Globalization and Community

How does Globalization lead to Cultural Conflict?
Theory Review

“FAMILIES” OF MODERN THEORIES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
The **EQUALITY**

- Exploitation
- Surplus Value
- Class conflict
- Marxian
- Underdevelopment
- Core-Periphery Relation
- Imperialism
- Unequal Exchange

**Distributive Justice**

- Welfare State (diminishes salience of class)
- Norm of equal citizenship
- Social Democracy
- Market Socialism
- Redistribution of Wealth
- NIEO

**Econ. Class Identity**

**Socialism**

**Imperialism**

**Core-Periphery Relation**

**Unequal Terms of Trade**

**Unequal Exchange (production)**

**Welfare State**

**Norm of equal citizenship**

**Redistribution of Wealth**

**Market Socialism**

**Social Democracy**

**Econ. Class Identity**

**Unequal Terms of Trade**

**Unequal Exchange (production)**

**Welfare State**

**Norm of equal citizenship**

**Redistribution of Wealth**

**Market Socialism**

**Social Democracy**

**Econ. Class Identity**
Theory working itself out: 20th century Political Economy

- **19th Cent.**
  - Britain Provides "Hegemonic Stability"
  - Classical Liberalism

- **20th Century**
  - Great Depression and War: State Intervention in The Economy
  - Rise of "Neo-liberalism" and developmental states
  - Financial Crisis 2008

- **21st Century**
  - Globalization back on track

- **Post War Embedded Liberalism, Hegemonic Stability 1945-73**
  - Globalization (Freedom) 1980's
  - Protectionism (nationalism) 1990's

- **1970s Recession**
  - 1930s Great Depression and War: State Intervention in The Economy
  - Government "bailout"
21st Century a causal chain of globalization

Neo liberalism + fall of communism + rise of Asian Tigers and China

Factor mobility—growing global commodification of land, labor, and capital
• Rising competition

Be efficient or die!

Develop technologies of efficiency + pressure governments to lower wages, taxes, regulation
• Policy convergence

More efficiency → more productivity → growth → cultural convergency
• But inequality
Globalization and Culture: How does Global Culture Converge?

- Liberal View
  State shrinking → Political convergence and harmonization, cultural convergence...consumer culture
Global Liberalism Overcomes cultural divides

Ethno Fascism 1939

Globalisation and Multiculturalism nationalism
War 1914

Globalization unites Cultures
1945 Nationalism
Seen as big danger:
Rise of Transnational Institutions

European Integration

Globalization Dies
Why is this good?

• Liberal view: Without globalization and the creation of a global culture you get ethnonationalism

• Two kinds of nationalism: civic nationalism (inclusive) and ethno-nationalism (common language, culture, faith, ethnic ancestry)
  – Extended family united by blood ties
  – There is a common “we”
  – Very subjective
  – But Ethnonationalism can lead to ethnic/religious conflict
  – Therefore it should be overcome
    • Look at the results in 20th century history
Germans try to exterminate Jews
They almost succeed
Pile of Jews’ Glasses at Auschwitz
Never Again! The Optimistic Liberal Argument
Global Cultural Convergence

• Ethnonationalism is the historical legacy of pre-modern conditions.
• Move from tradition to modernity, globalization universalizes liberal culture, spreads democracy.
21st Century?
But what actually happened? The rise of Ethnonationalism under globalization

• A world divided by ethnic and sectarian nationalist states and the rise of extremist ethno-national and sectarian nationalist ideologies.

• Exclusive “Nations” with unique citizenship rights have aligned with both “states” and territory in the 21st Century. This trio forms the core of national identity for most of the world—
20th Century Rise of Ethno-Nationalism

- Ethno-Fascism 1939
- War 1914
- Rise of Transnational Institutions
- Only 2 multi-Ethnic states in Europe
- Nationalism
- Many Multiethnic States in Europe
- Ethno-Fascism 1939
- 2007
- 1945 Nationalism
- Seen as big danger:
- Trend
- Recovery
- Level of real output
- Time
- Growth
- Recession
- Peak
- Trough
- Multietgbc states
- War 1914
KOSOVA

INDEPENDENCE

NË EMER TE

DR. I. RUGOVA
FREE TIBET
Demonstrators supporting the Abkhazians and South Ossetians protest against Georgia in front of the Georgian Embassy in Ankara
New Genocides under globalization

IMMIGRATION HAS often GIVEN RISE TO COMMUNAL CONFLICT IN THESE STATES, IN WHICH IMMIGRANTS ARE NOT CONSIDERED PART OF THE "NATION"

And we have seen communal conflict becoming one of the most pressing issues of our time, giving rise to the "pessimistic liberal argument".
Rwandan Genocide
Parents

Orphans

Photo © Corinne Dufka
Is Ethnonationalism sustainable?

• Some say Yes, and call it national self-determination,

• But there are not enough “states” to go around, given the multiplicity of “nations” in the world.
What does Globalization have to do with it? 4) Things

- Pre Globalization: ethnic division of Labor
- 1) globalization creates winners and losers along ethnic lines
- 2) globalization homogenizes culture leading to a loss of identity
- 3) globalization spreads the weaknesses of liberalism
- 4) Globalization causes a loss of state sovereignty
The impact of these 4 forces: the creation of identity politics

1) winners & losers → → → → → ↓

2) homogenization → identity loss → → → → IDENTITY POLITICS

3) weakness of liberalism → → → → ↑

4) state-shrinking → ↓ loyalty to state ↑
Identity Politics vs. Interest-based Politics

• How are social divisions translated into political divisions?

• Individuals hold cross-cutting interests that can be negotiated in the political arena.

• Compromise among competing interests is possible

• Ascriptive Identities (ethnicity, gender, religion) are exclusive and collective.

• Group identities..... in which you can't get into the group unless your identity is correct.

• each exclusive group vies for representation in the political arena. Identities can’t be compromised.
Identity Politics and Democracy

• The problem of compromise

• “Which side are you on” vs. “who are you?”

• Identity can’t be compromised away
| Jihad (forces that create identity politics) | **GROUP NORMS**  
- Exclusive communities,  
- Solidarity with an exclusive group  
- Obedience to rigid hierarchy | **GOVERNANCE**  
- Tribalism, one-party dictatorships,  
- Theocratic fundamentalism | **ARENA**  
- Sub-national actors that rebel against integration and universalism (sects, minorities) in wars against each other |
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<td>Mac World (forces that globalize politics)</td>
<td>Global community, freedom, networks, not hierarchies</td>
<td>administration of things, not people, bureaucracy</td>
<td>forces that transcend national boundaries: markets, resources, information, communication, technology, ecology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>citizenship, participation, equal justice, protection of minorities, human rights</td>
<td>laws applying to all citizens, self-government</td>
<td>forces that historically have required a nation-state</td>
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Identity Politics $\rightarrow$ globalization backlash
(double movement)—fragmented communities