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Since the publication of the first edition of *Global Sociology*, we have witnessed a number of dramatic events of global significance. This should not obscure the underlying processes of global transformation we continue to document. These processes include the further shrinking of distance by better, faster and cheaper communications (what is called time–space compression), an increased pace of cultural, human, financial and trade flows and the enhanced interconnectedness of economic and social life.

These continuities were, however, punctuated by four events that were momentous in terms of their actual and likely future impact. In chronological terms they were:

1. The major protest mounted by the anti-globalization movement against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle in December 1999 and since followed by a blaze of similar protests in locations such as Prague, Barcelona and Genoa.
2. The merciless destruction of the World Trade Center in New York on 11 September 2001 unleashed by the Islamic al-Qaeda terrorist network followed by subsequent attacks on civilian targets in the West and elsewhere.
3. The collapse of the mighty Enron corporation, one of America's largest companies, also in 2001.
4. The commencement of a US-led war against Saddam Hussain's Iraq in 2003, followed by further military involvement by powerful Western forces in Afghanistan and the reigniting of old conflicts in the Middle East in 2006.

Although it is difficult to measure the ultimate impact of these events, in this edition we try to show in what ways they have challenged or confirmed our major arguments. An analysis of these events permeates the text, a quick summary of which is provided below.



THE ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT

We are not seers, yet we can claim to have anticipated the increasing salience of global social movements in the first edition of this book. The anti-globalization movement is, of course, itself a global social movement in that it organizes on a global scale for global concerns. 'Anti-globalization' should be understood as 'against corporate-led and US-dominated forms of globalization'. The anti-globalization movement is also highly diverse – being made up of a multitude of currents involving every kind of concern and interest – green, anarchist, socialist, feminist, trade unionist, religious, alternative development and human rights, to name but a few. Moreover, governments of some poor countries have often been sympathetic to these protests because many feel excluded from the mainstream of world decision-making and marginalized within the global economy.

Protests have been directed not only at the leading governments, the most powerful intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the WTO, but also at the

gigantic transnational corporations. The demonstrations have brought together collaborative protest streams from many countries and world regions, and have evidenced campaigning tactics that cut across diverse issues. While some groups have, on occasions, resorted to violent acts, the great majority of those participating have demonstrated peacefully and with a firm commitment to democracy and reform rather than to revolution. The protesters want to highlight issues concerned with the environment, human rights, poverty, world inequality, fair trade, indebtedness, peace, cultural autonomy and democracy.

THE AFTERMATH OF 11 SEPTEMBER 2001

What of the appalling destruction wrought in New York and the Pentagon on 11 September 2001? As Calhoun (2002: 87) has argued of the USA: 'One need be no friend to terrorism to be sorry that the dominant response to the terrorist attacks has been framed as a matter of war rather than crime, an attack on America rather than an attack on humanity.' The chance to press forward on a number of key global concerns was thereby lost. The establishment of an international criminal court looks further away than ever. The Bush government backed off pressuring Israel to bring peace to the Middle East and instead aligned itself totally to the counterterrorist activities of the Sharon and later the Olmert governments, a stance that was bound to escalate tension in the area.

Across the world there was sympathy for the victims of 9/11, but this sympathy was tinged with hopes that the government and the people of the USA would realize that other people had also experienced dreadful catastrophes and we are all now vulnerable to the dangers of a new kind of instant, portable, ever-present violence. In some places, Osama bin Laden was turned into a hero. In northern Nigeria, for example, Yusuf Sarki Mohammed (2002: 51) recorded that bin Laden's image was printed on posters and T-shirts to satisfy 'a seemingly insatiable demand'. However, Mohammed continued: 'People hoped the attacks would also burst the bubble of American self-importance and make it more reflective when dealing with the rest of the world.' In the midst of their grief and anger, it may be that it was too much to expect that the American people would ask, let alone answer, this question: Does the growing inequality both within and between the nations of the world, coupled with a one-sided exercise of power by a few actors go some way towards explaining why violent and abusive acts are perpetrated by criminal and terrorist gangs against innocent citizens?

THE CRITIQUE OF AN UNREGULATED MARKET

The third momentous event that needs discussion is the naked exposure of the frailty of speculative capitalism. While Japan and a number of other countries were mired in no-growth or low-growth economies, from which they have just emerged, the US stock market experienced a run of good fortune for nearly 15 years. Was this too good to be true? By the turn of the century, a number of

commentators were worried that reckless speculation would lead to dramatic collapse and bankruptcies. So it proved. By early 2002, US\$4 trillion had been lost in the value of US shares. The most dramatic example of failure was the case of the energy supplier Enron, one of the 50 biggest public companies in the USA, which recorded over US\$100 billion in sales and US\$1 billion in earnings in 2001. Within six months, the company was bankrupt, with a loss of US\$90 billion in market value. What was shocking was not so much that this massive company had collapsed, but that its managers and auditors knew about the financial position of the company and sought to conceal it from investors and employees. Company executives and board members quietly unloaded shares, while Arthur Anderson, the previously respectable global accountancy firm, shredded evidence that demonstrated its awareness or complicity in these transactions. About 25,000 employees lost most of their savings.

If we were convinced Marxists, we might shrug our shoulders at such evidence of corporate malfeasance, saying that, 'it is only to be expected'. But powerful critiques of such conduct have been mounted by far more unlikely sources. Take, for example, the views of Felix Rohatyn, a former governor of the New York Stock Exchange, managing director of the financiers Lazard Frères and Co and the US ambassador to France from 1997 to 2000. For him, 'a large proportion of the stock market was becoming a branch of show business and it was driving the economy instead of the other way around' (Rohatyn 2002: 6). Similar arguments have been mounted by George Soros (2002) on a global scale. If left alone, as the neoliberals want, financial markets would go to extremes and would eventually break down, argued Soros. The IMF and other international agencies should be used, he argued, to regulate the global marketplace and promote the flows of capital to emerging markets. Again, the source of this critique is instructive. Soros, who now wishes to be a global thinker and intellectual, was, in an earlier incarnation, a financial speculator who made a great deal of money from the deregulation of the markets in the 1980s. In late 2002 he was on trial in France for insider trading. For many political commentators and intellectuals, the Enron collapse marked the moment when an unrestrained market ideology had exhausted its positive possibilities.



WAR WAR NOT JAW JAW

The Bush administration has ignored such introspective thoughts and instead has aggressively advanced militarist and unilateralist policies abroad, while restricting civil liberties at home (Harvey 2003). The sentiments of the White House are ameliorated by some in the administration itself and by a number of its longtime allies. Yet it is difficult to contain the 'arrogance of power'. US military expenditure is 40 per cent of the world's total, while its share of gross world product (though declining) remained at 30 per cent in mid-2002. The US, in short, is hegemonic in military and economic terms and has the capacity to win any 'hard war'. It won the first round of war against the Taliban in Afghanistan. In 2003, it annihilated Saddam Hussain's armed forces in a few

weeks. Yet continuing conflict in Afghanistan and Iraq and the reigniting of war in the Middle East in 2006 has raised a large question mark around the wisdom of the current foreign policy of the USA and its allies. While being able to win any hard war, the Bush administration seems to have lost the ‘soft war’ – the war of ideas, credibility and sympathy. Perhaps they should have taken heed of a Gallop poll of 10,000 interviewees in Muslim countries in 2002. Surprisingly, most did not even believe that Muslims carried out the 9/11 bombings. Interviewees ‘overwhelmingly’ described the USA as ‘ruthless, aggressive, conceited, arrogant, easily provoked and biased’ (*Guardian Weekly*, 7–13 September 2002).



FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

A corporate, market-led – quintessentially American – way of life has now spread throughout the world, but this particular manifestation of globalization has generated strong opposition from those who oppose rampant individualism, the trivializing obsession with consumerism and the endless search for distracting entertainment. Such opposition comes from two principal sources:

- From those who see corporate capitalism as creating or perpetuating economic and political inequalities, violence and conflict. Organized in progressive social movements in many societies, such ‘discontents’ do not wish to be told how to live their personal and everyday lives, while at a social level, they seek to protect the environment and foster peace, social cooperation, responsibility and equality (Neale 2002).
- From family heads, religious and political leaders in many countries who fear a future dominated by the loss of cultural identity, social disintegration and an empty materialism where money has become the sole measure of all things and people. They and their followers wish to preserve family and community values along with respect for traditions, the elderly and, above all, for the realm of the sacred.

We should not exaggerate the potential power of global social movements. Few individuals living under today’s global condition can escape being influenced by glimpses of the dazzlingly seductive lifestyles lived by the world’s celebrity figures, or by the temptations of other people’s cultural repertoires. This is because of our ceaseless exposure to the flows of ideas and information through the media, or because of migration and the stories and souvenirs brought by returning travellers. There are opportunities and excitements that come from exposure to global variety, creativity and openness. Again, we should not minimize the oppression that can be wrought by those slavishly following conservative ways of life. Old male patriarchs often perpetuate gender inequality and suppress personal freedoms.

But we also cannot ignore the signs that the forces unleashed by corporate-led globalization have brought fear, uncertainty and the threat of diminishing cultural integrity for many societies. The leaders of the advanced industrial coun-

tries neglect the soft war, the war for hearts and minds, at their peril. The current danger is that the aggressive posture of the Bush government will drown out the sensible voices that argue that corporations have to be made more socially responsible, markets have to be regulated and the link between crime, politics and big business broken. As important is a viable settlement of international flashpoints like the Middle East and addressing glaring global injustices. (Much of the world is poor; nearly 50 million are ravaged with HIV/AIDS.) As we argue elsewhere in this second edition of *Global Sociology*, for our own long-term survival and prosperity, those lucky enough to be living in the advanced industrial societies (and educated elites everywhere) need energetically to tackle the contradictions and inequalities that afflict our planet.



ORGANIZATION OF THIS BOOK

This book is divided into four parts, each of which has five or six chapters. The themes of the book include:

- the *interpretations* that have been used to explain our increasingly globalizing world
- the differential impact of global changes that have reinforced inequalities or generated new *divisions*
- the ways in which global changes have generated different *experiences*
- the *dynamics and challenges* generated by contemporary globalizing tendencies.

There are a number of ways of understanding changes at a global level. We often need to refurbish old and develop new concepts, theories and perspectives to advance our understanding. These are discussed in Interpretations (Part One of this book) and summarized below.

THE MAKING OF GLOBAL SOCIOLOGY

In Chapter 1, we discuss how sociology as a discipline evolved, what it explains and some of its limitations. We show that some of the building blocks of the discipline, like the notion of ‘community’, worked well at a local level; others, like ‘society’, were more or less synonymous with the nation-state. As social, cultural, economic and political changes began to assume a global character, late twentieth-century sociologists had to adapt some of their ideas and perspectives to a global scale. We find that some of the insights of the founders of the disciplines in fact operate on a much larger canvas than the local or national level and can be deployed in developing a global sociology. Of course we cannot merely evoke past achievements, so sociologists are also deeply engaged in generating fresh theories and gathering new information.

THINKING GLOBALLY

In Chapter 2, we draw you into our understanding of two key concepts, *globalization* and *globality*, necessary direction finders for our long intellectual journey. The first concept has now spread into common usage and is often found in magazines and newspapers. It refers to the ways in which the world is being knitted together by the increased volume and speed of cross-border transactions. Many popular accounts focus on the transnational flows of goods and money, or *economic globalization*. But there are many other aspects of globalization. For example, various parts of the world are drawn together by the increased density and lower cost of travel and communications. Globalization is therefore also about social and cultural connectivity. Images, ideas, tourists, migrants, values, fashions and music increasingly flow along global pathways.

The globalization of such social and cultural activities leads to the elaboration of a second and less well-rehearsed concept, the idea of globality. Whereas globalization refers to the objective, external ties that bind us together, globality alludes to the subjective, personal awareness that many of us share, and are increasingly likely to share – a common fate. Of course a good number of people, normally but not only those in poor remote areas, continue to experience lives marked by an indifference to or a conscious detachment from the world around them. But such insensibility is increasingly difficult to maintain. Jet planes and helicopters fly overhead, travellers appear as if from nowhere, roads are cut into the interior, mobile phones ring, the world's music pulsates from cheap transistor radios, while friends, neighbours and families share what they have seen on the ubiquitous TV screens.

MODERNITY AND WORLD SOCIETY

A major theme of this book (and an abiding concern of sociology) is how social change arises and becomes diffused. Despite the ubiquity of contemporary means of transport, globalization and globality have not been dropped from the sky by passing aircraft. They are the outcomes of a long evolutionary process whereby small isolated societies and large civilizations came to relate to one another. In Chapter 3 we situate the moments when humankind became increasingly capable of understanding itself collectively. Contacts arose from long-distance trade, from the spread of world religions like Islam, Buddhism and Christianity and from the force of colonialism and imperialism. The idea of a universal humanity was developed particularly by European Enlightenment thinkers who, though they recognized that there were 'backward regions', thought all were capable of reaching the end state of *modernity*.

There was an undoubted arrogance in this view, which implied that what obtained in eighteenth-century France and Germany was the preferred destination of all humanity. The power of ideas, the success of the European economies and finally the force of military imperialist expansion propelled many areas of the world into an uneasy association. This juxtaposition also

involved the effects of *industrialization* and *capitalism*, both key historical processes discussed in this chapter.

THE CHANGING WORLD OF WORK

In Chapter 4, we depict substantive changes in the world of work. Rapid and unprecedented technological change and intensifying international competition have led to economic insecurity and the *internationalization* of work. The more vulnerable position of women has led to the *feminization* of work. The development of flexible labour markets has also led to the *casualization* of work. For the winners, particularly those with portable skills in growing sectors like the information-related industries, these changes herald ‘new times’ – offering opportunities for greater individual freedom and self-realization and a more democratic, decentralized, less hierarchical workplace and society. The losers see only ‘hard times’ – dominated by fragmenting businesses, labour redundancies and part-time and poorly paid jobs. The rise of subcontracting and home-working in this emerging economic order will also be discussed.

NATIONHOOD AND THE NATION-STATE

The *nation-state* is a relatively recent political organization, dating in its complete form from the French Revolution. Nation-states replaced multinational kingdoms, principalities, religious domains and empires. Nationalists wanted their group identities to be protected by exclusive access to a territory. The rulers of nation-states often dealt harshly with minorities, diasporas and indigenous peoples, pressing them to assimilate into the dominant group, or isolating and excluding them from the mainstream of social and political life.

It will not be long before there will be 200 ‘recognized’ nation-states. (Not all states are recognized by the UN, in international law or by other nation-states.) Yet, the number of peoples demanding autonomy or statehood is perhaps twenty times as great. The growth of religious, ethnic or other subnational sentiments threatens the nation-state system from below. The increasing pace of globalization also threatens it from above. The changing role of the nation-state in coping with these local and global pressures is considered in Chapter 5, in which we also introduce debates on citizenship and political power.

Global changes are overlaid on prior inequalities between people and also serve to introduce new lines of dominance and subordination. These changes are discussed in Divisions (Part Two of this book) and summarized below.

SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

Sociologists have always given much thought to the problem of how to concep-

tualize and explain the forms of inequality found in all societies and the ways in which these vary both between societies and over time. The unequal distribution of power, wealth, income and social status between individuals and groups is not randomly distributed but is patterned or structured. Some groups are marginalized, others enter the charmed circle of privilege and security.

Although we should definitely not forget forms of social inequality based, for example, on age, civic status, religion, immobility and disability, in general we can say that structured exclusions operate along the three main axes of *gender*, *race/ethnicity* and *class*. Each of these generates its own structure of unequal practices, giving rise either to institutionalized sexism, racism or class divisions and conflict respectively. Gender, race and class also crosscut each other in various complex ways, sometimes reinforcing and at other times weakening the impact of existing inequalities. In Chapter 6 we explore the ways sociologists have grappled with various schemes to understand how these forms of inequality and disadvantage arise and are perpetuated, modified or enhanced by global change.

CORPORATE POWER

Transnational corporations (TNCs) are dominant players in global affairs. They profit from the increased level of economic globalization and indeed can be said partially to cause this outcome. Are these ubiquitous organizations the Trojan horses, or perhaps the battering rams, of international capital? Such is their power and influence that they are often accused of dictating to rich and powerful states, while completely overwhelming poor states. Is this kind of characterization merely evoking an imagined demon rather than constructing a real social science? What are the origins of these organizations? Have they, in fact, escaped their national origins? What is their economic role in integrating the global economy? What are the social consequences, positive and negative, of the TNCs' activities? Do they exercise power without responsibility? Is the new emphasis on *corporate social responsibility* a positive sign of the TNCs' commitment to think of people as well as profit, or a fig leaf designed more for public relations purposes? In Chapter 7 we consider these questions.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT: THE VICTIMS

How do we account for the extremes of poverty and wealth, power and powerlessness in today's world? According to some theorists, whose views are examined in Chapter 8, the system is rigged to protect the interests of the leading players. Can those who lose out ever alter their place in the feeding chain? Could it be to the ultimate benefit of the powerful that the poor achieve some upward *social mobility* and raise their standards of living? Can social uplift be induced from the top, for example through the actions of benign social democratic politicians? Alternatively, will the only redress come from oppositional social and political movements emanating from the grassroots level?

Those who die from famine or in civil wars or natural disasters are the ultimate global losers, but other groups are also highly vulnerable. As the race gets faster, those at the back – groups like the unskilled, the unemployed, those who experience discrimination and the urban poor – appear to be trailing even further behind. In Chapter 8, we probe the condition and possible trajectories of some of the victims of recent global changes.

CRIME, DRUGS AND TERRORISM

Just as globalization and the deregulation of many national economies have allowed banks and TNCs to profit from more open borders, so too have the opportunities for cross-border terrorism and crime blossomed. Cross-border crime may involve white-collar computer fraud, tax evasion or the smuggling of people and goods. However, the cutting edge of global crime is the illegal drugs trade, worth an estimated US\$500 billion a year. Those who principally profit from the trade are the ‘drug barons’, the smugglers and the dealers. But it is difficult to eliminate the trade while it forms so vital a part of the cash income gained by poor farmers in countries like Afghanistan, Nepal and Jamaica and while the demand for recreational and addictive drugs in rich countries seems insatiable.

Who can forget the endless replaying of the television footage of hijacked aircraft ploughing into the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001? For many in the USA, who had not experienced large-scale terrorism before, this was a deeply traumatic event, after which nothing would ever be the same. Certainly ‘9/11’ marked the moment from which US state power was mobilized to wage a global ‘war on terror’. In Chapter 9, we provide a wider context in which to understand the origins and character of terror and terrorism.

POPULATION AND MIGRATION

To both popular opinion and concerned policy-makers, population growth is one of the most critical problems facing the world. Under intense pressure, politicians have sanctioned or encouraged extreme measures to control population. But, as we argue in Chapter 10, we need to distinguish evidence about population growth from prediction, projection and prejudice and we need to question whether measures to control migration and population growth are appropriate and effective.

Only a small proportion of the world’s population (about 3 per cent) consists of international migrants, defined in terms of someone born in one country but who has been resident for over a year in another. But numbers alone are not the major driving force to control and restrict global migration. International migrants can bring highly motivated labour, economic skills and cultural renewal to many countries. They fill gaps in the labour market, particularly in affluent Western countries where the population is ageing and fertility is low. Nonethe-

less, they have managed to inflame public sentiments in many countries and politicians have consequently sought to control and restrict their movement.

HEALTH, LIFESTYLE AND THE BODY

We only have to think about the spread of HIV/AIDS, SARS or avian flu to see that the increased connectivity produced by globalization can transform the incidence, patterns and reach of infectious diseases. In Chapter 11 we consider the changing epidemiology of diseases, the privatization of healthcare and the ways in which lifestyle choices have led to new forms of ill-health. The diseases of affluence – strokes, heart conditions and obesity – exist alongside the tantalizing prospect of attaining a body beautiful, one that is lean, sexually desirable, fit and enduring. The body itself has become a locus for regulation and improvement by priests, governments, health professionals, quacks and the health industry.

In the poor countries, the incidence of infectious and waterborne diseases, mainly associated with poverty and economic backwardness, fell until 1980. However, some positive health indices have gone into reverse in many countries, particularly among the least advantaged groups. At the same time the chronic Western diseases of affluence have become established, especially among those in the developing countries exposed to strong modernizing influences; for example, with increasing affluence, roughly two-thirds of men in China have taken up or continued smoking, probably the biggest single source of self-inflicted illness.

Certain social processes can no longer be understood by a state-centric approach. For example, the unsettling effects of the flows of tourists, international communications, the development of new forms of transnational urban, cultural and sporting life, and the more intense globalization of many religions on people in all nation-states and across national frontiers are analysed in Experiences (Part Three of this book) and summarized below.

TOURISM: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EFFECTS

One of the ways in which the boundaries between nation-states are becoming blurred is through the travellers, tourists and leisure-seekers who wish to gaze at all societies and potentially assimilate all of us into a ‘global playground’. As we show in Chapter 12, instead of missionaries, explorers and anthropologists, tourists are now cutting their way into the diminishing protected spaces of previously isolated societies. Does the differential impact of tourism have something to do with the character of the tourists themselves? Or is the distinction between *mass tourism* and *alternative tourism* too cut and dried? Many travellers act like cultural warriors for the rich, powerful states, others are like the pilgrims of old, seeking renewal and enlightenment. Yet others, like sex tourists, simply exploit weaker, poorer people. Tourism exposes nearly everyone to a multicultural world

where the boundaries between societies and between insiders and outsiders blur. In particular, international tourism compels both hosts and guests to rethink their own identities.

CONSUMING CULTURE

Drink a cup of coffee or tea and you instantly connect to the global marketplace. The list of world goods that arrives in this way is formidable and grows all the time. World goods are products that in whole or part are grown, processed, packed, manufactured, recorded, filmed or staged in a multiplicity of locations often far from the place where we finally purchase and experience them. In Chapter 13 we look at the effect of multiple sourcing. In particular, we ask whether we have become easy targets for those who wish to sell us consumer goods or whether consumers have been empowered by the choices available in the global marketplace. We are increasingly aware that our purchases and possessions also carry various meanings – from the discreet logos of an exclusive brand to the ‘in your face’ messages that many consumers emblazon on their T-shirts. These meanings are associated with the wider cultural beliefs, values and orientations that we share with others. Drawing on this pool of common meanings enables us to communicate with groups that share our ideas and values – so they become markers to set off one group against another. Producers respond to this tendency by scaling down (so-called ‘niche marketing’) and also try to keep their sales of volume goods high by scaling up – thus fostering a global culture of consumption, linked together by advertising, envy and emulation.

MEDIA AND THE INFORMATION AGE

Girding the globe are lines of communication that snake along the sea bed, stretch across the land and bounce from satellites to earth. As we look at the ubiquitous television screens, our sense of distance from other places and other societies suddenly shrinks into insignificance. We live, in a famous phrase, in a ‘global village’. As is made clear in Chapter 14, who controls the media and channels of communications and for what purposes provide important sociological data. We also discuss the significance of the telephone, particularly the mobile telephone, as a mass consumer good, together with the arrival of linked computer networks. These have rocketed information – its processing, storage, creation and distribution – to a central place in the national and global economy.

The capacity to share information and generate interactive communication also has social and cultural effects. Many social groups are concerned that negative representations of their group will lead to discrimination, or even violence directed against them. Some of these concerns are misplaced because they assume that we rather naively accept the messages that have been ‘injected’ into us. In fact, the effects of the media are more complex and often involve a reflexive critique of the film, news story, feature or programme. At the same time

it is an exaggeration to see media consumers as 'semiotic guerrillas', accepting, discarding or refracting the message as they choose. We assess the effects of the '24/7' media revolution and wonder whether its impact has been exaggerated despite the proliferation of publications, programmes and stations.

SPORT IN A GLOBAL AGE

Like music, dance and art, the enjoyment of and participation in sport is not limited by speaking or reading different languages. Skill, competition, training the body, fair play and the fun that can be derived from sport allow it to cross borders and nations easily. In Chapter 15 we look at how different sports have spread far beyond their originating contexts, but also how governments have adopted (or rejected) certain sports in order to assist in the process of nation-building. From the middle of the last century, sport has also been appropriated by the TNCs who use it, its equipment, staging and broadcasting as a core business. Think, for example, of News Corp or AOL Time Warner. Business sponsorships also associate successful sports personalities with their corporate brands to build a positive image of their activities.

These crucial transformations have altered the nature of sport experiences for participants and spectators. They also contribute significantly to globalization, taking sport far away from its origins in village contests. Some observers also point to powerful trends towards the possible homogenization of sporting practices and the declining ability of sponsored, commercialized sport to engage meaningfully with the everyday lives of ordinary people, particularly those who are less well off. However, we must also remember that the mass world audiences who participate in mega sporting events such as the Olympics can, if only momentarily, enjoy a unity of feeling that contributes towards globality – our consciousness of the world as a single shared place.

GLOBAL RELIGION

For sociologists, the key issue is not whether religion is 'true' or 'false', but why it manifests itself in all societies, what meanings are invested in religion and what social functions it provides. Other pertinent questions that may be asked by a sociologist include whether there is a long-term tendency towards secularization (the normal finding that is still accepted by many sociologists), or whether we are experiencing a significant and long-term revival of religious sentiments and organization. Are particular forms of conduct in the secular world (for example business acumen) linked, as Weber surmised, to a particular religious affiliation? We have all recently become acutely aware of the small number of Islamic *jihadists* who have turned to terrorism to express their fervent beliefs. But why have they done so, and is Islam in general a threat to 'Western civilization'? In Chapter 16 we review what sociologists have contributed to the study of religion, consider why religion has claimed so powerful a place in contemporary life, examine how the

global claims of religion are advanced and ask whether the practice of religion provides a threat to social cohesion or one means of attaining that condition.

URBAN LIFE

For much of human history, life was rural. In the year 1800, 97 per cent of the world's population lived in rural areas. Wind the clock on 200 years and we find that 254 cities each contained over one million people. The forms of settlement and the ways people lived in cities became the sites of study by some of the world's most eminent sociologists. Durkheim described the transition from 'mechanical' to 'organic' forms of solidarity, Simmel saw large cities as inducing anonymity, loneliness and the sense of being a stranger, while Park and Burgess at the University of Chicago looked at the 'ecological patterning' and spatial distribution of urban groups.

As we explain in Chapter 17, in the current era certain cities, called *global cities*, are becoming more detached from their hinterlands and other national cities as they take on the functions of servicing the global economy. Global cities are not only important phenomena in their own right, they are important because of their relationship to each other. Increasingly, many wealthier people living and working in global cities, or travelling there, find that they share conditions of life, attitudes, behaviour patterns and tastes with equivalent residents of other global cities. They downgrade their national culture or downgrade it in favour of an international and cosmopolitan culture. As once the local yokel was to the town, so the inhabitants of provincial cities may be to those of the global city. However, not only the wealthy make up the population of the global cities. In this chapter we also look at urban processes of social exclusion and in particular at the sociological debate about whether there is a so-called 'underclass'.

All too often, the literature of globalization assumes that people are mere chaff in the wind, unable to influence the nature and direction of social change. In Part Four, titled Dynamics and Challenges, we question this assumption and show how global social movements have emerged or been re-energized. These movements connect struggles at different levels, attempt to reshape the emerging world order and seek to create democratic and participatory possibilities.

GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

In Chapter 18 we show how the public sphere is gradually widening as an informed citizenry uses access to information and the growing possibility for mobilization to develop organizations that are both free from state interference and able to challenge its authority. Having such a *civil society* is properly regarded as a sign that people are, at least potentially, capable of taking on state power and globalization, both often depicted as inanimate forces playing out their logic

without human intervention. When social organizations are involved in creating links and networks to advance their particular causes, they are called *social movements* and, when they operate transnationally, *global social movements*.

It has become cheaper and easier to engage in networking activities over large distances, so that the fragmentation and diversity of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which had been their weakness, can be offset or even turned into a source of strength. Coalitions can bridge North–South divides and mobilize people for such causes as protecting the environment, advancing human rights or mobilizing for charitable causes like helping victims of hurricanes, earthquakes, famines or the Asian tsunami. Of course global social movements often act in concert with international organizations like the United Nations (UN) or with national governments, in which case they can be effective in lobbying for more committed engagement by official bodies in the particular cause they espouse.

CHALLENGING A GENDERED WORLD

One important way of constructing ‘globalization from below’ is found in the rise of various women’s networks that have moved to a global scale of activity, a phenomenon described in Chapter 19. The women’s movement has been particularly effective in shifting from small, participatory, consciousness-raising sessions to such events as the international women’s conferences in Kenya in 1985 and in Beijing ten years later. There is hardly a country in the world where gender relations have not been profoundly altered. Moreover, the timescale for this transformation has been impressively short; most of the force of the movement having been evident only since the 1950s. In addition to its successful grassroots organization, it is probable that the reason why this movement spread so fast is that the speed and density of communications allowed the global transmission of images that changed the consciousness of both women and men. Seeing women in new roles as police officers, pilots, astronauts or doctors, or seeing women standing up to men in popular ‘soaps’, questioned conventional stereotypes and gendered divisions of labour.

TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE: THE GREEN MOVEMENT

One of the most influential and visible global social movements is the environmental or green movement, discussed in Chapter 20. The development of an environmental movement is a major reversal of the prevailing nineteenth-century idea of unquestioned progress and civilization, perhaps best symbolized by a white man hacking his way through the Amazonian jungle to bring commerce and Christianity to the benighted natives. Instead, the central idea of the ‘greens’ is that planet earth is a fragile ball floating in space. The movement seeks to bring home the extent of the damage inflicted on the planet by human beings, referring particularly to the value of biodiversity, the stabilization of population growth and the need to resist the commercialization of agriculture. The increased

consciousness of the threat of global warming has finally mobilized the leaders of some powerful nation-states into effecting international agreements to control CO₂ emissions and making largely rhetorical commitments to protect the environment. However, the power of the energy lobby in the USA and the massive use of non-sustainable energy consumed by China in its breakneck thrust to industrialization are both important constraints in developing a viable, global environmental strategy to protect our vulnerable world.

IDENTITIES AND BELONGING

The creation of strong social bonds is one of the most powerful of human impulses and, as we have seen, an abiding concern for sociologists. Paradoxically, for some the threat of globalization often reinforces family, kinship and other local attachments, ethnic sentiments and religious beliefs. Many people seem to need to belong to close-knit groups that protect their sense of self and provide a feeling of well-being and security. This tendency is usefully understood as *identity formation*, a process that happens at a number of levels. Often identity formation can be benign, for example in looking after the welfare of one's family, including infants or vulnerable seniors. However, the subnational level, where ethnic groups (sharing a common descent, religion or language) are mobilized, often generates enormous tensions. This is particularly the case where claims for autonomy or separate statehood create 'high intensity' conflicts, sometimes civil war. We need think only of Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Bosnia to recall distressing scenes of ethnic intolerance. In March 1999 the leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ordered an intensive and controversial bombing campaign of Serbia in retaliation for Serbian military and police attacks on the civilian population in Kosovo. This raised the question of whether military intervention in defence of human rights is justifiable.

The global age has thus produced an unexpected and even perverse outcome. Despite, or perhaps because of, the pressures to come together, fierce struggles have ensued to keep people apart. Although we lay emphasis on 'localism' (to encompass movements based on religion, race, ethnicity and subnational sentiments), in Chapter 21 we also consider states, groups, organizations and individuals that recognize diversity and difference and seek to foster creative and positive bonds between peoples of different backgrounds. Some are creating ties between themselves that anticipate the development of a transnational and cosmopolitan consciousness.

CONTESTED FUTURES

In our concluding chapter we consider the continuing controversies and emerging debates in global sociology. Perhaps the most persistent debate revolves around the extent of globalization and the differing reactions to it. Some sceptics say it is all 'globalony' (an American slang word suggesting that those who talk about global-

ization are reciting, parrot-like, a fashionable slogan without much content), but we use some convincing empirical research to show that globalization is indeed a powerful and growing force in the contemporary world. There are those who support, decry or wish to reform aspects of globalization. Others remain as outsiders to many developments, whether by choice or global social exclusion.

While reviewing this debate, we also suggest that it can serve to obscure some of the key changes at a global level. For example, is the USA going to engage further with the world as it seeks to protect market share, retain access to diminishing oil supplies and wage a war against terror? Or is it going to retreat into a new isolationism as military interventions fail and it loses ground in the 'soft war' – the battle of ideas and the attempt to win 'hearts and minds'? Again, what will the increasing economic power of China and India signify in areas other than world trade? Which social groups will gain and which will lose as global changes become consolidated? How will cultural change arise and, in particular, will we see dominance by a small group of cultures or the *hybridization* and *creolization* of the world in the form of dynamic mixed cultures? What will happen to monochromatic societies, including those in the West, as they increasingly absorb a widening range of cultural experiences? How will our faiths, ideas and other forms of social behaviour evolve as transnational flows of information, images, people, sounds and styles proliferate? These and other questions will occupy global sociologists for many years to come.

Using this book

- At the end of the chapters, you will find some advice on further reading, some suggestions for class work, some questions to think about and some web links.
- Key concepts in sociology are displayed like this – **THIRD WORLD** – and are defined in boxes headed like this

key concept

.
- Key historical events, and difficult words and ideas, often from disciplines other than sociology, are displayed in the text like this – *French Revolution* – and defined in the margin.
- In case you don't remember where you have read a definition or explanation, turn to the index. The page numbers in **bold** will tell you where to find the main discussion again. The Glossary on the companion website supporting this book (www.palgrave.com/sociology/cohen/) will list all concepts and explanations alphabetically.
- A good student will read more than appears in a single sociology textbook, however bulky it is. Use the Further Reading at the end of each chapter as a guide to your reading – a full list of all the sources referred to in *Global Sociology* appears in the References at the end of the book.
- Many, though not all, universities and colleges will teach a course through the use of a weekly lecture together with supporting classes or seminars. For you and your instructors/tutors, we make Group Work suggestions for interesting ways in which to analyse and discuss the material.
- You may want to try your hand at answering some of the Questions to Think About. You can use these as a way of structuring your revision, as essay titles or as a way of preparing for your examinations.

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