Transnational Crime & Criminal Justice

Marinella Marmo & Nerida Chazal

with the contribution
of Andrew Goldsmith

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Globalization and Mobility

This chapter will look at

- Theories of globalization.
- Global–local interactions and relationships.
- Mobility and social exclusion.

Keywords

Globalization	Glocalization	Mobility
Late modernity	Social stratification	

2.1 Introduction

Globalization is a buzzword that has significantly shaped the start of the twenty-first century. The term has been used by academics, journalists, politicians, economists, corporations and advertising professionals alike to describe a growing sense of global interconnectedness that shapes political, economic, social and cultural life. Sociologist Anthony Giddens (2002, p. 7) stated, 'globalisation may not be a particularly elegant word. But absolutely no one who wants to understand our prospects at century's end can ignore it.' In this chapter we will explore the variety of approaches towards globalization and unpack the concept to better understand the nature and structure of the world in which crime is enmeshed. We examine the key social theories that explain the connected, fast-paced and global character of the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century, including theories on mobility. We consider how the changing nature of social, economic and political relations constitutes new spaces, different levels of

control and regulation (local, national, regional, international, global), and shifting and dynamic relationships where power and influence are constantly renegotiated and reconfigured in processes of **glocalization**. As we move through these theories and explanations we can see that the increasingly transnational nature of crime and its control is entwined within broader changes in social, political and economic relations that structure the world.

Globalization involves a complex series of processes and conditions. There are many different ideas about the causes, conceptualization, periodization, impacts and trajectories of globalization (Held et al. 1999) and these ideas raise numerous questions. Is globalization a new phenomenon? Does globalization signal the start of a new epoch? Is globalization defined by economic, political, or social forces? Does globalization create positive opportunities or does it negatively impact on the environment and local populations? Who and what is driving globalization? Is globalization a top–down process by which cultural differences are diminished or does it enrich culture and deepen social life? Based on their views on these questions globalization theorists can be grouped into three categories: **radical globalists**, **globalization sceptics** and **global transformationalists**. We explore each of these approaches in this chapter to highlight the many different facets of globalization. To do this we refer to Case Study 2.1 to demonstrate how approaches to globalization construct events differently and to illustrate the complexity of globalization. At first glance, the case study may appear to be confined to one country, Bangladesh, but throughout this chapter we will see how it highlights the far-reaching impacts of globalization. Globalization creates a world in motion (Aas 2007a). In the final part of this chapter we explore how mobility and movement significantly shape contemporary social life.

An important part of the discussions throughout this chapter is the exploration of how the changing nature and shape of the world produce new forms of social stratification, the system by which society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy, on a global level. We question how different groups and individuals are marginalized or excluded from dominant discourses through prevailing paradigms and ways of seeing the world. Social stratification is often examined at state level when we consider how some groups have greater status, power and wealth than other groups. In a world of increasing global connection, interaction and interdependence, it is important to consider how social stratification operates at a global level. Why is this important? The structure of society significantly influences how crime is constructed, committed and controlled. Critical criminology frequently examines the genesis of crime and the nature of 'justice' through the lens of class structure and inequality. As space, place and society are transformed through processes of globalization it is necessary to locate crime within global social structures. Globalization and mobility theories change the way we view place and space and thereby influence the construction of crime and responses to it at both global and local levels.

2.2 Globalization: Towards a Borderless World

When you woke up this morning and decided what to wear did you pull on a pair of jeans? This simple and seemingly benign act of wearing jeans may appear to be a straightforward and uncomplicated personal choice based on your fashion preferences, but it is, in fact, the product of a series of global forces in which you are inextricably enmeshed. Wearing jeans is an act influenced by global mobility, multinational corporations and cultural imperialism. Your jeans travelled a long way to get to you this morning: they may have been designed in the United States, the cotton harvested in India and the yarn spun in Turkey. The yarn might then have been dyed in Taiwan, with indigo from Italy and the textile woven in Poland. The thread could have been manufactured in Hungary, the zip made from brass from Japan and the buttons from Australian zinc. Finally, the jeans could have been sewn together in Tunisia, pumice stonewashed in Turkey, and the final product sent to your local department store. Or perhaps you bought your jeans online and they were parcelled up and sent to your door, wherever you happen to live in the world.

Your choice of jeans may have been an easy one, driven by current fashion, comfort and price, but behind that choice lie decades of cultural evolution; jeans were transformed from a utilitarian garment to the embodiment of the American ethos and then exported to the world, becoming one of the most popular fashion items today. As this brief tour of a pair of jeans highlights, forces of globalization reach and influence almost every aspect of our daily lives.

In its simplest form globalization is 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary life' (Held et al. 1999, p. 2); however, globalization is a nebulous and contested concept. There are many different perspectives on the causes and consequences of globalization and debates over its extent and novelty. Some view it as a phenomenon that accelerated towards the end of the twentieth century, as transport and telecommunication technologies rapidly developed and brought the world closer together in time and space (Giddens 2002). Certainly in the twenty-first century we see a level of mobility and connection that far exceeds that of just 50 years ago. However, others disagree, arguing that globalization is not a new phenomenon and that the human race has always been globally inclined, as evidenced by the first migrations of people out of Africa 100,000 years ago. Since these early movements, humans have sought global connection through trade, religion, conquest and travel.

The term 'globalization' first appeared in the 1960s, yet it only gained popularity and momentum from the 1990s before which the term 'internationalization' was more common. Globalization differs from internationalization as it describes the emergence of a global space, whereas internationalization alludes to the ongoing primacy and importance of states and the relationships between them. Consider the etymology of the words: inter-national as opposed to global. In this

departure from thinking 'internationally' to thinking 'globally' we see the crux of what we mean when we refer to globalization, the creation and conditions of a space which transcends the national border. These conditions mean that nations are not insulated frontiers of power and economics and arbiters of identity and culture. Instead, the local can rarely escape the influence of global forces while, simultaneously, local events are magnified to have global import.

Case Study 2.1 – Dying for Fashion

Wall of missing photos

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When deep cracks appeared in the walls of the Rana Plaza building in Savar, Bangladesh, no one could have foreseen the scale of the tragedy that was soon to unfold. The building, which contained a shopping centre and five garment factories, could house approximately 5,000 workers (Motlagh 2014) who were sub-contracted to supply Western clothing chains such as Primark, Joe Fresh, Kik and Benetton, and Walmart (*Economist* 2013a; Kuttner 2013). Workers were crammed into the large floors and worked long hours in dangerous conditions, yet the owner of the building, Sohel Rana, was unmoved by the appearance of the cracks, declaring his building to be safe for another hundred years (Motlagh 2014).

   The police did not agree. On 23 April 2013, they evacuated the building following advice from local technicians, who deemed Rana Plaza to be vulnerable and unsafe. It and surrounding businesses shut their doors. The next morning, however, Rana ordered

workers to return to work. A well-known supporter of the ruling Awami League Party, Rana had ulterior motives for this insistence: he did not want the workers taking part in strike action, called by opponents to the party, and instead had plans to mobilize them for possible street protests later that day (Motlagh 2014). The factory owners, conscious that orders were overdue, also pressured workers and threatened to withhold their monthly pay if they did not return (Motlagh 2014; Yardley 2013a). Accordingly, many workers, who would have been unable to survive without their wage, entered the building to work.

At 8.45 a.m. the power in the building went off, a common occurrence in the greater Dakar area. The building's four heavy diesel generators, located on the upper floors, kicked in and their vibrations were felt throughout the building (Yardley 2013a). The vibrations caused the structurally unsound upper floors to fall in quick succession and the lower floors pancaked under their weight (Burke 2013). Rana, who was trapped in his basement office, was dug out by his bodyguards (Motlagh 2014). Within minutes the site was besieged by panic-stricken relatives, who attempted their own rescues, hindering access by emergency services who failed to control the site (*Economist* 2013a). More concerned with national pride than saving lives, the government declined offers of international help to send rescue teams with machinery and sniffer dogs (Motlagh 2014).

The official death toll from the tragedy came to 1,138 people (*Washington Post* 2014). More than 2,500 people were injured; many suffering serious injuries, amputations and disabilities that dramatically affected their ability to support themselves and their families (Siegle 2014). The Rana Plaza collapse became the worst industrial accident in South Asia since the Bhopal disaster in 1984 (*Economist* 2013a).

Radical globalists hold a strong and optimistic view of globalization, believing that it marks the start of a new epoch when borders are eroded through global economic flows and technological advancement. The perspective of radical globalists is not interchangeable with radical ideas on politics and society and it is not aligned with **radical criminology**, which views crime as caused by economic forces in society. Instead the term 'radical globalists', also referred to as 'hyper-globalists' (Held et al. 1999), refers to those who agree that globalization is a new phenomenon that is significantly shaping the world and social, political and economic life as we know it. From the radical globalist perspective, states can no longer control or regulate financial markets and corporations that extend beyond national borders, meaning that state power is significantly diminished. From this position **neoliberalism**, and its emphasis on free market principles, drives globalization and creates the conditions through which a truly global space is created. The impact of economic globalization is a reconfiguration of global social stratification in which the traditional structure of core and periphery states (or the **global north** and the **global south**) is replaced by a stratification based on the division of labour and a complex architecture of economic power. Reflecting this perspective, management consultant and organizational theorist Kenichi Ohmae describes globalization as the 'end of the nation state' (Ohmae 1995) and the start of a 'borderless world' (Ohmae 1994).

While Ohame's analysis is primarily economic, the borderless world theory of radical globalists extends beyond the global financial sector to shape other aspects of society. For example, **international criminal law** and human rights advocates suggest that international courts are needed to provide justice beyond the nation-state as serious crimes and mass atrocities affect the whole of the human race. This sentiment is reflected in the Preamble of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court which declares that the ICC exists to address atrocities that 'deeply shock the conscience of humanity', 'threaten the peace, security and well-being of the world' and concern the 'international community as a whole' (Rome Statute 1998, p. 1). Within these phrases, we see the idea of interconnection and shared experience, which transcend state borders and create a global cosmopolitan community. We also see kernels of this idea of a universal or shared fate in responses to transnational crimes, which highlight the limitations of the national authorities in combating highly mobile and global criminal networks that operate beyond the confines of states and benefit from global economic flows.

The Rana Plaza example clearly demonstrates the impact of global economic flows and multinational corporations on local lives. The erosion of economic boundaries means that the fashion industry has become a global enterprise with corporations able to outsource the manufacture of clothing to countries where production costs are lower. Nations and state authorities play a minor role in these arrangements with negotiations occurring between global corporations and local factory owners. Of course, within these relationships multinational corporations hold significantly more power than local factories as they can shop around to find the factory that will complete the job for the lowest price. As radical globalists highlight, this demonstrates the development of global social stratification based on differences between those who produce (individuals working in Bangladeshi sweatshops) and those who consume (individuals in countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States who can buy cheap clothing from major retailers).

There are some benefits of this global restratification. The globalization of the fashion supply chain, for example, creates employment opportunities in developing countries with large populations and high rates of poverty. It is estimated that the textile industry employs 3.5 million people in Bangladesh alone. Most of these individuals come from poverty and many are women who are supporting their families (Bearnot 2013). Although workers earn little more than a dollar a day and the working conditions are arduous (Kuttner 2013), the pay is generally better than other industries – clothing factories pay three to seven times more than other unskilled labour in developing countries (Gregory 2013) – and the work is less taxing than alternative employment. Since the EU relaxed its rules, allowing the poorest countries to import fabric to be stitched into garments (rather than produce it themselves), Bangladesh has become the second

largest exporter of textiles in the world behind China, and its GDP has grown by an average of 6% every year for the past decade (Bearnot 2013). The number of Bangladeshis living in poverty has dropped 25% since 2000, largely due to the meteoric rise of the garment industry (Gregory 2013).

In addition, the erosion of borders and the global competition over lucrative manufacturing contracts means that the international community can exert pressure on local governments and business owners in countries such as Bangladesh to ensure working conditions are improved and better outcomes are achieved for victims in the wake of accidents. For example, following the Rana Plaza collapse a combination of bad publicity and the risk of losing favourable tariffs has forced the government to make legislative changes. At the time of the collapse the minimum wage for garment workers was the lowest in the world at just US$37 per month (Greenhouse 2013). In November 2013, ahead of elections, the government pressured the Bangladesh Garment Manufactures and Exporters Association to raise it to US$68 per month (Motlagh 2014). It has also allowed more workers to unionize, with more than 140 new unions registering since the start of 2013 compared to just two for the previous three years (*New York Times* 2014). These examples illustrate some of the benefits of globalization as seen through the hyper-globalist, or radical globalist, framework that views the current era as the end of the nation-state.

2.3 Against Globalization

Despite the aforementioned benefits of globalization and its diminishment of borders, there are also many negative effects of globalization. Globalization, particularly when it is linked to advanced industrialization and capitalism, can have a detrimental impact on the environment, on marginalized social groups and on developing countries. Terms such as **Americanization**, McDonaldization (Ritzner 1993), or Disneyization allude to these negative impacts. These terms view globalization as a process by which Western values of turbo-capitalism, consumerism, democracy and individualization are exported from America out into the world. Certainly, there is a trend towards heightened capitalism and consumerism that is pushed forward by global financial markets and a culture of consumption spread by global marketing and shared cultural products. Coca-Cola, for example, is one of the biggest global brands today, selling over 1.8 billion drinks every day (BBC 2012). Founded in 1886 in Atlanta, United States, the iconic red and white packaging and branding can now be seen all around the world and the drink is a popular, everyday choice, from Argentina to Afghanistan. Through this lens globalization can be seen as a top–down process driven by corporate capitalism and economic imperatives.

Anti-globalization

There are wide-reaching side effects of global economic development and global financial markets driven by capitalism: financial crises can echo across the world, global inequality and poverty increase as the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, environmental destruction ensues as profits are pursued at all costs, and we all feel the need to 'keep up' as life gets faster and more mobile and global. Rampant capitalism and consumerism can entrench global inequalities, the likes of which are illustrated by the Rana Plaza example. The contrast between the lives of those who purchased cheap clothing made in Rana Plaza, and those who made it, is extreme. Consumers in the **global north** increasingly demand cheap, fashionable clothing and there is no limit on where they can find it. Primark in the United Kingdom, for example, sells t-shirts made in Bangladesh for as little as £2 (approximately US$1.6).

This consumer demand places pressure on retailers and manufacturers throughout the supply chain, meaning manufacturers hunt for ways to keep production costs down in a globally competitive market. The solution is often to produce clothing in countries where standards around working conditions, pay and building safety are low. Bangladesh has more than 5,000 garment factories but only 40 building inspectors (Harris 2013) and the Prime Minister has declared that 90% of all buildings meet no building code (*Economist* 2013a).

Alongside these low standards is a culture of corruption and cronyism that further compromises safety as local businesses scramble to make profits from international textile contracts. Huge economic power is tied up in the garment industry, which constitutes 80% of Bangladesh's exports (Yardley 2013b), and factory owners finance political campaigns which gives them broad influence. Rana Plaza exemplifies this. Although Rana Plaza was eight storeys high, planning permission had only been granted for five stories with the top three floors constructed illegally to house garment factories (Yardley 2013a). A ninth floor was also under construction. Construction quality was poor, disregarding building codes and using sub-standard materials. It has been alleged that Mr Rana bribed local officials for construction approvals (Yardley 2013a). Furthermore, Bangladesh's Fire Service and Civil Defence had signed off on Rana Plaza's building and safety compliance multiple times, giving it an A rating most recently on 4 April (Motlagh 2014).

The burden to carry the impacts of price-reducing measures falls on the most vulnerable groups and individuals, those who are desperate for work to support their families in poor and developing countries such as Bangladesh. Individuals work long hours in appalling conditions with low job security. Machinist Paki Begum, for example, worked 12–14 hours a day, six days a week, to earn US$110 a month before the Rana Plaza collapse (Motlagh 2014). Such vulnerable individuals have no choice but to put their safety at risk by working in these

conditions. This cost 1,138 people in Rana Plaza their lives and injured more than 2,500 others, many of whom will be unable to work and support their families in future, due to the serious nature of their injuries.

Large fashion brands continue to make profits in the wake of Rana Plaza. In the aftermath of the disaster, it was proposed that Western garment purchasers should accept more corporate responsibility for what happens in the factories they buy from (Kuttner 2013). The Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh was created to this end. Currently, 190 brands, retailers and importers have signed the Accord (Accord 2015); however, 15 major US retailers refuse to sign, citing issues of unacceptable liability (Bearnot 2013). Some corporations have paid compensation to Rana Plaza victims, yet this remains sporadic and inadequate (Motlagh 2014). In neoliberal globalization, multinational corporations create the conditions where low standards are accepted in the name of profits. However, it is difficult to regulate or punish multinational corporations that exist beyond the apparatus of the state and thus represent a law unto themselves. In this context, profits rely on the exploitation of workers in developing countries leading to inequality and deep, yet often hidden, social stratification. Eminent sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1998) analyses the human consequences of globalization, highlighting how globalized consumerism and consumption have entrenched differences between the haves and have nots, creating a stratified global order.

In the global marketplace, the gap between workers and consumers has increased such that the plight of the workers is all but invisible to those who commission and purchase the goods they produce. At the other end of the supply chain, multinational corporations are also hidden behind a cloak of invisibility, afforded by being located half way across the world. As geographical distance and the complexity of the supply chain increase, the visibility of harms and the connection to those responsible for them become harder to distinguish.

Anti-globalization Protests

This dark side of globalization has prompted an **anti-globalization movement**, which brings together heterogeneous groups, including NGOs, social activists, environmental action groups, socialist and anti-capitalist campaigners and anarchist groups. These groups oppose various aspects of globalization such as uncontrolled neoliberalism, global injustice, war and the proliferation and power of international financial institutions and transnational corporations. Anti-globalization groups often identify key organizations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, as responsible for negative aspects of globalization (Fotopoulos 2001).

The anti-globalization movement can be traced back to 1984 when the New Economics Foundation of London organized 'The Other Economic Summit' to coincide with the tenth G7 Summit (a meeting of the finance ministers and central bank governors of seven major advanced economies) (Pianta 2001). The following year mass protests occurred around the G7 Summit in Bonn, West Germany, with 30,000 protesters rallying for 'a world without exploitation, submission and intervention' (Holzapfel & Konig 2002, np). In 1988, those numbers had swelled to 80,000 when the World Bank and the IMF held their annual meetings in Berlin (Gerhards & Rucht 1992). Sporadic protests continued throughout the 1990s. By the mid-1990s a fully-fledged global civil movement had emerged (Pianta 2001). This included protests in Seattle in 1999, where between 40,000 and 100,000 protesters (reports vary) coalesced around the Third Ministerial Conference of the WTO, and protests on the 1 May 2000 (referred to as MayDay2K), where anti-globalization demonstrations were coordinated in 75 cities on six continents to coincide with International Workers' Day (Buttel 2003).

In recent years, attendance, passions and media interest in anti-globalization protests have waned. The turning point may have been 9/11, which dramatically diminished any appetite for anti-Americanism (Dwyer 2013). The movement has never recovered. Since then, the Middle East and the threat of terrorism have become more pressing issues. The American domestic and global economies have also declined. May Day protests now reflect a greater preoccupation with local, domestic issues. The impact of organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF has also declined, while private finance has become more important – but private funding does not provide a convenient single target to protest against (Dwyer 2013).

Globalization Sceptics

In contrast to the anti-globalization movement, **globalization sceptics** debate the extent (or sometimes the very existence) of globalization. They disagree that a major shift is occurring in the nature and shape of social life. The views of globalization sceptics can be placed on a continuum. There are scholars who concede that economic flows are intensifying but debate the extensiveness and newness of these flows and other phenomena, such as global movement and social and political interdependence. On the other end of the continuum are scholars who deny that we are entering a new globalized epoch, as global movement and increasing connectedness have been features of human evolution since the first tribes migrated from Africa. Technological developments, such as the internet and jet planes, are often heralded as the drivers of globalization; however, from a sceptical viewpoint we can see such technology as part of the longer, continuous march of human progress throughout history.

Earlier technological inventions, such as newspapers, telegram, radio and telephone, also facilitated a global sharing of ideas, knowledge and news, while developments such as steamships and railways enhanced modes of production and transportation. Groups, from Vikings to slave traders, whalers to pirates, have long traversed seas and borders, and the ramifications of many significant events, such as World War I and II, have reverberated across the globe. Thus, our current era of connection and globalism can be seen as an extension of forces that have been gaining momentum for centuries.

While globalization sceptics concede that economic flows do traverse borders, they often view states, transnational cooperation and regional blocs as the dominant forces that construct global structures. This view maintains the primacy of the state and state-driven, international, regulatory structures in ordering the globe. This position can be drawn out from the Rana Plaza example, which demonstrates the ongoing role of state regulation and international cooperation in structuring trade, social services, economic distribution and legal and judicial institutions. For example, following the Rana Plaza tragedy, the Bangladesh legal system is prosecuting a Bangladeshi factory owner in the garment industry (Motlagh 2014). The owner of Tazreen Fashions has been charged with the culpable homicide of 112 workers who died in a fire at his factory in November 2012 (Harris 2013). Since then, Sohel Rana and 17 other individuals involved in the construction of Rana Plaza have been charged by the Anti Corruption Commission with building irregularities which led to the collapse (bdnews24.com 2014; Paul 2014). As we can see, if the Rana Plaza collapse is viewed as a crime, it is viewed primarily as a domestic crime rather than a transnational or international crime, and it is the national judicial system and government who must respond.

Thus, globalization sceptics view clashes between dominant blocs as a more accurate depiction of current global ordering, as opposed to stratification based on producers and consumers, or the 'winners and losers' of global neoliberal politics (anti-globalization proponents), or a global community with supranational bodies of governance and justice (radical globalists). Samuel Huntington (1996), for example, divides the globe into civilization blocs based on cultural and religious identities (Western blocs, Eastern Blocs, the Muslim world, etc.) and predicts that these divisions will cause a 'clash of civilizations' that will demonstrate the myth of global culture, solidarity and governance. This thesis highlights that the management of global affairs is the ongoing preserve of Western states rather than a cosmopolitan project based on global community.

Another scholar who denies the newness of globalization is sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein. Although his work theorizes the operation of society beyond the level of the state, Wallerstein has been dismissive of the concept of globalization, preferring instead to look at social changes over a much longer duration, beginning with the emergence of capitalism in 1500 (Robinson 2011). Wallerstein is famous for developing **world-system theory**, which divides the

globe into regions based on capitalist divisions of labour. World-system theory suggests that the world is shaped by three great regions, or hierarchically organized tiers: the core, or the powerful, dominant centres of the system that exploit peripheral countries for labour and raw materials; the periphery, or regions that have been subordinated to the core (via colonialism, for example) and are dependent on the core for capital; and the semi-periphery, or those regions that share characteristics of both the core and periphery countries. While this approach looks at regional clashes, it is necessarily international as countries remain the primary entities that comprise the regional groupings (Robinson 2011). This differentiates world-system theory from radical globalization perspectives that posit the end of the nation-state through processes of global flows and thus views social stratification as based on individuals who are producers and consumers (rather than states as capitalist/labourer states).

2.4 Global Transformations

The perspectives of radical globalists and global sceptics can be reductive in that they view globalization as an all or nothing proposition; either the state is withering away and diminishing in significance through the proliferation of global flows, or the state remains the primary unit in a continually connected world in which the impact of global flows remains minimal. Of course, as with any academic labelling exercise, the division of perspectives on globalization into distinct categories is somewhat artificial, and within the radical/sceptical groupings is a range of different perspectives on globalization. It is difficult, for example, to clearly classify the work of Immanuel Wallerstein, who rejects the term 'globalization', yet examines the complex processes of social stratification that are occurring at a global level; he criticizes a sociology based solely on the nation-state, yet employs the state as a unit of analysis. The labels of radical/sceptical do provide a schematic and conceptual tool that helps us better understand divergent positions on the complex phenomenon of globalization. What we can see is that neither the radical view nor the sceptical view of globalization is adequate. Radical convictions about the declining power of the state fail to sufficiently acknowledge the continuing role of nations in global affairs and the structuring of global order. Sceptical positions that deny or minimize globalization do not sufficiently capture the unique, profound and extensive changes in the social world that have intensified in previous decades.

While we may disagree about the conditions and consequences of globalization, it is impossible for us to step outside the paradigm of global flows as they constitute the world and social life as we know it. Even the most isolated of

groups that live outside the boundaries of modern social life are affected by events that take place on a global stage. For example, native Amazonian Indian tribes, living near the border of Brazil and Peru, recently made contact with Peruvian locals as they were being forced from their land and threatened by environmental destruction caused by illegal loggers and cocaine traffickers (Alexander 2014). These previously unconnected tribes were unable to escape the negative side effects of global economic and criminal flows. Similarly, even those anti-globalization activists who protest against the negative effects of globalization deploy tools of globalization, such as telecommunication networks, to facilitate their protests.

As these cursory examples highlight, globalization entails a set of complex processes that we cannot evade. Radical/sceptical positions on globalization do not reflect this complexity. Accordingly, a third perspective on globalization has emerged, that of global transformationalists. Advanced by sociologist David Held, the global transformationalist perspective theorizes that globalization heralds major changes for the nation-state, but does not necessarily mean that the nation-state and its borders are waning. On the contrary, globalization is less about erosion and more about a reshaping of the nation-state. Held (2004, p. 10) explains:

> Globalization is not simply a monolithic process that brings in its wake wholly positive or negative outcomes. It is formed and constituted by complex processes with multiple impacts that need to be carefully dissected and examined. But one thing is already clear: globalization does not simply lead to the 'end of politics' or the demise of regulatory capacity. Rather, globalization is more accurately linked with the expansion of the terms of political activity and of the range of actors involved in political life. Globalization marks the continuation of politics by new means operating at many levels.

Held et al. (1999) elucidate four key factors that define globalization: the extent of global networks, the intensity of global interconnectedness, the velocity of global flows, and the impact propensity of global interconnectedness. These changes can be located within the conceptual framework of **late modernity**, which defines contemporary society as an extension and universalization of the project of **modernity** and a reconfiguration of modernity's institutions and social, cultural and political traditions (Giddens 1990). The period of modernity is linked to Enlightenment principles of human progress through science, bureaucracy and technology underpinned by rationality, individual freedoms, capitalism, industrialization and a rejection of tradition. Modernity conceives history as having a single, progressive direction, marked by rational progress and grounded in reason and the desire for order and control (Elliot 2007). Giddens (1990) highlights three core aspects of society that define modernity:

- a set of attitudes towards the world as open to transformation by human intervention;
- a complex array of economic institutions, industrial productions and a market economy;
- and a range of political institutions, especially the nation-state and mass democracy (Giddens & Pierson 1998).

Modernity involves three interconnected movements: the uncoupling of time and space, the disembedding of social institutions through the 'lifting out' of social interaction from particular locales through the media, expert systems and symbolic tokens (such as money), and far-reaching **reflexivity** (Giddens 1990). Reflexivity describes the use of knowledge to reflect on practices and improve the human condition. These processes are intensified and extended in late modernity.

From the late modern perspective, the uncoupling of time and space, which Giddens (1981) also refers to as **time–space distanciation**, is a core aspect of globalization. Time–space distanciation is the process whereby remote interaction (as opposed to face-to-face interaction) becomes increasingly significant. As a consequence, systems that were previously discrete have become connected and interdependent and cause and effect are distanced, meaning local events are magnified to have global import and what happens globally simultaneously shapes the local. David Harvey (1990) labels this phenomenon as time–space compression, describing how technologies of communication (telephone, internet, travel – cars, rail, jets) and economics (global financial markets and systems) condense spatial and temporal distances. Similarly, Virilio (2005) talks about the annihilation of space in an age of extreme speed. Virilio's work highlights that speed is an important factor in the compression of time and space, mirroring Held et al.'s (1999) point that the velocity of global flows is a key condition of globalization. Giddens (2002) uses the metaphors of a runaway world and a 'juggernaut' (Giddens 1990, p. 139) to capture the increasing speed and connection of the current era which is propelled forward by 24/7 news cycles, constant networking (social and professional) and global financial markets that appear to have a life of their own.

These processes lead to a world defined by ambivalence (Garland 2001) and complexity (Urry 2003). Global transformationalists explore this complexity, viewing globalization as an ongoing process involving both fragmentation and unification. Globalization entails increasing use of connection and cooperation through the creation of collaborative organizations, treaties and practices. At the same time, it splinters power and authority as multiple actors and voices emerge. Over the past decades we have seen an intense proliferation of actors that operate outside, and often above, the state. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were only 37 **inter-governmental organizations (IGOs)** and 176 international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Today, there are an

estimated 7000 IGOs and over 50,000 INGOs as well as millions of private firms that operate across borders (Elliot 2009). Refer back to Figure 1.2 for an example of the plethora of actors involved in negotiating treaties on transnational crime. The increasing plurality of actors changes the shape and role of the state, which is 'increasingly embedded in webs of regional and global interconnectedness permeated by supranational, intergovernmental and transnational forces and unable to determine its own fate' (Held & McGrew 2007, p. 27). Yet the state still plays an important role and in some ways globalization has bolstered state power, as is evidenced through punitive national responses to migration, which we will explore later in this chapter.

Let's return to the Rana Plaza example to see some of these transformationalist principles in action. It is difficult to trace a direct line of cause and effect that led to the Rana Plaza collapse. Where does responsibility for the tragedy begin and end? Are consumers in the global north complicit in these events? Think of how far we can stretch the chain of cause and effect in this example. An individual in America buys a $2 t-shirt from a chain store such as Walmart – perhaps this individual has been affected by the global financial crisis and cannot afford to pay any more for such an item. Consumer demand for disposable, low-cost fast-fashion creates an environment where global corporations hunt for the cheapest way to produce items. After a competitive process they settle on a factory in the Rana Plaza complex in Bangladesh, overlooking the poor working conditions and safety standards in favour of higher profits. The social structure and poverty in Bangladesh create the environment where desperate workers accept poor conditions and wages out of the need to support their families. Local factory owners exploit this in the pursuit of profits and neglect workers by maintaining unsafe buildings. Local government and other officials turn a blind eye to building and safety violations in order to foster desperately needed private enterprise or because they have been bribed. Local factory owners escape prosecution and continue to build more factories and exploit more workers. Sub-contracting of labour blurs the picture still further and encourages the devolution of responsibility. In this example it is impossible to untangle the local from the global, in terms of how and why the tragedy occurred or to place boundaries around the event in time and space. We clearly see that the stretching of social relations, development of technologies (production, transport and communication), collapsing of time and space and the reflexivity of actors who improve institutions to achieve their desired outcomes (profits in a capitalist system) result in this tragedy.

Processes of both integration and fragmentation are also evident and a wide range of actors was implicated in creating the conditions in which the Rana Plaza tragedy occurred. Additionally, many actors were involved in responses to the building collapse including the Government of Bangladesh, international corporations (Primark, Benetton among others), intergovernmental

Aerial view of the Rana Plaza building following the disaster

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organizations (the WTO, International Labour Organization) and non-government organizations representing a variety of perspectives (Human Rights Watch, Clean Clothes campaign). The large number of actors involved in Rana Plaza does not indicate a diminishment of the state; the Bangladeshi state still held authority for criminal justice prosecutions and the enforcement of workplace and building standards, but the government of Bangladesh also interacted with, and was influenced by, a number of external actors who held considerable power. In essence, the transformationalist perspective captures aspects of the previous positions discussed as it illustrates the fragmented nature of global order. Both the state and a range of actors operate in a vast, multilayered structure of **global civil society**.

The concept of **glocalization** provides another way to conceptualize global–local interactions and relationships in a more nuanced manner. The term 'glocalization' stems from Japanese business methods of the 1980s which sought to adapt a global outlook to local conditions through tailoring and advertising global goods and services to local and particular markets. Sociologist Roland Robertson (2012) adopted the principle of glocalization to counteract some of the totalizing myths and grand narratives of globalization as a homogenizing force in contemporary society. As Robertson (2012) highlights, globalization is often seen as a large-scale phenomenon that obliterates the local and in which universalism overrides particularism. The local is superseded by the global and 'the very idea of locality is sometimes cast as a form of resistance

to the hegemonically global' (Robertson 2012, p. 195). This leads to a standardization of locality, as culture and identity are defined from above. Counteracting this dominant globalization discourse, Robertson (2012) suggests that glocalization involves the simultaneity of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies, meaning globalization produces cultural pluralism as well as homogeneity. Thus, instead of viewing globalizing trends as in tension with local assertions of identity and culture, glocalization highlights the dialectical processes whereby both the local and the global are transformed in the contemporary era. This parallels global transformationalist perspectives; as Giddens states, '*local transformation* is as much a part of globalization as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space' (Giddens 1990, p. 64).

2.5 Mobilities

The previous section demonstrates that globalization creates a 'world in motion' (Aas 2007a), as technologies intensify and extend global connections and the flow of ideas, culture, material objects and people across borders. Modernity was a time of solid, heavy, static systems, institutions and process. In contrast, late modernity is a time of constant change as systems and institutions emerge, evolve and dissolve, and as identity and power are fragmented and pluralized. The movement associated with globalization materializes in several ways. We can theorize social life (relationships, institutions, processes, structures) as being fluid, changeable and mobile. Another term for the period of late modernity is **liquid modernity**, a concept developed by Bauman (2000) to capture the fluidity, movement and fast pace of contemporary society. As Bauman (2000) points out, liquids do not keep their shape for very long, they are constantly prone to alterations and continuous change. Accordingly, the liquid modernity metaphor highlights that movement, or mobility, and change is a core part of globalization and the current era. Bauman has written a series of books using this metaphor including, *Liquid Modernity*, *Liquid Life*, *Liquid Fear* and *Liquid Love*. These books explore how change and movement characterize all aspects of social life, from relationships, work and leisure to political institutions, as the bonds and structures that formerly held social life, institutions and identities together are broken apart and liquefied.

Examples of this liquidity surround us and impact upon our daily lives. Work and careers were once relatively structured and linear: it was common for people to hold a job in the same company, and certainly in the same field, for their entire working lives, and work hours and years were often well-defined (9–5 Monday to Friday with set holidays each year). Commitment, loyalty and gradual progression were valued in the workplace. Now, short-term and casual contracts are the norm, and there is pressure to do more, progress quickly and

be available 24/7 (Sennett 1998, 2006). It is common for people to completely change careers and employers, often multiple times throughout their working lives. Flexibility, resilience, dynamism and mobility (the ability to travel or work unencumbered) are valued in the marketplace of work. These changes demonstrate a shift from thinking long-term to short-term (Sennett 2006).

Similarly, personal relationships have significantly changed shape (Bauman 2003). Romantic relationships are more transient, divorce has become commonplace, and family units take many different forms. Once ingrained gender roles have also been transformed, and our understandings of sexuality have shifted. As people no longer live and work in the same place for the course of their lives, closely knit communities have been dismantled. In essence, the traditions, structures and stable roles and bonds that once underscored society have loosened (or come undone) and are now more malleable and transient, meaning we have more freedom to construct our own identities. This freedom can result in profound insecurity and anxiety (Salecl 2004, 2010) as it impacts on our sense of stability in the world. Of course, it can also be extremely positive as we are not constrained by rigid, inequitable and often oppressive norms and roles.

This environment affects the way that crime is constructed, committed, controlled and punished. A sense of uncertainty and instability causes the 'projection of feelings of insecurity onto particular groups (criminals, asylum seekers, terrorists)' (Daems & Robert 2007, p. 94), and often, the poor. Bauman (in Daems & Robert 2007, p. 94) explains that 'the poor now serve as the (partially effective) "safety valve" for social anxiety which otherwise would be bound to accumulate to self-combustion point in the world of flexible labour, crumbling human bonds, and the spectre of social redundancy'. Paralleling this position, criminologists such as Aas (2007a), Garland (2001) and Simon (2007) have examined the rise of **punitiveness** and the use of crime as a governing tool in environments of uncertainty and insecurity. We discuss this in more depth in Chapter 4.

Associated with this liquefaction of society is an increase in the physical movement of people, information, ideas and things (Urry 2007). This has led to a new 'mobility' paradigm in social sciences (Sheller & Urry 2006) which focuses on movement and flows, and the routes connecting places and people (Clifford 1997). From this perspective, mobility becomes the linchpin for understanding the operation of global structures and relationships. Within this environment of heighted mobility, movement is a prized quality. Individuals are expected to be mobile and so many of us freely traverse borders as we holiday in exotic locations and attend conferences and business meetings in foreign cities and countries. The nomad is the archetypal figure of this mobile world. Someone with a short-term work contract, a fragmented family structure and few durable commitments (mirroring the qualities of liquid modernity) can be highly mobile (Bauman 2000).

However, not everyone is free to roam the globe as they please and mobility has become a major stratifying force in the global social hierarchy (Aas 2007a).

Bauman (1998) distinguishes between tourists and vagabonds to highlight the gaps that constitute the global mobility regime. Tourists (often from the global north) travel freely for business and pleasure; whereas vagabonds (often from the global south) are constricted in their movement, and if they do move it is because they are forced to flee poverty, war, or discrimination. Just think of the many thousands of asylum seekers who are unsuccessful in their attempts to seek refuge as they are stopped short by the precarious nature of their journeys or the punitive border control policies of **destination countries**. As this indicates, individuals and groups have vastly different access to opportunities for movement, and bodies are differentiated by their mobility, as we explore in Chapter 5.

Spotlight – Death at the Border

For many, the border is the site of death and harm. The coffins shown in the photograph are a monument for those who have died attempting to cross the US–Mexican border. Each coffin represents a year and the number of dead. It is a protest against the effects of Operation Guardian.

Memorial coffins on the US–Mexico barrier for those killed crossing the border fence (taken at the Tijuana–San Diego border)

© Photo by Tomas Castelazo via Wikimedia Commons

As Elliot and Urry (2010) highlight, there is no increase in fluidity without extensive systems of immobility. The idea that borders are diminishing is, therefore, misleading. For the global nomad or tourist borders are eroding, yet for the vagabond borders are proliferating and solidifying. The destination countries of the global north are becoming fortresses, secured by both physical and virtual borders. The border is physically manifested in guarded walls (such as the US–Mexico border) or maritime patrols (such as those surrounding Europe and Australia), yet it is also diffuse and virtual as individuals may be controlled by passport checks and biosocial profiling, even beyond territorial frontiers (Salter 2004; Weber & Bowling 2004). There is ambivalence between the immovable and solid apparatus of control and the desire for fluidity and mobility in the contemporary era, as states attempt to 'harden the border for some, while making it more elastic and porous for others' (Wonders 2007, p. 34). The border is therefore a symbol of global social exclusion as 'others' (Schmitt 1996) are rendered immobile, while tourists and nomads are encouraged to become global citizens. From this perspective, global social stratification is based on mobility/immobility. As with other forms of social exclusion, the control of undesirable individuals and groups (asylum seekers, terrorists) stems from a sense of insecurity caused by the uncertainty and unpredictability of contemporary social life in a globalized, mobile, liquid world. Figure 2.1 schematizes the different ways we can conceptualize the border.
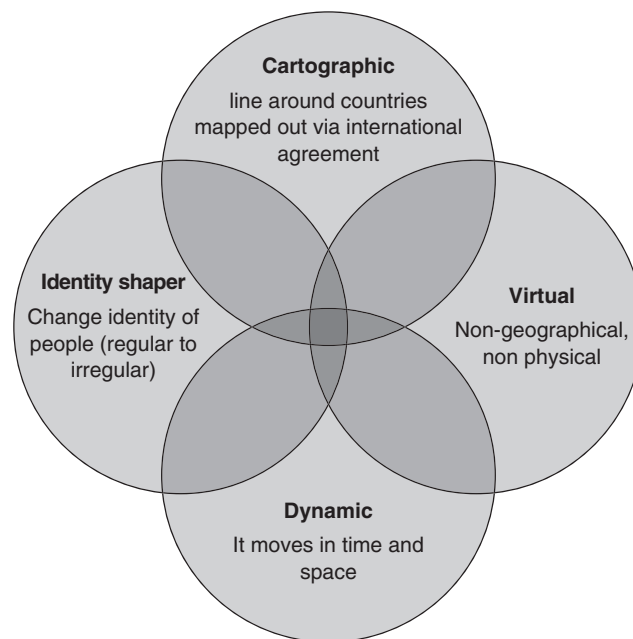

Figure 2.1   The Conceptual Border

Adapted from Weber (2006) and Tazreiter (2013)

In cartographic representations of the world, we rely on state borders and a traditional understanding of territorial divisions to visually represent the globe. Maps are usually based on a Euro-centric vision of space; this is a visual representation that reflects the domination of European countries and their colonial conquests of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Figure 2.2). But is this still a realistic way of visualising the world? Could we alter maps based on the changing power differentials that constitute the current era? The second map is a US-centred map which reflects the strength of the US as a superpower that carries much weight in international affairs. Perhaps we could reconceptualize the world in a radical new way. The third map depicts an 'upside down' version of the traditional world map. This gives us a vastly different picture of the world that challenges our traditional understanding of states and regions and the relationships between them. Note how many less powerful regions and countries are placed on top of the world in this map (Africa, South America etc.). From space, this type of picture of the world could be possible and accurate. Our understanding of the world through traditional, Euro-centric maps is a human-made social construct that has been determined by history, politics and power. These maps highlight that our understanding of the globe and the operation of international relations is not fixed, but is significantly linked to geopolitics and power.
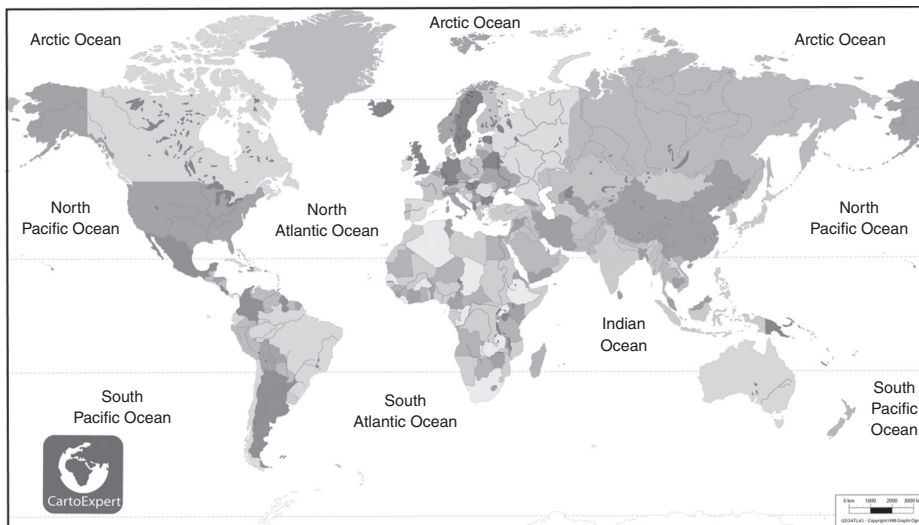

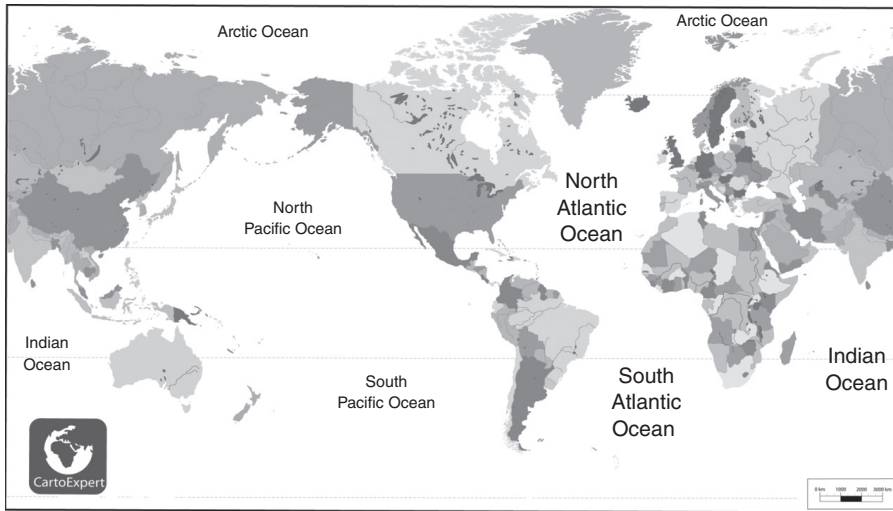**Figure 2.2**   Traditional Eurocentric Map
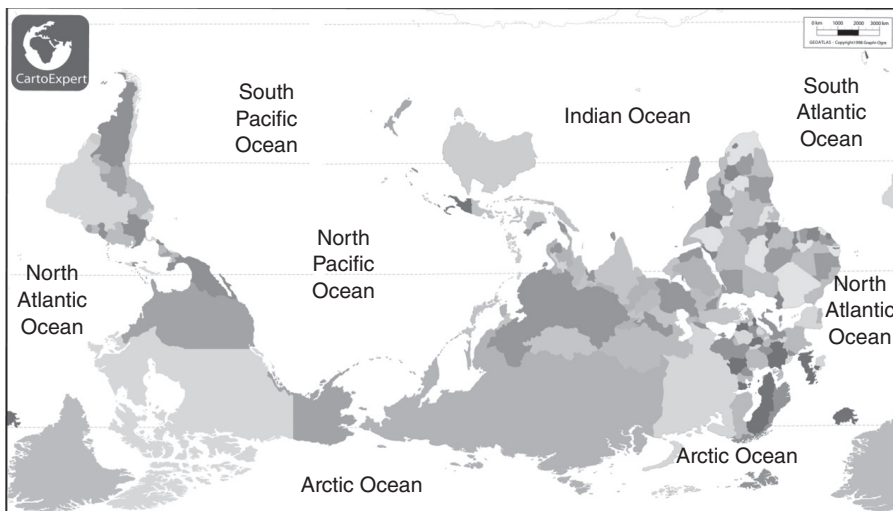
Figure 2.3 US-Centred Map

Figure 2.4 An 'upside down' world map

Adapted from Weber (2006) and Tazreiter (2013)

2.6 Conclusion

Globalization is a complex series of occurrences that shape and change social relations and structures in a myriad of ways. It manifests differently in different

locales and regions. Globalization can be divisive, not just unifying, producing inequalities and stratification as well as a cosmopolitan sense of a shared fate. Globalization can have both positive and negative effects, as anti-globalization protesters highlight. Throughout this book we adopt a global transformationalist perspective, viewing globalization as a multifaceted phenomenon that materializes in many different ways. The role of states is changing as many different forms of power and regulation emerge at regional, international and global levels. Regions, states and locales do not, and often cannot, exist in isolation but rather influence and are influenced by outside events. This means that events that occur in one corner of the globe now have the potential to affect the entire world. However, the reality remains that it is difficult for us to think outside the framework of the nation-state. States continue to hold considerable influence, power and autonomy and they are important units in the global order. Globalization and mobility theories capture the increasing movement of the contemporary era, which results in change, uncertainty and insecurity. In the following chapter we explore the ramifications of this insecurity through the framework of risk and regulation.

Questions: Revise and Reflect

1. Which approach(es) to globalization do you agree with and why? What trends and phenomena do you think shape twenty-first century society and life?

2. Consider the role of the ethical shopper. What responsibility do we, as the ultimate consumer of a product, have in contributing to harm to workers worldwide?

3. How could the harm caused by the Rana Plaza collapse be considered criminal? What do radical and critical criminological theories say about this?

4. What role do borders play in a global world? Are borders different for different people and groups?

5. Visit the Human Costs of Border Control project website: www.borderdeaths. org/?page_id=5. This website provides a database that measures instances of deaths at the border. As the website states 'the Deaths at the Borders Database is an "evidence-base" derived from official sources generated by the death management systems of Spain, Gibraltar, Italy, Malta and Greece. It aims to fill some of the gaps, and serve as a new, complementary resource to enable further analysis and research, and ultimately to move the discussions about border deaths forward towards concrete recommendations and policy changes.'

   What do you think about the information on this site? Are there any data that surprise you? What does this information tell us about the nature of the border and inequality on a global level?

Further Reading

Bauman, Z 1998, *Globalization: The human consequences*, Columbia University Press, New York.

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Elliot, A 2009, *Contemporary social theory: An introduction*, Routledge, Abingdon.

Giddens, A 2002, *Runaway world: How globalisation is reshaping our lives*, Profile Books, London.

Held, D & McGrew, A 2007, *Globalization/anti-globalization: Beyond the great divide*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Urry, J 2007, *Mobilities*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Websites to Visit

The Border Crossing Observatory: Borders, Crime, Justice: artsonline.monash.edu.au/thebordercrossingobservatory/

The Human Costs of Border Control: www.borderdeaths.org/

Global Policy Forum: www.globalpolicy.org/index.php

International Labour Organization (ILO): www.ilo.org/global/lang—en/index.htm

Open Democracy: www.opendemocracy.net/editorial-tags/globalisation

Social Theory Rewired: theory.routledgesoc.com/book-themes