages and sacred landscapes. A world of competing cultures, seeking to improve their comparative status rankings and enlarge their cultural resources, affords little basis for global projects, despite the technical and linguistic infrastructural possibilities’ (Anthony D. Smith). Is it true that national identities are still as strong or even stronger in a globalised world?

**Topic 3: Economy: production and finance**

For many sociologists the processes driving change associated with globalisation are economic and technological. In this topic we will look at the extent to which the economy has become globalised and, if so, what effect this has on our ordinary, individual, social lives. Are globalising changes based in economic relations that are the key driving force? Or is this too much of an economically determinist point of view?

We will look at the globalisation of production – eg, multinational or transnational corporations. How large have changes been in these areas and how much have states become subservient to them and culture changed as a result? And how globalised are MNCs really, and is the world economy as globalised and interdependent as it is made out to be?

Finance is an area often most associated with globalisation and seen as the most globalised, more than production. Money can be transferred across the world at the touch of the button – capital mobility. It is also what is seen as having put states in a neoliberal straitjacket, having to follow policies that will attract globally mobile capital to their own countries. The period of neoliberal globalisation based on capital mobility is seen to have been with us since the 1970s. It incorporates the ‘offshore’ economy, where finance is beyond state regulation. The financial crisis of 2008 is said to have shown how interdependent the world’s financial networks have become.

What do sceptics like Hirst and Thompson have to say about the globalisation of production and finance – eg the extent of MNCs, trade and FDI and the capacity of state to pursue an alternative economic direction to neoliberalism? On what basis are they sceptical about the globalization of the world economy? From a poststructuralist view how much has economic globalisation got to do with the discourse of globalisation as with globalisation itself?

This week we will focus on production and finance. Next week we will look at trade and at inequalities between richer and poorer parts of the world.
1. In what ways is the world economy interdependent?
2. How has production been globalised?
3. What makes an MNC multinational? How have they become multinational? How significant are MNCs as an example of economic globalisation?
4. What does foreign direct investment tell us about whether we have a globalised economy or not?
5. How has finance been globalised? Why is this important and what are the consequences of this?
6. What did the 2007/8 financial crisis involve and what does this tell us about globalisation?
7. What technological and political factors have facilitated economic globalisation?
8. Do we really live in a globalised economy? What doubts are there that this is the case? (eg Hirst and Thompson).
9. Are other forms of globalisation (cultural, political etc) ultimately based in economic globalisation?

**Main Reading**

Peter Dicken, *Global Shift*, an accessible and clear, critical and balanced overview, less intimidating than it looks because many of the pages are tables and graphs. In the most recent 5th edition 2007 look especially (but not only) at chs 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13 all on the economy, TNCs, economic policies and finance. Companion website is at [http://www.sagepub.co.uk/dicken/](http://www.sagepub.co.uk/dicken/)

To access lecturer resources at this site username is Global Shift (drop down) and password is 9sh554f

David Held et al, *Global Transformations* 1999 ch 4 on global finance and ch 5 on corporate power and global production. Quite systematic, argue that globalisation has changed the economy more than sceptics claim but by radically transforming old structures rather than abolishing them altogether. Extract in Held and McGrew ch 25.

**Further Reading**


Malcolm Waters, *Globalization*, 2000 2nd edn chs 2 and 3 ‘Trading Places’ and ‘Open Spaces’ on first the international economy and then the global economy. In the 1995 1st edn it is ch 4 on economic globalisation.

Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, *Globalization in Question*, 1996, sceptical about the globalisation thesis. The economy is not globalised at all. Extracts in Held and McGrew chs 4


Jan Aart Scholte, *Globalization*, 2000, ch 5 ‘Globalization and Production’, accessible, balanced introduction says that globalisation has strengthened capitalism, facilitated profit making to new areas of the economy and led to changes in the structure of capitalism.


Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 20, 1, 2004, issue on globalisation. Glyn argues against the idea that international economic integration has been proceeding faster.

Frank J. Lechner and John Boli (eds), *The Globalization Reader*, 2000, book of short extracts from readings, Part IV, some empirical illustrations of economic globalisation which look at Malaysia, Nike, women, the effects on the USA and the treatment of workers. See also chs 1–4 which differ on whether global markets are a good thing, ch 10 Wallerstein on world systems, and ch 11 by neo-marxist Sklair.

Wayne Ellwood, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Globalization*, 2006, by editor of the New Internationalist, relevant to this week and some of the subsequent topics also.


John Beynon and David Dunkerley (eds), *Globalization: the Reader*, 2000, Part D
‘Globalization and the political economy’.


UNCTAD World Investment Reports often have data which is very relevant to this topic, on MNCs, FDI etc. [http://www.unctad.org/Templates/Page.asp?intItemID=1485&lang=1](http://www.unctad.org/Templates/Page.asp?intItemID=1485&lang=1)

**Essay Questions**

Is the world economy globalised?

Did the financial crisis show how globalised the world economy is?

Critically assess the sceptic case against economic globalisation.

Is economic globalisation the cause of cultural and political globalisation?

‘The theory of the global system being developed here proposes that the primary agent in the political sphere is a still-evolving transnational capitalist class. The institutions of the culture-ideology of consumerism, as expressed through the transnational mass media, are the primary agents in the cultural-ideological sphere’ (Leslie Sklair). Discuss.

‘The present highly internationalized economy is not unprecedented.... [it] is less open and integrated than the regime that prevailed from 1870-1914... genuinely transnational companies appear to be relatively rare. Most companies are based nationally and trade multinationaly... Capital mobility is not producing a massive shift of investment and employment from the advanced to the developing countries .... trade, investment and financial flows are concentrated in the Triad of Europe, Japan and North America... the G3, thus have the capacity, especially if they co-ordinate policy, to exert powerful governance pressures over financial markets’. Have Hirst and Thompson succeeded in debunking the myth of economic globalisation?

**Topic 4: Economy and Inequality – trade and global inequalities**

Last week we looked at production and finance. This week we will look at a third area concerning the global economy, world trade, and at whether globalization can solve global inequality.

World trade expanded after the 2nd world war and there are institutions such as the WTO whose aim is to liberalise and promote free trade, although not always successfully, with many actors still choosing to maintain protectionism where it suits them. One of the debates over global inequality is whether this is best tackled by opening up free trade (eg Wolf, Dollar and Kraay, the Washington Consensus, etc), or maintaining protectionism (or regionalism) in some areas to promote development (eg Wade, Kaplinsky). When people discuss whether globalisation can help with global inequality they are often discussing free trade.

Inequality and poverty are not the same thing and do not always go up and down in tandem.
There are issues about how you measure poverty and inequality best and what factors to include when measuring them. If you can agree on whether inequality or poverty are getting better or worse there are then differences on whether globalisation is responsible. Dollar and Kraay are amongst those who argue that extending free trade is the solution to poverty; others who have responded to them disagree. It’s important to look at remarkable growth in large developing countries like China and India. Many see there being new stratifications in global inequality these days.

The question is whether more globalisation is a solution to poverty and inequality, or whether globalisation is the problem.

1. Is globalisation the solution to global poverty and inequality?
2. What types of poverty and inequality are there? How can you measure them?
3. What has been happening in China and India and why?
4. Why do some people say globalisation is good for the poor?
5. What are the Washington Consensus and structural adjustment?
6. Who are poor and where is it poverty getting better and why?
7. How are inequalities different to poverty and is inequality necessarily a problem?
8. How is global inequality changing?
9. What successes are happening under globalisation and are these due to globalisation?
10. How does measuring the relationship between globalisation and growth matter?
11. What has happened to globalising countries in terms of poverty?
12. What non-globalising factors help to beat poverty?

Main Reading


David Dollar and Aart Kraay, *Trade, Growth and Poverty*. Argue that free trade is the solution to global poverty. Shorter than it seems because about half of it is tables and graphs. Versions of this can be found at many places online, eg: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/08/23/000094946_02082304142939/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf
There are a number of replies to Dollar and Kraay listed below.

Further Reading

David Held and Ayse Kaya, eds, Global Inequality, 2007, a reader on the area.

David Dollar and Aart Kraay, ‘Spreading the Wealth’, Foreign Affairs, 81, 1, 2002, a more impressionistic overview than their TGP article, defend market liberalisation as the solution to global poverty. Extract in Held and McGrew Global Transformations Reader. Online at:
World Bank, Globalization, Growth and Poverty, accessible report with a position similar to Dollar and Kraay's.

Howard Nye et al, 'Dollar and Kraay on “Trade, growth and Poverty”: A Critique', casts doubt on a number of dimensions of Dollar and Kraay's analysis in a systematic but concise way. Kraay responds to Nye et al at:


N. Birdsall et al, 'How to Help Poor Countries' The Nation, July/August 2005, argues that factors in development are as much internal as to do with liberalisation of the economy.
Jay Mandle, *Globalization and the Poor*, 2003, tries to steer a line between advocates and critics of globalisation as a solution to world poverty.


Raphael Kaplinsky, *Globalization, Poverty and Inequality*, 2005, esp Pts I and III, outlines the problem and says that in some parts of the world an alternative to free trade is the solution.


Ankie Hoogvelt, *Globalization and the Postcolonial World*, 1997 and 2001 editions, argues that in core-periphery relations social divisions have taken over from geographical ones, and that globalisation is a process of ‘involution’ rather than expansion, which involves exclusion rather than incorporation as in the past. Extract in Held and McGrew *Global Transformations Reader* first edn. ch 33.


Frank J. Lechner and John Boli, eds, *The Globalization Reader*, 2000, book of short extracts from readings, Part IV, some empirical illustrations of economic globalisation which look at Malaysia, Nike, women, the effects on the USA and the treatment of workers. See also chs 1-4 which differ on whether global markets are a good thing, ch 10 Wallerstein on world systems, and ch 11 by neo-marxist Sklair.


Guardian summary - [http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/may/29/1](http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/may/29/1)


Peter Singer, *The Life You Can Save: acting now to end world poverty*, 2009, accessible look at some of the moral and philosophical issues to do with helping the global poor.

**Websites**

[www.wto.org](http://www.wto.org)

**Essay Topics**

Is globalisation good for the poor?

Critically assess Dollar and Kraay's case that globalisation is good for global poverty.

‘Much of the discussion of global inequality assumes that there is a growing divergence between the developing world and the rich world, but this is simply not true. The most important development in global inequality in recent decades is the growing divergence within the developing world, and it is directly related to whether countries take advantage of the economic benefits that globalization can offer … If globalization proceeds, its potential to be an equalizing force will depend on whether poor countries manage to integrate themselves into the global economic system’. (Dollar and Kraay, Spreading the Wealth).

**Topic 5: Inequality: gender and globalisation**

In the module so far we have touched on inequalities to do with economics and class and, to some extent, ethnic or cultural inequalities (eg in the experience of migration). We have looked less at gender inequalities that result from globalisation and this is a topic we will focus on this week.

The literature on this area has looked at the way that global restructuring and globalisation have had gendered effects, especially the consequences for women. Some of the research focuses on women in developing countries and their experiences of structural adjustment.
policies or changes in the international division of labour.

Other parts of the literature look at the globalisation of some traditionally female dominated industries, such as sex work and domestic labour, the way these have changed with globalisation and migration, and the effects this has had on the lives of women involved in them. To some extent there is an emphasis in some work on the effects of the development of capitalism on women, as such focusing on the economic and capitalist causes of global gender inequalities.

Other parts of the literature have looked at the growth of a transnational and global dimension to the women’s movement, something that links with our later topic on global social movements.

- In what ways have studies of globalisation been gender-neutral?
- How have changes in production, trade and finance specifically affected women?
- What have been the gendered effects of development strategies, global free trade, MNCs, structural adjustment policies, and global organisations like the World Bank and IMF?
- How is globalising capitalism gendered?
- What is specific about unpaid labour and how has it been affected by globalisation?
- Why has globalisation led to women being drawn into the labour force? What industries and sorts of work have women tended to be drawn into? What have their experience of these forms of work been?
- Why have women been drawn into export production, sex work, informal and domestic work by globalisation and what have their experiences been in such sectors?
- Why has female migration increased?
- How have changes to the nation-state and welfare state due to globalisation specifically affected women?
- Is globalisation ‘masculine’? What is gendered about organisations behind globalisation?
- How does the gender experience of globalisation cross-cut with other forms of stratification?
- How is women’s experience of globalisation contradictory? What benefits have there been for women?
- How has the women’s movement been affected by globalisation? What aspects of globalisation have led to the globalisation of the women’s movement?
- What problems are there with the literature on gender and globalisation?
- To what extent are problems identified to do with capitalism rather than globalisation?
- How specific are these problems to women?

**Main Reading**

You won't be able to read all these but read Moghadam and then dip into the two journals, preferably picking one or two more of the articles mentioned.

And at: [http://jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/vol5/number2/v5n2_split/jwsr_v5n2_moghadam.pdf](http://jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/vol5/number2/v5n2_split/jwsr_v5n2_moghadam.pdf)

Gottfried introduces the articles; Acker’s overview discusses the capitalist basis of gender inequalities in globalisation; others like Salzinger discuss specific case studies.

*International Sociology*, 18, 3, September 2003, special issue on gender and globalisation. Chow overviews some main themes; Pyle and Ward discuss women in global production networks; Moghadam discusses the women’s movement as global; see also other pieces.

**Further Reading**


*Signs*, 26, 4, Summer 2001, special edition on globalisation and gender with a more cultural/discourse emphasis.


Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents*, 1998, chs 5 and 6, expert on global cities looks at gender experiences in these two chapters.


*International Migration Review*, 40, 1, March 2006, special issue on gender and migration


Special issues of these journals on international dimensions of gender inequality

Open Democracy section with a gender/global dimension

[http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-five-debate.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-five-debate.jsp)

**Essay Topics**

Is globalisation gendered?

What is specific about women's experience of globalisation?

Are gender divisions in globalisation to do with capitalism or globalisation?

How has globalisation contributed to the global women's movement?

‘[W]omen have been incorporated into the global economy as a source of relatively cheap labor… The simultaneous emergence and expansion of formal and informal employment among women can be explained in terms of labor-market segmentation, various management strategies to extract surplus-value or increase profitability, and (thus far) the depressed status of unions. I have argued that the global economy is maintained by gendered labor, with definitions of skill, allocation of resources, occupational distribution, and modes of remuneration shaped by asymmetrical gender relations and by gender ideologies defining the roles and rights of men and women and of the relative value of their labor’. (Moghadam 1999). Discuss women’s experience of globalization in relation to a specific example.

**Topic 6: Politics - The decline of the nation-state and national social democracy?**

What are the implications of globalisation for political life? Historically nation-states are seen as the key political agents of the modern era, controlling national economics, social policy, law and the military. The globalisation argument is that many of these capabilities no longer hold. Some say that economies are no longer national and so not controlled by national governments. Social policy is limited by global constraints, laws are made by supra-national
bodies and wars are no longer simply between nations. Human rights, environmental problems, terrorism crime, etc are global issues so politics must be organised globally. And some see our cultural identities as less national, making allegiance to the nation-state more problematic.

To what extent then does it make any sense to see the nation as the key level at which political power is held? In real empirical terms what powers have been lost by nation-states and to whom?

One area in which debates have focused especially is on the prospects for national social democracy. Social democracy is traditionally associated with taxes, public spending, the welfare state and a working class base, all of which are seen to have been eroded by globalisation or made impossible due to the pressures of mobile international finance. These are said to have led governments to construct neoliberal ‘competition states’. Some of the reading and questions below focus on whether national social democracy is no longer viable under globalisation because of the rise of the ‘competition state’.

Some argue that the key new forms of politics are in fact regional or subnational rather than national or global. Others that nations are unevenly affected by the globalisation of politics, or even that they are the key actors in it and ultimately benefit rather than losing from it. Others say that nations at new levels (eg sub-nations or diasporic nations) have been encouraged by globalisation or that nationalism has grown as a response to globalisation. And social democracy is seen to work very well in some places which are very globalised, and the neoliberal competition state something we think we have to go along with, rather than something we really have to.

1. What is a sovereign nation-state? What global forces have undermined the sovereignty of nation-states?
2. What does the decline of the nation state have to do with internal crises, the cold war, the world economy, communications, or migration?
3. What examples are there of international organisations and social movements and what state functions have passed on to them? In what ways are new kinds of politics multi-layered?
4. How are environmental and social problems global and do they require global rather than national action to solve them?
5. How have human rights been globalised?
6. How does cultural globalisation undermine political globalisation?
7. Is the emergence of similar sorts of nation state worldwide an example of globalisation?
8. Why has globalisation led to the ‘competition state’? What pressures from neoliberal globalisation are there on the state?
9. Does globalisation lead to a race to the bottom or convergence?
10. Is national social democracy made impossible by globalisation and the pressure to neoliberal competitiveness?
11. What arguments are there against the idea that nation-states and social democracy have been swept away by globalization?

Reading
The reading this week has been organised in the two areas of 1) social democracy and the competition state and 2) globalization and the nation-state more generally.

1. Social democracy and the neoliberal competition state

Main Reading

Layna Mosley, ‘Globalisation and the state: still room to move?’, New Political Economy, 10, 3, September 2005, compact article that says states still have ‘room to move’ under globalisation and do not have to join a ‘race to the bottom’. Online at: http://www.unc.edu/~lmosley/NPEmosleyfinal.pdf


Further Reading

Eric Shaw, Losing Labour’s Soul?, 2008, introduction especially sections page 5 onwards on globalisation (which outlines the competition state thesis) and varieties of capitalism (which raises doubts about it). This book focuses on New Labour and social democracy.

Tore Fougner, ‘The State, international competitiveness and neoliberal globalisation: is there a future beyond “the competition state”’, Review of International Studies, 32, 2006, says that the state does not have to be a competition state in response to globalisation and that the pressure to be so is more a product of neoliberal hegemony than something necessary.


Evelyn Huber and John D. Stephens, ‘Globalisation, Competitiveness and the Social Democratic Model’, Social Policy and Society, 1, 1, 2002, argue that globalisation does not compel states to become neoliberal competition states and that in fact social democracy is a better model under globalisation in many ways, including in terms of competitiveness.

Colin Crouch, Post-Democracy, 2005, more pessimistic and sociological perspective, says the decline of the working class and rise of the global firm has led to political elites being oriented around links with business at the expense of social democracy. See also his Fabian Society publication Coping with Post-democracy, 2000.


2. Reading on the decline of the nation-state and globalisation more generally:

Main Reading

Critic of some globalization theories. Looking at four threats to the nation-state Mann says these impact differently on states, sometimes strengthening as much as weakening them.

Further Reading

Larry Ray, Globalization and Everyday Life, 2007, chapter 3 ‘Beyond the Nation State?’, critical assessment of the thesis that globalisation has undermined the nation-state, with an emphasis on sociological themes.

Peter Dicken, Global Shift, in the 5th edition chs 6, 7 and 8 on state responses to economic globalisation.

James Fulcher, ‘Globalisation, the nation-state and global society’, Sociological Review, 2000, more general article that says globalisation has not undermined the nation-state, in fact quite the opposite in some ways.


Zygmunt Bauman, Globalization, ch. 3 'After the Nation-state'.

David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds), The Global Transformations Reader, 2003 edn., Part II on the reconfiguration of power. Readings from those who see the nation-state in decline and the rise of global politics and some who see the nation-state as still the key building block in world politics.

David Held et al, Global Transformations, 1999, ch 1 on the nation-state and global politics, ch 8 on environmental problems as global.

Manuel Castells, The Information Age: economy, society and culture, 3 volumes, 2004 second edn., takes a network/ information society perspective, volume II, ch. 5 focuses on the nation-state as a powerless state or a network state.

Malcolm Waters, Globalization, 2001, second edition, ch 4 on the international politics and ch 5 on globalizing politics. Also ch 8 on criticisms of globalisation especially the sections on the elaborating state and Americanisation. 1st edn ch 5 on political globalisation.

David Held, Democracy and the Global Order, 1995, chs 4, 5, and 6 discuss the effects of international and global factors on national politics.


Jan Aart Scholte, Globalization, 2005, ch 6 on globalisation and the implications for national governance, ch 11 on limits of our readiness for global democracy, and ch 12 on a more humane sort of global politics.

Linda Weiss, ‘Globalization and the Myth of the Powerless State’, New Left Review, 225,


Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State: the diffusion of power in the world economy*, 1996, esp ch 1, also in Held and McGrew reader ch 12, argues that governments are losing authority and power in face of world markets so leaving a gap of ungovernance.

Sylvia Walby, ‘The Myth of the Nation-State’, *Sociology*, 37, 3, 2003, says that nation-states are myths, there are more nations than states, they are sometimes empires, there are other forms of polity (eg supranational), and polities overlap. Tries to emphasis gender and ethnicity more.

**Essay Questions**

Is social democracy impossible in a global era?

Has the nation-state been undermined by globalisation?

‘Nations benefit, in aggregate terms, from trade and financial openness, but openness forces them into competition with one another. Competition reduces governments’ abilities to provide goods and services to their citizens and renders governments more accountable to external economic agents than to citizens. This hypothesis implies not only a convergence of national policies, but also a convergence toward the lowest common denominator’. (Mosley 2005). Does globalisation lead state in a race to the bottom?

‘Members of the global corporate elite do nothing so blatant as taking away our right to vote…. They merely point out to a government that, if it persists in maintaining, say, extensive labour rights, they will not invest in the country. All major parties in the country, fearing to call their bluff, tell their electorates that outmoded labour regulation must be reformed. The electorate then, whether conscious of the deregulation proposal or not, duly votes for those parties, there being few others to choose from’. (Crouch 2005: 33). Does corporate globalisation mean that governments have little choice but to follow the interests of business?

**Topic 7: Global Politics – cosmopolitan democracy**

Last week we looked at the idea that politics at national level may be less important than it used to be and more subject to global forces. Many authors argue that politics needs to be (or already is) organised globally. People like Held and Beck are advocates of global ‘cosmopolitan’ democracy. This is seen as more appropriate for problems like environmental damage, economic regulation, crime, terrorism, human rights, war etc. It is seen to be based on global and cosmopolitan senses of citizenship amongst people and a culture of shared risk or responsibility in the world.

Cosmopolitan democracy is not without its critics. Marxists emphasise conflict more than
global commonality; realists say that cosmopolitan democracy underplays the continuing role of states and hegemonic power in world politics; liberals and pluralists have worries about individual rights and freedoms under a world government. Sociologists question whether there is a global culture and sense of citizenship or responsibility in society that could underpin global government.

1. What is cosmopolitan democracy? How is it different from realist, imperialist or neoliberal ways of organising politics?
2. Why is global democracy necessary, according to its advocates?
3. What has global politics got to do with the cold war, problems, the economy, culture and democracy?
4. Does global politics already exist? What forms does it take?
5. Is there a cultural, social or citizenship basis for global cosmopolitan democracy?
6. In what ways is there a global consciousness that provides the basis for cosmopolitan democracy? What does Beck say about World Risk Society or Risk Consciousness?
7. How does cosmopolitan democracy relate to human rights?
8. Why does Beck advocate war for peace, or humanitarian war and how adequate is his analysis here?
9. What limits are there to the possibility or desirability of global cosmopolitan democracy?
10. What alternatives to cosmopolitan democracy are there for world politics?

Quite a few of Held’s contributions say similar things, so if you’ve looked at one or two of his maybe skip on to a different author.

**Main Reading**


**Further Reading**

Fine, Robert, Cosmopolitanism and Violence: Difficulties of Judgement. *British Journal of Sociology*, 57, 1, 2006, based on philosophical sources, says there are ambiguities in cosmopolitanism but defends it. See also his 2007 book *Cosmopolitanism*.

*British Journal of Sociology*, 57, 1, 2006, special edition on Cosmopolitanism.

Robert Holton, *Cosmopolitanisms*, 2009, especially but not only ch. 6 on legal and political aspects of cosmopolitanism.

Danilo Zolo 1997 *Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government* and 2002 *Invoking Humanity: War, Law and Global Order*, two strong critiques of cosmopolitan democracy written in relation to the first Gulf War and the Kosovo war respectively.

David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds), *The Global Transformations Reader*, 2000, Part VI
looks at whether global governance is a possibility for the future.

Ulrich Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision*, 2006, esp chs 4 and 5, advocates global cosmopolitan democracy, discusses its critics, and its relation to issues such as war and human rights.


Anthony McGrew, *The Transformation of Democracy?*, 1997, conclusion (which is also in Held and McGrew reader) outlines the main issues, part II discusses whether democracy can re-establish regulation at new levels in a global world, eg in human rights, over MNCs, in the EU in the UN. Accessible book. See also McGrew at [http://www.polity.co.uk/global/transnational-democracy-theories-and-prospects.asp](http://www.polity.co.uk/global/transnational-democracy-theories-and-prospects.asp)

David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order*, 1995, Part IV advocates a global cosmopolitan democracy


governance, excerpt at http://www.polity.co.uk/global/pdf/02Intro.pdf

Chris Brown, ‘International Political Theory and the Idea of World Community’ in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) International Relations Theory Today, 1995, also in Held and McGrew reader ch 42, discusses whether there can be a world community that would form the basis for world government.

Robert Holton, Globalization and the Nation-State, 1998, ch. 5, says that global politics exists but nations and states are still important.

David Held et al, Global Transformations, 1999, ch 1 on the nation-state and global politics, ch 8 on environmental problems as global.

Paul Hirst, War and Power in the 21st Century, 2001, includes a critique of cosmopolitan democracy.

**Essay Topic**

Critically assess the case for and against cosmopolitan democracy.

Is cosmopolitan democracy the only way forward for world politics?

Is global government the way to solve global problems?

‘Some [argue] that everyday political events demonstrate that any form of transnational democracy is an impossible dream. For our part, we believe, despite being aware of the cynical and often brutal methods which characterise many foreign policy decisions, that the extension of democracy to the international sphere is not only desirable but also feasible – in fact more feasible than at any previous historical moment’. (Archibugi and Held 1995: 8). Discuss.

**Topic 8: Global social movements and anti-globalisation**

Ideas of globalised power have brought about discussions of globalisation in oppositional movements. To what extent is, or can, oppositional and protest politics be organised globally? What examples are there of this and what do these tell us about the politics of global civil society? How are we to make sense of the anti-globalisation or anti-capitalist movements? What other examples are there of global social movements?

This topic will focus on the more grass-roots, radical side of things. Some types of network coordination are more institutionalized, like the World Social Forum. On the other hand, some like the network Peoples’ Global Action are trying to keep a more radical, horizontal, even anarchist character.

Readings vary from those by Graeber, Gill, and Holloway that are sympathetic to global civil society protests and see them as exciting and mould-breaking forms of non-state politics. Those like Scholte have more critical and sceptical contributions to make. Others like Kaldor
and Worth and Abbott are sympathetic, but see the picture as complex and open and can see a variety of both progressive and reactionary possibilities.

The focus this week will be on alter- or anti-globalization movements and theories of this up to the financial crisis. Then next week we will look at the range of global protests that have erupted in the last couple of years.

**Characteristics**
* What are anti- or alter-globalisation movements opposed to? What issues do they bring up?
* What elements are there to anti/alter-globalisation movements? What groups are part of this category?
* Is the anti-globalisation movement anti-globalisation? What is global about the anti-globalisation movement?
* How are GSMS about life/ identity/ symbolic issues but also materialist/ economic/ political movements?
* What characteristics have examples such as the Seattle protestors, the Zapatistas and Occupy had?
* How has the use of the internet affected the nature of global social movements?
* In what way do global social movements provide an example of ‘network’ organisation?
* How does Gramscian analysis explain the anti/alter-globalisation movement? How is the idea of hegemony relevant? What are the dangers of transformismo?
* In what way is the anti-globalisation movement ‘anarchist’?
* What is ‘prefigurative’ about the anti-globalisation movement?

**Evaluation**
* Is anti/alter globalisation a movement? Is it too diverse and fragmented to be a movement?
* What is it in favour of? Is it only oppositional with no positive alternative agenda?
* If there is a positive coherent agenda, what is it?
* Do anti/alter globalisation movements have any impact?
* What are the limits of the anti-globalisation movement?

**Main Reading**
Anarchist defends 'anti-globalisation' movement against criticisms that it is against globalisation, is violent and has no positive agenda.


**Further Reading**
David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution*, section II on rebel cities, 2012

In Millennium 29, 1, 2000 as well as Gill see:
- J. Aart Scholte 'Cautionary reflections on Seattle', critical piece warns that the global civil society protests should not be overestimated or over-romanticised.
- M. Kaldor 'Civilising Globalisation? The implications of the Battle in Seattle' outlines some of the changing political cleavages that the Seattle protests brought out.
- Fred Halliday 'Getting Real about Seattle' says that historically it is not social movements that have changed things, that the anti-globalisation movement lacks both agency and structure and that states and democratic governance are what is important.

O. Worth and J. Abbott, 'Land of False Hope? The contradictions of British opposition to globalisation', Globalizations, 31, 1, March 2006, using Britain as a case study, they argue that anti-globalisation is diverse and includes reactionary as well as progressive elements. The latter need to recognise the role of reactionary elements and develop more of an alternative agenda.

DIY-world area on the Open Democracy website with many articles on the World Social Forum and other related global fora and activities.
http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization-world/issue.jsp

M. Glasius et al, Global Civil Society: the politics of a new world? Brief outline of some of the characteristics of WSF and global justice movements.
http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization-world/article_1680.jsp


Dense use of Marxist concepts by Zapatista supporter to outline a non-state perspective. There are many reviews and discussions of this book on the internet that a web search will bring up. For instance see the debate with Callinicos at http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=8520

( http://opendemocracy.net/content/articles/PDF/1342.pdf)
Brings out some of the complexities and internal debates in the World Social Forum.


Ronaldo Munck, Globalization and Contestation, 2007 overview.

Pierre Bourdieu, Firing Back, chapter titled 'Against the Policy of Depoliticisation', section on 'An Open-ended Co-ordination', good brief outline of aspects of GSMs by key radical French sociologist


N. Klein, 'Reclaiming the Commons', New Left Review, 9 2001. Brief polemical outline of what the anti-globalisation movement is about.


J. Brecher and T. Costello, Global Village or Global Pillage: economic reconstruction from the bottom up, 1994.


Richard Falk, Predatory Globalization: a critique, 1999, argues for resisting globalisation from above via the state and globalisation from below.

Robert Holton, Making Globalization, chapter 6, outline of some of the issues to do with global civil society more generally, 2005.


J. Boli and G. Thomas, Constructing World Culture: international nongovernmental organizations since 1875, 1999.

Helmut Anheier et al (eds), Global Civil Society annual volumes include data on aspects of global politics especially on INGOs and also articles on global social movements and civil society.

New Left Review articles on the ‘The movement of movements?’ in various editions from issue 9 onwards, including articles by Klein, Wallerstein and others.
http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/ - peoples’ global action site

http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/wsf/ - one of a number of World Social Forum sites

Essay Questions

Are anti-globalisation movements undermined by being negative and lacking coherence?

Are anti-globalisation movements new and different from previous forms of social movement?

What is the relation of anti-globalisation movements to globalisation?

Are anti-globalisation movements primarily reactive?

Are alter-globalization movements effective?

Topic 9: Global protest after 2010

In the last topic we looked at the rise and character of anti- or alter- globalization movements. This week we will look at another relationship between globalisation and global social movements. This is one that is less about movements that are against globalisation, although some we will look at have this form. It is more about social movements post-financial crisis that are said to have had global parallels, at least, and maybe an even stronger global connections.

Some of these were student protest movements such as those that rose up against fees and the privatisation of higher education in the UK, Chile and Quebec. Others are related movements that were anti-austerity, from the Indignados in Spain, to Occupy in Wall Street, St Paul’s and other places. There were the Arab state uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and other places. And there have been riots in the UK, France and elsewhere.

Some people have drawn connections between these movements. There are seen to have been similar types of people involved across the protests, the use of social media, making the protestors very information-rich, the role of a precariat or the graduate without a future. They were bottom up and organised horizontally. But are there common threads going on across these movements over national boundaries?

1. What are Mason’s reasons for ‘Why it’s kicking off everywhere’?
2. How convincing are they?
3. Do global protests have anything in common?
4. What, if anything, is new about them?
5. What do they have to do with globalisation?

Main Reading


**Further Reading**

These readings can be found online if you search for them.


Dan Hancox et al *Fightback: a reader* on the winter of protest, focusing on the UK student movements, Open Democracy publication, 2011


**Essay Questions**

Is it kicking off everywhere?

How global are the protests Paul Mason talks about?

Has the era of post-financial crisis protest already ended?

Did Occupy change anything?

Were the post-2010 global protests a failure?

**Topic 10: The Decline of American Power and the Rise of China? Is there going to be a new global superpower?**

In this topic we will look at global hegemony and power in the 21st century – political, economic, military and cultural power. During the 20th century the hegemony of the British declined and was surpassed by the USA. In the postwar period the world was divided between two superpowers – the USA and Russia – and the cold war between them.

After 1989 some saw the world order as changing from a bipolar to a unipolar one. Some have seen the new global order as involving the ‘end of history’ (with the ideological triumph of liberal capitalism) or a ‘clash of civilisations’ (with cultural clashes replacing ideological ones). Recently characterisations of the world order as a ‘triad’ have emerged and forces in Europe and Asia (especially China) have been seen as challenges to American power.

Will new superpowers arise to replace the USA as the dominant world power, or will the
world become more multilateral or power more spread out. Will America remain the world’s leading superpower or is it in decline with other powers rising to take its place? Why might American power decline? What global order would follow its decline?

Writers like Kagan see a dominant USA as necessary for maintaining global order with Europe too weak to do so. Nye thinks the US is a hegemonic power but needs to use soft power more to keep that up and hard power less. Mann sees the US as a failing imperial state. There is much discussion of what might replace the USA if it loses its pre-eminent global position, maybe a world without a hegemonic power, or perhaps China or a world without a dominant power.

Main Questions:
1. How is American power exercised and why?
2. To what extent does the world order involve ‘the end of history’ (Fukuyama) or a ‘clash of civilisations’ (Huntington) or ‘Jihad versus McWorld’ (Barber)?
3. How is the US like Mars and Europe like Venus? Does this mean that US power is necessary? (Kagan).
4. Can the US retain its dominant position by more use of soft power? (Nye)
5. Is Mann right that the US is a failing imperial state?
6. If American power is in decline, why? What will replace it? If it is not in decline, why not?
7. Will Europe or China or some other entity be the next superpower?
8. Why could China take over as the next dominant power? What reasons are there for doubting this possibility?
9. Will we become a world without any dominant power? What implications does this have for order and stability?
10. What are the differences between state-centred, multilateral (or multipolar), global, dualist, hegemonic, imperialist, triadic models of the political world order?

Main Reading

David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, American Power in the 21st Century, 2004, a reader on this theme including extracts from some other authors on this reading list, eg Kagan, Cooper, Mann, Nye.

Michael Mann, Incoherent Empire, 2003, says US imperialism is militarism but otherwise incoherent and making the world a more dangerous place. See also 'The First Failed Empire of this Century' in Held and Koenig-Archibugi and also in Review of International Studies 30, 4, October 2004.

Robert Kagan, Paradise and Power, 2003, view from the Right says that the histories of Europe and America have led them in diverging paths, the former is weak and the latter is strong and must use its power, if necessary unilaterally. See also his piece in Held and Koenig-Archibugi. See online version at http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/3460246.html

Further Reading

America needs to be multilateral and has to rely on soft power as well as hard power. See also his more recent Soft Power. See also his piece in Held and Koenig-Archibugi. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Globalization or Empire, 2004. See also his articles on this theme in - Third World Quarterly, 27, 6, 2006; New Political Economy 8, 3, 2003; and Theory, Culture and Society 21, 3, 2004.

Robert Cooper, The Breaking of Nations, 2003, especially Part I describes a world order of premodern states, modern states and postmodern states in which the USA's position is not yet clear. Earlier version published as The Postmodern State and the World Order, Demos, 2000 which is online at: http://www.demos.co.uk/files/postmodernstate.pdf. See also his piece in Held and Koenig-Archibugi.


Barry Buzan and Rosemary Foot eds Does China Matter? 2004 collection of articles assessing whether China's importance has been overestimated.


Peter Nolan, China at the Crossroads, 2004, on the challenges facing one contender for the next superpower, argues China needs to follow a third way between state and market.


Martin Jacques, 2009, When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World, says that the rise of China will challenge the western domination of modernity.

Emmanuel Todd, After the Empire, 2002, French author on the breakdown of the American order.

Jeremy Rifkin, The European Dream, 2004, says Europe is taking over from America as the world's next superpower.

Timothy Garton Ash, Free World: why a crisis of the West reveals the opportunity of our time, 2004, says American and Europe need to work together. See also http://www.freeworldweb.net/

David Harvey, The New Imperialism, 2003, discusses the rise of the USA's coercive approach in maintaining its role.


Stephen Haseler, Super-State, 2004, on Europe's challenge to America and the effects of
this on the US.

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will run the 21st century*, 2005, short book says Europe’s inclusive and oppositional approach is better suited to influence than the USA’s.


Paul Hopper, *Living with Globalization*, 2006, chs 5 and 6 on China and USA. Also 2-4 on Europe and global terrorism.

Hutton-Desai debate on whether China needs to be more westernised to be successful [http://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/article_details.php?id=8174](http://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/article_details.php?id=8174)

Will Hutton, 2007, *The Writing on the Wall: China and the West in the 21st Century*


[http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-americanpower/debate.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-americanpower/debate.jsp) - articles on the topic on the Open Democracy website.


Vladimir Putin on American power [http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/feb/13/comment.russia](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/feb/13/comment.russia)

US National Intelligence Council Report on decline of US power [http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/nov/20/barack-obama-president-intelligence-agency](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/nov/20/barack-obama-president-intelligence-agency)


Guardian series on China at the Crossroads [http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/series/china-at-the-crossroads](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/series/china-at-the-crossroads)

**Essay Topics**

Is American power in decline?

What are the main threats to American power? Will they lead to its demise as the world’s superpower?
Will China replace the US as the world’s dominant power?

‘Cosmopolitan America has an affinity with Amnesty International … American mega-power throws its weight behind the global realization of human rights and democracy’ (Beck 2006: 125). Is American power about upholding human rights?

‘The question remains whether the means have focused too heavily on hard power and not taken enough account of soft power’ (Nye). Is soft power the key to America’s continuing dominance?

“[E]ffective power requires a combination of four more specific powers: ideological, economic, military, and political. Most regimes wield unequal combinations of them, and some regimes may be quite light on one or two of them. But the new imperialists relied overwhelmingly on military power alone – and indeed on only one part of military power, offensive firepower – and this is insufficient to create Empire’ (Mann in Held and Koenig-Archibugi: 52-3). Is Mann right that the USA is at the end of its era as an empire?

Topic 11: War and globalisation

War was a major feature of the 20th century with the first and second world wars. In this topic we will also look at power and military conflict in the 21st century. Are wars about nations and national territories still, or are there other bases for the global conflicts of the 21st century.

Held et al discuss the globalisation of war over the centuries through the spread of military technology globally (the arms race), the impact of wars on a global scale (eg imperial powers in conflict, the world wars), international alliances and the mobilisation of global resources for war, the cold war and the political repercussions of wars. There are many perspectives on the shape that war and peace has taken after the cold war, about who is the most militarily powerful, who fights who and over what, the development of military technology and the effects this has, the development of security agreements, and the governance of arms and security. Others focus on the future of war, the RMA, WMDs and what new sources there will be for conflict and between whom.

One perspective is that rich societies are now ‘post-military’ (Shaw). Another is that there has been a shift from more total old wars to new wars that are carried out in new ways with new objectives (Kaldor). New wars are sometimes linked to cosmopolitan ideas about humanitarian intervention (Kaldor, Beck). For some the new military conflicts will not be between states and new threats to security are not only military. For others quite old wars are likely to continue throughout the 21st century as a consequence of environmental problems and over resources, with states still important (Hirst). For some, wars will no longer be between democratic states but with (or within) weaker states or non-state or non-national actors. The globalisation of the arms trade and the proliferation of arms will change where military threats come from.

1. Is war important? What is sociological about war? What’s global about war?
2. How has war been global in the past?
3. What is global about the arms trade? What drives, it, what shape does it take, who is involved?
4. How has the arms trade and the proliferation of arms changed? What effect does this have on the origins of military threats?
5. What are post-military societies?
6. What is asymmetric warfare?
7. What are new wars and how are they different to old wars?
8. How have military relations and actions been globalised? Is war now more global and less national?
9. What new features do wars have today? What are the new technologies and bases for wars?
10. What will war be like in the future? What form are future military conflicts likely to take? What will people fight over? And who will fight who?

**Main Reading**


Paul Hirst, *War and Power in the 21st Century*, argues that wars are still quite old, states the main actors and that the new wars will be resource wars driven by the consequences of global warming. See also his article here: [http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-war_on_terror/article_180.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-war_on_terror/article_180.jsp)

Tarak Barkawi, *Globalization and War*, 2006, good book that draws the connections between war, globalisation and society.

**Further Reading**

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*, 1999, discusses changes in war in the era of globalisation.

Mary Kaldor, ‘Old Wars, Cold Wars, New Wars and the War on Terror’, *International Politics*, 42, 4 2005.

Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: an answer to war*, 2003, ch 5. Discusses network warfare, spectacle war and neo-modern warfare as types of new war to which the answer is international humanitarianism.

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and New Wars*, 2001, links new wars to issues of development and governance.

Ulrich Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision*, ch 5, War is Peace, sees new wars as about cosmopolitan humanitarian intervention.

Martin Shaw, *The New Western Way of War: risk transfer war and its crisis in Iraq*, 2005. Western states minimise risks to their own soldiers and displace it on to civilians, where casualties are explained as accidents, but this strategy brings its own political risks. Conclusion online at: [http://www.martinshaw.org/newwesternwayofwar6.pdf](http://www.martinshaw.org/newwesternwayofwar6.pdf)

Other writings by Shaw on related issues are at: [http://www.martinshaw.org/](http://www.martinshaw.org/)

Martin Shaw, *Post-Military Society*, 1991, looks at sociological aspects of war and argues that wars are less total now and societies demilitarised.
Zygmunt Bauman, 'Wars of the Globalization Era', *European Journal of Social Theory* 4, 1, 2001,

Max Boot, 'The Paradox of Military Technology', *The New Atlantis*, Fall 2006, discusses the new technologies and whether they maintain asymmetry or not.

Herfried Münkler, 2005, *The New Wars*, on a similar theme to Kaldor’s work.


Robert G. Patnam, ed, *Globalization and Conflict*, 2006, collection on how the national security state is becoming more not less important under globalisation.


**Essay Questions**

Are new wars different to old wars?

How is war changing?

Has war been globalised and do the solutions to it need to be global?

What will wars be about in the future?

‘The end of the Cold War probably meant the end of wars of the modern type – wars between states and groups of states, like the World Wars or the Cold War, in which the aim, to quote Clausewitz, was “to compel an opponent to fulfil our will”’. (Kaldor 2003: 119). Discuss.

‘Perhaps the most hopeful approach to the contemporary problem of controlling war, today, is through the extension and application of international humanitarian law (the ‘laws of war’) and human rights law’. (Kaldor 2003: 128). Discuss.

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Hope you enjoyed the module!