# THE INTRODUCING CULTURES AND GLOBALIZATION SERIES
## Helmut K. Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar

### Why Cultures and Globalization?

The world's cultures are broadly and deeply affected by globalization in ways that are still inadequately documented and understood. These impacts are at once unifying and divisive, liberating and corrosive, homogenizing and diversifying; they have become a truly central contemporary concern. Understandably, the interplay between cultures and globalization crystallizes both positive aspirations and negative anxieties, as it transforms patterns of sameness and difference across the world or modifies the ways in which cultural expression is created, represented, recognized, preserved or renewed (Wieviozka and Ohana 2001). This complex interplay has also contributed to generating new discourses of 'culturalism' that evoke the power of culture in domains as diverse as economic development, the fostering of citizenship and social cohesion, human security and the resolution or prevention of conflict. Yet 'culture and globalization' has become a discursive field that is all too often perceived and thought about – whether in negative or in positive terms – in ways that are simplificatory or illusive.

Clearly, there is a knowledge gap. The *Cultures and globalization series* is designed to fill this gap, one that – we believe – has already become politically perilous, socially unsustainable and economically constraining. Achieving a better understanding of the relationships between globalization and cultural change is thus of much more than of academic interest – it is important for many areas of policy and practice.

That globalization has a profound impact on culture, and that cultures shape globalization, may seem a truism. Yet the two-way interaction involves some of the most vexed and at the same time taken-for-granted questions of our time. It transforms previously stable forms of everyday life and of living together, of identity and belonging; of cultural expression including creative practice and entertainment. Highly diverse and uneven, the impacts of the globalization process on cultural life present unprecedented challenges to many traditional relationships as well, particularly between individuals on the one hand and 'communities', civil society and the nation on the other. What is more, they continue to transform the institutional roles of markets, governments, the non-profit sector and organized citizens' groups and movements.

Analyzing these relationships between globalization processes on the one hand and cultural patterns and developments on the other is the core objective of *cultures and globalization*. We seek to draw attention to changes in the world's cultures, and the policy implications they have, by providing an outlet for cutting-edge research, thinking and debate. Our hope is that this book will become a valued reference for the exploration of contemporary cultural issues from different perspectives – in the social sciences, in the arts and the humanities, as well in policy-making circles – and that it will contribute to building bridges among them. As Fredric Jameson has pointed out:

> Globalization falls outside the established academic disciplines, as a sign of the emergence of a new kind of social phenomenon …There is thus something daring and speculative, unprotected, in the approach of scholars and theorists to this unclassifiable topic, which is the intellectual property of no specific field, yet which seems to concern politics in immediate ways, but just as immediately culture and sociology, not to speak of information and the media, or ecology, or consumerism and daily life. Globalization … is thus the modern or postmodern version of the proverbial elephant, described by its blind observers in so many diverse ways. Yet one can still posit the existence of the elephant in the absence of a single persuasive and dominant theory; nor are blinded questions the most unsatisfactory way to explore this kind of relational and multilevel phenomenon. (Jameson and Miyoshi 1998: xi)

Globalization affects millions of people across the world, the organizations where they work, and the communities in which they live. People's values and expectations are changing, and their identities and orientations are being transformed in ways that are subtle and fundamental alike, and involve other institutional complexes such as organized religion and civil society more generally, and, of course, politics and the economy. For the first time in human history, communication flows, migration patterns, transnational interpersonal and inter-organizational networks are emerging at such significant scales that they are increasingly achieving global range (Barber 1995; Castells 1996 and 1997; Dicken 2003; Held and McGrew 2000, 2002).

Yet while massive amounts of data exist on the economics of globalization, and have been appropriately interpreted, we face a paucity of information and analysis when it comes to culture. Cultural patterns and changes – including the values, aspirations, meanings, representations and identities they express or suppress, and the ways people appropriate them across the world – remain largely unmeasured and unanalyzed. Moreover, much information is collected but goes unreported and hence does not reach the right audiences in the policy-making arena. There are exceptions, to be sure. For example, European organizations such as ERICarts (with its *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, prepared for the Council of Europe), the European Cultural Foundation (with its newly-launched 'LAB for Culture' consortium), or global organizations such as the International Federation of Arts Councils and Agencies (IFACCA), are producing useful new data. And a range of individual researchers are renewing frameworks of analysis (e.g., Mercer 2002) or coming up with new findings (e.g., Ilczuk and Isar 2006). The point remains, however, that comparative research in the field of culture is seriously underdeveloped. In particular, there is a lack of empirical analysis of why globalization matters for culture and why culture matters for globalization, whether nationally or, even more importantly, internationally or globally.

One reason for the neglect at the global level is that the conventional understandings of culture are still connected principally to the sovereign nation-state. However, today, this nexus of culture and nation no longer dominates, as the cultural dimension has become constitutive of collective identity at narrower as well as broader levels. As Paul Gilroy reminds us, the idea of culture 'has been abused by being simplified, instrumentalized, or trivialized, and particularly through being coupled with notions of identity and belonging that are overly fixed or too easily naturalized as exclusively national phenomena' (Gilroy 2004: 6). What is more, cultural processes take place in increasingly 'deterritorialized' transnational, global contexts, many of which are beyond the reach of national policies. Mapping and analyzing this shifting terrain, in all regions of the world, as well as the factors, patterns, processes, and outcomes associated with the 'complex connectivity' (Tomlinson 1999) of globalization, is therefore a main purpose of this *Cultures* series.

Behind this objective lies the concern, which began to emerge strongly in the 1990s, to provide a more robust evidence base for policy-making in the rapidly changing cultural arena. This concern was crystallized by the World Commission on Culture and Development, whose report entitled *Our Creative Diversity* (World Commission on Culture and Development, 1996), stressed the weakness of the knowledge base as regards to the relationships between culture on the one hand and development on the other. The World Commission's recommendation that UNESCO should prepare a periodic report of worldwide reach in this field was thus the original inspiration for the present endeavor. In the ensuing decade, a number of other influential developments have taken place. UNESCO for its part followed up on the recommendation by preparing and publishing, in 1998 and 2000, two editions of a *World Culture Report* (note the use of the word 'culture' in the singular) devoted respectively to the topics 'Culture, creativity and markets' and 'Cultural diversity, conflict and pluralism'. UNESCO subsequently abandoned this enterprise, creating a vacuum this series is intended to fill.

It should be noted though, that the UNESCO publication had perforce to keep 'culture' within the nation-state 'container', despite the fact that cultural questions now escape the direct reach of purely national policy-making because the economic and political dimensions, with which they are to varying degrees intertwined, are increasingly organized and played out at the transnational level. UNESCO's reports also had to appear as 'representative' as possible of that intergovernmental

organization's nation-state membership and also respond to the imperatives of international cultural diplomacy and politics. They could not be the work of an entirely 'independent team', as called for by the World Commission. The present project is thus the first attempt by an academic consortium to take up the task in total intellectual freedom; and in a spirit of catholicity as regards conceptual frameworks and approaches, with the aim of giving 'voice' to visions and interpretations of the nexus between cultures and globalization and of sharing fresh data about it drawn from as many different world regions as possible.

It is important to stress also that the main focus of this series is not 'culture and development', as envisaged by the World Commission of the same name, but the relationships between cultures and globalization that came strongly to the fore in the closing years of the twentieth century. By 1998, when the Stockholm Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development mainstreamed many of the key findings and recommendations of the World Commission, the cultural implications of globalization had moved to center stage, often displacing 'development' as the term of reference. Thus the Stockholm Conference called for an international research agenda on precisely the sorts of questions this project now proposes to tackle. The need has been echoed widely in many other policy circles.

*Cultures and globalization* thus seeks to rise to a multi-faceted challenge. Prepared by teams of independent researchers and cultural experts, hailing mainly but not exclusively from academia, each edition will focus on a specific set of 'culture and globalization' issues as they are perceived, experienced, analyzed and addressed in different geo-cultural regions of the world. This inaugural volume is devoted to the complex theme of 'conflict' that is related to or driven by the changing dynamic of cultural sameness and difference vis-à-vis globalization. The next one will tackle the latest issues and developments as regards the cultural economy across the world. The third is likely to explore issues of arts practice and creativity in the arts.

Each volume will also include a major data section that presents a novel form of cultural 'indicators' with the help of state-of-the-art information graphics. We are, of course, aware of the largely underdeveloped state of cultural statistics and, a fortiori, cultural indicators, particularly for cross-national, comparative purposes. Therefore, in a

departure from conventional approaches, we will neither seek to list data for indicators by country, nor strive to have a uniform table layout by country; rather we would use 'indicator suites' to present related data and information on specific aspects of the relationships between culture and globalization. A basic premise of this approach, which will be shown in detail in the chapter 'Introducing Cultural Indicator Suites', is that much information on culture and culture-related facets is already 'out there', but that much of this information remains to be systematically assessed, compiled, described, analyzed and presented.

## The issues

As Appadurai (1996), Wolton (2003) and others have observed, we are in a time of intense 'culturalism', as cultural difference is consciously mobilized in a politics of recognition and representation, as a political arm, a bulwark or a refuge for both individuals and groups. The terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington DC on September 11, the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, heated debates about the cultural dimensions of migration in Europe, fundamentalist re-assertions in all major religions that are forms of cultural identification rather than spirituality, are among the many events and forces that have turned these articulations of cultural difference into political fault lines. The 'fateful militancy' (Hartman 1997) which culture has achieved in political terms is now high on the policy agenda.

At the same time, immense political pressure from the West on some regions and countries, while it ignores others, is met by a general disillusionment about the largely unmet promises of globalization in the Global South, where the majority of the population lives on less than $2 a day (Stiglitz 2003). One striking cultural responses to such asymmetries has been the rise of 'cultural diversity' as a leading notion in international cultural politics. This is no longer simply the diversity that is a given of the human condition – and the stuff of anthropology – but a normative meta-narrative, deployed as the standard-bearer of a campaign to exclude cultural goods and services from global free trade rules (Isar 2006). In this guise, the term emerged at the turn of the present century, as an alternative to the limited and somewhat negative connotations of

the *'exception culturelle'* that France, Canada and other nations had been advocating since the end of the Uruguay Round discussions in the mid-1990s. The discursive maneuver of shifting from 'exception' to 'diversity' as the master concept allowed French international diplomacy to tap into a much broader range of cultural commitments and anxieties across the world. Thus, in UNESCO's 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, Article 8, entitled 'Cultural goods and services: commodities of a unique kind', states:

> *In the face of present-day economic and technological change, opening up vast prospects for creation and innovation, particular attention must be paid to the diversity of the supply of creative work, to due recognition of the rights of authors and artists and to the specificity of cultural goods and services which, as vectors of identity, values and meaning, must not be treated as mere commodities or consumer goods. (2001)*

Recognizing this specificity is also the main purpose of the 'Convention on the protection of the diversity of cultural contents and artistic expressions' adopted by UNESCO in October 2005; it is the sense in which many individuals, non-governmental organizations, cultural activists and government officials deploy the term strategically today.

The principle is laudable. The goal is to foster the dynamism of contemporary cultural production rather than play a preservationist role. Yet this is a 'strategic essentialism' built upon unquestioned, un-deconstructed discourses of nationhood. Precisely because its object is cultural diversity among nations rather than within them, it is less about the negotiation of cultural difference than about the representation of 'cultures' as islands unto themselves, fixed and given (Isar 2006). Yet the key challenge of negotiating difference today is to 'give up notions of cultural purity, and search to uncover the ways in which the meanings and symbols of culture are produced through complex processes of translation, negotiation and enunciation' (Stevenson 2003: 61).

## Cultures and globalization: towards a framework

There is a rich and growing body of globalization literature (see Castells 1996; Held and McGrew 2002; Lomborg 2004; Murray, 2006). However, this literature has been focused largely on economic globalization and the spread of the international rule of law, including security issues, and typically devotes one chapter, if that, to cultural trade issues. Only secondarily has it dealt with social-cultural aspects in a broader sense, although the *Global Civil Society Yearbook* (Anheier et al. 2001), and UNDP's *Human Development Report* (2004) and other publications, are beginning to address this imbalance. Specific cultural aspects have been even less acknowledged. Barring some notable exceptions (Appadurai 1996, 2001; various works by Mike Featherstone, particularly 1995; Jameson and Miyoshi 1998; Rao and Walton 2004; Sassen 1998; Tomlinson 1999; Warnier 2004; Wolton 2003), both globalization in the cultural sphere and the relationships between globalization and cultural change remain relatively under-explored. Empirical evidence about them is not being gathered regularly and updated for the purpose of ongoing analysis.

As mentioned earlier, the current destinies of culture have been brought into the international policy debate through a number of publications and the political messages they contained. The process was initiated by UNESCO's World Commission on Culture and Development, which introduced a strong policy link between culture and development. It called for a 'commitment to pluralism' as a middle course between universalism and radical cultural relativism. The notion of a 'constructive pluralism' developed subsequently by UNESCO suggests the active and dynamic coexistence of groups, and incorporates the conditions for a public domain that allows creative contact and transformation. Building on the ground laid by the World Commission on Culture and Development, the *2004 Human Development Report*, sub-titled 'Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World', stipulated a close connection between culture, liberty and human development. It suggested that cultural liberty, i.e., the ability to choose one's identity, is important in 'leading a full life'. To some extent the *2004 Human Development Report* was written in the context of concerns about the increasing cultural dominance of the West, in particular the United States, and the exponential growth of identity politics. At the same time, while emphasizing the importance of culture for human development, the Report rejected culture-based theories of development, stressing the plurality of cultural traditions and paths to modernity.

Two aspects of these United Nations publications are worth noting for our purposes. First, they do not test in a systematic manner how different facets or dimensions of globalization relate to cultural development. Cultural fragmentation and modernist homogenization are not just two opposing views of what is happening in the world today but are on the contrary both constitutive of the current reality (Friedman 1996).

Second, these publications, although they stress the importance and the impact of globalization, are rooted in nation-state thinking. The sovereign nation-state remains the default case in grappling with cultural processes and finding solutions to global, transnational problems (Lomborg 2004). Trans-border flows of people and artifacts, which are profoundly cultural, are inadequately addressed. The role of transnational businesses and civil society organizations that span many national and regional boundaries receive scant attention, as does the role of the various international epistemic communities (artists, lawyers, academics, etc.) and committed individuals from different walks of life. This is not to argue, however, that the nation-state is no longer relevant as an organizing framework for cultural belonging and identity, as well as for cultural practice. The point is, rather, that national policy-makers need new tools with which to think the challenges of culture in broader transnational terms.

## Our method and framework

As we seek to shift the frame in the ways suggested above, there could be a danger that this volume emerges as little more than a compilation of chapters on loosely connected topics. To counteract this danger, we suggest a set of organizing principles and offer an initial conceptual framework for breaking down the complex relationships between cultures and globalization, and for analyzing the shifting ground on which cultural change is occurring. This framework will inform our editorial policies for the coming years. We will use it to identify and develop our themes, and to set substantive priorities and foci.

The framework will serve three additional purposes: First, for the development of the statistical part of the book, guiding the selection of indicators and the identification of data needs with a view to

encouraging evidence-based research and policy analysis; second, by allowing for a systematic exploration of core themes and critical issues, it will help build a permanent 'multilogue' across fields, disciplines, countries and regions. Third, a better conceptual and empirical understanding of how globalization and culture relate to each other can be useful to others in developing policy options and their implications.

## Conceptual challenges

To be sure, any attempt at seeking to establish such a framework in the field of cultures and globalization faces many challenges. The initial challenge is that of definition. As a phenomenon, culture is directly or indirectly related to virtually every aspect of the human condition; as a concept, it is even broader and more capacious than 'economy' or 'society.' Kroeber and Kluckhohn's 281 famous definitions of 1952, a classic reference, come to mind immediately; indeed this is not surprising, since within various disciplines – anthropology and sociology in particular – there have been many attempts to stabilize meanings in the interest of a technical vocabulary (Williams 1976). Having entirely escaped academic control in recent decades, however, the notion has become even more protean, especially as cultural difference has come to be consciously mobilized in political ways by individuals and groups.

The word 'culture' is thus the object of a complex terminological tangle. With no single definition generally accepted, differences, overlaps and nuances in meaning complicate rather than facilitate rigor and communication in the field. Various disciplines deal with culture and regard it as their 'terrain', however inclusively or exclusively: anthropology, political science, history, sociology, the law, and, of course, the humanities including cultural studies and art history. These disciplines have become institutionalized as such in the academy, and have come to function as closed intellectual 'silos', as it were, frequently discouraging multidisciplinary approaches and cross-disciplinary dialogue. Within each discipline, we typically find multiple approaches in terms of focus and methodology, such as the split between quantitative and qualitative sociology, or between cultural and social anthropology. For brevity's sake, we will refer to the sum of academic disciplines concerned with culture as the 'cultural disciplines'.

These disciplines present a rich tapestry of approaches, theories and models that sometimes compete, sometimes overlap and conceptually nest one within the other. They frequently span disciplinary boundaries and spill over into other parts of the field. It is neither possible nor necessary to review them further here. This has been done elsewhere. Suffice it to say that these disciplines draw inspiration from many different thinkers, including ancestral figures such as Durkheim (1965), Freud (1961), Gramsci (1971), Marx (1978), Simmel (1983), Weber (1878), or more recent intellectual mentors such as Appadurai (2001), Beck (2000), Bourdieu (1987), (Calhoon, 1994), Castells (1996), Featherstone (1995), Foucault (see Rabinow and Rose 2003), Giddens (1991), Habermas (1987), Hall, (Hall and Du Gay 1996), Hannerz (1992), or Touraine (1997), to mention but a few. Much of the thinking of these scholars is directly relevant to cultures and globalization. Although we cannot offer a systematic review here, we will mention four dominant strands for illustrative purposes, and refer to them more directly over time in the context of specific topics covered in successive volumes in the series:

- A recurrent theme in the cultural disciplines is the **degree of independence of culture** from the economy, and what form and direction this relationship might take in a globalizing world. This ranges from Marxist notions of economic determinism, to Weberian thinking that attaches greater '*Eigendynamik*' to culture, in particular to the role of ideas, includes Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital as a distinct 'currency' of status-seeking and elite maintenance. This strand of work leads us to address the question of how independent cultural globalization is from other globalization forms and drivers. Does cultural globalization have its own dynamic, relatively independent of economic and political developments?

- Another theme is the **attributed developmental capacity and trajectory of cultures**, and the questions this raises in the context of globalization. This has deep intellectual roots in anthropology and sociology, e.g., the distinction between traditional and modern cultures; Tönnies' (1991) *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft* model, or Innis' (1950) distinction between space-binding cultures and time-binding cultures. Assuming that globalization challenges many cultures, and some in fundamental ways in terms of their very survival, what will be their capacity to respond and adapt, in particular in view of the often assumed hegemonic force of American-style consumer culture?

- The **unity (or multiplicity) and impact of modernity** constitutes another theme worth revisiting when examining the relationship between globalization and cultures. Some have suggested that modernity comes in 'packages': some aspects are extrinsic and allow for separation (e.g., modern medicine and Christianity), while others intrinsic and make separation impossible (modern medicine and notion of causality). Moreover, some cultural aspects have carry-over effects and spill into other life spheres (culture of work into family life), while other cultural patterns may block such movements. There is also a range of perspectives that speaks of 'multiple modernities' (among them Eisenstadt 2000) or 'alternative modernities' (Gaonkar 2001).

- Related to the theme of modernity is the question of identity formation and maintenance in a globalizing world. Conceptualizations of this theme include Appadurai's concepts of global flows and deterritorialization (1996); García Canclini's understandings of hybridity (1995); Wolton's (2003) notion of 'cultural cohabitation', and what has been called *World Culture Theory* as a reference to the 'compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the global whole' (Robertson 1992: 8).

In addition to these themes, there are globalization theories with important implications for our understanding of culture (see Guillen 2001). For example, researchers such as Meyer et al. (1997) argue that a world-culture of institutions such as citizenship, human rights, science and technology, socioeconomic development, education, religion, and management has emerged that penetrates virtually all human endeavor. This increasingly global social organization of rationalized modernity has its logic and purposes built into almost all nation-states, resulting in a world that shows increasing structural *similarities of form* among countries. At the same time, countries differ in the fit between

these institutions, their needs and capacities, and therefore produce different cultural, social and economic *outcomes*.

However, with some exceptions, many of the models or ideas listed above, and we could add others, are either not fully testable to begin with or have not yet been explored systematically. Generally, theses and theories tend to be interpreted and reinterpreted, with little verification or further development. While it may be an overgeneralization, it is tempting to conclude that the cultural disciplines tend to add new ideas without discarding old ones, and to create conceptual complexity rather than parsimony. As a result, they display considerable theoretical inertia, and a cacophony of definitions, approaches and theories.

## Characteristics

A conceptual framework is neither a theory nor a fully integrated body of knowledge. Rather, it serves as a marker of 'intellectual terrain' by identifying boundaries, major concepts and issues as well as the relations, de facto or hypothesized, among them. Several qualities or characteristics are worth keeping in mind:

- *Parsimony*, i.e., the aim to 'achieve most with least'. Any framework or model produces a picture of the reality that is simpler than reality itself;
- *Significance*, i.e., a framework that identifies the truly critical aspects of a phenomenon and its relationships, and focuses attention on aspects that are neither obvious nor trivial;
- *Combinatorial richness*, i.e., the range of hypotheses that can be generated with the framework, the number of interesting issues, features and relations it helps identify and anticipate; this includes *theoretical fruitfulness*, i.e., the extent to which the framework allows us to explore and develop existing and new insights, models, and theories; and *organizing power*, i.e., the ability of the framework to bring in and integrate new aspects, thereby extending the applicability and range; and, finally,
- *Policy relevance*, i.e., the extent to which a framework leads to insights, options, recommendations and models of interest to policy-makers (e.g., some aspects might be 'interesting' and even theoretically relevant, but have low policy salience).

## Prerequisites

The *series* is unlikely to avoid the problems of definition that are endemic to the cultural disciplines, which are as it were, their conceptual discontents. We do not intend to adopt a single set of omnibus concepts, much less a single lens. We know that the various contributors to this collective endeavor will each work with very different concepts of culture – for the reasons already outlined above. Also, the cultural disciplines, as well as cultural operators, activists and policy-makers, tend to oscillate permanently between variants of the 'ways of life' notions of culture and 'arts and heritage' ones. We nevertheless intend to initiate our work with an agreed understanding of the terms we ourselves shall be using. In other words, we shall offer working definitions for key concepts and also state our methodological approach.

**Culture** in the broad sense we propose to employ refers to the social construction, articulation and reception of meaning. Culture is the lived and creative experience for individuals **and** a body of artifacts, symbols, texts and objects. Culture involves enactment and representation. It embraces art and art discourse, the symbolic world of meanings, the commodified output of the cultural industries as well as the spontaneous or enacted, organized or unorganized cultural expressions of everyday life, including social relations. It is constitutive of both collective and individual identity. Closely related to culture is the concept of **communication**, which refers to the ways in which meanings, artifacts, beliefs, symbols and messages are transmitted through time and space, as well as processed, recorded, stored, and reproduced. Communication requires media of storage and transmission, institutions that make storage and transmission possible, and media of reception.

**Globalization** involves the movement of objects (goods, services, finance and other resources, etc.), meanings (language, symbols, knowledge, identities, etc.) and people across regions and intercontinental space. The notion of **cultural globalization** involves three movements (UNDP 2004): flows of investments and knowledge; flows of cultural goods; and flows of people. Cultures or aspects of cultures are globalized to the extent to which they involve the movement of specified objects, systems of meaning and people across national/regional borders and continents. Yet these

processes, so closely related to the globalization of communication, the media and the cultural industries, are for one thing inaccessible to the majority of the world's population and actually appear to generate countless counter-affirmations at the level of local reception. Indeed, some analysts such as Warnier (2004) reject the notion of 'cultural globalization' altogether: there are globalized cultural industries, to be sure, but no global culture in the sense of the term as we have defined it above.

Cultural products and values are part of a larger process that involves economic globalization, defined as the functional integration of economic production and distribution processes across multiple national borders (Dicken 1999); the emergence of a global civil society, defined as the socio-sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organizations, networks, and individuals located primarily outside the institutional complexes of family, state, and market and operating beyond the confines of national societies, polities, and economies (Anheier et al. 2001; Kaldor et al. 2003); and international law and the emergence of an international legal system, e.g., the International Court of Justice or the European Court of Justice.

In terms of methodology, the proposed framework is neither self-referential in its intent, i.e., not seen as a closed system; nor does it imply any notion of causality among the concepts specified, nor a strict focus on some 'dependent variable'. Nor does it favor any particular approach, theory or policy. Instead, it is descriptive as well as analytical in the context of seeking to inform theory-building and policy-making in the field. While it is not normative in purpose, this does not mean that we will in any way prevent normative viewpoints and ethical stances from finding their way into these page; rather, we encourage multiple voices to be heard, and wish to see them engaged in evidence-based debate.

### Key understandings

Even though our understanding of the relationships between culture and globalization remains sketchy and uneven, enough has been thought and written on the subject to allow us to extract positions, statements and generic hypotheses that identify, at least initially, key conceptual building blocks and relationships.

### A. Context

The world's cultures are being shaped by economic, social and political-legal globalization and vice versa. The strengths and the directions of the reciprocal relationships vary by field, country and region as well as over time. For analytic purposes, we refer to the other globalization processes as context, even though in reality, they are typically concomitant rather than parallel, and occur in different combinations rather than uniformly across time and space.

### B. Systems and units of analysis

Culture and globalization are complex, multifaceted concepts, and difficult to reduce to one or two dimensions without conceptual and empirical harm. Like globalization, culture involves social, economic and political aspects, and also the artistic-aesthetic realm. We refer to these dimensions as system, not in the strict sense of system theory, but only to emphasize that different aspects of culture can display considerable dynamics of their own, driven by specific logics, incentives and rewards in terms of recognition, prestige and power (Geertz 1983). Thus, to counteract any reductionist tendencies, we can think of culture as a system of artistic endeavor and realm of creativity, as a social system of meaning and values, as an economic system of production, distribution and consumption, and as a political system of positions of power and influence. Each 'lens' is equally valid and likely brings up different questions, leading to different insights and implications.

The relationship between cultures and globalization is not only multifaceted from a systemic perspective; in each case, it also involves different units of analysis such as individuals, organizations, professions, institutional patterns, communities, societies, as well as nation-states. The different units, in turn, may be interrelated and affect each other over time. In making observations, and in reaching conclusions about these relationships, it is important to specify the units of analysis involved. Importantly, however, given the objectives of the *series*, we generally also put emphasis on units other than nation-states, national cultures or countries. This would involve in particular units like organizations, communities, and actual networks along individuals as well as virtual networks like the Internet.

### C. Structures and processes

Within the context of globalization and for the different units of analysis, we can address the two

major conceptual blocks we regard as the central substantive concern of the *project* (i) cultural identities, patterns and structures; and (ii) cultural processes, communication and flows. In what follows, we illustrate each and show what kind of theories and questions will guide the setting of priorities in the future. Our editorial policy is to address such priority issues by using more general approaches in the social sciences, exploring how they relate to available work in the globalization field, and then posing questions that could become the topic of individual chapters.

The complex and increasingly troubled relationship between *identities* and globalization is a case in point. Both individual identity and collective identity are involved here, both the individual subject and the cultural community (Touraine 1997). Two long-standing strands of social science theory shape our understanding of personal or individual identity. One is rooted in developmental psychology and sees identity as the result of 'deep socialization', i.e., early value-forming experiences and learning processes that make up the core personality traits and character dispositions. This psychological understanding is close to what could be called the 'hard-wired' aspect of identity as a sense of self – once formed, it is fairly stable throughout the life course, and relatively resistant to political, cultural and social changes.

The other approach is more sociological in nature and sees it as the outcome of ongoing search processes. Individuals try to forge, negotiate and reconcile their own 'worldviews' and notions of self with that of collectively defined expectations. Given the multiple roles people perform in modern, diverse societies, however, this more 'soft-wired' form of identity is not only evolving, it is also precarious and precious. It refers less to identity as 'self' but more to identity in relation to categories such as nation, religion, place, or belonging (calhoon 1994).

Are these approaches useful in the context of globalization? What are some of the drivers shaping identity in a globalizing world, and what policy implications can be suggested? What are the social and cultural outlets of identity formation? These questions would form the basis for a chapter on the relationship between globalization and individual identity. By the same token, other chapters could address collective identity, including the cosmopolitan, as well as organizational and professional (or 'social') identities. How are such identities and the possible conflicts between them acting as forces for social change or stasis? As regards tensions and conflicts, what are the factors of escalation or resolution? The important point is that the critical relationship between cultures, globalization and identity would be examined from different theoretical perspectives and different units of analysis.

The globalization literature suggests a number of approaches that can be useful for examining the relation between globalization and culture looking for patterns and structures across different units of analysis. The work of Castells (1996, 1997) and Held et al. (1999) are cases in point. Castells (1996) argues that networks among organizations and individuals increasingly form meta-networks at the transnational level and create a system of 'decentralized concentration', where a multiplicity of interconnected tasks takes place in different sites. Since the 1970s, enabling technologies such as telecommunication and the Internet brought about the ascendance of a 'network society', whose processes occur in a new type of space – the space of flows. The space of flows, comprising a myriad of links and exchanges, has come to dominate the older space of place (including territorially defined units such as states and neighborhoods), thanks to its flexibility, and its compatibility with the new logic of the network society. The social organization of the network society is constructed by nodes and hubs in this space of flows, where most of the social action occurs. Hence, the manifold spaces of flows are at the core of understanding globalization, and are where we need to explore the role and place of culture. What is the 'culture' of these spaces, and how do they affect cultural changes, and at what level or unit of analysis?

Following Held et al. (1999: 17–27), we suggest that some of the major contours of the more organizational aspects of cultures and globalization can be described by four related characteristics:

• *Extensity* as a measure of the geographical expansion of activities, i.e., movements of objects (goods, services, resources etc.), meaning (symbols, knowledge) and people across regions and intercontinental space, as indicated by the number of 'nodes' (e.g., organizations, informal networks, artists, and participants) that constitute the overall spread of a 'network' or practice. Extensity refers to the range of cultural globalization;

- *Intensity* of the overall volume of such movements relative to the national and the local; it refers to the number and types of connections involved among the various 'nodes'. Intensity indicates how densely the elements are connected amongst each other;
- *Velocity* of the overall interactions as a measure of the frequency to which movement connections are made or used among nodes; and
- *Impact* of globalization on cultures. This is the most difficult one to conceptualize and measure, and involves processes such as homogenization, hybridization, contestation, indifference, evolution, decline or, on the positive side, liberation or emancipation, that can be described in terms of the resulting cultural infrastructures, practices and repertoires; the institutionalization of interactions; patterns of stratification, power, inclusion and exclusion.

The modes of interaction are of particular interest, and include:

- *Imposition*, which implies cultural power differences and stratification, hierarchy and unevenness in the establishment and use of institutional infrastructure across societies, regions, etc.; such power needs organizational, institutional infrastructure (media, professionals, knowledge).
- *Diffusion*, whereby elements from one 'culture' find their way into another.
- *Relativization*, whereby cultural elements take shape relative to other elements.
- *Emulation*, as the creation of a common cultural arena in which actors can selectively choose from increasingly global arsenal.
- *Glocalization*, whereby universal ideas, patterns values are interpreted differently; refers to the way in which homogenization and heterogenization intertwine.
- *Interpenetration*, whereby the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism combine.
- *Resistance,* whereby local culturalist claims and identities are asserted in reaction to the perceived imposition of the global.

These interactions involve a communication and media infrastructure of cultural production, transmission and reception, although the extent to which flows and processes are institutionalized varies across time and space. For different cultural areas and issues, we would ask what kinds of interactions prevail among what units of analysis to produce different kinds of outcomes, and policy implications, in terms of:

- *Thick* cultural globalization (high extensity, high intensity, high velocity, and high impact), with the Internet, mass tourism as cases in point.
- *Diffused* globalization (high extensity, high intensity, high velocity, and low impact), e.g., global art markets.
- *Expansive* globalization (high extensity, low intensity, low velocity, and high impact), e.g., elite cultural networks.
- *Thin* globalization (high extensity, low intensity, low velocity, and low impact), e.g., international cultural organizations.

### D. Models and policy positions

What are some of the initial positions and policy approaches in sociology, for example, that can be relevant for our purposes, and that can be examined empirically in a range of cultural fields and areas? Specifically, for the positions illustrated below, we would ask: what are the policies and policy implications concerning the relationship between culture and globalization for the movements of objects, meanings and people in terms of identities, patterns and structures, and the processes, communications and flows?

Held et al. (1999) identify the *Hyperglobalizers* who predict a homogenization of the world's cultures along the American model of mass culture and consumerism. They are set apart from the *Skeptics* who lament the loss of 'thick' national cultures and point to the 'thinness' and ersatz quality of globalized culture, whereas the *Transformationalists* shift attention to the intermingling of cultures and the emergence of hybrid global cultural elements and networks.

Berger (1997) suggests that globalization involves four conflicting 'cultures' that themselves are closely allied to specific institutions: the *Davos Culture* is the increasingly globalized corporate culture, lifestyle, career patterns and expectations of the international business community; the *Faculty Club* is the intellectual response to globalization that is largely on reform course, trying to 'tame' and 'humanize' the process; *MacWorld* refers to the spread of consumerism and Americanization of

popular culture (Barber 1995); and *religious revival* refers to the efforts of largely protestant and Islamic groups to proselytize and gain greater influence. The value systems around these cultures are on a collision course as they make very different claims on the nature of globalization, leading to rather different policy implications.

Kaldor, Glasius and Anheier (kaldor et al. 2003) develop a different, though complementary, approach and identify political/value positions on globalization. These positions are held by actors such as NGO leaders as well as political parties, governments, business executives and individuals. They argue that there are very few out and out *supporters* of globalization (i.e., groups or individuals who favor all forms of global connectedness such as trade, money, people, law and politics); at the same time, there are very few total *rejectionists*. Rather, the dominant responses to globalization are mixed. Specifically, 'regressive globalizers' are individuals, groups and governments who favor globalization on their own terms and when it is in their particular interest. Reformers or 'redistributive globalizers' are groups, individuals, governments and multilateral institutions that, like Berger's 'Faculty Club,' favor 'civilizing' or 'humanizing' globalization.

Viewing the various positions from the vantage point of the sociology of culture, Crane (2002) has identified the following four broad models as heuristic markers:

1. *The cultural imperialism model*, which focuses upon the roles of governments and of multinational and trans-national corporations in the dissemination of different forms of global culture. It hypothesizes that this culture is disseminated from rich and powerful countries located at the core of the world cultural system to poorer and less developed countries on the periphery. The theory presupposes a relatively homogeneous mass culture that is accepted passively and uncritically by mass audiences. Cultural imperialism is viewed as purposeful and intentional because it corresponds to the political interests of powerful capitalist societies.

2. *The cultural flows or network model* sees the transmission process as a set of influences that do not necessarily originate in the same place or flow in the same direction. Receivers may also be originators. In this model, cultural globalization corresponds to a network with no clearly defined centre or periphery (see, for example, Appadurai 1996) but shifting configurations. Globalization as an aggregation of cultural flows or networks is a less coherent and unitary process than cultural imperialism and one in which cultural influences move in many different directions to bring about rather more hybridization than homogenization.
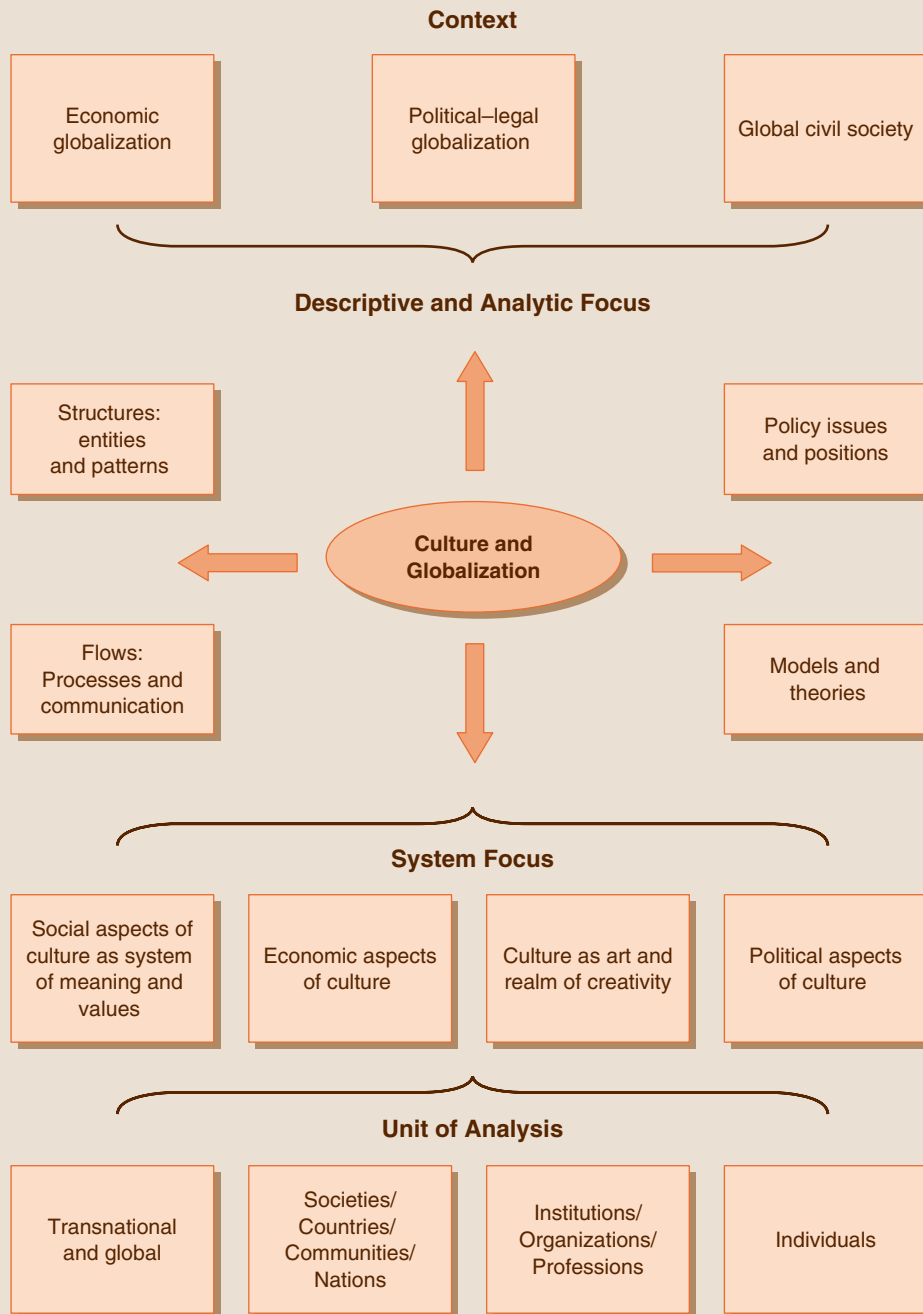
3. *The reception model* argues that audiences vary in the way they respond actively rather than passively to mass-mediated culture, and that different national, ethnic, and racial groups interpret the same materials differently. Hence the different empirical responses to cultural globalization by publics in different countries, a phenomenon one observes readily in many developing countries where 'cultural pride' is strong. This model does not view globally disseminated culture as a threat to national or local identities. Multiculturalism rather than cultural imperialism is the dominant trend.

4. Finally, a *negotiation and competition* model, based on the recognition that globalization has stimulated a range of strategies on the part of nations, global cities, and cultural organizations to cope with, counter, or facilitate the culturally globalizing forces. They include strategies for preserving and protecting cultural forms inherited from the past, strategies for rejuvenating traditional cultures, strategies for resisting cultural imposition, and strategies that aim to process and package – maybe even alter or transform–local and national cultures for global consumption. In this perspective, globalization impels these entitics to try and preserve, position, or project their cultures in global space.

It is clear that these positions involve very different policy preferences in all the areas of concern.

## Setting priorities

As suggested at the outset, a clear analytical framework should spell out the organizing principles and substantive foci of *cultures and globalization.* Thus, in the context of globalization drivers and processes, we are primarily interested in describing and analyzing different units of analysis cultural identities, patterns, structures and flows, and the models, theories and policy options they suggest. We would do so through four lenses that each highlight specific aspects of culture: artistic,

**Figure I.1    Framework for the Cultures and Globalization Series**

**Context**

| Economic globalization | Political–legal globalization | Global civil society |
|---|---|---|

**Descriptive and Analytic Focus**

Structures: entities and patterns

Policy issues and positions

**Culture and Globalization**

Flows: Processes and communication

Models and theories

**System Focus**

| Social aspects of culture as system of meaning and values | Economic aspects of culture | Culture as art and realm of creativity | Political aspects of culture |
|---|---|---|---|

**Unit of Analysis**

| Transnational and global | Societies/ Countries/ Communities/ Nations | Institutions/ Organizations/ Professions | Individuals |
|---|---|---|---|

social, economic, and political. This framework, presented in Figure 1, shows our intellectual terrain in the context of other forms and drivers of globalization, the various systems and units of analysis that can become relevant, and the core descriptive and analytic foci pursued. As elaborated in the chapter 'Introducing Cultural Indicator Suites', Figure 1 also offers both framework and guidance for the 'Profiles of World Cultures', the data section of the *Cultures and Globalization Series*.

We see this framework as an analytic tool for breaking down the relationship between culture and globalization, and the shifting nexus between culture and society. In terms of setting priorities and for keeping focus as well as editorial coherence, each *edition* examines, though not exclusively, the relationship between globalization and culture with the help of a particular emphasis. This could be a specific theme or set of related themes, a critical policy approach or some other topic. The thematic foci for the first five include, beginning with this year's theme 'Conflicts and Tensions; Creativity and Arts practice; Identities, and Values and Innovation and Regression.

## REFERENCES

Anheier, H. K., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M**.** (2001) *Global Civil Society 2001*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

– (2001) (ed) *Globalization*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Barber, B. (1995) *Jihad vs. McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World.* New York: Times Books.

Beck, U. (2000) *What is Globalization?*. Cambridge, UK: Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Berger, P. L. (1997) 'Four Faces of Global Culture', *The National Interest* (49): 23(7).

Bourdieu, P. (1987) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Calhoon,e. (ed.) (1994) *Social theory and the politics of Identity*. Cambridge, MA and oxford, Blacleloell.

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

– (1997) *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Crane, D. (2002) 'Cultural globalization from the perspective of the sociology of culture'. Paper presented at the Symposium, Statistics in the Wake of Challenges Posed by Cultural Diversity in a Globalization Context, UNESCO Institute of Statistics, Montreal, October 21–23.

Dicken, P. (1999) 'Globalization: An Economic-Geographical Perspective', in W. Halal and K. Taylor (eds), *Twenty-First Century Economics*. New York: St Martins Press.

– (2003) *Global Shift: Reshaping the Global Economic Map in the 21st Century*, 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Durkheim, E. (1965) [1912] *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Trans. by Joseph Ward Swain. New York: The Free Press.

Eisenstadt, S.N. (2000) 'Multiple Modernities', *Daedalus*, Vol. 129, No. 1, Winter 2000.

Featherstone, M. (1995) *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*. London: Sage.

Freud, S. (1961) *Civilization and its Discontents*. Trans. and ed. by James Strachey. New York: Norton.

Friedman, J. (1996) *Cultural Identity and Global Process***.** London: Sage Publications.

Gaonkar, D. (ed.) (2001) *Alternative Modernities.* Durham: Duke University Press.

García Canclini, N. (1995) *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Geertz, C. (1983) *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Giddens, A**.** (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Gilroy, P. (2004) *After Empire*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prision Notebooks*. Trans. and ed. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Guillen, M.F. (2001) 'Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble? A Critique of Five Key Debates in the Social Science Literature', *Annual Review of Sociology*, pp. 235–60.

Habermas, J. (1987) *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

– Habermas, J. (1994) 'Multiculturalism and "The politics of Recognition: an essay'. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hannerz, U. (1992) *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hartman, G**.** (1997) *The Fateful Question of Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Held, D. and McGrew, A. G**.** (2000) *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

– (2002) *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press (revised and updated edition).

–, Goldblatt, D., and Perraton, J. (1999) *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Ilczuk, D. and Isar, Y.R. (eds) (2006) *Metropolises of Europe: Diversity in Urban Cultural Life*. Warsaw: CIRCLE.

Innis, H.A. (1950) *Empire and Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Isar, Y. R. (2006) 'Cultural diversity', *Theory, Culture and Society*, Special Issue on *Problematizing Global Knowledge*, Vol. 23, Nos. 2–3 March–May 2006.

Jameson, F and Miyoshi, M. (1998) *The Cultures of Globalization*. Duke University Press.

Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (2003) 'Global Civil Society in an Era of Regressive Globalization', in M. Kaldor, Helmut, Anheier and Marlies Glasius (eds), *Global Civil Society 2003*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kroeber, A. L. and Kluckhohn**,** C. (1952) *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Cambridge, MA: The Museum.

Lomborg, E (ed.) (2004) *Global Crisis, Global Solutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marx, K. (1978). *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: Norton.

Mercer, C. (2002). *Towards Cultural Citizenship: Tools for Cultural Policy and Development.* Stockholm: The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and Diglunds Förlag.

Meyer, J. W., Boli, J., Thomas, G. M. and Ramirez, F. O. (1997) 'World Society and the Nation-State', *American Journal of Sociology* 103(1): 144–81.

Murray, W. (2006) *Geographies of Globalization*. London: Routledge.

Rabinow, P. and Rose, N. (eds) (2003) *The Essential Foucault*. New York: New Press.

Rao, V. and Walton, M (2004) *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

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

Sassen, S. (1998) *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money.* New York: The New Press.

Simmel, G. (1983) *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.

Stevenson, N. (2003) *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Questions.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Stiglitz, J. (2003) *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York: Norton.

Tönnies, F. (1991) *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. Berlin: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalization and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Touraine, A. (1997) *Pourrons nous vivre ensemble? Egaux et différents.* Paris: Fayard.

United Nations Development Program (2004) *Human Development Report 2004: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

UNESCO (1998) *World Culture Report*: *Culture, Creativity and Markets.* Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

UNESCO (2000) *World Culture Report*: *Cultural Diversity, Conflict and Pluralism*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

UNESCO (2001) Universal Declaration on cultural Diversity http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160.pdf

Warnier, J-P. (2004) *La mondialisation de la culture*. Paris: La Découverte.

Weber, M. (1978*) Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Wieviorka, M. and Ohana, J**.** (eds) (*2001) La différence culturelle: Une reformulation des débats.* Paris: Balland.

Williams, R. (1976) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Wolton, D. (2003) *L'autre mondialisation.* Paris: Flammarion.

World Commission on Culture and Development. (1996) *Our Creative Diversity*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.