Globalization before Globalization?

• The Rapid Growth of “Globalization”
  – Virtually no use before 1990
  – [https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=globalization%2C+internationalization&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cglobalization%3B%2Cc0%3B.t1%3B%2Cinternationalization%3B%3B%2Cc0](https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=globalization%2C+internationalization&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cglobalization%3B%2Cc0%3B.t1%3B%2Cinternationalization%3B%3B%2Cc0)

• The Discovery of “Globalization” in the Past
  – Pre WW-I Europe
  – Colonialism
  – Columbus
  – Indeed, the history of Homo sapiens
World Outside before Globalization?

- Various discourses
  - Enlightenment fables, travelogues etc.
  - Systematic scholarship
    - Orientalism
    - Area Studies

- How to Tame the Differences?
  - Social evolutionism
  - Occasional assertions of cultural autonomy and difference
The Convergence Thesis

• Modernization Theory / Marxism
• Differences as traditions
• Forces of modernization (industrialization) to vitiate societal distinctions
• Applied to the “Second World” and the “Third World”
  – The backdrop of the Cold War
  – Epistemic backbone of the postwar social sciences
Refutations

• Nomothetic theory vs. idiographic facts
  – Lay perceptions
  – Policy obstacles

• Generalized critique of ethnocentrism
  – The rise of area studies
  – “Globalization” of scholarly communication
    • A new regime of transnational mobility
Civilizational Theory

• The presumption (and persistence) of differences

• Systematically elaborated
  – Social sciences of differences (anthropology, geography)
  – Classics: Weber, Toynbee

• Popularized by Samuel Huntington
  – *The Clash of Civilizations*
  – The “proof”: 9/11
Explanation

• Economy vs. culture
  – Homogeneity vs. heterogeneity

• In general, the primacy of culture or tradition
  – The persistence of different values in spite of economic modernization (global capitalism)
  – Indeed, a mode of reaction
    • The idea of the unchanging other
      – The pejorative meaning of Orientalism
Problems

• In fact, institutions and practices mixed
  – Culture in economy; economy in culture
  – Fractal structure of social-science disciplines
• “Culture” at the forefront of “globalization”
  – World religions
  – Judeo-Islamo-Christian civilization
• The inevitability of change
• Unit of analysis
  – Supranational vs. subnational
Misrecognizing “Tradition”
Deconstructing Tradition

• Cultural diversity
  – Limited networks of transportation, communication etc.
  – Linguistic diversity

• Status distintegration
  – Fundamental divides between status groups
    • e.g. lords vs. peasants
  – Elite vs. peoples
Invention of Tradition

• Complex and contradictory descent of “traditions”
  – Genealogy transcultural
    • e.g. world religions

• Constant renewal
  – Orality vs. literacy
  – Fixing common sense (differentiating identity)

• Battle of ideas / ideologies
In Short: False Dichotomy

• Both convergence and divergence
• Problematic status of modernization theory and civilizational theory
• Limitations of social-science disciplines
  – Artificial separation of spheres
  – False distinctions between “modern” and “non-modern”
Summary I

• “Globalization” and “East Asia” problematic terms
• “Globalization”: post-Cold War reconceptualization of the previously “three worlds”
  – Permutation of Evolutionary Theory / Modernization Theory
  – Convergence Thesis
  – Ideological in the sense of projecting a natural and necessary telos
Summary II

• “East Asia”: nominal unity / great diversity
  – Civilization Theory makes sense of differences
  However, “tradition” not a useful explanation
    • Sinocentric worldview long defunct; largely elite
    • No pure descent / multiple influences
    • Invention of tradition / ideological mobilization
    • Look for more recent influences / factors

• Neither convergence nor divergence
Summary III

• Four general observations on the social sciences
  – Need to avoid ethnocentrism (comparative)
    • the flaw of both convergence thesis and divergence thesis
      (both generalizing from one case)
  – Need to historicize (historical)
    • Neither uninterrupted continuity (tradition) or revolutionary
      breaks
  – Need to avoid disciplinary blinders (interdisciplinary)
  – Need to avoid causal determinism
    • No magic bullets (economic determinism, technological
      determinism etc.)
Globalization

- The Post-Cold War Trend
  - Neoliberalism: capitalism triumphant?
  - Singular superpower?
- Financialization and Free Trade
- The Decline of the Nation-State?
  - Post-citizenship? Post-national?
- Cultural Globalization
  - Globish / English as lingua franca?
  - Global popular culture
Counter-Globalization

• Sub-national movements
  – Non-state actors
    • From terrorism to NGO
  – Disaggregation of nation-states?
    • Quebec, Catalonia, Scotland etc.

• Nationalist Revival?
  – Counter-globalization
    • Anti-immigration nationalist movements

• Regional integration?
  – Economic, cultural, and political associations
    • Most obviously, European Union
The Crisis of the Nation-State

• The implausibility of war
  – The entanglement of war-making and state-making
  – The decline of national security and protection as a source of political legitimacy

• The fiscal crisis of the state
  – The crisis of the tax state
    • Capital and labor mobility
    • Global financialization
  – The welfare state in an aging, stationary society
    • The democratic protection of entitlements
The Crisis (continued)

• The Disruption of Gemeinschaft
  – The implausibility of monoethnic polity
  – The rise of individualism
    • Pervasive anomie
  – The status divide between the globalizing elite and the counter-globalization masses

• The Scissor Effect
  – The valence of the supra-national
    • Economy, environment etc.
  – The stirrings of the sub-national
    • Secessionism etc.
Ambivalences

• Necessity of supra-national cooperation
  – The intractable nature of political economy and the supra-national character of pressing problems
  – The weakness of virtually all nation-states

• Intra-national resistance
  – Counter-globalization masses
  – The contradictory demands of nationalism
The Case of EU

• A sense of the past
  – The rehearsed memory of the two world wars
  – The perceived failures of nationalism

• A sense of crisis: the potential irrelevance of Europe
  – The dominance of the United States
  – The rise of East Asia

• Political-economic advantages

• Regional cultural sensibility
The Case of East Asia

• The irrelevance of history
  – The Sinocentric world order as “history”
    • Language? Culture? Values?
  – Intervening, concrete events of the 20th century
    • Japanese colonialism
    • Intra-national divisions: China/Taiwan, N/S Korea, N/S Vietnam
  – Self-justifying character of all polities
    • The past rewritten to generate teleological narrative
      – EU historiography
The Lesson of History in East Asia

• Nationalist imaginaries
  – China
    • Memory of greatness, shattered by the long twentieth century of humiliation
  – South / North Korea
    • Colonialism and war
  – Japan
    • Amnesia

• A potent force for political legitimation
  – Probably weakest in Japan, though renewed attempt
    • The 1960安保Struggles
EU vs. East Asia

• The past of international conflicts dead in EU, alive in East Asia
• The strength of nationalist historiography foments conflicts in East Asia (the weakness of nationalist historiography in Europe)
• “Anachronistic” territorial struggles in E Asia  
  – e.g. Dokdo / Takeshima (独島・竹島)
• The same for hyper-nationalist flare-ups  
  – e.g. Yasukuni (靖国神社), boycotts
Nationalism against Integration

• Even for national unification
  – N / S Korea and the role of China

• Regional geopolitical integration for what?
  – The absence of a common enemy
  – The primacy of the US and the strength of other regional powers
A Sense of Crisis?

• No sense as “East Asia” (like Europe)
• No sense of crisis
  – Except possibly in Japan
• No common enemy
  – Fear over the rise of China?
  – Fear over remilitarized Japan
  – Fear over the Korean peninsula
Economic Advantages?

• Considerable economic interdependence
• Yet no serious competition until recently
  – Staggered history of industrialization
  – Regional division of labor
• Contentment over US hegemony
  – The reign of the US dollar
• Political-economic competition as a potential for the near future
• No need for formal integration; fear over future disintegration
Economic Integration

• The most potent source of regional integration
  – Japan-led regional division of labor
  – Dissemination of Japanese/pan-East Asian business practices
  – English as lingua franca

• Globalization / transnational relations
  – In spite of the persistent power of the developmental state, growing independence of large conglomerates
Regional Sensibility?

• Until recently, different cultural universes
  – The loss of historical commonalities
    • Chinese character (language), religious heritage

• Nascent regional cultural sensibility
  – Japanese popular culture
  – The Korean Wave?\
Cultural Integration

• Regional circulation of popular culture
  – overtaking Hollywood movies
  – Recalling historic similarities, signposts

• Why not Japanese?
  – Japanese reliance on domestic markets
    • Large, competitive
  – Legacy of colonialism
  – Cold War nationalism

• In fact, limited
  – The proliferation of subcultures
The Dream of East Asia?

• China
  – The generalized fear over the “rise” of China
  – In fact an insecure, autocratic society
    • Territorial and geopolitical “threats”
    • Domestic (and democratic) resistance

• Japan
  – The persistent memory of imperialism
  – Involututed character
    • The Galapagos Syndrome
Fundamental Ambivalence

• The specter of the Asian Century
  – Dynamic economies / growth
  – The shift in the global center of power?

• Persistent doubt / insecurity
  – Historical
    • The rise and fall of the Japanese empire and “Japan as number one”
    • The sleeping tiger and the roaring dragon (China)
  – Geopolitical
    • Regional disintegration and disputes
  – The tradition of following
    • Whence the source of innovation and leadership?