

# Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalisation, Politics and Power

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A Not-So-Summarised Summary By PUN PUN

<b>1 Changing Definitions of Politics and Power</b>	<b>2</b>
1.1 The Marxist Tradition of Political Sociology	3
Neo-Marxism	4
1.2 The Weberian Tradition of Political Sociology	5
Elite Theorists	5
Pluralism	6
1.3 The Durkheimian Tradition of Political Sociology	7
Neo-Durkheimian Political Sociology	7
1.4 Foucauldian Definitions of Power and Politics	8
Foucault's Analytics of Power	8
Governmentality	9
1.5 Cultural Politics	9
Contemporary Political Sociology	10
<b>2 Politics in a Small World</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Explaining Globalisation	10
Globalisation as a Consequence of Capitalism	11
Globalisation and Modernisation	12
Globalisation as World Culture	12
2.2 State Transformation and Imperialism	13
2.3 We are the World?	15
<b>3 Social Movements</b>	<b>15</b>
3.1 Resource Mobilisation Theory and Beyond	16
Resource Mobilisation Theory: The Premises	16
The "Cultural Turn" in Resource Mobilisation Theory	17
3.2 New Social Movement Theory: Conflict and Culture	17
Alan Touraine : Social Movements and the Sociology of Action	17
Alberto Melucci: Developments in "New Social Movement" Theory	18
3.3 Toward a Synthesis: the Definition of "Social Movement"	18
3.4 Global Social Movements	19
Networks	19
Collective Identity	19

Conflict	19
4 Citizenship	20
4.1 T.H. Marshall: Citizenship, Social Class, and the Nation-State	20
Limits of Marshall's Account of Citizenship	20
4.2 Citizenship, Wealth and Poverty	21
4.3 Citizenship, Sex and Sexuality	21
The Women's Movement	21
The Gay and Lesbian Movement and Queer Politics	22
4.4 Citizenship, Racialisation and Ethnicity	22
Immigration, Assimilation, and "New Racism"	22
Multiculturalism, Group-differentiated Rights, and "New Assimilationism"	23
4.5 Post-National Citizenship	24
Migration and Rights Across Borders	24
European Citizenship	24
Citizenship and the Environment	24
5 Globalisation and Democracy	25
5.1 Democracy in Crisis: Political Parties and Elections	26
5.2 Democracy, Human Rights, and International Political Institutions	26
Democracy and Human Rights	26
Democracy Between States	27
5.3 Global Civil Society	27
Alternative Globalisation	27
Deliberative Globalisation	28
Conditional Globalisation	28
5.4 Democracy and Cultural Politics	29
Glossary	29

## 1 Changing Definitions of Politics and Power

- Obama being elected shows a massive shift in political culture. His presidency showed the world it was about hope. More importantly, it showed how culture and politics are intertwined.
- Traditionally, political sociology has been about the relationship between the state and society
  - **Orum (1983)** : Political sociology directs attention toward "the social circumstances of politics, that is, to how politics both is shaped by and shapes other events in societies. Instead of treating the political arena and its actors as independent from other happenings in a society, [political sociology] treats that arena as intimately related to all social institutions."
  - Modern sociology views "society" as the unit of analysis and treats it as a distinct, internally coherent, and self-regulating entity organised around the nation-state.

- Not much focus has been given on power despite Weber's definition, perhaps one of the most influential definitions of power, that suggests it need not be concerned solely of the state...
- **Weber (1948)** : Power is "the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action"
- Weber himself focusses on the state too...
- **Weber (1948)** : the state is a special kind of institution that possesses a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a given territory
- **Dowse and Hughes (1972)** : there seems to be no compelling *analytic* argument why the discipline should have focused its attention on state institutions, *as a matter of fact*, political sociologists have concerned themselves principally with the ways in which society has affected the state
- Contemporary political sociology has been concerned with cultural politics, understood in the broadest possible sense as the contestation and transformation of social identities and structures.

## 1.1 The Marxist Tradition of Political Sociology

- Marxism, especially Neo-Marxism is thought to analyse economic relations and so it would be strange to analyse the state in this context
  - **Przeworski (1990)** : Given Marx's theory of capitalism as a self-perpetuating economic system of production and exchange, there was no room for it in theorising the state as contributing to its reproduction.
- Although Marx had no fully developed theory of the state, he did discuss it in various ways throughout his writings.
- **Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987)** classifies Marx's analyses of the state into three distinct and somewhat contradictory positions on how it contributes to the reproduction of the capitalist system and the economic power of the bourgeoisie:
  - (1) Instrumental Model of the State
    - The coercive aspect of the state is emphasised.
    - Seen as repressive of working class resistance to exploitation
    - On this model, economic power is simply translated into political power by which means the dominant bourgeoisie rules over subordinate classes through the liberal state.
    - **Marx (1977)** : The "executive of the modern state" is "but a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."
  - (2) Arbiter Model of the State
    - Emerged in his later, more empirical, writings.
    - Relative autonomy of the state from the interests of the bourgeoisie.
    - **Marx (1992)** – "*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*" : The modern state has grown so strong that in exceptional moments, when the bourgeoisie cannot completely dominate the other classes against which it must struggle, it may become an arena for competing interests, an ostensible mediator, and may even act independently to limit the power of the bourgeoisie.
    - However "state power does not lower in mid-air" although changing class interests may influence how the state is used.
    - Still, economic power is translated into political power since the state needs the material support of the historically ascendant class for its functions, and hence still works to ensure the economic advantage of the bourgeoisie.
  - (3) Functionalist Model of the State
    - Emerged in his mature economic work
    - In *Capital*, he suggests that the state apparatus is "superstructural" determined entirely by changes in the economic "base" of society.

- In this understanding of the state, political power is irrelevant; the state just the result of the capitalist system which reproduces itself in every social and political institution to the advantage of the dominant economic class.
- **Taylor (1995)** : Kautsky and Plekhanov wanted to establish Marxism as a rigorous science and so reduced the superstructure – the political, ideological and cultural – to examinations of the economic base.
- Neo-Marxists reject this simplistic economism; recent political theory considers political power as relatively independent from economic power.

## Neo-Marxism

- Antonio Gramsci was the first Marxist to theorise with the ideological and political superstructures as relatively autonomous of the economic base.
  - According to Dunleavy and O’Leary’s topology, Gramsci follows the arbiter theory of the state: the state is formed by the balance of forces achieved in the struggle for hegemony.
  - Hegemony
    - **Gramsci (1971)** : Hegemony is the way in which the dominant class gains consent for its rule through compromises and alliances with some class fractions and the disorganisation of others, and also the way in which it maintains that rule in a stable social formation.
    - **Laclau and Mouffe (1985)** : For Gramsci, a class does not take state power; it becomes the state.
    - Gramsci does not think of the state as the institution in which politics takes place. He thinks hegemony is gained, first, in the civil society. All relations in civil society involve issues of power, and politics is more a cultural sensibility rather than an institutional activity.
  - Gramsci argued that there must always be a single unifying principle in every hegemonic formation and that this can only be given by a fundamental economic class; i.e. the economy determines politics.
  - Problem: Gramsci’s view is limited because it sees politics as rooted in class struggle and so does not give sufficient weight to social movements organised around gender, race, sexual politics, the environment etc.
    - Response: to reject economic determinism and the centrality of the class struggle is to go beyond Marxism altogether
- Louis Althusser was influenced by Gramsci and maintained that the state should be seen as relatively autonomous from the economic base.
  - According to Dunleavy and O’Leary’s topology, Althusser has the functionalist view of the state.
  - In feudalism, religion is dominant; in capitalism, the state.
  - **Althusser (1971)** : although the state is determined by the economy “in the last instance,” that time never comes because the capitalist mode of production requires the state to reproduce its conditions of existence, so there is a reciprocal determination between the economic and political levels. Hence, the last instance never arrives because the economy itself is formed by the political.
    - Problem: If the economy only determines in the last instance, then how can it rebuild the state, since it is not yet the last instance? So state unnecessary to the reproduction of capitalism?
    - **Hirst (1979)** : If the relative autonomy of the state is to be taken seriously, there can be no reduction of the political to the economic: the form of social classes produced as effects of politics must be analysed as such.
  - Althusser saw society as a complex of structures, each with its own dynamic, linked into the totality by the ultimate determination of the economy. The function of

ideology is to make individuals into subjects who will fit the positions provided by those structures.

- **Althusser (1971)** : ideology does not work through the conscious mind, but in an unconscious relation to the world which is lived in social practices, such as religious rituals, political meetings, and so on.
- Therefore, Althusser's theory escapes the pitfalls of the Marxist notion of "false consciousness" since ideologies, according to him, are in the unconscious.
- He views *ideology* as a matter of practices rather than beliefs, and views *subjectivity* as a means of social control.
- **Benton (1994)** : Althusser maintained that Marxism is scientific because it is "open" and "counterintuitive" where ideology is "closed" and that it draws its problems from politics and practice rather than from critical theory.
  - Problem: Marxism seems extremely dogmatic to non-believers

## 1.2 The Weberian Tradition of Political Sociology

- **Bottomore (1993)** : As a liberal committed to the defence of individual freedom, which he saw threatened in modernity, Weber opposed his work to Marx's economic determinism. He took the concentration of the means of administration in the nation-state to be as important as the concentration of the means of production in capitalism theorised by Marx.
- Weber narrowed his field of analysis to the power and politics of the nation-state.
- **Held (1987)** : Weber's emphasis on territoriality is crucial; the modern state is a nation-state in competitive relation to other nation-states, rather than with armed segments of its own population.
- Bureaucracy
  - Bureaucracy is the only way to manage economic and politically differentiated societies since the economy will want predictability.
  - The resulting bureaucratic system acts as a "steel-hard housing" within which most individuals in modern societies must live and work, since its effects are felt not only by those who work in the administration, but also those who are administered.
  - **Held (1987)** : The socialist dream that the state will wither away once the dominant class has lost its power over the means of production is a nightmare to Weber. To abolish private property would increase the power of the state since there would be no countervailing power of the market, and management of the economy would come entirely under the control of bureaucrats.
- Democracy
  - Weber argued that a representative democracy cannot work on a large scale but also thinks it is the only way to break free from the "steel-hard housing" of modern bureaucratic power.
  - Democracy is important as it acts as a testing ground for selecting the effective to take office (and eliminating the ineffective from office)
  - To Weber, democracy is less about the rule of the people than the rule of an elite which combines exceptional leaders and bureaucratic experts.
- Weber was pessimistic and saw that individual freedom is highly constrained by impersonal administration as a likely outcome of the development of modern societies. However, this pessimism was partly rooted in his view that the majority of the population are uninterested in political matters.

### Elite Theorists

- Elite theorists ask how and why must a minority rule over the majority?
- **Parry (1969)** : Political elite theorists are concerned with the decision-makers in society, those they see as holding power as a cohesive, relatively self-conscious group.

- **Michels (1962)** : “iron law of oligarchy” – in modern societies, parties need to be highly organised and so, inevitably, become oligarchic, being hierarchically run by party leaders and bureaucracy such that the bulk of members are excluded from decision-making.
  - Michels was disappointed that socialist parties would not be able to realise their democratic ideals as a result of this.
  - **Scott (1996)** : Weber and Schumpeter, unlike Michels, believed that bureaucratic and hierarchical parties are the only way in which political leadership in large-scale societies can emerge.
- **Schumpeter (1943)** : Democracy is the competition between political parties whose elite members deal in votes as business men deal in commodities. It does not, and should not, mean rule by the people; it is rather a method for arriving at political decisions by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote.
- Comparing Mills and Miliband
  - C.W. Mills offers a radical Weberian elite theory
  - **Mills (1956)** : US elitism in the 20th century has been a serious hindrance to democracy rather than being the factor that makes it possible. Power is concentrated among the military, the corporate and the political. When coupled with the one-way communication of mass media, this has made ordinary citizens rather complacent, although miserable, about the extent to which they lack control over their lives.
  - Ralph Miliband offers a view similar to other Marxist theories
  - **Miliband (1969)** : The capitalist class assures its reproduction by means of the close links it enjoys with the leaders of such powerful institutions as political parties, the civil service, the media and the military.
  - Difference: Mills, unlike Miliband, did not think the elite group together because of their economic position but rather because of some historical development.
  - Similarity: Relative autonomy of the state
    - Miliband believes the state must separate itself from the immediate ruling class in order to be effective
    - Mills believes that however much it is conditioned by the elites, the political elite of the state has its own effectivity
    - So we see the convergence of Marxist and Weberian theories

## Pluralism

- Pluralists see politics as a matter of competing interest groups, none of which can dominate completely over any of the others since all have access to resources of different kinds.
- **Smith (1995)** : Pluralists view the state as a set of competing and conflicting institutions, rather than a monolithic entity.
- The people in a pluralist society is also not a unified whole.
- **Dowse and Hughes (1972)** : Democratic politics involves endless bargaining in order to influence government policy, which is nothing more than a compromise between the differing interest groups involved in the political process.
- Neo-Pluralism
  - Neo-Pluralists see elites, especially corporate elites, as having more influence than other groups in government policy.
  - **Marsh (1995)** : In this respect, Neo-Pluralism is the convergence of Neo-Marxism, pluralism and radical elite theory.
  - However, they do not agree entirely with those theories.
    - Neo-Pluralists believe the elite is not unified
    - **Dowse and Hughes (1972)** : On the pluralist view, elites must be seen as existing only insofar as they are genuinely responsive to the interest groups they appear to serve.

- Neo-Pluralism also strays from Neo-Marxist assumptions. They argue that since politics at the level of the state is primary, it cannot be the case that the state is ultimately driven by the interests of any particular group, including the capitalist class.
- For pluralists, there is no politics outside the state.
- Criticisms of pluralism
  - Pluralism adopts a problematically narrow definition of power
  - **Dahl (1956)** : power is “a realistic ... relationship, such as A’s capacity for acting in such a manner as to control B’s responses”
    - This presupposes an already constituted social actor who is in possession of power such that he or she is able to control the effects produced.
    - **Lukes (1974)** : The emphasis on observable effects means that they neglect ideas and the way in which the political agenda may be shaped in such a way that direct manipulation of the outcome of the political process is unnecessary.
  - Although pluralists do not take the interests of the social groups they study as given, their definitions of power and politics prevent them from understanding the formation and contestation of political identities in the social field and lead them to focus only on the way in which individuals try to maximise their interests at the level of government.

### 1.3 The Durkheimian Tradition of Political Sociology

- For Durkheim, the state is an outcome of the division of labor that creates modern societies, whilst at the same time it contributes to the expansion of individual freedom. Most importantly, it takes on the function of reflecting on and refining society’s “collective representations” that express beliefs and guides individuals to constrain their behaviour.
- **Durkheim (1992)** : The state is like the brain; “it’s principal function is to think.”
- Modern societies can only be bound by “organic solidarity,” which is experienced by those who find themselves independent because they occupy different but equally essential roles in society.
  - This contrasts with the mechanical solidarity in simpler pre-modern societies
  - **Vogt (1993)** : The state fosters solidarity by creating and transforming collective representations into binding decisions in law and policy for the good of all.
- Unlike Marx and Weber, Durkheim did not find conflict intrinsic to modern societies. In contrast, where there is conflict, this is attributable to lack of proper social and normative integration.
- Durkheim supported the reform to create a meritocratic society.
  - **Parkin (1992)** : Durkheim saw inherited wealth as undermining basic levels of trust in the legal contracts on which modern economies depend.
- He also supports the fostering of occupational associations, or guilds, to mediate between the state and the individual.
  - Individuals should vote as a member of their professional occupation rather than where they live to encourage each person to reflect on their shared interests with others in their group and, by extension, with others in society.
  - Durkheim’s vision of guilds is more like a civil rights association than a trade-union
- There is no place for politics in Durkheim’s sociology, only for scientifically informed social reform.

### Neo-Durkheimian Political Sociology

- Neo-Durkheimian studies focus on the *difficulties* of achieving and maintaining solidarity, and on the way in which the very definitions of social justice may be expanded in complex contemporary societies.

- Jeffrey Alexander builds on Durkheim's conceptions in *The Civil Sphere*
  - There is a consensus in American society that democracy is sacred and must be protected from counter-democratic persons, events and activities. The civil sphere is organised around cultural codes that maintain this fundamental binary opposition.
  - **Alexander and Smith (1993)** : Whatever or whoever comes to be defined as profane is seen as polluting, "to be isolated and marginalised at the boundaries of civil society, and sometimes even destroyed."
  - The codes of the civil sphere may also be used to "invade" the non-civil spheres of the economy, the state, the family and religious interaction.
  - Some criticisms:
    - Alexander presents his account as neutral but actually it favours egalitarian social reform. Like Durkheim's theory of social reform, it is an account which does not acknowledge its own political position.
    - The democratic code is sacred and insists nobody is excluded from the political sphere, but this contrasts with the fundamental rivalry between polluting counter-democratic agents and democracy; according to Alexander, they must both be embraced and marginalised.

## 1.4 Foucauldian Definitions of Power and Politics

- Although Foucault's definition of power is the single most important theoretical contribution to rethinking contemporary political sociology, he professed himself to be more interested in ethics – which he saw as a matter of self-creation – than in politics.

### Foucault's Analytics of Power

- Foucault prefers thinking in terms of an "analytics of power" in which power is identified only in the instances of its exercise.
- Power, for Foucault, is productive and not "juridico-discursive" i.e. power not possessed by the state, especially law.
  - Power is productive in the sense that it is constitutive, working to produce particular types of bodies and minds in practices which remain invisible from the point of view of the older model of power as sovereignty.
  - Power is pluralist, not exercised from a single point and not in the possession of the elite.
- Knowledge of social sciences – "discourses" – are central to Foucault's analysis. For Foucault, the analysis of discourse requires the determination of how new objects of knowledge emerge, under what discursive and non-discursive conditions, and especially, what effects of power they produce.
- Power produces individuals both as objects and subjects.
  - "Sexuality" is created. Power determines what is normal and what is abnormal.
  - In Foucault's view, the body is imprinted in history; its capacities are historically specific and produced in practices of power.
  - Psychoanalysis
    - In positioning oneself as the "I," the subject of speech in the discourse of psychoanalysis, one is produced, and experiences oneself, as an individual with secret desires which must be uncovered in analysis if one is to be free and healthy.
    - The self of psychoanalysis is produced not discovered.
    - The fact that the psychoanalyst has to do this illustrates subjectivity; in order to have a self one is aware of is conditional on the exercise of power.
- Criticisms of Foucault
  - **Fraser (1989)** : If power is productive rather than repressive, Foucault could have said everything is socially constructed rather than everything is produced in relations of power, without losing the sense of his analysis.



- **McNay (1994)** : If power is productive of all capacities, it follows that individuals are nothing more than “place-fillers,” without resources to resist it: they have no capacity for autonomous self-creation or the generation of meanings and values which they could use against the effects of power.
  - In his later work *The Subject and Power*, he explores how power works on “free subjects,” thereby committing himself to the view that these “free subjects” exist prior to power creating them.
- Foucault links his analyses of power directly with the antagonistic struggles of social movements. Resistance is necessary to the definition of power and is also methodologically important to the study of power.
- **Hindess (1996)** : Foucault increasingly uses domination as a term to analyse what is more commonly thought of as power, replacing the term power with government.

## Governmentality

- Foucault defines government as “the code of conduct,” the attempt to influence the actions of free subjects. It concerns how we govern ourselves, how we govern things and how we are governed.
- Foucault’s view of power contests the Machiavellian idea of sovereignty which is focussed on the ruler. Instead, he believes that more individuals and institutions are being “governmentalised” and so “micro-politics” is more involved in the productivity of people rather than imposing order and security from above.
- Governmentality is constructive of centralised state power, strengthening and extending it; at the same time, state institutions further disciplinary power through activities in which states specialise, such as passing legislation or raising taxes to support large scale knowledge production with which to manage the population.
- Foucauldians and Neo-Liberalism
  - Liberalism is a practice
  - **Rose (1990)** : Foucauldians argue that neoliberalism has resulted in individuals who understand they can choose for themselves, but are constrained to choose according to externally defined values in order to avoid stigma.

## 1.5 Cultural Politics

- Two ways of understanding culture:
  - (1) Epistemological Variant – culture is implicated in all social practices because, as human beings, we have access to reality, we know it and manipulate it, only through social classifications.
  - (2) Historically Specific – culture changes according to era, for example its expansion into art in postmodernist societies. The historical importance of culture has been determined by changes in social structure.
- Meanings
  - **Saussure (1966)** : Without language, we would be unable to identify objects and concepts with any degree of consistency.
  - Meanings structures the world for us, then, through classifications; it exists for us insofar as we make distinctions that have value and interest to us, and we are continually learning how others make and use socially relevant classifications.
  - Social meanings are constantly changing simply through repeated use; culture is inherently fluid and dynamic, which makes it open to political contestation and at the same time somewhat resistant to political invention.
  - Meanings may become relatively solidified and fixed. Collective actions may be needed to change those e.g. the notion of “working mother” throughout the development of the feminist movement.

- Cultural politics is not just about words. It is also about bodily gestures, flags, clothing etc. In order for signs to be politically relevant, they must become part of routine use in practice.
- **Giddens (1984)** : Social reproduction should be seen as stabilising relationships across time and space through the knowledgeable use of rules and resources on the part of social agents.
  - “Structures” = consistent patterns of social interaction that both emerge from situated practices and provide the frameworks within which those interactions take place.
- **Castells (2009)** : Power is the probability of an individual or group being able to exercise its will despite resistance.
  - The above definition is vaguely Weberian
  - Castells also has the Foucauldian view that power shapes the mind – and in addition, bodily practices too.
  - The state is the guarantor of micro-powers exercised across the social field... “in the name of the state”
  - The state is itself an especially significant site of cultural politics.
- Two dimensions of the threat of state force to the market:
  - (1) The state is involved in the regulation and deregulation of economic exchanges and contracts
  - (2) The state itself exercises significant economic power.
- **Castells (2009)** : Networks in globalisation are multilayered structures: economic (involving production, consumption and exchange), technological, environmental, political and military. They are also multiscalar: global, national, local and individual.
  - States are nodes in networks that absorb and process relevant information as it flows within and across networks.
- Contemporary political sociology concerns cultural politics, which is the interpretation of social meanings that support, challenge, or change the definitions, perspectives, and identities of social actors, to the advantage of some and disadvantage of others, across state and society.

## Contemporary Political Sociology

- Chapter outlines
  - Chapter 2: Globalisation
  - Chapter 3: Social Movements
  - Chapter 4: Citizenship
  - Chapter 5: Democracy

## 2 Politics in a Small World

- Globalisation is simply increased global interconnectedness. Economic globalisation combined with digital communication networks is the main driving force of processes of globalisation.
- Economic globalisation, otherwise known as “footloose capitalism” or “turbo capitalism” is a project of neoliberalisation most states have more or less engaged in.
- All processes of globalisation are linked to the development of new information technologies. While they do not determine social change, they are the means to, but also the limits of, social change.

### 2.1 Explaining Globalisation

- Globalisation is a fact, but the question lies in whether we are in a qualitative different era as a result of it?

## Globalisation as a Consequence of Capitalism

- The most highly developed application of Marxist theory in these terms is Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory.
  - Same logic of expansion since 16th Century Europe, although different magnitude of interconnectedness
  - **Wallerstein (1990)** : Capitalism needs to expand its geographical boundaries in order to combat the regular slumps to which it is prone.
  - He is a Neo-Marxist and sees the state as crucial to the process of globalisation.
  - The capitalist world system integrates "political states" in a common international division of labour: powerful core countries dominate based on higher skill and technology levels whereas developing peripheral countries allow for the capitalist expansion of the core by being economically dependent on them. Conflict between the two types are prevented by semi-peripheral countries, such as oil-producers and SE Asian "trigger economies," that act as a buffer.
  - Criticisms of Wallerstein's world systems theory
    - Focuses only on the economic aspects of globalisation – politics is important too.
    - **Held (1995)** : World systems theory fails to address the changing form and role of the state in the context of the multiple shifting sites of sovereignty which now characterise global governance.
    - Wallerstein views culture as either national, organised around and defined by the nation-state, or alternatively world culture, which would contribute to socialism. His theory cannot give meaning to culture that do not fit these binary descriptions.
    - Wallerstein is also unable to give any consideration to the exponential increase in cultural products which other Marxists take to be the defining feature of contemporary globalisation.
- David Harvey, in *The Condition of Postmodernity*, argues that the new form of capitalism he calls "flexible postmodernity" can be understood in classical Marxist terms.
  - **Harvey (1989)** : Globalisation is not new but flexible postmodernity involves the intensification of the time-space compression which characterises it. Social life is sped up so much its space collapsed e.g. satellite technology
  - Flexible postmodernity is a new, more virulent form of capitalism in which the state and organised labour are at the mercy of finance capital.
    - Harvey still sees the state as being important, although working almost exclusively for capitalism.
  - Postmodernism is epiphenomenal and is characterised by increased consumption of signs and services rather than in material goods.
  - **Kumar (1995)** : Without denying the economic dimension of postmodernity, it is important not to reduce the cultural and political dimensions to an economic determinism of capital accumulation and ceaselessly extending commodification.
  - For Harvey, real politics is essential class politics.
- Scott Lash and John Urry, in *Economies of Signs and Space*, also uses a Marxist framework to explain globalisation.
  - **Lash and Urry (1994)** : the economy is now based primarily on the circulation of signs: the cognitive signs that are informational goods and the aestheticised signs of [what they call] postmodern goods such as media products, leisure services and designer products.
  - Postmodernity is intrinsically global.
  - They argue for a weak form of economic determinism but also believe in the key role of culture in global changes.
  - The reflexivity of the economy is both cause and effect of the way it is.
  - Lash and Urry see the nation-state as increasingly internationalised in that many attempts to govern globalised capitalism can only be made at the level of the international political order.

- Politics is of increasing importance, especially with consumerism fuelling the economy.
- This is furthered by the rise of advertising.
- **Klein (2000)** : successful corporations must primarily produce brands as opposed to products
  - But this can also make large companies vulnerable to mass boycotts
- **Micheletti et al. (2004)** : there is a limit to the effect of this kind of politics since it involves high levels of disposable income or budget management, which not everyone has
- **Bennett (2004)** : The cultural politics of branding is developing, but it undoubtedly needs organisation as part of social movement politics if it is to realise its potential to reform global capitalism.

## Globalisation and Modernisation

- **McGrew (1992)** : Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck advocate a multi-causal explanation of globalisation in which it is seen as a consequence of modernity, rather than the mono-causal account of Marxists in which capitalism is presented as its driving force.
- **Giddens (1990)** : globalisation is the outcome of the dynamism of modernity, which involves the disembedding of social relations in time-space distanciation and the reflexive appropriation of knowledge
  - According to Giddens, time and space are “emptied” and abstracted from particular rhythms of life (instead represented by clocks and maps) which allows it to be reorganised.
  - The dynamism of modernity leads to globalisation – although unpredictably since there will be different unintended consequences produced as a result of the globalisation of institutions.
  - The state remains crucial to democratisation and emancipatory rights are still important, and issues of life politics are likely to become significant in the public and judicial arenas of the state. However, most life politics currently exist outside the state, often carried by social movements.
- Beck’s theory of cultural politics
  - **Beck (1992)** : “global dangers set up global mutualities” such that self-conscious, collective reflection on risk displaces the modern privileging of progress and wealth production in order to avoid global destruction
  - New forms of politics – sub-politics – are developing. They do not directly address the nation-state but, nevertheless, alter it from below.
  - The state is currently being remade completely, behind the facade of what is still understood as the modern nation-state.
  - **Beck (1998)** : The state itself must now adapt to the new situation of the risk society and to the sub-politics of social movements, citizens’ initiatives, and professional associations.

## Globalisation as World Culture

- World polity theorists, led by John Meyer, put the nation-state at the centre of their analysis of globalisation.
- **Meyer (1999)** : world society is made up of “rationalised others,” individuals and organisations that advise nation-states and others about their responsibilities and true purposes
- **Meyer (1997)** : Four main elements of world society that contribute to and implement the tenets of world culture:
  - (1) International Government Organisations (IGOs), especially the UN

- **Boli and Thomas (1997)** : IGOs most important since they are based on ideals of “universalism, individualism, rational voluntaristic authority, progress and world citizenship,” which they promote
- (2) Nation-states, which copy each other in a way that leads to the diffusion of cultural norms of political and social organisation worldwide
- (3) Voluntary associations in different fields, especially those that are attached to social movements
- (4) Scientists and professionals, experts who give advice to other actors of world society
- World polity theorists understand the nation-state to be culturally constructed and embedded in world culture. Their theory of world culture is an attempt to understand the “isomorphism” or structural similarity between states across the world.
- World society actors fashion nation-states in similar terms through three processes:
  - (1) Produce models to which nation-states should be seen to conform
  - (2) World society systematically works to maintain the identities of state actors as committed to those models e.g. will come under scrutiny if violate human rights
  - (3) World society legitimates citizenship, individual rights and democracy.
- Culture and power and inseparable
  - **Nye (2005)** : Soft power and hard power exist on a continuum. Soft power involves charismatic leadership, communication, persuasion and exemplary behaviour, compared with hard power which involves military or economic coercion or payment.

## 2.2 State Transformation and Imperialism

- Understanding globalisation involves shattering the notion of “methodological nationalism” that has predominantly allowed sociologists to treat societies as if they were coherent and bounded by entities, distinct from one another, and contained within the territories of nation-states.
- “The state” is instead views as an unstable outcome – however long it may last – of cultural politics.
- Global governance, as James Rosenau puts, consist of “governance without government - of regulatory mechanisms in a sphere of activity which function effectively even though they are not endowed with formal authority (quoted in McGrew, 1997)
- There is a rising number of IGOs as well as INGOs in which states engage in. Hence it is not the case that states are undermined by globalisation, but rather that they are engaging in it.
- **Sassen (2006)** : The state should be thought of as an *assemblage* of territory, authority, and rights, a bundle of institutions that form over a long period, but which can be disassembled and re-bundled in different ways when specific historic conditions make it possible to and attractive to key social actors.
- How?
  - (1) The internationalisation of the state is marked by the integration of policy and even law-making across borders.
  - (2) **Jessop (1997)** : There is a trend towards the “de-statization” of the political system as a result of neo-liberal globalisation (states cooperate more with NGOs and para-governmental organisations to realise their objectives rather than remaining the single major sponsor of such projects)
- Giorgio Agamben explains state powers to suspend the rule of law on terrorists, arguing it involves determining those that are included in the state, and those that are external to the state and so may be “killed without sacrifice.”
  - **Agamben (1995)** : the law lies in the distinction between *zoe* (bare life) and *bios* (political life) in which the *zoe* can be killed without sacrifice.
  - This allowed the government to justify wars on terror.
  - However, this us-them distinction has declined as a result of globalisation.

- Political sociologists are divided on whether globalisation is inherently imperialist or more cosmopolitan.
  - **Ferguson (2008)** : Global governance differs *formally* from imperialism because it involves cooperation and relations between states, not like Empires that subject other states to their ownership and rule.
  - Still, it is dangerous that state now has limitations to its power in areas where it already cannot enforce its own laws properly, for example in controlling domestic violence.
  - **Held (1995)** : Political cosmopolitans shared sovereignty as developing as a legal possibility, and argue that intervention may be justified in some cases on both moral and legal grounds.
  - **Chomsky (2000)** : Global governance, in general, and especially the use of military force on other states, is a way of extending imperialism.
- Autonomy
  - **Held (1995)** : Autonomy concerns the capacity a state possesses to act independently of other states and of other economic and social organisations to articulate and pursue domestic and international policies.
  - Globalisation is about gaining some degree of cross-border autonomy.
  - Some countries start at a better place than others and do gain large benefits.
    - (1) The leaders of over-developed economies do not subject themselves to the rule of market liberalisation they impose on others.
    - (2) The effects of the free market, where they exist, are different for different economies.
    - (3) A large number of developing countries are still bound to pay back escalating debts that were loaned by the IMF in the 1960s to develop modernisation projects that were often exercised by corrupt politicians.
    - (4) Global economic governance may even on occasion involve direct intervention in the internal affairs of states; e.g. intervention of the IMF
- Sovereignty
  - **Held (1995)** : “Sovereignty” concerns political authority, the “right to exercise the powers of the state and to determine the rules, regulations and policies within a given territory.”
  - Political cosmopolitans see state sovereignty as integral to the modern international state system, known as the Westphalian order (after the Treaty of Westphalia)
    - Problem: British Empire would be seen as a breach of international law, but if an international agreement is honoured in favour of it, it is difficult to see it as law.
  - Political cosmopolitans law is still in development, following principles first outlined in the Nuremberg trials
  - Problem for cosmopolitans: The US led its allies to a war that included torture and rape etc. How are the victims of those supposed to be protected as members of the community?
    - **Habernas (2006)** : Cosmopolitan laws should develop from international laws involving deliberation of facts and principles justifying humanitarian intervention on a case by case basis.
    - **Harvey (2003)** : Capitalism requires imperialism, and so-called “humanitarian interventions” are actually geo-political conflicts led by the US to secure its long term interests.
    - **Ignatieff (2003)** : States may be independent in name only.; in fact, they are protectorates of large, wealthy and internationally prominent states that have as their aim “the maintenance of order over barbarian threat” e.g. Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan rules by London and Washington
  - States may be internationalising, making “sovereignty” a highly contested issue, but in the twenty-first century, imperialism will always meet strong opposition because national self-determination remains the only legitimate form of political rule for virtually everyone around the world.

## 2.3 We are the World?

- **Gellner (1983)** : Nation-states carefully, and very successfully, fostered political communities as “national” in relation to rule-setting state regulation through education and propaganda, the control of media and the celebration of historical memory in national festivals, museums and so on.
  - “Political community” used interchangeably with “nation”
- **Anderson (1982)** : It has become commonplace to see nations as “imagined communities” because we never meet most other members, hence imagined, yet still a community due to the common feeling of comradeship.
- **Ignatieff (1994)** : The ethnic nation (membership by birth) is inherently “othering” to a greater extent than the civic nation, because those outside are seen as different in kind from those inside.
- The “others” of national political communities are also external, most commonly other nations.
  - **Balakrishnan (1996)** : Most modern nations were formed through relations of conflict and competition with other nations and peoples, especially since the nineteenth century, as the form of nation-state has been generalised across the world.
- The proliferation of global media may unify rather than divide as it shows the lives of more people around the world, hence making it easier for political communities to imagine the “others” as people rather than empty names.
  - Global media also enhances individuals’ abilities to speak up against the wrongs
  - Problem: echo-chamber
    - **Castells (2009)** : The increase of multiple channels directed at specific audiences, computerised programming, and the use of video recording makes for what it is sometimes called “narrowcasting,” greater personal choice over viewing and a greater fragmentation of audiences.
    - **Chouliaraki (2006)** : E.g. coverage of humanitarian crises in the news media demonstrates the notion of “the West” and “the Rest”
      - (1) “Adventure” - series of random isolated events without attempt to demonstrate sufferer’s agency
      - (2) “Emergencies” - shrink the distance between the spectator and those suffering to which the appropriate response is pity and some kind of action.
      - (3) “Ecstatic” - live coverage, often interrupting other programmes, and creates a close sense of identification between the spectator and the victims.
      - It is only insofar as the others is in some obvious way “like us” that they are eligible to become a spectacle of suffering with which we can identify and to which we must respond with words and actions.
  - **Stevenson (1999)** : Representations of Westerners as helping, never involved in creating humanitarian disasters, involve more an imperialist than a cosmopolitan imagining.

## 3 Social Movements

- Social movements have been important to the field of contemporary political sociology in three ways:
  - (1) Influential in its development in academia; changing definitions of what is, or is not, a social movement
  - (2) The understanding of what members of social movements bring on the idea of social life.
  - (3) As a field of study, social movements problematise older models of sociological explanation insofar as they see politics as solely organised around the nation-state.
- New social movements are ones that formed in the 1960s and have the following features:

- (1) Non-instrumental, expressive of universalist concerns and often protesting in the name of morality rather than the direct interests of particular social groups.
- (2) Oriented more toward civil society than the state:
  - (a) suspicious of centralised bureaucratic structures and oriented toward changing public views rather than elite institutions;
  - (b) more concerned with aspects of culture, lifestyle, and participation in the symbolic politics of protest than in claiming socio-economic rights.
- (3) Organised in informal, “loose,” and flexible ways, at least in some aspects, avoiding hierarchy, bureaucracy, and even qualifications for membership.
- (4) Highly dependent on mass media through which appeals are made, protests staged, and images are made effective in capturing public imagination and feeling.
- Old social movements are more centralised and structured.
- The contrast between old and new social movements is overdrawn. The change in the nature of social movements is partly due to the changes in the nature of the issues / practices to be addressed.

### 3.1 Resource Mobilisation Theory and Beyond

- Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) is based on the liberal view that social phenomena are the result of individual decisions and actions.
  - For Resource Mobilisation theorists, what needs to be explained is why individuals are purposefully involved in collective action as a result of rational consideration of their interests.
  - Social action is not caused by structural conditions.

#### Resource Mobilisation Theory: The Premises

- The theory of social behaviour outlined in Mancur Olson’s *The Logic of Collective Action* (1968) is based on two premises:
  - (1) Social choices are to be explained with reference to individual preferences
  - (2) Individuals act rationally to maximise their interests and minimise their costs
  - There is no necessary connection between collective interests and collective action.
  - Olson was interested in showing why people *did not* participate in collective actions despite individual interests in collective goals.
- Resources
  - **Oberschall (1973)** : Resources are material (e.g. jobs, money, right to goods and services) and non-material (e.g. authority, friendship, commitment, skills). Mobilisation is the processes by which groups manage resources for the pursuit of their goals.
  - **Zald and McCarthy (1987)** : Resources include legitimacy, money, the labour of supporters and facilities.
    - More narrow than Olson and Oberschall’s conception
- **Olson (1968)** : social sanctions and rewards are among the kinds of incentives that can mobilise a group, but only if the group is small and friendship-based.
- **Zald and McCarthy (1987)** : The free-rider problem does not arise where the participation is relatively cost-free (e.g. annual subscription fee) and has considerable benefits.
- **Tilly (1978)** : As the most powerful political actor in industrial societies, the state selectively represses or facilitates social movements and / or their activities according to the perceived interests of state elites.
  - Supported by Sidney Tarrow’s theory of “cycles of contention” where social movements do not arise individually but rather as part of a general wave of social unrest, generally precipitated by some unpredictable event and facilitated by changes in political opportunity structures.



## The “Cultural Turn” in Resource Mobilisation Theory

- Individuals considered by RMT are criticised to be atomistic and over-rationalist. Development in the literature changes the theory’s model of the individual.
- David Snow and his associates argue actors define grievances, forge collective identities and create, interpret and transform opportunities through “frames”
  - **Snow and Benford (1992)** : A “frame” works because “it simplifies ‘the world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions in one’s present or past environment.”
  - Snow and his associates consider mobilisation to take place in face-to-face interaction, in what they call “micro-mobilisation”
- **Tarrow (1992)** : Success depends on “maintaining a delicate balance between the resonance of the movement’s message with the existing political culture and its promise of new departures.”
- **McAdam et al. (1996)**
  - The form of mobilisation as well as its timing, is affected by perceptions of political opportunities.
  - A movement is increasingly the author of its own fate: organisations claiming to represent the movement consciously shape shared understandings of it in contestation with other collective actors claiming to represent it, with the state, and also with counter-movements.
    - **McAdam et al. (1996)** : Framing is “the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective actions.”
    - Problem: we can’t control framing processes
- Framing
  - (1) The implication of framing as fundamental to movement mobilisation is that individuals may never act in ways which Resource Mobilisation theorists would find rational.
  - (2) The framing approach suggests that rather than objectively and scientifically studying social movements as a phenomena “out there” in the world, Resource Mobilisation theorists are actually much more implicated in that world than has hitherto been supposed of this approach.
  - (3) The cultural framing approach also has important implications for the RMT view of politics.
    - What is at stake in much collective action is cultural politics: the contestation and transformation of the meanings actors attribute to events, experiences and perceptions, and the attempt to construct and reconstruct one’s view of oneself and others.

## 3.2 New Social Movement Theory: Conflict and Culture

- The aim of a true social movement is not to influence the political process, but to break the limits of the current system and to lead the transformation of society.
- New Social Movement Theory (NSMT)

### Alan Touraine : Social Movements and the Sociology of Action

- Touraine developed his theory in opposition to functionalism and Marxist structural determinism.
- **Touraine (1981)** : The terms in which social movements present themselves as actors must be taken seriously if social action is to be properly understood.

- Every society is formed by two opposing social movements (class movements) struggling over “historicity,” or the processes by which society is produced as a result of conscious reflection on social action and its conditions.
  - Social relations are relations of power insofar as they are fixed in certain patterns by class domination.
  - Therefore role of state in the transformation of society is minimised.
- Problems with Touraine’s approach:
  - (1) He over-emphasises ideology in social movement conflicts
    - Seems like social transformation occurs as a result of correct ideas, but it would be more sensible to think it is rather due to practice rather than ideology.
    - What is the correct idea? Truth is relative.
  - (2) Touraine retains some of the problems of Marxism her rejects – determinism.
    - Touraine thinks here is a single appropriate social movement for every type of society that will bring transition to another type of society.
    - BUT this conflicts with his definition of social action as having no predetermined direction or foreseeable outcome.

## Alberto Melucci: Developments in “New Social Movement” Theory

- Touraine’s student
- Problem with Touraine’s theory is the view of movements to be unified, but new social movements are pluralistic in nature.
- **Melucci (1995)** : Social actors must know the meaning of their actions, even if they do not know it completely, since collective action is nothing but the multiple meanings they give to it.
- For Melucci, and differing from Touraine and RMT, social movements are, above all, sustained in “invisible submerged networks” in which experiments in life are carried on, new experiences are created, and collective identities forged in everyday life.
- Unlike their 19th Century counterparts, “new social movements” are not concerned with struggles over the production of material resources, or with their distribution or control through the state in citizenship rights, but rather with access to information (e.g. about the hazards of nuclear testing), and the contestation of symbolic resources (e.g. sexist advertising or the aestheticisation of violence in media)
- **Melucci (1989)** : The struggles of new social movements are struggles over identity: “to push others to recognise something which they themselves recognise; they struggle to affirm what others deny.”
- Identity is intrinsically social.
  - **Melucci (1996)** : Insofar as individual identity requires recognition by others, it is in itself intrinsically social; by its very nature, identity cannot be constructed outside relationships that give it meaning.
- Social movements occur primarily in the cultural, and not political, realm.
  - However, Melucci also argues that it should be possible to see social movements working between civil society and the state.

### 3.3 Toward a Synthesis: the Definition of “Social Movement”

- Mario Diani suggests that there is no distinction between “political” and “cultural” when it comes to social movements.
- His definition captures elements of both NSMT and RMT.
- **Diani (1992)** : Four aspects of the dynamics of the social movement account...
  - (1) “A social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and organisations.”
  - (2) “The boundaries of a social movement network are defined by the specific collective identity shared by the actors involved in the interaction.”

- (3) “Social movement actors are engaged in political and/or cultural conflicts, meant to promote or oppose social change either at the systemic or non-systemic level.”
- (4) “A social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict on the basis of a shared collective identity.”

### 3.4 Global Social Movements

- There is an increasing number of transnational social movements, although some actions may still be targeted predominantly to the nation-state.
- This section explores the impact of globalisation on social movements and vice versa.

#### Networks

- **van de Donk et al. (2004)** : There is no doubt that use of new media technologies play a crucial role in enabling activism across national borders.
- The use of the internet contributes to recruitment and publicising social movement causes and activities.
  - Also makes participating easier (just click)
  - Knowledge sharing
- **Scott and Street (2001)** : Use of new media technology, including mobile phones, also facilitates the organisation of protest events, enabling large numbers to coordinate their convergence at particular times and places.

#### Collective Identity

- **Rochon (1998)** : A social movement actually aims to dissolve itself; it is successful when it becomes a “way of seeing” generally, rather than a bounded, if loosely networked, group of activists who share a common perspective.
- Global movements have become more diverse in terms of its participants, but also combines different movements that would have been separate prior to globalisation.
- **Della Porta (2005)** : Global justice movement favours “tolerant identities,” stressing the importance of diversity and dialogue, openness and fluidity, with the simultaneous expression of multiple identities.”
- Activists also search for their identity by participating in global social movements.
- As we have learned from Melucci, the collective identity of a social movement is never settled for once and for all; on the contrary, who “we” are is formed through ongoing disputes, and conflicting perspectives do not in and of themselves prevent solitary.
  - Embrace plurality

#### Conflict

- Us VS. Them
- **Tarrow (2005)** : Globalisation makes strategic “scale shift” easier: “scaling up” to extend activities to include a wider range of actors and sites of conflict with opponents; and “scaling down,” where the range of actors and sites is reduced.
- Scale-up
  - Externalise domestic causes to international organisations
  - Shame the state (put pressure from above as well as the existing pressure from below)
  - E.g. feminist campaigns
- Scale-down

- Domesticate conflicts that have their basis in a policy made at a supranational level
- E.g. protest against EU economic policies

## 4 Citizenship

- **Arendt (1968)** : It depends on the assessment and valuation of a particular individual as the kind of person who, along with others in the civil sphere, should enjoy the “right to rights.”
- Citizenship is about the guarantee of certain group-differentiated rights but also defines “otherness” in terms of who it serves.

### 4.1 T.H. Marshall: Citizenship, Social Class, and the Nation-State

- Thomas Humphrey Marshall analyses citizenship as consisting of three types of rights: civil, political and social.
  - (1) Civil rights
    - **Marshall (1992)** : Civil rights involve the protection of individual freedoms, including “liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice.”
  - (2) Political rights
    - **Marshall (1992)** : Political rights involve the right to “participate in the exercise of political power as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body,”
  - (3) Social rights
    - Developing in the 20th Century
    - Includes national system of healthcare and education
- Marshall sees class and citizenship as conflicting
- He believes that if good enough welfare is provided, people will care less about earning high wages, not because of high tax rates, but because once the essentials are provided money becomes less relevant.

### Limits of Marshall’s Account of Citizenship

- (1) Marshall’s account tends to ignore politics
  - Marshall’s account is implicitly evolutionist
    - Assumes the development took the same form in different countries
  - **Giddens (1982)** : Marshall fails to give enough consideration how each of the three sets of rights has only been achieved after a protracted struggle.
  - However, some commentators agree with Marshall...
  - **Barbalet (1998)** : Marshall’s model shows how citizenship rights are extended through conflict.
    - BUT conflict of systems rather than social groups
- (2) Marshall’s assumes citizenship rights within a society are genuinely universal and confer equality upon citizens.
  - **Walby (1994)** : Marshall’s analysis of citizenship rights is so imbued with gender-specific assumptions that he fails to notice that the development of women’s rights has actually followed quite a different trajectory from men’s.
- (3) Marshall’s analysis understands citizenship to have evolved towards the end of the 19th Century, but that is just after the war.
  - Post-war economic development may have distorted Marshall’s view on the fundamental contention between capitalism and equality.

## 4.2 Citizenship, Wealth and Poverty

- Marshall saw citizenship rights as producing a system parallel to capitalism in which money becomes irrelevant.
- **Turner (1986)** : Capitalism does not just produce inequality between citizens; the market requires that citizens are unequal: that they have incentives to sell their labour to earn money and compete to consume what is produced. In retrospect, Marshall's view of the compromise between citizenship and capitalism looks extremely optimistic.
- The state has been involved in extending the market and narrowing the public sphere of life in which citizens were supposed to enjoy equality.
  - **Crouch (2001)** : This has led to complex new arrangements between states and markets rather than a reduction in state intervention altogether.
- The emphasis of neoliberalism is on freedom rather than equality, hence it is unsurprising to see neoliberal policies accompanied by the polarisation of wealth.
- Defining poverty itself is political. Poverty has consequences for citizenship where citizenship involves the rights to full participation in society.
- The most controversial term to define the poor is the "underclass." Theorists argue this social phenomenon reproduces poverty.
  - **Wilson (1987)** : The most important problem for members of the "underclass" is social isolation; many families in poor areas of the city experience long-term unemployment, and, because they have few contacts with those in steady jobs, welfare dependence becomes a way of life.
  - "underclass" = "ghetto poor"
  - Criticisms of the term "underclass"
    - **Fanstein (1996)** : The poor are not qualitatively different from the rest of the population; it is not their characteristics as a group we should consider in order to understand growing poverty. The whole family of terms – "underclass," "ghetto poor," "excluded" – work "to deflect attention from the dynamics of economic and political processes which generate and reproduce the very populations and places which will appear to lie under or outside of capitalist systems."
    - "Social exclusion" is not pertained to the labour market. There are wider social changes that impact on social rights.
      - **Morris (1996)** : When unemployment is high, even the jobs that white workers prefer not to do may not be available to men and women from racialised minorities.
- The poor are not organised into a social movement.
  - **Lister (2004)** : It is very difficult for the poor to organise specifically around ending poverty as citizens – in fact, historically, poverty has been associated with the *removal* of civil and political rights.

## 4.3 Citizenship, Sex and Sexuality

### The Women's Movement

- The "sameness-difference" dilemma
  - Should the women's movement focus on rights for women to be treated the same as men or on gender-specific rights, enabling women's differences from men to be valued and taken into account as the means of gaining genuine equality between the sexes?
- Three ways women are excluded from full citizenship rights:
  - (1) Women are discriminated against when they should have the same rights as men.
  - (2) Women are only treated the same as men when only differential treatment would make genuine equality possible.

- Physical and historical differences ignored (have to play by the same rules as men)
- (3) Some citizenship rights, notably social rights, are accorded differently to women and men and, in such cases, women are treated as inferior citizens.
  - Women face a greater risk of poverty as they are more frequently assigned short-term contracts.
  - **Lister (2004)** : Single parents, usually women, who cannot afford childcare, and older women who have outlived or separated from their husbands are especially likely to be in receipt of welfare payments.
  - Women's inferior social rights are linked to inferior political rights.
  - **Hernes (1984)** : Although social rights are valuable in allowing women to escape subordination from individual men in the home, if women then become dependent on a state over which they have no control, they have done little more than change private patriarchy for public patriarchy.
- Diana Fuss (1989) points out another dilemma of what to focus on in feminist theory
  - "real essentialism" – women are inalterably different from men
  - "nominal essentialism" – the essence of "women" depends on how the term is used (changeable)

## The Gay and Lesbian Movement and Queer Politics

- In recent years, feminists and those who identify as "queer" have come together to some extent, at least theoretically.
- Lesbians suffer more from invisibility than legal repression.
  - Since women tend to have lower income, they are also more invisible in terms of consumer power and commercial spaces too.
- In order to gain citizenship rights, the gay and lesbian community has presented sexuality as something determined by birth.
  - Gay rights are claimed as minority rights
  - This contradicts with the sociological framework which suggests that we learn to see ourselves as having a "sexuality" only when such a view is socially available.
  - **Herman (1993)** : Claims for "minority rights" actually contribute to the dominance of an understanding of different sexualities as "normal" or "abnormal." This means that, at best, gays and lesbians can only ever be tolerated, since they will always be the abnormal minority.
- **Sullivan (1995)** : Equal citizenship for lesbians and gays requires nothing more in principle than the extension of existing rights to all individuals. It is not clear that this commits those individuals as individuals to any particular sexual identity indefinitely.

## 4.4 Citizenship, Racialisation and Ethnicity

- Sociologists think in terms of "racialised" groups, to which characteristics are socially attributed on the grounds of race.
- **Mason (1995)** : "Ethnicity" is used to denote cultural difference, but only those groups distinguished by colour are normally referred to as "ethnic groups."

## Immigration, Assimilation, and "New Racism"

- **Marshall (1992)** : Citizenship rights on one hand enable citizens to participate in the common standards of civilisation, and on the other contribute to social solidarity, unifying the nation in a shared sense of community.

- **Kymlicka (1995)** : Marshall's understanding of citizenship rights is somewhat paradoxical: he sees them not only as fostering a common culture, but also as presupposing it.
- **Kymlicka (1995)** : Nation means "a historical community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture."
- Two ways of attributing citizenship rights at birth
  - *jus soli* – grant citizenship to all those born within the state's territory
  - *jus sanguinis* – grant citizenship according to the parents' citizenship
- Assimilationism is the "melting pot" in which immigrants are supposed to give up distinctive cultural identities so that everyone converges on the norms of the civic nation.
  - Alternative is the "salad bowl" analogy
  - **Lister (2004)** : Although there is diversity in the socioeconomic situations of ethnic minorities across Europe, in general, non-whites are more likely to be disadvantaged in terms of pay, unemployment and welfare provision.
  - At the very least, then, the assimilationist model of the immigration has failed to ensure equal rights for all citizens of the nation-state.
  - It may also even cause new problems of racism.

## Multiculturalism, Group-differentiated Rights, and "New Assimilationism"

- "New assimilationism" encourages respect for diversity as well as for common values and national solidarity.
- **Kymlicka (1995)** : In the name of individual freedom, cultural differences should be upheld and protected.
- Two types of multiculturalism:
  - (1) Multinationalism – different nations still retain their own government but included into a single state
  - (2) Polyethnicity – immigration of different nations
- Multiculturalist education is about exposing children to different festivals to make them recognise other cultures.
  - In this sense, religious education strays from being multicultural.
- As a multiculturalist sees it, recognising cultural differences in group-differentiated polyethnic citizenship rights enables genuine integration, while the assimilationist model results in exclusion for those who do not fit, or who are seen as not fitting.
- **Kymlicka (1995)** : African-Americans are in neither the multinational or polyethnic group as they are brought to the continent by involuntarily and are actively discouraged and even prohibited from trying to develop a common culture.
- Attempts to reform systematic imbalances
  - In the US, the most prominent attempt to reform systematic imbalances is through "redistricting"
    - Redrawing boundaries to create black-majority or hispanic-majority districts
  - In Belgium and Holland, religious cleavages are represented by political parties.
- Anti-essentialists argue that we should see culture as *process* rather than a set of attributes possessed by a particular group.
  - **Hall (1990)** : There are no "authentic" ethnic groups.
  - **Gilroy (1993)** : Multiculturalism is problematic insofar as it contributes to "ethnic absolutism," or the construction of rigid and supposedly unchanging distinctions between cultures in ways that constrain creativity, individuality, and challenges to the *status quo*.

- **Fraser (1997)** : Multiculturalism is not an end in itself. The politics of recognition should not lead to neglect commitments of the politics of redistribution.
- **Modood (2007)** : In “new assimilationism,” what is emphasised above all is belonging to a civic nation of liberal rights and obligations. It is solidarity and belonging across all groups that critics of multiculturalism believe should be fostered.

## 4.5 Post-National Citizenship

### Migration and Rights Across Borders

- **Castles and Miller (2005)** : Despite increased regulations, improvement in technology, as it has done for other forms of globalisation, has made migration easier.
- More rights are granted based on personhood rather than nationality
  - **Sosyal (1994)** : Nationality and rights are disarticulated as the absolute distinction between “citizenship” and “foreigner” is eroded.
  - **Sosyal (1994)** : States are caught between competing claims of legitimacy: bound on one hand to respect human rights, and we might add, domestic law where it may be interpreted to cover non-citizens, and on the other, to regulate immigration as an expression of sovereignty. Their activities are not always consistent.
- Post-national citizenship created tiers of citizenships
  - **Nash (2009)** : There are “super-citizens” of the global elite; to “quasi-citizens” who have formal rights but who may find themselves in anomalous situations because they are unable to demonstrate that they “belong” to the majority culture or that they are loyal to the state; through to “un-citizens” who may be long term residents but may face deportation if their activities come to the attention of authorities.

### European Citizenship

- Social rights remain minimal at the EU level.
- Previous attempts to standardise benefits and rights for workers are continued in the Maastricht Treaty, but social rights are extended by very little beyond participation in the labour market.
  - **O’ Leary (1995)** : The emphasis on ensuring the free movement of workers remains and there is no attempt to harmonise national welfare systems.
- Can citizenship of the European Union be described as post-national?
  - Citizenship rights remain clearly national, as EU citizenship is only granted to those with citizenship in member states.
    - **Meehan (1997)** : The rights of the citizens of the European Union continue to be determined to a large extent, then, by the nation-state within which they happen to reside.
  - New citizenship rights instituted by the Maastricht Treaty are post-national
    - They are universal human rights attached to persons rather than citizens
    - The EU is increasingly a supranational state, sharing the sovereignty of member states.
      - Problem with shared sovereignty: “democratic deficit” – the EU is seriously inadequate in terms of political rights
      - BUT this is not necessarily a bad thing, since this means member nations have more control/say over things that happen outside their borders

### Citizenship and the Environment



- **Giddens (2009)** : If state planning is needed to deal with climate change, for example, since policy changes across society are needed, what room is there for democratic decision-making that might result in the “wrong direction,” potentially with catastrophic consequences?
- Citizenship
  - (1) There is the issue of who should be included as a citizen
    - Future generations
      - Not that controversial since children are already considered and receiving right to education
    - Animals?
  - (2) Environmental citizenship is often seen in terms of responsibility for nature, or “environmental stewardship,” as it is sometimes called.
    - Distinction between rights and responsibilities
    - There may be a tension between environmentalism and other social movements over the balance between citizenship rights and obligations.
    - The extension of rights has been linked historically with the expansion of the capitalist economy.
      - **Dobson and Bell (2006)** : Although market incentives have a role to play in creating a sustainable economy, then, they do not necessarily generate fundamental changes in how we live.
      - E.g. having to pay for plastic bags reduce plastic consumption but do not change attitudes
  - (3) Although there are certainly potential tensions between democracy and environmental responsibility, in practice greater participation in political life is currently needed in order to make environmental citizenship a reality.
    - **Steward (1991)** : Citizens should be involved with experts in assessing the environmental risks that directly affect them, and how they should be tackled.
    - This is already practiced in the environmental justice movement, particularly in the US.
  - (4) Responsibility towards the environment can only be generated and sustained by changes of attitude towards environmental issues at all scales, from local to global; and by policies to end the rapid rate of environmental damage.
    - Dobson argues in favour of “ecological citizenship” that involves non-territorial responsibilities => involves a concrete sense of global citizenship
    - Countries must each take responsibility for reducing a quota of carbon emissions to reverse climate change.
    - His idea is a development of what is agreed in the 1997 Kyoto Protocol

## 5 Globalisation and Democracy

- State transformation in global governance is a problem for the modern ideal of democracy because it requires autonomous and sovereign states.
- If processes of globalisation which impact on people’s lives are not, by definition, confined within national territories, why should definitions of “national interests” be all-important in international affairs?
- In normative terms, democracy may be formal or substantive.
  - Formal
    - Prevails in political science
    - Joseph Schumpeter defines democracy as exclusively concerned with competition between political parties to win votes.
  - Substantive
    - Involves judgement about the quality and the extent of popular participation in democratic decision-making.

## 5.1 Democracy in Crisis: Political Parties and Elections

- Political parties now target voters as citizen-consumers rather than in terms of political ideologies.
- **Washbourne (2010)** : Especially on TV, politicians address audiences intimately, seeking emotional engagement and identification in order to overcome the cynicism with which politicians are generally regarded.
- **Castells (2009)** : Democracy is not necessarily well-served where the media stories that gather the most interest concern the personal assassination of political rivals.
- **Skocpol (2003)** : Without necessarily intending to, mainstream media has tended to disparage group activities and representative politics, neglecting to stage the importance of differences, arguments, and decisions for ordinary people in favour of expert opinion.
- There are two important aspects of Obama's campaign that mean it may mark a turning point for the legitimacy of political parties:
  - (1) In terms of political communication, his supporters brought the campaign to the internet in an unprecedented way, micro-targeting American citizens through social networking sites, personal websites, and the use of YouTube as well as using more conventional political marketing techniques.
  - (2) The campaign raised most of its money from small donations, which meant that Obama was not beholden to large funders once he was in office (Castells, 2009)
- **Crouch (2004)** : Those who are concerned that liberal-democratic procedures make little contribution to substantive democracy see the loss of citizens' social rights over the last few decades as clearly indicative that we are now in an era of "post-democracy."

## 5.2 Democracy, Human Rights, and International Political Institutions

- David Held argues that globalisation requires democratisation of global governance. The cosmopolitan democracy he advocates involves three main principles:
  - (1) Cosmopolitan law must be developed as a kind of global constitution to guarantee rights for all.
  - (2) Inter-Governmental Organisations must become more democratic and more effective.
  - (3) Democratic participation should be organised in terms of "subsidiarity"
    - Government decisions should be made as locally as possible to maximise accountability and the participation of those affected by particular issues.
- Critics of cosmopolitan democracy believe it is more important to support democratic institutions that have been established at the national level.
  - Better to have national democracy supplemented by international coordination where issues affect constituencies beyond national borders.

### Democracy and Human Rights

- **Held (1995)** : Extending human rights represents a means by which cosmopolitan democracy may be achieved, as public law provides the conditions that ensure democratic participation.
- Human right activists try to get states to ratify their agreements.
- In addition, commitment to human rights is emerging as the common language that non-state actors use to put pressure on IGOs
- **Gready and Ensor (2005)** : Insofar as the human rights movement is concerned with outcome, however, simply ensuring that human right norms are referred to in bureaucratic documents will not satisfy demands for action to realise human rights.

## Democracy Between States

- Except in the EU, the development of human rights in those institutions are not designed to contribute to the democratisation of those institutions.
- Different IGOs have different voting procedures
  - UN
    - Permanent members of the UNSC also sell arms
  - The procedures for reaching agreements in the institutions of economic global governance are skewed to benefit the wealthiest states.
    - **Monboit (2004)** : The US appoints the President of the World Bank and the EU chooses the Managing Director of the IMF
  - In general, there is an overrepresentation of over-developed states.
  - To correct for these inequalities, it is proposed that NGOs should have more say.
  - However, more than institutional reforms will be needed.
    - Not just about balance of power
    - Issues about backroom dealing, outright bribery and threats to consider
    - Even if the structure of the IGO is democratic, in order for it to be truly democratic the member states should also have an informed, democratic voting system.

## 5.3 Global Civil Society

- **Keane (2003)** : “Global civil society” is “a dynamic non-governmental system of interconnected social-economic institutions that straddle the whole earth, and that have complex effects that are felt in its four corners.”
  - **Habermas (1992)** : “non-governmental” includes a huge range and variety of participants, from religious groups, sports clubs, debating societies, academies and trades unions, through to groups of concerned citizens.
  - *Civility* is the peaceful negotiation of shared social meanings.
- John Keane allows the meaning of civil society to include profit-seeking businesses. He is not in favour of “turbo-capitalism” but believes that the activities of other civil actors are vital in ameliorating the inequalities these companies produce.
- Civil society concerns the space outside of states.
  - **Tonkiss (2005)** : Corporations are not inert, passive participants in globalisation; they actively engage in trying to shape its conditions in ways that are beneficial to their shareholders.
  - Companies can be thought of as NGOs with different aims and different beneficiaries.
- Civil societies led by NGOs are intrinsically undemocratic.
  - Involves western-led organisations like UN, IMF etc.
  - So the idea of a “global civil society” can be thought of as Western imperialism.
- Forms of globalisation
  - (1) “Alternative globalisation” – turning away from formal politics both at the state and the international level in favour of the democratisation of everyday life.
  - (2) “Deliberative globalisation” – democratise international political institutions and to establish popular consultation and dialogue over the content of their policy agendas.
  - (3) “Conditional globalisation” – working through internationalising states to alter conditions of democratic engagement within and across state borders.

## Alternative Globalisation

- “Another world is possible!”
- Alternative political organisation e.g. World Social Forum (WSF)
- Transnational communication outside of commercial media

- E.g. Indymedia – a grassroots forum for reporting news from around the world that would not be reported by the mainstream news agencies
- Innovative forms of protest
  - E.g. protesting against cutting down trees by living on the tree
  - **McKay (1998)** : The protest actions of alternative globalisation are festive, carnivalesque, and actually enact ways of living outside the mainstream.
- Principles of democratic legitimacy underlying alternative globalisation
  - (1) By demonstrating that attractive alternatives to global capitalism are possible, global social movements are bringing “another world” closer.
  - (2) Anarchist => Challenge mainstream ways of life
- As a strategy for *resisting* capitalist globalisation, alternative globalisation does not appear to require justification. However, it can only ever be *part* of what is needed to democratise neoliberal globalisation.

## Deliberative Globalisation

- Democratizing globalisation involves global social movements stimulating public debate across global civil society, and then NGOs translate principles agreed upon there to pressure IGOs.
- Deliberative democracy involves the justification of decisions taken by citizens together with their representatives.
- **Bohman (2007)** : To some extent, deliberative democrats share agonists’ suspicion of consensus: it is only where the better argument has prevailed, rather than the formation of public opinion by bribery or threats, that agreement is genuinely democratic.
- **Habermas (1989)** : The growth of mass communications made citizens into passive recipients of products of “the culture industry” and worked to manufacture consent without genuine deliberation.
  - Too rationalist and too individualist
  - **Young (1996)** : The most important contributions to democratic deliberations over the last two hundred years have actually come from social movements, which have mobilised counter-public spheres using a range of style of communication, including story-telling, graphic art, demonstrations, and political rhetoric aimed at stirring emotions.
- Problems: Difficult to unify conversations across borders, let alone within borders, as media diversifies
  - **Castells (2009)** : The internet allows for self-generated communications in which individuals can respond interactively with the content available.
  - The internet is available unequally in different regions.

## Conditional Globalisation

- Precautionary principle
- Although democracy at the national level is far from ideal, it is important to safeguard what already exists, and international policies that *undermine* it should be resisted or reversed.
- E.g. UN’s Global Call to Action Against Poverty => Hugely popular in the UK and known as “Make Poverty History”
- Problem: Too focused on over-represented, over-developed nations and draws away from the states which the campaigns are supposed to be strengthening the people’s voices in.
  - **Stevenson (1999)** : The representations of those the campaign was supposed to help were patronising and self-absorbed.

## 5.4 Democracy and Cultural Politics

- The cultural politics of social movements do not respect the boundaries between state and civil society, voluntary associations and the market, or national and international.
- This book has been concerned with the cultural politics of egalitarian, “progressive” movements which are inherently democratising.
  - The cultural politics of a progressive movement leads to a greater degree of pluralism.
- BUT not all social movements are democratising
  - E.g. White Supremacy movement in the US
  - **Giddens (1994)** : The fact that they have to engage in cultural politics to bring about a re-traditionalisation of society makes their very project self-defeating.
  - Although cultural politics is inherently democratic in promoting contestation, it is not necessarily democratic in terms of aims nor effects.
- Another world is possible; some other world is in the making.

## Glossary

### COSMOPOLITANISM

- Detachment from the nation in favour of a commitment to universal values of humanity.
- Political cosmopolitanism is concerned with the institutions necessary for global democracy, justice, and peace.
- Cultural cosmopolitanism is concerned with the experience of oneself as a person who is at home anywhere in the world.

### CULTURAL POLITICS

- **Hall (1992)** : The politics of cultural representations: for example, the shift from “the relations of representation” to “representation itself”
- **Street (1997)** : The politics of cultural production: the way in which it is organised, promoted, or suppressed in, for example, education, broadcasting, and trade policy.
- **Jordan and Weedon (1995)** : The politics of what counts as culture and who is marginalised or excluded from its production.
- The politics of signifying practices through which identities, social relations, and rules are contested, subverted, and may be transformed. (This is the sense with which this book is predominantly concerned)

### CULTURE

- Best analysis of the term by Raymond Williams. It is used at least in four ways...
- (1) “A general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development” as in, “She is a cultured person.”
- (2) “A particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group” as used by anthropologists to describe different cultures.
- (3) “The works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity” such as music, literature, painting, and sculpture, sometimes including works of popular culture, too.
- (4) “The signifying order through which necessarily...a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored,” as in the post-structuralist understanding of culture as material practices in which identities, objects, and social rules are constituted.

### ESSENTIALISM

- Diana Fuss (1989) gives a very subtle analysis of essentialism in contemporary debates in *Essentially Speaking*.
- Following Locke, she distinguishes between...

- (1) "Real essences:" "the Aristotelian understanding of essence as that which is most irreducible and unchanging about a thing." It is discovered in nature by close observation.
- (2) "Nominal essence:" "merely a linguistic convenience, a classificatory fiction we need to categorise and label." It is assigned or produced in language through the arbitrary naming of objects.
- **Fuss (1989)** : For a real essentialist, a rose by any other name would still be a rose; for a nominal essentialist, it would be something quite different.
- Challenges to essentialism have been particularly important in feminist and queer theory, and also in debates on racism and cultural differences. "Essentialism" is invariably used as a pejorative term in such debates.

## GOVERNANCE

- The effective regulation of social activity without the formal authority of government.

## HEGEMONY

- **Gramsci (1971)** : Hegemony is the way in which the dominant class gains consent for its rule through compromises and alliances with some class fractions and the disorganisation of others, and also the way in which it maintains that rule in a stable social formation.

## INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION (IGO)

- An organisation made of official representatives of states and /or other IGOs

## INTERNATIONAL

- Referring to the relations between nation-states.
- See also: *transnational*

## INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION (INGO)

- Legally constituted organisation that is independent of governments and oriented towards action in regions larger than that of the territory of a single state.
- See also: *Non-Governmental Organisation*

## INTERNATIONALISING STATE

- The form of the state currently developing as an aspect of global governance which involves its restructuring within and across borders.
- See also: *nation-state*

## IMPERIALISM

- Political control by a state over external territories or nationalities.
- Imperialism can be formal, when imperial powers govern territories or subjugated peoples directly – as in the British Empire of the 19th Century.
- Or, it can be informal, when a state's military, economic and political power is used to control other territories and peoples without formally creating colonies.

## NATION

- **Kymlicka (1995)** : Nation means "a historical community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture."

## NATION-STATE

- A historically specific form of the state, developed initially in Europe and the US from the 17th to the 19th Centuries and spread to the rest of the world with decolonisation in the 20th Century, which attempts to integrate people according to shared cultural norms.

- It is also a political ideal: the modern state should be sovereign over a nation, the members of which are supposed to form a political community through their belonging to a state and common cultural norms.
- See also: *internationalised state; state*

#### NEOLIBERALISM

- **Harvey (2005)** : A set of economic ideas and practices, the core of which is that “human well-being can be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.”
- **Harvey (2005)** : It also involves the political ideal that “[t]he role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.”

#### NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION (NGO)

- Legally constituted organisation that is independent from government.
- See also: *International Non-Governmental Organisation*, with which it is often used interchangeably, though strictly speaking, NGOs only act within states.

#### POLITICS

- **Weber (1948)** : Politics “comprises of any kind of *independent* leadership in action”
- **Weber (1948)** : Politics involves the “striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state.”

#### POWER

- **Weber (1948)** : Power is “the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action”
- **Dahl (1956)** : power is “a realistic ... relationship, such as A’s capacity for acting in such a manner as to control B’s responses”

#### SOVEREIGNTY

- **Held (1995)** : “Sovereignty” concerns political authority, the “right to exercise the powers of the state and to determine the rules, regulations and policies within a given territory.”
- **Montgomery (2002)** : The word “sovereignty” sums up ultimate state authority, what authorises the state to have “the last word” within its territory.

#### STATE

- **Weber (1948)** : the state is a special kind of institution that possesses a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a given territory
- **Hall and Ikenberry (1989)**
  - (1) It is a set of institutions, the most important of which are those of violence and coercion.
  - (2) It is at the centre of a geographically bounded territory, a society.
  - (3) It monopolises rule-making within its territory, which tends to create a common political culture shared by its citizens.
- See also: *internationalising state*

#### SUPRANATIONAL

- Above the state; a political institution with powers that have been transferred from the state and with which it is now committed to sharing sovereignty.
- E.g. the European Parliament

#### TRANSNATIONAL

- Referring to relations or processes which cross national boundaries, by-passing the nation-state.
- See also: *international*