

Critiques of Globalization

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Criticisms and Concerns About Globalization

- In many ways, the concerns and criticisms of globalization are the same as those of imperialism and, more generally, of the growth of Multi-National Corporations (MNCs)
- These common criticisms are:
 - The erasure of native cultures & homogeneity
 - Inherent hypocrisy/impossibility of the "civilizing project"
 - Inequities inherent in the system
 - The increasing power of the powerful, and the increasing weakness of the weak

What is new about antiglobalization?

- Globalization is not an entirely new phenomenon --
- Instead, what sets globalization apart from imperialism and the post-WWII economic boom is the SPEED with which global economies and globalizing cultures are expanding.
- This speed makes it even more difficult for the "local" to adjust or to survive.
- This speed changes the ways that protests have developed, as well.

What have some critics of globalization said?

- "Globalization is a declaration of war upon all other cultures. And in cultural wars, there is no exemption for civilians; there are no innocent bystanders." -- Jeremy Seabrook, UK *Guardian* Correspondent

What have some critics of globalization said?

- "While globalisation has led to benefits for some, it has not led to benefits for all. The benefits appear to have gone to those who already have the most, while many of the poorest have failed to benefit fully and some have even been made poorer." -- Duncan Green & Claire Melamed, *A Human Development Approach to Globalisation*

What have some critics of globalization said?

- "U.S.-style globalism not only attempts to suppress labor, but also seeks to suppress social welfare systems and support for public expenditures that do not directly benefit the expansion of capital. The social welfare system and other public services, such as schools, social services in the North and food subsidies in the South, are supported through taxes, and taxes reduce short-term benefits to capital." -- John A. Powell and S.P. Udayakumar, University of Minnesota Law School, in *Poverty & Race*

What have some critics of globalization said?

- “The increasing globalization of U.S. corporations gives them the leverage to hold down wages and resist unionization. Average real wages (corrected for inflation) have been falling since the early 1970s. By 1992, average weekly earnings in the private, non-agricultural part of the U.S. economy were 19 percent below their peak in the early 1970s. Nearly one-fourth of the U.S. workforce now earns less in real terms than the 1968 minimum wage!” -- Kevin Danaher, *Globalization and the Downsizing of the American Dream*

Some critics of globalization say the problem is simply the wrong KIND of globalization:

- “There is a very serious case not against ‘globalization,’ but against the particular version of it imposed by the world's financial elites. The brand currently ascendant needlessly widens gaps of wealth and poverty, erodes democracy, seeds instability, and fails even its own test of maximizing sustainable economic growth.” -- Robert Kuttner, co-founder and co-editor of *The American Prospect*

Perhaps antiglobalization is inevitable

- “When free market democracy is pursued in the presence of a market-dominant minority, the almost invariable result is backlash. This backlash typically takes one of three forms. The first is a backlash against markets, targeting the market-dominant minority's wealth. The second is a backlash against democracy by forces favorable to the market-dominant minority. The third is violence, sometimes genocidal, directed against the market-dominant minority itself.” -- Amy Chau, Professor, Yale University Law School, in *World on Fire*

Why are antiglobalization critics frustrated?

- “Globalization, the growing integration of economies and societies around the world, has sparked one of the most highly charged debates of the past decade. Critics of globalization have argued that the process has exploited people in developing countries, caused massive disruptions and produced few benefits. Supporters point to the significant reductions in poverty achieved by countries that have embraced integration with the world economy such as China, Vietnam, India and Uganda. I prefer to use the term integration, because it is more precise than globalization. Economic integration occurs when countries lower barriers such as import tariffs and open themselves up to investment and trade with the rest of the world.” -- David Dollar, the World Bank's director of Development Policy

David Dollar's Checklist – China?

- There have been “significant reductions in poverty in China [due to economic integration which] occurs when countries lower barriers such as import tariffs and open themselves up to investment and trade with the rest of the world.”
- China: no import tariffs and completely open import market?
- China: unlimited foreign investment?

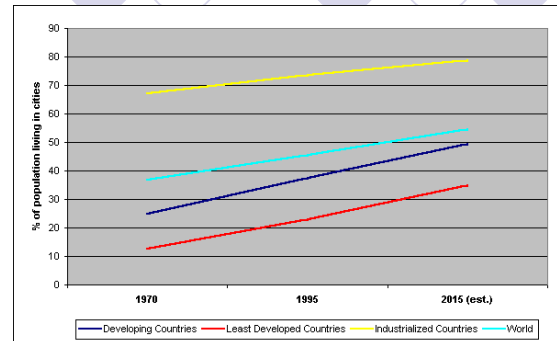
Why has China succeeded?

- Strong state control of the economy protected China from the East Asia crisis that Professor Xia Qian addressed.
- The Chinese state also has limited the exposure of free Chinese laborers to external controls over their working lives.
- Centralized economy ensures that basic needs (education, welfare) are upheld.

Concerns about the real effects of Globalization

- Rapid trends of urbanization – which have especially affected developing and least-developed countries – create an urban population more vulnerable to hunger, isolation, exploitation, and disease.
- Urban people are landless people – how can democracy thrive without the independence provided by agrarian roots?

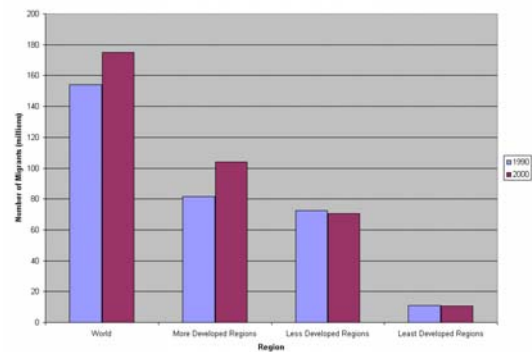
Effects of Globalization: Growing Urbanization, 1970 to 2015



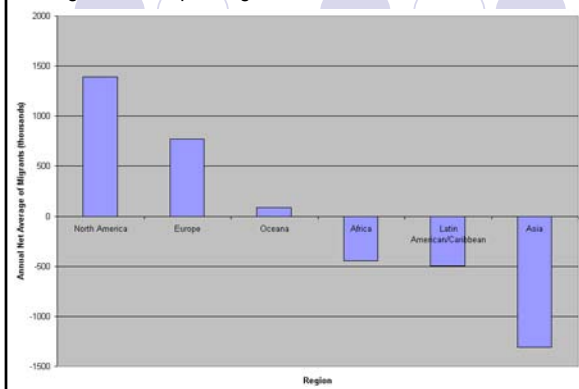
Concerns

- In addition to landlessness, there is also a growth in migrant populations, especially drawn from the developing world.
- Migrants are vulnerable for the same reasons as urban dwellers, but they have even fewer economic and social reserves.
- Migrants are also vulnerable as foreigners to nativist attacks, racism, or government oppression.

Number of Migrants Residing in Major Regions, 1990 and 2000

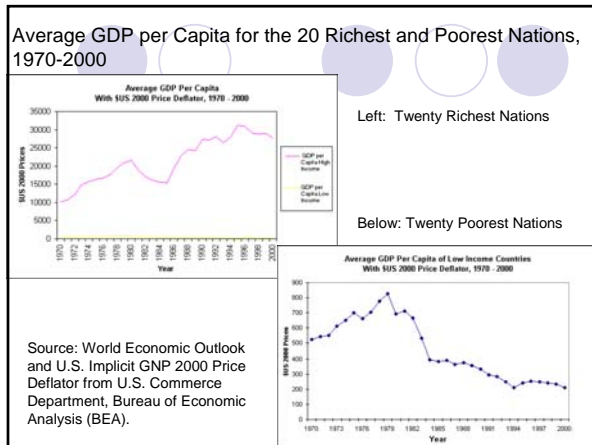
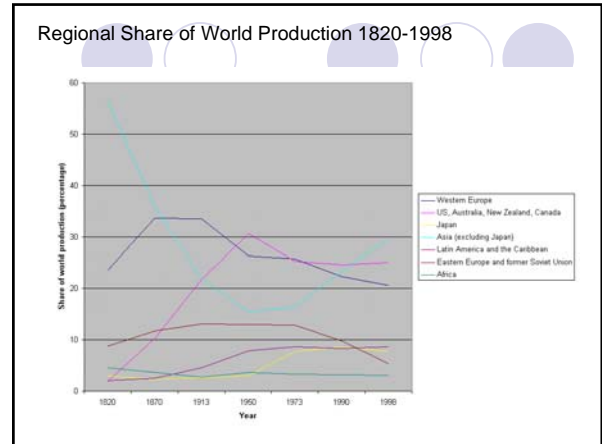
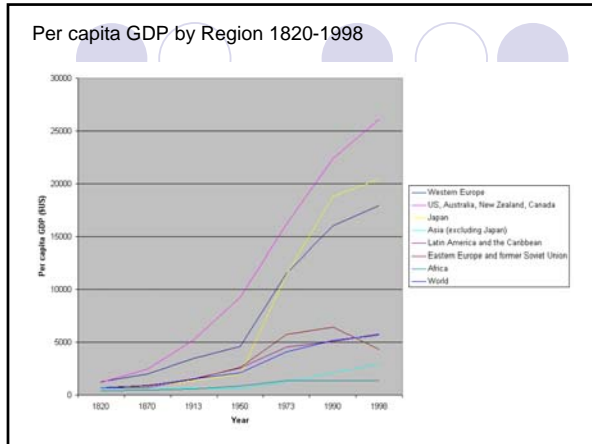


Net Migration Flow per Region 1995-2000



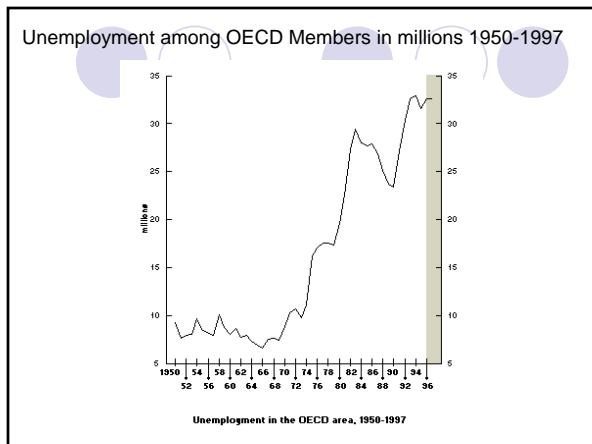
Concerns

- There seems to be a growing inequality in economic development related to the spread of globalization.
- Some economies (and populations) are benefiting, while others are being left behind or even losing ground.



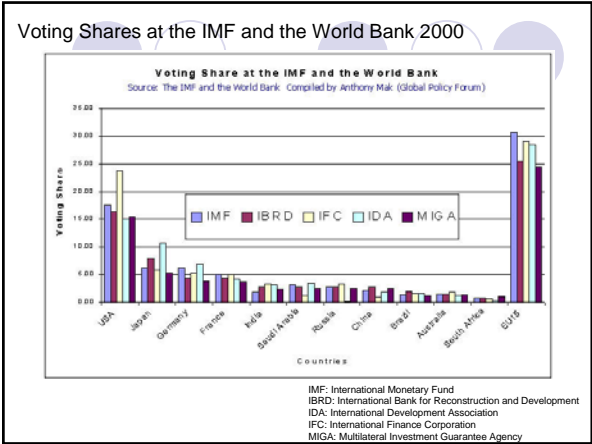
Concerns

- However, the fact that some economies are benefiting more than others does not necessarily mean that workers from those benefiting economies are necessarily seeing an improvement in their own quality of life, income, or economic standing.
- While corporate profits have grown in the richest countries, income has fallen and unemployment has risen.

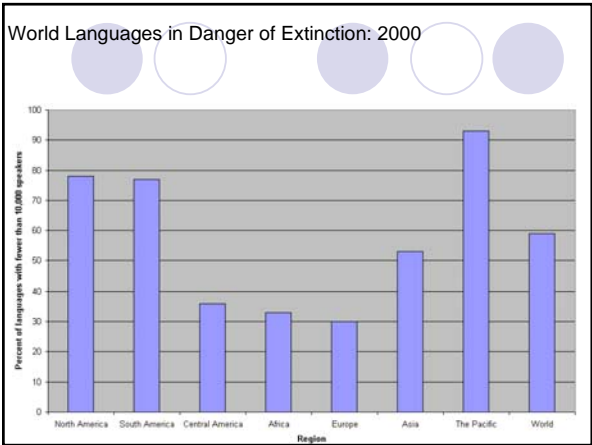


Concerns

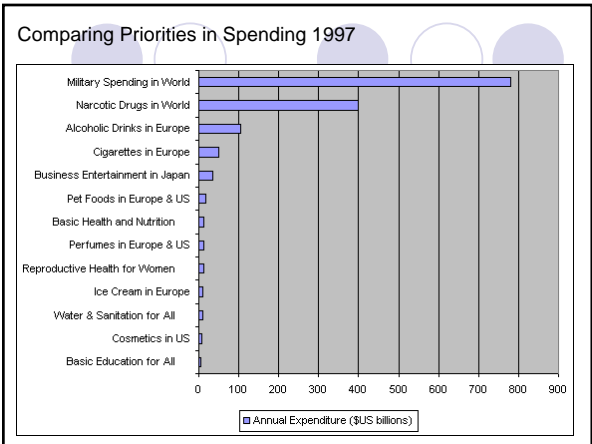
- Meanwhile, the sources for aid to “even the playing field” for the developing world have been decreasing in real terms.
- International aid sources have decreased while those agencies which dispense aid have come increasingly under the control of the richest economies.



- ### Concerns
- At the same time, native cultures are being erased at a rapid rate.
 - Homogenization of culture – including the use of English as the *lingua franca* – has resulted in an economic disincentive for native peoples to continue to use their own language, or to pass it along to the next generation.
 - A third of people on the planet will be learning English in the next decade (good for Annie!)



- ### Concerns
- Refusal to create institutions (or to empower the UN) which could soften these effects is seen by antiglobalization critics as proof of the arrogance and insensitivity of those who advocate for globalization without limits.
 - Critics argue that a shift in priorities could easily accommodate everyone without any increases in taxes or expense.



What sort of protests are effective?

- “The most effective attacks against globalization are usually not those related to economics. Instead, they are social, ethical, and, above all, cultural. These arguments surfaced amid the tumult of Seattle in 1999 and have resonated more recently in Davos, Bangkok, and Prague.” Mario Vargas Llosa, novelist and author of *The Party of the Goat*, in the February 2000 issue of *Foreign Policy*.

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Douglas Mansur



Brazil's Landless Workers Movement (MST) Marches on Brasilia, April 2005

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Mujeres Contra la OMC Protest WTO at Cancun 2002

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Salvadoran women marching against Globalization

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Protestor at Special Summit of the Americas in Monterrey, Mexico, 2004

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



American Indian Movement (AIM) Protests the WTO at Cancun, 2002

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



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Indian Farmers in France Protest Globalization

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



2001 Protest in Bulgaria

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Japanese union workers shout anti-war and anti-globalization slogans

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Protest Against the WEF, Seoul, 2004

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Korea

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Photo: AFP

A Thai farmer protesting in front of the US Embassy in Bangkok versus WTO before 5th Ministerial in Cancun 2003

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Manila Protest 2003

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



photo courtesy Asheville Global Report

Anti-World Bank Protest in India

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 31, 2002

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Protestors in Argentina target McDonald's and Disney

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



Indonesian protestor outside a Jakarta McDonald's

Anti-Globalization Protestors – Who Are They?



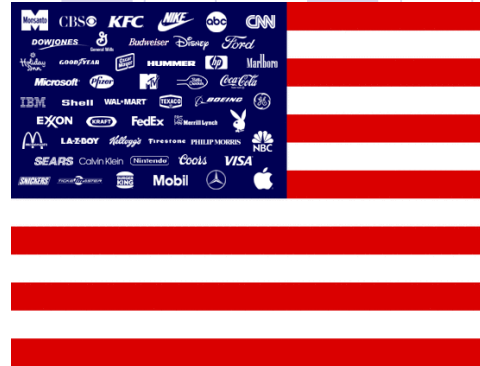
Quito, Ecuador, Anti-McDonald's Protest

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



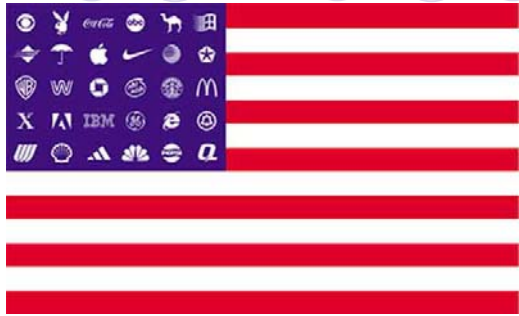
Standard Issue U.S. Flag

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



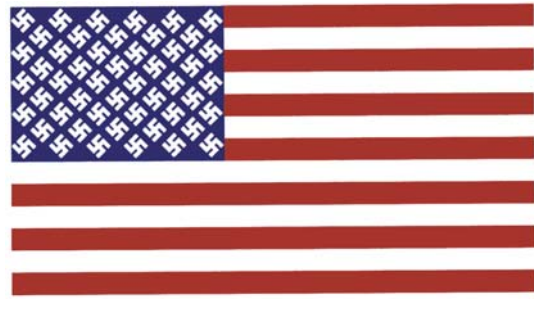
The US "Corporate Flag"

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



A simpler US "Corporate Flag"

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



US Flag with Swastikas in Place of Stars

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



US "Corporate Flag" with Swastika

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



US "Corporate Flag" at a Protest in Washington, DC

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



Wearing a US "Corporate Flag"

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag



US "Corporate Flag" at Multigenerational Protest

Anti-Globalization Protest Symbolism – The U.S. Flag

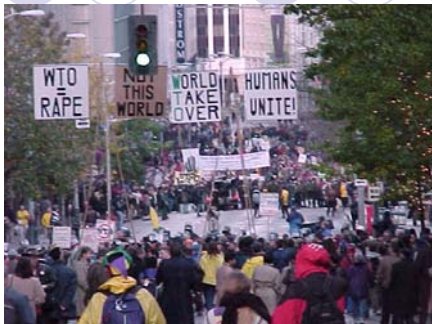


The US "Corporate Flag" in Times Square, New York City, 2002

Antiglobalization in Western Europe, the United States, and Canada

- This is often seen as a "youth movement" in that sense of the extension of "youth" that Professor Soysal discussed.
- It is a mixture of social justice, pacifist, and environmentalist concerns.
- Why has this movement traditionally received much more media attention than the non-European and non-U.S. antiglobalization movement?

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Anti-WTO Protests, Seattle, 1999

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Anti-WTO Protests, Seattle, 1999

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Ottawa Protest Against the G8

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Quebec Marchers

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



FTAA Protest, Quebec

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Police Assigned to Protect Starbucks, Quebec

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Austin, Texas, 2000

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Global Forum, Naples, March 17, 2001

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Carlo Giuliani (1978- 2001), Genoa

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Genoa 2001

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



"The slaying by Italian police of a demonstrator outside the Group of Eight summit in Genoa was not the first killing of a protester against corporate globalization. Dozens of activists have been killed in India, Nigeria, Bolivia and other countries...."

"The difference is that the killing of one protester and the wounding of more than 80 others in Genoa ... took place in front of the cameras of western news organizations and independent reporters who transmitted the story to the world." -- John Nichols

Genoa

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Paris Anti-FTAA Protest, 2001

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Florence, Italy, November 9, 2002

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



NYC Protests Against the World Economic Forum (March 10, 2002)

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Anti-globalization protest at Washington Monument against IMF and World Bank, 2002

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Anti-globalization protest at Washington Monument against IMF and World Bank, 2002 – Socialists's Table

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Anti-globalization protest at Washington Monument against IMF and World Bank, 2002

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Carlos Vittalon / Reuters

Miami 2003

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



Chronicle / Mike Sepka

Anti-WTO, San Francisco, 2003

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



NYC, April 24, 2004

Antiglobalism in Europe, The U.S., and Canada



NYC, April 24, 2004

What hope for the future, then?

- "Somewhere in the world today walks the next Marx. But he is not a communist, and he almost certainly is not an expatriate German slaving over his theories in the stacks of the British Library. Nonetheless, he or she will attempt to seize upon the trends behind today's headlines to shape a competitor to 'American capitalism' that the disenfranchised in nations around the world can embrace." -- David J. Rothkopf, Chief Executive Officer of Intellibridge, in *The Washington Post* (10 January 2002)