

Globalization, Modernity, and Their Discontents

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Comments, corrections, and additions welcome.

Globalization and Modernity: Central Questions

In exploring globalization and modernity, one is presented with highly contested concepts. Definitions are crucial because they shape our interpretation of social phenomena and perhaps influence one's findings. A single definition of globalization does not exist (for a range of characterizations see Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; Rosenau 1990; Jameson 1991; Robertson 1992; Scholte 1993; Nierop 1994; Johnston et al. 1995; Zürn 1995; Albrow 1996; Kofman and Youngs 1996; Held et al. 1999). While scholars have focused on different aspects of growing interdependence be it economic, cultural, technological, and the like, at a basic level it refers to growing interconnectedness. Most definitions suggest a growing magnitude of global flows to a degree that all levels of human organization are interweaved into one system. Space is being broken down such that interactions can be increasingly described as interregional or intercontinental in scale. This should not be taken to mean that the global should be privileged over other levels of social organization, but rather that these different levels increasingly encounter each other. Though this grossly oversimplifies the literature, those who have written on globalization fall into two broad categories; those who find it a useful concept to portray current events and those who find it lacking (Held and McGrew 2000; Mittelman 2002).

Related to the question of the nature of globalization is a discussion of whether the world has in fact entered a new, unique historical period. Some have questioned how global present conditions really are. In the present era, many argue we have not witnessed an intensification of global interaction, but rather regional clustering of activity (G. Thompson 1998; Weiss 1998; Hirst and Thompson 1999). In addition, some have argued that the degree of economic interconnectedness exhibited today does not differ markedly from the period 1890-1914 (Jones 1995; Hirst 1997). In addition, many see globalization as a convenient scapegoat for American hegemony (Callinicos 1994; Hirst 1997; Hoogvelt 1997).

There are many, however, who believe globalization represents a genuine restructuring of social organization. For those convinced we live in a new world, they find evidence that human activity has reached interregional or intercontinental scale (Geyer and Bright 1995; Castells 1996; Dicken 1998). The present era of globalization should be seen in the context of broad historical trends (Mazlish and Buultjens 1993; Bentley 1996; Frank and Gills 1996; Clark 1997). At the same time, although the globalization process is a long, historically rooted one, it is not without fits and starts and is not teleological (Fernández-Armesto 1995; Geyer and Bright 1995; Zeiler 2001). It also should not be thought of as Westernization (Giddens 1990). Globalization is a highly complex interaction of forces producing integration and disintegration, cooperation and conflict, order and disorder (Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; Robertson 1992; Barber 1995).

Globalization has led many to explore the relationship these processes have to modernity (Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; Beck 1992). Scholars have asked a number of questions in this regard. Where perhaps many would have equated it with westernization, the nature of modernity itself has been questioned. What are the traits of social, economic, and political organization characteristic of modernity? Are globalization processes fundamentally changing the relationship of space and time that one can say we have moved into a postmodern world? Many argue that, yes, the nature of social organization has changed or is in the process of a fundamental transformation. The notion of risk is seen by some as a new social response to change (Giddens 1990; Beck 1992, 1999). Old social relations that seem so fundamental from capitalist-labor relations to the nature of the family are under stress by globalization forces.

Given the magnitude of an event like September 11, a number of scholars have tried to assess the impact on globalization (Social Science Research Council 2001; Friedman and Kaplan 2002; Held and Hirst 2002). While it may be argued that the motivation of the attackers was anti-modern and anti-globalization, preparation and carrying out the attack were facilitated by globalizing processes. Rather than serve as a brake to globalization, many contend it will not have much effect or will even enhance globalizing processes to deal with the threat of terrorism (see, for example, Eichengreen in SSRC's *After Sept. 11*).

In what follows, an attempt has been made to categorize what is a vast literature on globalization, modernity, and the discontentment with these processes. I have chosen to divide the literature into political power, economics, cultural impacts, and discontentment with subdivisions fleshing out some major themes. Admittedly, these categorizations are somewhat arbitrary. Given the centrality of the notion of interconnection to the study of globalization, disentangling different forces and processes is impossible. Scholars recognize this too and often touch on a range of topics. As a result, recognize that a discussion of citizenship, for example, could easily fit under the rubric of cultural globalization as it could economics or the nature of political authority. While efforts have been made to draw links in each relevant section, in the interest of brevity those links may prove insufficiently strong for some. By no means claiming to be comprehensive, an effort has been made to highlight some of the recent, important themes within this extensive literature. This review ends with an extensive, though incomplete, bibliography for those interested in pursuing any of these issues further.

The Nature of Political Power

Globalization produces unifying and divisive forces. For some, globalization processes, on balance, represent a tremendous opportunity for prosperity, peace, and democracy (Fukuyama 1989; Friedman 1999; Giddens 2000). Others, by contrast, see greater potential for conflict, extreme self-interest, unbridled corporate power, and disregard for people and entire civilizations (Barber 1995; Huntington 1996; Kaplan 1997; Rodrik 1997; Zakaria 1997; Gray 1998; Herod et al. 1998; Held, et al. 1999; Hurrell and Woods 1999; Mittelman 2000). These contradictory forces operate not only between states, but also within them. One of the key discussions within the globalization literature surrounds whether the nation-state is obsolete as the best form of political organization. Economic and social processes increasingly fail to conform to nation-state

borders making it increasingly difficult for states to control their territory, a central component of sovereignty. This raises important questions about the proper site of political authority. As governance structures are established at the global level to deal with the growing number of global problems, solutions must be sought to make these arrangements accountable and democratic. This diffusion of authority also requires an analysis of the changing nature of citizenship.

Future of the Nation-State

For those who see the state as in danger, they can point to evidence that nations have existed as we think of them today for a relatively short period of time (Poggi 1978; Held 1995) or that many states have never existed in the Westphalian sense (Krasner 1995). For many, economic globalization places significant limits on the behavior of nation-states at present. The growth of multilateral institutions to manage the global economy constrains state action (Reich 1991; Ohmae 1995; Sassen 1996; Rosenau 1997). The increasing mobility of capital has led states to pursue increasingly similar policies along the neo-liberal model (Gill 1995; Strange 1996; Amin 1997; Greider 1997; Hoogvelt 1997; Scholte 1997; Yergin and Stanislaw 1998; Luttwak 1999). Given the intensification of global competition, government spending and revenue-generation are increasingly constrained (Gourevitch 1986; Frieden 1991; Garrett and Lange 1991; Reich 1991; Cox 1997; Greider 1997; Scholte 1997; Gray 1998). While some do not go so far as to declare the end of the welfare state, many see a worldwide convergence toward a more limited welfare state (Gourevitch 1986; Rodrik 1997; Gray 1998; Pieper and Taylor 1998). Others find that, while the tasks of the state may be changing, the state very much remains the key driver of globalization processes (Evans 1997; Garrett 1998). That is not to say that all states have equal influence in the process. Nor can the outcomes be reduced to strictly positive or negative because the multitude of processes involved impact different states in different ways (Mann 1997). Others contend that this national-global duality at least implicit in these debates is unhelpful and misleading. It is not a zero-sum game. As will be seen in the discussion of the global cities literature below, geographical units do not fit neatly as winners or losers in the globalization process. The same holds true for governments themselves as agencies are empowered or challenged depending on their area of expertise.

Global Governance

For many, it is increasingly clear that real authority has been transferred to international organizations and other non-state actors. As such, this raises questions about how they may be made more democratically accountable. With a hierarchical international government unlikely anytime soon, scholars have looked to other types of governance arrangements, such as cosmopolitan democracy (Held 1995; Archibugi 1998). For proponents of cosmopolitan democracy, nodes of authority based on functional expertise are the best hope for democratic governance at the international level. This conception, however, does not pay adequate attention to power relations (Cerny 1999). This optimism is based on the growing power of civil society groups. Civil society groups have had a growing, yet uneven, effect on nation-states and international organizations (Meyer et al. 1997; O'Brien et al. 2000). Many have pointed out, however, that civil society itself does not have strong claims to democratic authority (Bohman 1999; Gorge and Hirsch 1998). In addition, maintaining their existence may be at odds with their principles (Bob 2002). Furthermore, as economic interdependence

grows, private governance arrangements are also becoming more prevalent (Reinicke 1998; Picciotto 1996). Because global civil society is seen by some as representative of an emergent global culture more discussion of civil society groups will follow below.

Technology and Governance

Given the close relationship between globalization and technological innovation, research has also examined how new technologies will effect our notions of democracy and citizenship. On the surface, it may seem that these technologies would allow for greater information availability allowing the oppressed to rise up against authoritarian governments as well as allowing the disadvantaged to participate on a more equal footing in advanced industrial democracies. Recent scholarship has taken issue with the assumption that these technologies are liberating. Some have pointed out that network technology makes surveillance and control easier (Barney 2000). What is more, even within the West, access to digital technology remains highly uneven, and is becoming more so. Within American society for example, rural areas, the poor, and minorities have less access to the internet (Wilhelm 2000). In addition, the use of technology may run the risk of destroying social capital, which many see as a vital component of a vibrant democracy. Sunstein (2001), for example, argues that democracy requires shared experiences and, as the internet allows us to become increasingly atomized, this will be lost. In fact, the internet stifles debate by making it easy to customize our on-line experience to our tastes, thereby making it easier to avoid views in opposition to our own (Wilhelm 2000; Sunstein 2001).

Economic Globalization

The use of the term globalization in common parlance often refers to economic activity. For those who see a 'new world,' the scale and magnitude of global economic interaction is unprecedented (O'Brien 1992; Altvater and Mahnkopf 1997; Greider 1997; Rodrik 1997; Dicken 1998). The volume of capital flows far exceeds that of the past. Production processes are increasingly dispersed regionally and globally (Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994; Castells 1996; Dicken 1998). Developing countries, too, have increasingly been a part of global trade and capital flows (Castells 1996; Dicken 1998). In short, the world has reached a stage in which one can meaningfully refer to one global economy (Geyer and Bright 1995; Dickson 1997; Dicken 1998; Frank 1998). The trend of regionalism should also not be considered a counterforce to globalization but a complement (Anderson and Blackhurst 1993; Dicken 1998). The nature of capitalism also appears to have undergone change as the world has entered a post-industrial economy (Castells 1996; Greider 1997; Luttwak 1999). Contemporary patterns of economic globalization suggest the emergence of a new international division of labor (Johnston et al. 1995; Amin 1997; Hoogvelt 1997; Rodrik 1997; Castells 1998; Dicken 1998; Mittelman 2000). Economic processes have become so diffuse that even the strongest states can no longer wholly control them (Gill 1992; Geyer and Bright 1995; Amin 1996). With states reluctant to cede authority to international actors, some see economic processes out of control (Zürn 1995; Giddens 2000) leaving little option but to accommodate the forces of globalization (Amin 1996; Cox 1997). Others see multilateral institutions as increasingly important sites in which economic globalization is contested (Rosenau 1990; Shaw 1994; Cortell and Davies 1996; Hasenclever et al. 1997; Milner

1997; Herod et al. 1998). It is not simply economic interests who are part of the debate, but civil society actors have an increasingly important, moderating voice (Ekins 1992; Scholte 1993; Burbach et al. 1997; Castells 1997; Rosenau 1997).

Those who question the uniqueness of present economic activity point to evidence of their own. First, the magnitude and geographic scale of present day flows of trade, capital, and people are at much lower levels than occurred in the *belle époque* of 1890-1914 (Gordon 1988; Weiss 1998; Hirst and Thompson 1999). For example, many countries are less open to trade than in the past (Hoogvelt 1997; Hirst and Thompson 1999). In terms of capital flows, gross flows may be unprecedented today, but net flows are much lower than the prior era (Zevin 1992). In sum, current trends suggest economic and financial integration has proceeded only in a limited manner (Zevin 1992; Jones 1995; Garrett 1998). Economic flows are also highly concentrated amongst the wealthiest countries (Jones 1995; Dicken 1998). In fact, three leading centers of power, the United States, the European Union, and Japan, appear to be carving out their own regional spheres of economic influence (Hart 1992; Sandholtz et al. 1992; Hirst and Thompson 1999). Within each region, contrary to the homogenization thesis, important differences in the structuring of economic life persist (Callinicos et al. 1994; Ruidrok and Tulder 1995; Boyer and Drache 1996; Hirst and Thompson 1999; Chan and Scarritt 2002). For some who doubt the uniqueness of the present, they argue that countries, at least the powerful ones, remain in command of the global economy (Kapstein 1994). Even multinational corporations, seen by many as the prime agents of globalization, remain tied in significant ways to their country of origin (Ruidrok and Tulder 1995; Doremus et al. 1998). Deindustrialization in the developed world is more attributed to technological change, not rising interdependence (Rowthorn and Wells 1987). Furthermore, the state's ability to maintain social welfare programs has not been seriously inhibited by globalization (Garrett 1998; Rieger and Liebfried 1998; Hirst and Thompson 1999).

Debate has also been waged as to whether globalization will exacerbate economic inequalities or contribute to advancing the lot of the poorest relative to others. Studies have pursued whether globalization process have produced wealth convergence and divergence both within developed countries and developing (Krugman and Venables 1995; Rodrik 1997; Burtless et al. 1998; Dicken 1998; Mahler et al. 1999). While markets will produce winners and losers, liberals argue that the openness accompanying globalization will benefit all (Ohmae 1990, 1995; Dollar and Kraay n.d.). Others see the potential to produce widening disparities (Beetham 1995; Commission on Global Governance 1995; Gill 1995; Bradshaw and Wallace 1996; Castells 1997; Greider 1997; Hoogvelt 1997; Gray 1998; UNDP 1999). Given the constraints of the global economy, it is not clear whether old paths to development are still available to the developing world. Recent attention has focused on the particular impact globalizing processes have on women and the environment to name two significant areas of research (Mittelman 2000).

Cultural Globalization

Through the global media and communications technologies, virtually everyone on earth is exposed to foreign ideas and practices. The scale of global communication

and migration has begun to brake down national identities (Rheingold 1995). The emergence of NGOs and global social movements as important political actors provide further evidence for a new culture of global civil society (Ekins 1992; Falk 1995; Kaldor 1998; Boli and Thomas 1999). The creation of a global civil society has become an increasingly important component of studies of globalization. By most conceptions, these diverse social movements and NGOs can be considered part of resistance to globalization because they seek to give ideas of human rights, environmental protection and the like equal footing with economic efficiency. At the same time, the interconnectedness fostered by globalization has facilitated their growth in importance. In addition, speaking of *A* global civil society masks significant differences within the vast pool of groups, the most general of which is the distinction between civil society groups from the global North and South.

For many, cultural globalization means Westernization or Americanization. An important distinction concerning today's cultural globalization is that it is largely driven by corporations rather than countries. As such, one of the central concerns is the spread of consumer culture (Klein 1999). Cultural globalization involves processes of unequal power, which brings old practices and identities into question raising the potential for conflict (J.B. Thompson 1995; Robins 1997). For many critics, non-Western culture and practices are at risk of being overwhelmed by homogenizing 'McDonaldization'.

Skeptics contend that the erosion of culture has been overstated. Cultural interactions have taken place for centuries so to argue non-Western cultures are somehow pristine is naïve. In a normative sense, the cultural degradation argument dismisses the ability of non-Western people to control their destiny and incorporate those attributes they may find useful. Skeptics point to evidence that local culture remains strong (Appadurai 1990; Liebes and Katz 1993; J.B. Thompson 1995). There is no global 'imagined community.' Contrary to those who see nationality as constructed, skeptics argue that national identities are founded on real differences that have continued salience (A.D. Smith 1990; Hall 1992; Brown 1995). Other skeptics point to the growth of ethnic and nationalist movements in the post-Cold War world as evidence that these sources of identity remain strong. Information technology may, in fact, intensify traditional identities (A.D. Smith 1990). Intense interaction may make people more cognizant of difference and lead to conflict (Robins 1991; Massey and Jess 1995; Brewer and Miller 1996).

For those who take a more nuanced view of cultural globalization than an irresistible force of Westernization or Americanization, globalization processes do represent significant challenges to our notions of culture. For example, a number of works explore the nature of migration patterns (Basch et al. 1994; Castles and Miller 1998; Sassen 1998; Mittelman 2000), which have not only economic but also social and cultural effects. While migration is not unique to the present age, communication and transportation technologies allow migrants a greater opportunity to maintain links with their homelands. More porous borders raise questions about notions of citizenship and identity. Along with the economy being of an increasingly transnational nature, immigration and identity have also become transnational phenomena. Sources of identity are no longer attached to place (Sassen 1998). Challenges to national identity come not only from what some see as an emergent global culture based on non-governmental organizations. At the same time, globalization may facilitate the triggering of more local,

particularistic identities. The post-Cold War reemergence of nationalism can be interpreted perhaps as resistance to globalization.

An important literature explores the unique nature of global cities in the evolving world political geography (Isin 2000; King 1990; Sassen 1991, 1998). A focus on cities helps reinforce the notion that globalization has uneven effects even within states. Contrary to those who think space no longer matters, cities remain highly concentrated areas of activity. Increasingly, these cities have greater ties to each other than to the nation or region in which they are physically situated. In some ways they serve as microcosms for the integrating and disintegrating forces that other scholars see at the global level. Cities serve as centers of diversity and of financial flows. At the same time, cities contain tremendous poverty. Diversity comes not strictly from the transnational business elite, but from the poor as well. As a result, global cities, even in the developed world, have seen the growth of informal economies and urban protest.

Particularly in the wake of September 11, there has been increasing attention to Islamic fundamentalism. For some, the conflict is a long historical one between Muslim and Christian civilizations (Huntington 1996; Lewis 2001, 2002). As such, cultural differences are deemed to be highly resistant to change and increased interaction will produce conflict. Others see a more complex phenomenon. In the last twenty-five years, fundamentalist movements have emerged within virtually all of the world's major religions indicating perhaps a broader response to modernity (Kepel 1994; Naipaul 1998; Said 2001; Willis 2001).

Discontentment

Resistance to the forces of globalization and modernity come from a host of sources (Kothari 1997; Rodrik 1997; Sassen 1998; Mittelman 2000). Nation-states bypassed by globalization may resent the advancement of others. At the same time, many critics argue engagement in the global economy is exploitation in itself. For those who see the retreat of the nation-state, the growing power of unaccountable market forces and international organizations provokes calls for change (Korten 1996; Khor 1999). Many NGOs (and global civil society more broadly) can be seen as resisting globalization. They could generally be divided between those who seek a fundamental restructuring of the global system and those who want to reform the existing system. For reformers, amongst the changes they seek are a more equitable distribution of wealth, attention to the plight of women, and addressing the global environmental crisis (Mittelman 2000). In the aftermath of September 11, the anti-globalization movement faces a changed environment which has exposed these divisions within its ranks (Harding 2001; Green and Griffith 2002). For those who see the benefits of greater interconnectedness, particularly economic openness, anti-globalization protestors have misplaced their anger (Bhagwati 2002; Graham 2000). For them, the problems the anti-globalization movement decries arise from relying too little on markets and individualism, not over reliance. Resistance also comes from ethnic groups and religions who feel threatened by these processes (Kepel 1994; Mittelman 1996; Castells 1997; Tibi 1998). This discontentment has gained renewed attention as some see globalization and modernity as a motivation for September 11 (Fukuyama 2001; Lewis 2002).

Bibliography

Globalization: General

Albrow, M. 1996. *The Global Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Albrow argues that neither those who see globalization as a continuation of pre-established processes nor postmodernists who see a decisive break have it right. The new era facing us requires an explicitly epochal theory to understand the transition to the global age. In addition, the decline of the nation-state presents opportunities for society and the emergence of new kinds of citizenship.

Appadurai, A. 2000. Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination. *Public Culture*. 12(1): 1-19.

Amor, L. Dodgson, R., Gills, B., Langley, P.L., Marshall, D. and Watson, I. 1997. Overturning Globalization: Resisting the Teleological, Reclaiming the Political. *New Political Economy*. 2(1).

Badie, B. 2000. Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture. (Feature Review) *New Political Economy*. 5(2).

Bamyeh, M.A. 2000. *The Ends of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

A uniquely broad perspective that challenges current ideas about worldwide cultural and political change. Touching on current debates about globalization, nationalism, imperialism, and culture, this book offers a cogent critique of much of what is being said about globalization, by both the Right and the Left. In doing so, it charts the complex processes of globalization, drawing out their historical and philosophical roots and outlining the connections between cultural, political, and economic life that globalization has made, historically and in our day. The author's orientation toward political theory and comparative civilizations gives insight into what is most dangerous and opportune in what is happening in the world today. Bamyeh makes a compelling argument that we are witnessing a process typified by massive disjunctions between political, cultural, and economic logics on a world scale. Bamyeh demonstrates how the disruptions caused by globalization, while they blur our vision and block our rational approaches, also possess the potential to liberate human possibilities and capabilities long shackled by such modernist institutions of governance as the nation-state.

Barber, B. 1995. *Jihad vs. MacWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World*. New York.

The central contention is that there are two great opposing forces at work in the world today, border-crossing capitalism and splintering factionalism that are the two biggest threats to democracy. Although capitalism could have only grown to current levels in the soil of democracies, Barber argues that global capitalism now tends to work against the very concept of citizenship, of people thinking for themselves and with their neighbors. Too often now, how we think is the product of a transnational corporation (increasingly, a media corporation) with headquarters elsewhere. And although self-determination is one of the most fundamental of democratic principles, unchecked it has led to tribalism in which virtually no one besides the local power elite gets a fair shake. The antidote, Barber concludes, is to work everywhere to resuscitate the non-governmental, non-business spaces in life, which he calls them "civic spaces" where true citizenship thrives.

Bauman, Z. 1998. *Globalization : the Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press.

In this detailed history of globalization, Bauman shows that while human affairs now take place on a global scale, we are not able to direct events. We only watch as boundaries, institutions, and

loyalties shift in rapid and unpredictable ways. From the way the global economy creates a class of absentee landlords to current prison designs for the criminalized underclass, Bauman dissects globalization in all its manifestations: its effects on the economy, politics, social structures, and even our perceptions of time and space. Bauman argues that globalization divides as much as it unites, creating an ever-widening gulf between the haves and the have-nots. Rather than the hybrid culture we had hoped for, globalization is creating a more homogenous world. Bauman shows how the advent of the computer translates into the decline of truly public space. And he explores the dimensions of a world in which new technologies produce an accelerated sense of time and the compression of space.

Beck, U. 1999. *What is Globalization?* Trans. By P. Camiller. Blackwell Publishers.

Berger, P.L. and Huntington, S.P. eds. 2002. *Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bentley J.H. 1996. Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History. *American Historical Review*. 101 (June).

Callinicos, A. et al. 1994. *Marxism and the New Imperialism*. London: Blackwell.

Castells, M. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Castells argues that globalization represents a profound change in the capitalist order, namely the emergence of a 'new global informational capitalism.' Castells puts forth a systemic analysis of the global informational capitalism that has emerged in the last half of the 20th century. While many books have considered the development of increasingly sophisticated information technology, the shifting conditions of employment and responsibility within corporations, or the rise of corporations whose domains are spread out over several nation-states, Castells unites these topics in a comprehensive thesis, negotiating the tightrope between academic sociology and mainstream business analysis.

Cerny, P. 1996. Globalization and Other Stories: the Search for a New Paradigm for International Relations. *International Journal*. LI: 616-37.

Chase-Dunn, C. and Hall, T.D. 1997. *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems*. Boulder CO: Westview Press.

Clark, I. 1997. *Globalization and Fragmentation: International Relations in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Clark, I. 1999. *Globalization and International Relations Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Clark, R.P. 1997. *The Global Imperative*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Cox, K. ed. 1997. *Spaces of Globalization*. Guilford Press.

Dicken, P. 1998. *Global Shift* 3rd edition. New York: The Guilford Press.

Dicken discusses the economic, political, and technological processes that are creating global shifts in economic activity and affecting local communities in highly uneven ways. The book focuses on the interrelated actions of transnational corporations and states within a volatile technological environment. It features detailed case studies of key global industries, namely textiles, automobiles, electronics, and services.

Fernández-Armesto, F. 1995. *Millennium*. London: Bantam.

Frank, A.G. and Gills, B.K. eds. 1996. *The World System*. London: Routledge.

Friedman, T. 1999. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York, Anchor.

Friedman, T. and Kaplan, R. 2002. States of Discord: A Globalization Debate. *Foreign Policy*. March/April. pp. 64-70.

Fukuyama, F. 1989. The End of History? *The National Interest*. 16(Summer).

Germain, R.D. ed. 2000. *Globalization and its Critics: Perspectives from Political Economy*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

This book challenges the claim that globalization is a clearly understood phenomena whose effects are well known and easily accounted for. It explores the categories we use to think about globalization, the dynamics which are driving it, and the effects which globalizing tendencies are having on the key institutional features of the contemporary world. The contributors examine not only how globalization is refashioning political and economic institutions, but also the way in which specific forms of knowledge and technology are shaping the ongoing dynamic of globalization. The volume concludes with a review of the issues posed by this important debate.

Geyer, M. and Bright, C. 1995. World History in a Global Age. *American Historical Review*. 100(4).

Giddens, A. 2000. *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives*. New York.

Guillén, M.F. 2001. Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble? A Critique of Five Key Debates in the Social Science Literature. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 27: 235-60.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. 2001. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Empire is a sweeping book with a big-picture vision. Hardt and Negri argue that while classical imperialism has largely disappeared, a new empire is emerging in a diffuse blend of technology, economics, and globalization. *Empire* aspires to the same scale of grand political philosophy as Locke or Marx or Fukuyama, but whether Hardt and Negri accomplish this daunting task is debatable. They argue, from a neo-Marxist perspective, that "the multitude" will transcend and defeat the new empire on its own terms. The authors address everything from the works of Deleuze to Jefferson's constitutional democracy to the Chiapas revolution in a far-ranging analysis of our contemporary situation. Unfortunately, their penchant for references and obscure language sometimes renders the prose unwieldy. It can be rambling and short on empirics.

Hay, C. and Marsh, D. eds. 1999. *Demystifying Globalization*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Globalization has, within academic, political, and business circles alike become the buzz-word of the 1990s, conjuring an ever growing diversity of associations, connotations, and attendant mythologies. In this volume a distinguished array of international academics assess the contribution of globalization thesis to our understanding of social, political, and economic change in contemporary societies. They explore, challenge and demystify many of the exaggerated and over generalized claims made about globalization.

Held, D. and Hirst, P. 2002. Globalisation After 11 September: The Argument of Our Time. *An openDemocracy Dialogue*. http://www.opendemocracy.net/document_store/Doc1009-5.pdf

Held, D. and McGrew, A. 2000. The Great Globalization Debate. In D. Held and A. McGrew. *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., and Perraton, J. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hirst, P. 1997. The Global Economy: Myths and Realities. *International Affairs*. 73(3) (July).

Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. 1999. *Globalization in Question*, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

The authors question the very utility of the concept of globalization by exploring how present forms of global integration are weaker and less intense than those of the *belle époque* (1890-1914). In doing so, they present a different picture of the possibilities for its continued and extended governance.

Johnston, R.J., Taylor, P.J. and Watts, M.J. eds. 1995. *Geographies of Global Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jones, R.J.B. 1995. *Globalization and Interdependence in the International Political Economy*. London: Frances Pinter.

Kaplan, R.D. 1996. *The Ends of the Earth: A Journey at the Dawn of the 21st Century*. New York: Vintage Books.

Kaplan, R.D. 2001. *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War*. New York: Vintage Books.

Kaplan warns of a "bifurcated world divided between societies like ours, producing goods and services that the rest of the world wants, and those mired in various forms of chaos." Kaplan's vision of the future is a bleak one, full of ethnic conflict as the world falls away from a cold war that at least provided a kind of stability in even the shakiest of countries. That's gone now, of course, and Kaplan's descriptions of life and politics in Sierra Leone, Russia, India, and elsewhere are keenly troubling. Much of the book has already seen print, mainly on the pages of *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Khor, M. 2000. *Globalization and the South – Some Critical Issues*. Edited by the Third World Network.

Kofman, E. and Youngs, G. eds. 1996. *Globalization: Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter.

Lechner, F. and Boli, J. eds. 2000. *The Globalization Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Mayall, J. 1998. Globalization and International Relations. *Review of International Studies*. 24: 239-50.

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Micklethwait, J., and Wooldridge, A. 2000. *A Future Perfect: The Essentials of Globalization*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Mittelman, J. H. 2000. *The Globalization Syndrome: Transformations and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Here James Mittelman explains the systemic dynamics and myriad consequences of globalization, focusing on the interplay between globalizing market forces, in some instances guided by the state, and the needs of society. Mittelman finds that globalization is hardly a unified phenomenon but rather a syndrome of processes and activities: a set of ideas and a policy framework. More specifically, globalization is propelled by a changing division of labor and power, manifested in a new regionalism, and challenged by fledgling resistance movements. The author argues that a more complete understanding of globalization requires an appreciation of its cultural dimensions.

From this perspective, he considers the voices of those affected by this trend, including those who resist it and particularly those who are hurt by it.

Mittelman, J.H. ed. 2001. *Capturing Globalization*. New York: Routledge.

This collection reveals how issues such as religion, private capital flows, poverty, the state and democracy, transnational class structures, disruptions in culture and new patterns in the use of language are part of the globalization process.

Mittelman, J.H. 2002. Globalization as an Ascendant Paradigm? *International Studies Perspectives*. 3(1) (February).

Nederveen Pieterse, J. ed. 2000. *Global Futures: Shaping Globalization*. Zed Books.

Nierop, T. 1994. *Systems and Regions in Global Politics*. London: John Wiley.

Ohmae, K. 1990. *The Borderless World*. London: Collins.

O'Meara, P., Mehlinger, H.D. and Krain, M. eds. 2000. *Globalization and the Challenges of a New Century*. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press.

Petras, J. and Veltmeyer, H. eds. 2001. *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st Century*. New York: Zed Books.

The authors contend that globalization is not new. Rather, capitalism over the past 100 years has experienced periodic waxing and waning of its tendency to integrate economies worldwide. They go on to argue that globalization was created by deliberate policies put in place by powerful states under the control of dominant classes and that it is not a structural part of the capitalist system. Instead, it is an ideological smokescreen used to divert attention away from the resurgence of imperialist powers. The authors do see an alternative in a renewed, democratic, and revolutionary socialist vision that is capable of uniting people, and of being recognized by political movements that are committed to finding realistic strategies and achievable goals.

Prakash, A. and Hart, J.A. 2000. *Coping with Globalization*. Routledge.

Prakash, A. and Hart, J.A. 2000. *Responding to Globalization*. Routledge.

The new challenges and opportunities created by the spread of globalization have reshaped both institutional and individual responses to this phenomenon. This comprehensive analysis of the way in which governments and firms have responded to globalization examines closely the options available to both, and the historical and institutional contexts to the strategic decisions made.

Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Robinson, W.I. 1996. *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rodrik, D. 1997. *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* Washington DC: Institute for International Economics.

Rosenau, J.N. 1990. *Turbulence in World Politics*. Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Rupert, M. 2000. *Ideologies of Globalization: Contending Visions of a New World Order*. Routledge.

Scholte, J.A. 1993. *International Relations of Social Change*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Sklair, L. 1995. *Sociology of the Global System*, 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Smith, S. & Baylis, J. 2001. *The Globalization of World Politics: an Introduction to International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

This comprehensive introductory text focuses on explaining to students without previous knowledge of the subject how contemporary world politics work. An introductory chapter discusses the concept of globalization and summarizes the main arguments for and against it. There then follow four sections, covering: the historical background to contemporary world politics; the main theories that offer explanations of world politics; the structures and processes of world politics; and the main issues of contemporary world politics. Each chapter is written by a leading specialist in the field.

Social Science Research Council. 2001. Essays in Response to September 11.
<http://www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/>

Thompson, G. 1998. Globalization versus Regionalism? *Journal of North African Studies*.

Waters, M. 1995. *Globalization*. New York: Routledge.

The constraints of geography are shrinking and the world is becoming a single place. Globalization and the global society are increasingly occupying the center of sociological debates. Waters provides a user-friendly introduction to the main arguments about the process including a chapter on the critiques of the globalization thesis.

Weiss, L. 1998. *State Capacity: Governing the Economy in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Zeiler, T. W. 2001. Just Do It! Globalization for Diplomatic Historians. *Diplomatic History* 25(4): 529-551.

Zürn, M. 1995. The Challenge of Globalization and Individualization. In H.H. Holm and G. Sorensen. eds. *Whose World Order?* Boulder: Westview Press.

Modernity: General

Adam, B. 1999. *World Risk Society*. Blackwell Publishers.

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Bauman, Z. 2000. *In Search of Politics*. Blackwell Publishers.

Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Blackwell Publishers.

Bauman, Z. 2000. *The Individualized Society*. Blackwell Publishers.

Beck, U, Giddens, A. and Lash, S. 1994. *Reflexive Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.

The Book consists of two interrelated notions, reflexive modernization and risk. The concept of risk is directly bound to the concept of reflexive modernization. Beck explores how classical modernization is different from reflexive modernization. Risk may be defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself. The risk and hazards of today are of a global nature, direct threats to all life. It results in global industrial pollution, contamination of air, water, and food supplies and also sickness and. Another dimension

of risk is the social transformation with modernity. There is a process of individualization which inhibits class distinctions but inequalities by no means disappear. There is a shift from the system of standardized full employment to the system of flexible and pluralized under-employment. Risk of scientific development increases disproportionately faster than solution. With the globalization of industrial society, political systems lose their function.

Beck, U. 1997. *The Reinvention of Politics: Rethinking Modernity in the Global Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, U. 1999. *World Risk Society*. Blackwell Publishers.

Ben-Ami, S., Peled, Y. and Spektorowski, A. eds. 2000. *Ethnic Challenges to the Modern Nation State*. Palgrave.

Chirot, D. 2001. A Clash of Civilizations or of Paradigms? Theorizing Progress and Social Change. *International Sociology*. 16, no. 3: 341-360.

Eisenstadt, S.N. 1983. *Tradition, Change, and Modernity*. New York: Wiley.

Giddens, A. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Beginning from a definition of modernity the type of social organization emerging in seventeenth century Europe and spreading globally from there, Giddens argues a post-modern world has not yet arrived. Rather, we live in a period of "high modernity", in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalized and universalized than in the past. In focusing on the themes of security versus danger and trust versus risk, Giddens explores how modernity presents humanity with both sides of these dichotomies at the same time.

Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Harvey, D. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey contends that the present era represents a marked break with capitalist modernity. The planet is moving into a new, postmodern, more fragmented global capitalism in which time and space are reconfigured by the dictates of global capital. Harvey delineates the passage through to post-modernity and the economic, social, and political changes that underscored and accompanied it. As he clearly states, the rise in postmodernist cultural forms is related to a new intensity in what Harvey terms 'time-space compression,' but this new intensity is a qualitative rather than quantitative change in social organization, and it does not point to an era beyond capitalism as "the basic rules of capitalistic accumulation" remain unchanged.

Inkeles, A. 1983. *Exploring Individual Modernity*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Jameson, F. 1991. *Postmodernism: The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Leitch, V. 1996. *Postmodernism: Local Effects, Global Flows*. Albany, NY: State University Press of New York.

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Paolini, A.J. 1999. Navigating Modernity: Postcolonialism, Identity, and International Relations. *International Relations*. 11.

Pemberton, J. 2001. *Global Metaphors: Modernity and the Quest for One World*. Sterling VA: Pluto Press.

Robertson, R. 1992. Globality and Modernity. *Theory, Culture and Society*. 9(2).

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Barber, B.R. 2000. Can Democracy Survive Globalization? *International Journal of Comparative Politics*. 35(3).

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Cerny, P. 1991. The Limits of Deregulation: Transnational Interpenetration and Policy Change. *European Journal Of Political Research*. 19: 173-96.

Cerny, P. 1997. Paradoxes of the Competition State: The Dynamics of Political Globalization. *Government and Opposition*. 32(2): 251-74.

Cohen, E.S. Globalization and the Boundaries of the State: A Framework for Analyzing the Changing Practice of Sovereignty. *Governance*. 14(1).

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Cox, R. 1997. Economic Globalization and the Limits to Liberal Democracy. In A. Mcgrew. ed. *The Transformation of Democracy? Globalization and Territorial Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity press.

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Elkins, D.J. 1995. *Beyond Sovereignty: Territory and Political Economy in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Texas Press.

Evans, P. 1996. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Peter Evans offers a new vision of why state economic involvement works in some cases and produces disasters in others. To illustrate, he looks at how state agencies, local entrepreneurs, and transnational corporations shaped the emergence of computer industries in Brazil, India, and Korea during the seventies and eighties. Evans starts with the idea that states vary in the way they are organized and tied to society. In some nations, like Zaire, the state is predatory, ruthlessly extracting and providing nothing of value in return. In others, like Korea, it is developmental, promoting industrial transformation. In still others, like Brazil and India, it is in between, sometimes helping, sometimes hindering. Evans's years of comparative research on the successes and failures of state involvement in the process of industrialization have here been crafted into a persuasive and entertaining work, which demonstrates that successful state action requires an understanding of its own limits, a realistic relationship to the global economy, and the combination of coherent internal organization and close links to society that Evans called "embedded autonomy."

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- Ohmae discusses why the nation state and the global economy cannot comfortably coexist. National boundaries are too porous, he argues, to control the flows of communication, corporations, customers, capital, and currencies, and most national governments are too focused on distributing wealth to be effective in creating it. Ohmae sees "region states" --natural economic zones of 5 to 20 million affluent residents, such as Hong Kong and contiguous areas of China, San Diego, and Tijuana or Silicon Valley--stepping into this vacuum, building links with the global economy independent of the nations that theoretically control them. For Ohmae, nation-states should decentralize power and seek to serve as catalysts for the growth of region states. Such a move is the only sort of growth the global economy is likely to support.
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The past decade has seen great changes in the way business is transacted across national borders. Because of unprecedented advances in telecommunication and computer networks, money is transferred in electronic space. U.S. firms such as Ford, IBM, and Exxon now employ well over fifty percent of their workers overseas, rankling both domestic workers who argue that jobs are being exported while unemployment soars at home and activists who contend that wealthy corporations are exploiting low-wage workers in Third World nations. And as immigration levels soar, the very concept of citizenship has moved to the top of political agendas around the world. What determines the flow of labor and capital in this new global information economy? Who has the capacity to coordinate this new system, to create a measure of order? And what happens to territoriality and sovereignty, two fundamental principles of the modern state? In this work, Sassen explores these questions. Examining the rise of private transnational legal codes and supranational institutions such as the World Trade Organization and universal human rights covenants, Sassen argues that sovereignty remains an important feature of the international system, but that it is no longer confined to the nation-state. Sassen argues that a profound transformation is taking place, a partial denationalizing of national territory seen in such agreements as NAFTA and the European Union. Two arenas stand out in the new spatial and economic order: the global capital market and the series of codes and institutions that have mushroomed into an international human rights regime. As Sassen shows, these two quasi-legal realms now have the power and legitimacy to demand accountability from national governments with the ironic twist that both depend upon the state to enforce their goals.

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This book asks three fundamental questions: How are patterns of globalization currently evolving? How do these patterns affect governance? And how might globalism itself be governed? The first section maps the trajectory of globalization in several dimensions-economic, cultural, environmental, and political. The second section examines the impact of globalization on governance within individual nations. The third section discusses efforts to improvise new approaches to governance, including the role of non-governmental institutions, the global dimensions of information policy, and speculation on global economic governance.

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Smith, D.M. 2000. The WTO and Invisible Government. *Peace Review*. 12(2).

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This book clearly explains the functions and powers of the main institutions that govern globalization--the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization--along with the ramifications, both good and bad, of their policies. He strongly believes that globalization can be a positive force around the world, particularly for the poor, but only if the IMF, World Bank, and WTO dramatically alter the way they operate, beginning with increased transparency and a greater willingness to examine their own actions closely. The book is not entirely critical, however, explaining how globalization, along with foreign aid, has improved the living standards of millions around the world.

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A measured, anecdotally documented claim that a few hundred corporate leviathans have gained a controlling interest in the world economy--at no small cost to national and local governments striving to preserve a sense of community. In the course of doing business, the authors claim, these companies are integrating the planet and creating a new order. They go on to assert that a handful dominate the Global Village's so-called Cultural Bazaar, Shopping Mall, Workplace, and Financial Network--the four intersecting webs of...commercial activity on which the new world economy largely rests." Getting down to cases, Barnet and Cavanagh focus on five essentially stateless organizations (Bertelsmann, Citicorp, Ford Motor, Philip Morris, and Sony) whose resources allow them to compete with transnational rivals in markets almost anywhere. The authors point out that these powerful corporations remain less than accountable to any higher authority. Meanwhile, as economies are drawn closer together, nation-states and other sociopolitical politics are being pulled apart by post-cold war forces of various sorts. The situation poses many challenges for governments, which can no longer rely on traditional institutions or means to protect their people and territory. Whether humankind can develop a global consciousness that permits it to adapt successfully to altered circumstances, however, strikes the authors as a very open question.

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Bergsten, C.F. 2001. Fifty Years of Trade Policy: The Policy Lessons. *World Economy*. 24(1).

Bhagwati, J. 1991. *The World Trading System at Risk*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jagdish Bhagwati, one of the world's leading economists, offers an overview of the perils and promise facing the world trading system. That system is now being subjected to powerful centrifugal forces. Concerns with unfair trade are rampant, managed trade is increasingly popular, and regionalism is spreading. The United States, the traditional bulwark of multilateralism, has recently resorted to aggressive, unilateral tactics in trade policy. To a consideration of these developments, Bhagwati brings a unique blend of economic theory, historical scholarship, and familiarity with the institutions of world trade. Bhagwati refutes facile but fashionable criticisms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Warning of the dangers of flouting the GATT's provisions, he shows that its underlying conception of trading by rules will be undermined if we extend accusations of "unfair trade" practices to areas as diverse as retail distribution systems, infrastructure spending, saving rates, and workers' rights. In addition, he provides novel suggestions for rebuilding the GATT and with it the world trading system itself--suggestions that should prove useful at the Uruguay Round and beyond.

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Castells, M. 1998. *End of Millennium*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Manuel Castells concludes the Information Age trilogy by considering the intersection of the global network society and factional project identities. As always, the scope of Castell's argument is far-ranging. Among the subjects addressed are the collapse of the Soviet Union; the potential emergence of the Asian Pacific as the next region of major world power; and the rapidly increasing growth of a "Fourth World"-- a series of "black holes of informational capitalism" (areas that have been cut off from the flow of wealth and information in the global economy) that refuses to confine itself to national borders--as likely to appear in the American inner city as it is in sub-Saharan Africa. He also raises the specter of a "global criminal economy," a dark counterpart to transnational corporations, and suggests that trends such as fascination with gangster movies "may well indicate the cultural breakdown of traditional moral order, and the implicit recognition of a new society, made up of communal identity and unruly competition."

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Beginning with the 1989 end of the Cold War and the subsequent collapse of communism, it focuses on globalization and rapid technological change and covers a broad sweep of economic developments and political cultures. Gilpin demonstrates the fragility of a global and integrated economy and recommends what can be done to strengthen it. The international community has another chance to solidify the global market economy that collapsed with the outbreak of World War I. Yet, writes Gilpin, the full implications of this historic development for international affairs are not yet clear. Will socialist economies make a successful transition to market-type economies? What role will a dynamic China play in the world economy? Will the United States continue to exercise leadership or gravitate toward self-centered policies? Gilpin explores such questions along with problems in the areas of trade liberalization, multinational corporations, and

destabilizing financial flows. He also investigates the struggles of less developed countries and the spread of economic regionalism, which he argues directly threaten an open world economy. The author maintains that global capitalism and economic globalization have rested and must continue to rest on a secure political foundation. However, this foundation has eroded since the end of the Soviet threat. To ensure survival of the global economy, Gilpin concludes, the United States and other major powers must recommit themselves to working together to rebuild its weakened political foundations.

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Gray argues that, far from bringing about economic paradise, global capitalism if left unchecked "could well destroy liberal civilization." Gray is careful to distinguish "global capitalism" from "globalization," which he identifies as a broader tendency encompassing "the increasing interconnection of economic and cultural life in distant parts of the world." That societies around the world are coming into closer contact with each other is inevitable; that they will have to do so in a free market, particularly one largely shaped by Anglo-American economic values, is not. Using the recent economic crises in Asia and Russia as examples, such a model will *not* bring societies together, but may well tear them apart. "A worldwide free market," he warns, "is no more self-regulating than the national free markets of the past.... Unless it is reformed radically, the world economy risks falling apart in a replay, at once tragic and farcical, of the trade wars, competitive devaluations, economic collapses and political upheavals of the 1930s."

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Greider, W. 1997. *One World, Ready or Not: The Manic Logic of Global Capitalism*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

The world is in the midst of an industrial and economic revolution more far-reaching than the one that transformed Europe and North America in the 19th century. According to Greider, this revolution is a juggernaut that neither multinational corporations nor governments can control. While huge amounts of wealth are being generated, there is a downside, too: social dislocation; economic uncertainty; and the exploitation of the weak by the strong. Greider proposes a number of steps governments of the world can take to avert disaster such as moderating the flow of goods by imposing tariffs to rectify trade deficits, changing labor practices in developing countries, and allowing labor to share in the ownership of capital.

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- Hazel Henderson offers a critique of globalization which is creating a bubble economy at the cost of real, more local enterprises and livelihoods. She argues for the use of systems thinking and a more holistic approach as a way of breaking out of the narrow prism of GDP and market pricing that dominates conventional economic thinking. She sets out a panoramic vision of the changes required to reshape the global economy towards social justice and sustainability at every level from the global to the local and personal.
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Globalization is at the heart of debates about the present phase of development of the world economy. Hoogvelt joins these debates by examining the ways in which globalization is affecting the countries of the developing world. Taking a new look at historical trends and theories in development studies, Hoogvelt places special emphasis on emerging global forms of production, exchange, and governance. She describes the diverse impacts of globalization in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, East Asia, and Latin America, and identifies different postcolonial responses in each of these regions.

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- Rifkin presents a picture of a world of gatekeepers paying each other for access to nearly every aspect of human life bringing new meaning to the phrase "pay to play" and should spark some debate over our new cultural revolution. Using examples from business and government experiments with just-in-time access to goods and services and resource sharing, Rifkin defines a new society of renters who are too busy breaking the shackles of material possessions to mourn the passing of public property. Are we encouraging alienation or participation? Can we trust corporations with stewardship of our social lives? The author asks more questions than he answers. *The Age of Access* warns us of the complex changes coming in our relationships with our homes, our communities, and our world.
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- Sassoon, A.S. Globalization, Hegemony and Passive Revolution. *New Political Economy*. 6(1):5-17.
- Scott, J.M. and Walters, K.J. 2000. Supporting the Wave: Western Political Foundations and the Promotion of a Global Democratic Society. *Global Society*. 14(2).
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- Simmons, P.J. 1998. Learning to Live With NGOs. *Foreign Policy*. Fall.
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Discontentment

- Aaronson, S.A. 2001. *Taking to the Streets: The Lost History of Public Efforts to Shape Globalization*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Bhagwati, J. 2002. Coping with Antiglobalization. *Foreign Affairs*. 81(1) (January/February): 2-7.
- Bleiker, R. 2000. *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Burbach, R. and Danaher, K. eds. 2000. *Globalize This!: The Battle Against the World Trade Organization*. Community Archives Publications
- Castells, M. 1997. *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

In the second volume of his Information Age trilogy, Castells examines the threat posed to the nation-state by the rise of collective "resistance identities," which may over time develop into "project identities" with specific socially transformative goals in mind. His scope is broad, encompassing everything from Mexico's Zapatista movement to the rise of militias in the United States to broader antipatriarchal projects launched by feminists, gay communities, and environmental activists.

- Couch, J. 2001. Imagining Zapatismo: the Anti-globalization Movement and the Zapatistas. *Communal/Plural: Journal of Transnational & Cross-Cultural Studies*. 9(2): 243 - 260.
- DeFilippis, J. 2001. Our Resistance must be as Local as Capitalism: Place, Scale and the Anti-Globalization Protest Movement. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*. 5(3): 363 - 373.

Dodgson, R. 2000. Contesting Neoliberal Globalization at UN Global Conferences: The Women's Health Movement, United Nations and the International Conference on Population and Development. *Global Society*. 14(3): 443.

Economist. 2001. A Survey of Globalisation: Globalisation and its Critics. *The Economist*. Sept 29.

Fotopoulos, T. 2001. Globalization, the reformist Left and the Anti-Globalization 'Movement'. *Democracy & Nature*. 7(2): 233-280.

Fotopoulos, T. 2001. The End of Traditional Anti-systemic Movements and the Need for a New Type of Anti-systemic Movement Today. *Democracy & Nature*. 7(3): 415 – 455.

Fukuyama, F. 2001. Their Target: The Modern World. *Newsweek*. 138(25) (Dec 17): 42-48.

Giddens, A. 2000. *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives*. New York.

Drawn from a series of lectures delivered in 1999, the book discusses how the world is undergoing a major period of historical transition. For Giddens, globalization is reordering societies all over the planet, and although the results are sometimes unpredictable, they are heading in a generally positive direction. In his view, the battleground of the twenty-first century will pit fundamentalism against cosmopolitan tolerance. In a globalizing world, where information and images are routinely transmitted across the globe, we are all regularly in contact with others who think differently, and live differently, from ourselves. Cosmopolitans welcome and embrace this cultural complexity. Fundamentalists find it disturbing and dangerous. Whether in the areas of religion, ethnic identity, or nationalism, they take refuge in a renewed and purified tradition. He is severely critical of what he calls the "traditional family," which he considers an aspect of fundamentalism the world over and an enemy of sexual equality.

Graham, E. M. 2000. *Fighting the Wrong Enemy: Antiglobal Activists and Multinational Enterprises*. Washington: Institute for International Economics.

Antiglobalist forces have been gaining increasing momentum in recent years in their efforts to reverse what they view as the negative effects of an integrating global economy, with the 1999 WTO meeting in Seattle serving as an example. Their influence was felt earlier when efforts to create a Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) ended in failure in 1998. In this study, through an evaluation of the MAI itself and the issues raised by its opponents, Edward M. Graham takes a fresh look at the growing backlash against globalization. He first explores whether the MAI negotiations failed due to political maneuvering by antiglobalist nongovernmental organizations (supported by US organized labor) or because of irreconcilable differences among the negotiating parties over the substance of the issue of foreign direct investment. He then objectively and thoroughly assesses antiglobalist assertions that the activities of multinational firms have had negative effects on workers both in the home (investor) and host (recipient) nations, with a special focus on developing nations.

Green, D. and Griffith, M. 2002. Globalization and its Discontents. *International Affairs*. 78(1): 49-68.

Harding, J. 2001. The Anti-Globalization Movement. *Financial Times*. Oct 15.

Harvey, N. Globalization and resistance in post-cold war Mexico: difference, citizenship and biodiversity conflicts in Chiapas. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(6):1045 – 1061.

Kepel, G. 1994. *The Revenge of God : the Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the modern world*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

A controversial view of the resurgence of various fundamentalist religious movements throughout the world. His focus is radical movements within Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Kepel finds the term "fundamentalism" inadequate for understanding revivalist movements throughout the rest of the world. Kepel argues that each of these movements resists the spirit of modernity and secularism. Nevertheless, they cannot be dismissed simply as a reaction to modernity. In Kepel's words, "They are true children of our time." Each group contains a militant membership of young, educated, and modern people. Rather than retreat into the past, they seek to recreate society according to a set of symbols and values in accordance with their holy scriptures. Each group pursues both a strategy from above, attempting to seize state power and use state legislation to promote its ends, and a strategy from below, evangelizing the masses and seeking to take control of their daily lives.

Khor, M. 1999. *Rethinking Globalization: Critical Issues and Policy Choices*. New York: Zed Books.

Martin Khor's practical proposals offer action agendas to Third World governments as they are faced with globalization. Khor explains the economic globalization process, showing how it is failing to either increase economic growth or decrease poverty. A critique of Western governments for their domination of the international policy process ensues, where Khor exposes the flaws in the "one size fits all" policy prescriptions of the World Bank, IMF, and WTO. Arguing that Third World countries need room to maneuver, this book proposes innovative and realistic policies.

Korten, D. 1996. *When Corporations Rule the World*. Bloomfield CT: Kumarian Press.

Korten explains how economic globalization has concentrated the power to govern in global corporations and financial markets and detached them from accountability to the human interest. It documents the devastating human and environmental consequences of the successful efforts of these corporations to reconstruct values and institutions everywhere on the planet to serve their own narrow ends. It also reveals why and how millions of people are acting to reclaim their political and economic power from these elitist forces and presents a policy agenda for restoring democracy and rooting economic power in people and communities.

Kothari, R. 1997. Globalization: A World Adrift. *Alternatives*. 22: 227-267.

Lehmann, D. 1998. Fundamentalism and globalism. *Third World Quarterly*. 19(4): 607-34.

Lewis, B. 2001. The Revolt of Islam. *The New Yorker*. November 19: 50-62.

Lewis, B. 2002. *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lewis provides a survey of how Islamic civilization fell from worldwide leadership in almost every frontier of human knowledge five or six centuries ago to a "poor, weak, and ignorant" backwater that is today dominated by "shabby tyrannies ... modern only in their apparatus of repression and terror." He provides a discussion of the Arab encounter with Europe in all its military, economic, and cultural dimensions. Today's Arab governments have blamed their plight on any number of external culprits, from Western imperialism to the Jews. Lewis believes they must instead commit to putting their own houses in order.

Luke, T.W. 2001. Globalization, Popular Resistance and Postmodernity. *Democracy & Nature*. 7(2): 317-329.

Mittelman, J.H. ed. 1996. *Globalization: Critical Reflections*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Looks at the impact of globalization on production and states, and the political and cultural resistance to it by pre-democracy groups in Africa, the Zapatistas in Mexico, other peasant

organizations in Latin America, and Islamic groups. The 11 papers were presented at a workshop sponsored by the International Studies Association and the Center for the Study of the Global South, date and location not noted.

Mittelman, J.H. 1998. Globalization and environmental resistance politics. *Third World Quarterly*. 19(5).

Mohammadi, A. ed. (forthcoming) *Islam Encountering Globalization*.

Naipaul, V. S. 1998. *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions Among the Converted Peoples*. New York: Vintage Book.

Journeying into the non-Arab Islamic countries of Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, and Malaysia, Naipaul explores about how these young nations are absorbing a resurgent Islam into their ancient societies and where it might lead them. His exploration is at the grassroots level, through the people living and breathing Islam today. Naipaul illustrates his points with vignettes about characters he meets, by both happenstance and calculation, along the way. The mosaic that materializes is not always appealing. Islam, we learn, is a font of hope for the converted peoples, sweet when taken in gulps but often bearing an acrid aftertaste. It buries traditional cultures under promising new foundations, indirectly encourages broken families through polygamy, and turns only tentatively to face the issues of modernity.

Neufeld, M. 2001. Theorizing Globalization: Towards a Politics of Resistance - A Neo-Gramscian Response to Mathias Albert. *Global Society*. 15(1): 93 -106.

Paterson, M. 1999. Globalization, Ecology and Resistance. *New Political Economy*. 4(1).

Radice, H. 2000. Responses to Globalization: a Critique of Progressive Nationalism. *New Political Economy*. 5(1).

Rodrik, D. 1997. *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* Washington DC: Institute for International Economics.

Globalization is exposing social fissures between those with the education, skills, and mobility to flourish in an unfettered world market-the apparent "winners"-and those without. These apparent "losers" are increasingly anxious about their standards of living and their precarious place in an integrated world economy. The result is severe tension between the market and broad sectors of society, with governments caught in the middle. Compounding the very real problems that need to be addressed by all involved, the knee-jerk rhetoric of both sides threatens to crowd out rational debate. From the United States to Europe to Asia, positions are hardening. Rodrik examines the costs and benefits of international economic integration and criticizes mainstream economists for downplaying its dangers. It also makes the case that the "winners" have as much at stake from the possible consequences of social instability as the "losers."

Said, E. W. 2001. The Clash of Ignorance. *The Nation*. October 22.

Sassen, S. 1998. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York: The New Press.

A collection of Sassen's essays dealing with topics such as the "global city," gender and migration (reconceived as the globalization of labor), information technology, and the new dynamics of inequality. Sassen brings together cultural and literary studies, feminist theory, political economics, sociology, and political science, showing how vast the chasm between metropolitan business centers and low-income inner cities has become. Throughout, she examines common political, cultural, and economic misconceptions of globalization and offers a thoughtful, provocative new look at our increasingly global society.

Shaw, R. 1999. *Reclaiming America: Nike, Clean Air and the New National Activism*. Berkeley: University

of California Press.

Shiva, V. 1999. Diversity and Democracy: Resisting the Global Economy. *Global Dialogue*. 1(1).

St. Claire, J. 1999. Seattle Diary. *New Left Review*. 238:81-96.

Stahler-Sholk, R. 2001. Globalization and Social Movement Resistance: The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico. *New Political Science*. 23(4): 493 – 516.

Thompson, C.B. 2000. Regional Challenges to Globalization: Perspectives from Southern Africa. *New Political Economy*. 5(1).

Tibi, B. 1998. *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tokar, B. 2001. *Redesigning Life?: The Worldwide Challenge to Genetic Engineering*. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Waddington, J. 1999. Situating Labor within the Globalization Debate. In Idem ed. *Globalization and Patterns of Worker Resistance*. London: Mansell.

Watson, I. 2001. Politics, Resistance to Neoliberalism and the Ambiguities of Globalization. *Global Society*. 15(2): 201-218.

Willis, E. 2001. Bringing the Holy War Home. *The Nation*. December 17.