

Globalization is Dead, Long Live Globalization! Impasse in Globalization Theory and Beyond^{*}

S. Aminul Islam¹

Abstract: *The paper provides a critical summary of the existing discourse of globalization and finds it totally lacking any logical coherence or empirical support which has prompted scholars to suggest that globalization is dead and so also the discourse that produced it. The objective of this paper is to show that globalization is not dead and it is the failure of the globalization discourse that has made it impossible for us to understand the contradictory dynamics of the process. In this paper, I argue for the development of a new metaparadigm of globalization through combining different theoretical perspectives and within the broader process of social change. I present an elementary outline of it. This outline provides revised definition of globalization and delineation of its nature in the post-global era as consisting of four different worlds—**global village, McWorld, world on fire and lonely planet**. I argue that globalization is a contradictory process of punctuated evolution consisting of waves and counter waves of globalization showing two fundamentally different processes --proto-globalization and modern globalization. The distinctive feature of modern globalization is its ceaseless continuity. I also provide an outline of its historical forms of globalization over time viewing it as a process of globalization and de-globalization. I argue that the well-spring of modern globalization is violence on a vast scale and incarcerating plantation regimes, in particular, that contributed to a great deal to the expansion of international trade in the 18th century and acted as a motor for the Industrial Revolution. The current US protectionism is the policy response of a receding core of the world system. China's Belt and Road Initiative and new developments in communication technology, such as, robotization is likely to herald a new process of globalization that I call segmented globalization as it will be dispersed over different geographical regions in a multi-polar world without hegemonic core.*

Keywords: globalization, proto globalization, post globalization, segmented globalization, metaparadigm, global melange, multi polar world, global violence, imperialism

^{*} The title is borrowed from Andre Gunder Frank (1974) and FJ Schuurman (1993). An earlier version of this paper was presented at the University of Kobe under the title 'Globalization, Long live Globalization!' in 2009 when I was a visiting Professor at the University of Nagoya. I am deeply indebted to Professor Kazuhisa NISHIHARA of the University of Nagoya for arranging the lecture and the concerned dean and authorities of the University of Kobe for hosting the lecture and their appreciation of my presentation. A shorter version was presented in the department of sociology, Independent University Bangladesh on 27 June, 2019. I express my gratitude to Dr. Milan Pagon, the Acting Vice-Chancellor of the university and Ms. Sharmeen Ahmed, Acting Chairman of the department for giving me this opportunity. I am deeply grateful to my long-term friend and colleague Professor Nazrul Islam for reviewing the paper and for his feedback. I am happy to acknowledge the help of Md. Rasel Patuary, my research assistant for preparing the graphics of this paper.

¹ Honorary Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka. Email: aminulislam2002@gmail.com

"We reject the ideology of globalism." - **President Donald Trump's** address to UN General Assembly

"First and foremost, we need to recognize that economic globalization, which is a natural requirement and outcome of social productivity growth and scientific and technological progress, has broadened the markets for producers, offered more choices to consumers, and brought about more efficient allocation of resources and factors of production."

- **Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's** address to the World Economic Forum in China, 2019.

Part 1

Introduction

On June 28, 2019, *The Economist* carried a feature story "Globalisation is dead and we need to invent a new world order" with reference to the interview with O'Sullivan, author of *The Levelling*, a new book on globalization. In the author's his view, rising debts and inequality had killed globalization and now it was necessary to build a new world order in the post-global era. Yet what may be equally necessary is to critically analyse what went wrong with the globalization discourse that led to the emergence of such vast literature within the shortest time, possibly unlike any other term in social sciences. Yet if we look back, it will be apparent that the sound of death –knell began much earlier –at the end of 1990s. From the beginning of this century, the discourse of globalization has been characterized by the signifier of the end as can be glimpsed from how the major practitioners of the field viewed it.

Table 1: Death of globalization discourse

Dani Rodrik (1997)	'Has Globalization Gone Too Far?
Rosenberg (2000)	'follies of globalization'
Rugman(2000)	'the end of globalization.'
John Grey (2002)	'the era of globalization is over.'
Saul (2005)	'the collapse of globalization.'
Stiglitz (2005)	'the overselling of globalization.'
Justin Rosenberg(2005)	'Globalization Theory: A Post Mortem.'
Ferguson (2005)	'disintegration and demise of globalization.'
Rosengren (2005)	'intellectual bankruptcy of globalization as a description, explanation and ideology of world order.'

In the eloquent words of Held and McGrew (2007:2): "Today borders and boundaries, nationalism and protectionism, locality and ethnicity appear to define an epoch of radical de-globalization: the disintegration and demise of globalization." In fact, "...globalization rhetoric appears rather hollow" (Held and McGrew, 2007:2). Yet, we have very little scholarly work on what went wrong. The objective of this paper is two-fold. First it reviews the current state of discourse on globalization by critically reviewing the major theories and propose a new integrated metaparadigm for the study of globalization stressing that it should be viewed as part of broader theory of social change and civilizational analysis involving rise and fall of hegemonic cores that increases connectivity among people and cultural homogenization or multiple hybridites which are disrupted as the core region suffers from decline. The whole history of globalization, which is as old as mankind, manifests the contradictory processes of globalization and de-globalization as empires and civilizations rise and fall.

The state of globalization discourse and its limitations

From the very beginning four issues have plagued the study of globalization:

- First, there is no consensus about what the term means.
- Secondly, there is no consensus about when it began.
- Thirdly, there is no consensus about its causes.
- Fourthly, there has been no systematic analysis of its impact, in general, and ravages that it has caused in the global south.

In fact, globalization has remained a mere metaphor, buzz word. In spite of a vast literature on the issue, theories are thin. There are only four theoretical perspectives for the study of globalization and all of them are extremely inadequate. The 1990s marked the age of hyperglobalization which by the end of the decade had fizzled out. It gave way to despair and most studies focused on the endgame addressing either its historic form or dynamics of its death.

Origin and growth of the discourse of globalization

Malcom Waters (1995) traces the origin of the word globalization back to 1961. In the social sciences, the term was first used by Ronald Robertson in early 1980s. A new and comprehensive study of the career of the concept by James and Steger(2014) show that the term can be traced back to 1921 in the writing of a Scottish educationist Boyd who borrowed it from Belgian educational psychologist Decroly and used it in the context of a holistic view of education that encompassed "Wholeness, ... integration, globalization...." (cited in James and Steger, 2014:425). The term was again used by a sociologist Meadows who wrote in

1951 that ‘westernization that replaced medieval world view manifested a new cultural pattern a process of globalization’(cited in James and Steger, 2014:429).

The excellent survey of James and Steger, however, misses that the idea of globalization was expressed under the concept of societal convergence that many exponents of 19th century sociology and of modernization theories of 1950s and 1960s expressed. Even today nothing can match Marx’s description of globalization that he put so eloquently in 1848. As Weinberg (1969) and Baum (1974) put it, a host sociologists from Tocqueville, Tonnies, Maine, Spencer, Weber, and Durkheim delineated the common features of a modern society. This view was carried forward in 1950s and 1960s by modernizations theorists like Inkeles and Ross i(1956), Lerner (1958), Levy (1966), Sorokin (1964), Kerr et al. (1962), Aron (1967), Adams (1965) and many others who espoused the concept of convergence as was the idea of ‘global village’ that came from McLuhan(1960). Daniel Lerner (1958) in 1950s approvingly quoted Marx from *Capital* that the advanced countries hold the image for backward countries to emulate. Modernization theory predicted that technology was a universal solvent that was destined to flatten the earth. Sociologist Levy asserted “[W]e are confronted—whether for good or bad –with a universal solvent. The pattern of the relatively modernized societies , once developed have shown the tendency to penetrate any social context whose participants have come in contact with them....”(Levy,1966 :190). “The world,” declared,” Kerr and his associates, is entering a new age—the age of total industrialization. Some countries are far along the road, many just beginning the journey. But everywhere, at a faster or slower pace, the people of the world are on the march towards industrialism (Kerr et al., 1960:29).

Globalization theory, in fact, is nothing but a more captivating reincarnation of modernization theory. When modernization theory lost its legitimacy and appeal in the face of mounting criticism, it was replaced by an even less conceptually clear metaphor of globalization and the architect of it was an important modernization theorist Ronald Robertson. Although sociologist Lamy in 1976 published an article entitled ‘The Globalization of American Sociology: Excellence or Imperialism?’ (James and Steger, 2014), it did not make a stir. It took nearly a decade for the term to get currency. It was in the 1980s that Robertson reinvented it. As Robertson notes, the crucial period was between 1980 and 1984 when he found that the study of modernization and religion that he was pursuing has to be viewed in the global context as Weber had done long before. It led to the coining of the term globalization (Robertson, 1992). “Consciously, I first heard it from my own mouth...I said to myself; ‘Modernization is not just about a particular society—it’s the modernization of the world’: So if it is clumsy to call it ‘modernization of the whole world’, so what should I call it? So I called it ‘globalization,’ and that’s how it all began” (Robertson cited in James and Steger, 2014:429).

The decade of 1990s found the most favourable landscape for the proliferation of the term which beginning with a flame soon turned into forest fire. James and Steger (2014) show the rapid spread of the term can be found from the fact that Factiva database listed 355,838 publications under the term ‘globalization’. The

ASAP database referred to 5,976 journal articles with the title globalization dating from 1986, while Proquest Newspaper Database listed 25,856 articles beginning from 1971 (James and Steger, 2014). The *Sociological Abstracts* alone had listed before 2007 more than 7,000 texts that used globalization as a key term (Connell, 2007).

Definitions of Globalization: A review

One of the key efforts of the globalization theorists has been how to define it and since the beginning of the discourse, it has turned into an area of controversy and polemic. The main reason for this has been the deep ideological divide that has characterized the study of globalization. Various authors from different disciplines have attempted to define it and as a consequence, definitions have proliferated. In 2006, one study (Al-Rodhan, 2006) found 114 definitions of the term globalization. As many as 67 of these definitions refer exclusively to the economic dimension of marketing or sale. Yet scholars have failed to reach a consensus about what the 'beast' is.

One type of definitions has viewed it as a new kind of social order. Thus according to Beck, it is a new form of society.

A new kind of capitalism, a new kind of economy, a new kind of global order, a new kind of society and a new kind of personal life are coming into being, all of which differ from earlier phases of social development. Thus, sociologically and politically, we need a paradigm-shift, a new frame of reference (Beck, 2002:2).

Globalization is defined in terms of the key features of this new type of society. Beck holds that the world today is approaching a global stage beyond society without borders, without territories and characterized by ceaseless flow of social and spatial mobility and homogenous culture. Scholte (1996: 1968) finds "[G]lobal space is placeless, distanceless and borderless—and in this sense 'supranational.'" In the words of Waters (1995:5); "[T]erritoriality will disappear as an organizing principle of social and cultural life; it will be a society without borders and spatial boundaries...." Robertson (1992) views it as a process of compression of the world into an interdependent totality and consciousness of living in such a society. Albrow (1990) defines it as those processes that integrate peoples of the world into a single society. According to Giddens (1990; Giddens and Sutton, 2013), Globalization refers to the intensification of social relations across the world and growing interdependence of individuals and groups. Held (1999) views it as transformation of spatial organizations leading to "transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power" (Held et al, 1999: 16). Sociologist Manuel Castells (1996:92) defines it as "...an economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale."

A sample of key theorists of the field shows that like every buzz word there is hardly any clear meaning of the term globalization. Rosenberg (2005) has argued that the term has not been able to provide an adequate framework for empirical analysis and thus has become redundant. Scholte (2006) has shown that most of these definitions are faulty and redundant. "The notion of globalisation does not adequately capture

this transformation” which is undergoing now (Sassen in Sutherland, 2006). The authoritative Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (Scott and Marshall, 2009) does not provide a formal definition concluding that the concept has become largely useless.

When did it begin?

There is equally no agreement about when globalization started and dating of its onset differs so much from scholar to scholar that it varies from now and eternity! Lechner and Boli (2008) point out that one view holds that it began in the 16th century. A second view regards late 19th century as the starting point. A third view (their own) fixes it in the late 20th century. Thus Mazlish (1993) dates the beginning from 1519-1521 when geographical exploration of the world began. Mcneil shares the same view. ‘The year 1500 marks an important turning point in world history . . . The European discoveries made the oceans of the earth into highways for their commerce . . .’ (McNeill, 1999:295). Jameson (2009) affirms that globalization may not be new and he refers to Eric Wolf’s study to indicate that “neolithic trade routes have been global in scope” (Jameson 2009:54). But he moves to the study of multinational capitalism which embodies globalization as the ‘intrinsic feature’ (Jameson 2009:54). To Frank(1998) global capitalism has existed for 5000 years and several archaeologists and anthropologists have located it within early Neo-lithic societies (Chase –Dunn, 1998).

Robertson (1992: 179) dates the take-off of globalization during 1875 –1925 when time-zoning, international dateline, world-wide telegraphic network and adoption of Gregorian calendar by most nations occurred. Ross and Trachte (1990:230) concluded that: “[W]e are only at the beginning of the global era.” Gilpin (1987). Kennedy (1993), and McMichael 1996) argue that it began after the Second World War. Manuel Castells (1996) dates it from 1970s. One recent study holds: “We contend that in a certain sense almost the whole World History can be regarded as a history of advancement toward the increasing size of social systems, their integration, and globalization in general” (Grinin and Korotayev, 2015:39). In short, the dating of the onset of globalization differs by millennia! It highlights the total lack of consensus among theorists about the periodization of the process. So, one of fundamental issues in globalization studies remain unsolved. Is the age of globalization, to paraphrase O’Rourke and Williamson (2002: 24) 20, 200, or 2000 or several millennia (Grinin and Korotayev, 2014).

Why did globalization happen?

Scholars of globalization also disagree about the causes of globalization. Technological determinism has been found by many scholars as the crucial determinant of globalization. A second view has given emphasis to trade liberalization and flow of FDI across the world. A third view holds that government policies and neo-liberalism, in particular, are responsible for globalization (Garret, 2000).

Held and McGrew (2007) hold the following factors as the 'deep drivers' of globalization:

- IT revolution
- Development of global markets
- New division of labour by MNCs
- Spread of democracy all over the world
- Spread of consumer values

But they also point out that if capitalism is held to be the cause of globalization, "then it has no independent causal power" (Held and McGrew, 2007:2). Economic historians have given emphasis to lowering of the cost of transportation and opening of markets as key determinants of globalization (O'Rourke and Williamson, 2002).

The listing of the drivers creates problems. The global market began with capitalism or even before and there is a vast time gap between IT revolution and the beginning of international trade. The gaps are enormous and the basis of dating is often fuzzy. As Guillén point out (2001:255), "[W]e still know very little about what exactly causes it and what are its consequences on such key sociological variables as organizational patterns, authority structures, social inequality, and social movements, to name but a few. ...it is contended that many accounts of globalization confuse cause and effect."

Theories of globalization

A crucial area of controversy is again the theoretical perspectives of globalization. Let us take, for example, Frank J. Lechner and John Boli's review (2008) deal with four theories: world-system theory, neorealism/neoliberal institutionalism, world polity theory and world cultural theory. Sklair (1999;2008) identified four approaches to the study of globalization

1. The world-systems approach;
2. The global culture approach;
3. The global society approach;
4. The global capitalism approach

World culture theory

The World culture theory, according to Lechner and Boli (2008), is a theory that attempts to capture the configuration and processes through which individuals and groups become conscious of world as a single

global village in which they are all inter-dependent. Ronald Robertson is a key figure who has contributed mostly to development of this perspective. According to him, globalization constructs world culture and it consists of four components: nation state –based societies, system of societies, individuals and human kind. It undergoes four inter-related processes: societalization, internationalization, individuation, and generalization of consciousness about humankind (Robertson 1991: 215-6; 1992: 27). These processes produce global unity through the mechanism of relativization, emulation, glocalization, Interpenetration and contestation. Relativization arranges local cultures in a relative order that sets common patterns of behavior relative to others. The existence of a common cultural arena allows emulation to take place allowing people to borrow from other cultures. Glocalization triggers continuous interaction between local and global cultures linking them in a dynamic process. Interpenetration produces interaction between universalism and particularism-- "a form of institutionalization of the two-fold process involving the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism" (1992: 102). Contestation refers to co-existence and clash of different ideologies. The theory holds that globalization possesses has built-in dynamism and manifest both conflict and cooperation, yet its causality remains multiple and indeterminate. Historically, the global culture has developed through five stages. He calls the first phase germinal phase that began in Europe in the early 15th century and continued until the middle of 18th century. The Incipient phase that followed it lasted from the middle of 18th century to 1870s. The take-off phase of globalization covered a period of half a century from the 1870s to the middle of 1920s. The Phase four constituted the struggle-for-hegemony during the four decades between 1920s and late 1960s. The final phase is called uncertainty phase that lasted until early 1990s.

World –System theory

The world-system theory, it is necessary to point out, came originally as a theory of uneven development of the capitalist system that embraced the world. It is not clear in the review how it is related to globalization. Wallerstein, the father of the world-system theory himself showed downright scorn for the concept. "The current buzz-word to describe the contemporary situation is "globalization. . . . Personally, I think it is meaningless as an analytic concept" (cited in Robinson, 2001:12). It is, however, to be noted that Chase-Dunn and his associates (1998) have developed a world system theory of globalization which is both rich and stimulating and which I have not covered as standard reviews of theories of globalization do not include his version of globalization theory.

World polity theory

The world polity or world society theory spearheaded by John W. Meyer which has developed an impressive body of literature over the last three decades is grounded in neo-institutional theoretical perspective of sociology. It gives emphasis to the rational capability of actors and institutions which have assumed global patterns and configurations in modern times which calls for a distinct perspective for understanding their structure and activities. Meyer finds that the modern world is filled with associations, supranational

associations, world-wide social movements which penetrate every nook and corner of the modern world for the delivery of the collective goods. Meyer provides an eloquent description of the institutional configuration of this world order.

Of course, in the wider world society to which we attend, the “scriptwriter” is a historical-cultural drama. For example, a 900-year history builds the great institutional complex we call the university, with the deepest cultural legitimations (notions about nature, rationality, the truth, and so on) and the most diverse specific instantiations (e.g., detailed analyses of a specific flower, or the culture of teenagers). And the constructed actors are the individuals and groups taking identities as actors within this drama (e.g., the intellectual protagonists, as in Collins 1998). And the participants turn out, despite their exotic roles, to be ordinary people with clay feet. So we recognize, in the great gaps between the postures of the renowned intellectual “actors,” and the realities of their daily life and practice, that a great deal of institutional construction has gone on (Meyer, 2008:10).

Meyer argues that since the World War II, the international order has undergone dramatic integration. Three factors or drivers have pushed the integration of the global system. The remarkable economic growth of the Post-War era has led to increasing economic interdependence of the nations on earth. The second driving factor is the gradual awareness that large-scale disasters of our time demand concerted global action which is beyond the capacity of nation states. It has led to the growth of thousands of international organizations operating on a global scale for collective good. These organizations, however, face problems in their operation as there is no adequate global authority to sanction or promote their vision of a shared global culture. This compelling force has driven the global imaginary. In the words of Meyer, 2008:14):

Thus, a broadly coherent set of constraints produced the evolution of the modern world culture, eliminating or subordinating many themes (e.g., the class conflicts emphasized by the Communists; or the excessively nationalist ideologies of the authoritarians; or the conflictful religious ideas arising out of previous world orders) that threatened possibilities for a new order.

He argues that this new world order must be guided by rationality and by individual rational actors socialized in schools and organizations with universal standards. These individuals should be endowed with new social identity with global rights. Thus globalization has led to a stable world order. To quote Meyer (2008 :17) once again:

Stabilization and equilibrium would stop these dramatic changes, and would probably also partly undercut the institutional theories that best analyze them. By the logic of these theories, under stable conditions institutionalization works by locating cultural and social material in the proper motives and choices of constructed social actors. So after a period of time, the modern institutional system constructs a drama of realist actorhood.

Thus Meyer reincarnates in his the world polity or world society theory the 19th century Comtian vision of the positive society for our time. It is an interpretation of the contemporary world and a normative vision with deep anchorage in liberal ideology. It is ironic for Meyer who has spent a lifetime in producing and propagating a theory that has little relevance for our time haunted by clash of cultures, trade wars and world-wide discontent against the global regime of collective good!. It is no wonder that Wimmera and Feinstein (2016:614) found little empirical evidence for even a weak version of this theory. Bly (2005) has argued that the concept world society creates more problems than it solves for nothing lies outside its pale. It is a non-exclusive category.

The global capitalism theory

This perspective has been developed by neo-Marxists like Petras and Veltmeyer (2001), Leslie Sklair (2008) and Robinson (2007). Petras and Veltmeyer (2001) view discourses of globalization as globaloney. They see globalization as both imperialist and class project on international scale represented by a vast network of transnational corporations. Globalization is nothing but imperialism writ large as a consequence of crisis in contemporary capitalism. The internationalization of capital and technology have been driven by the crisis of US imperialism that dominates the world today.

What is described as globalization is thus essentially a perpetuation of the past based on a deepening and extension of exploitative class relations into new areas previously outside of capitalist production....Moreover, the shifts in the axes of capitalist expansion from domestic production and exchange (enlarging the home market) to the world market has always been contingent on the political and socio-economic composition of the state, which orients economic policy.”(Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:29).

They find that the current discourse of globalization three fundamental flaws. Firstly, the expansion of the international economy is contingent upon specific political-economic and cultural situation. Secondly, globalization project reflects the interests of a transnational class and is driven by them. Thirdly, it represents a failure of intellectual responsibility to unmask this imperialist project that only benefits a small transnational class at the expense of millions of workers and peasants across the world.

According to Sklair (2008:68), contemporary capitalism is a transnational project represented by transnational corporations and its essential ‘building blocks’ are transnational practices. The driving force of the system is the transnational class and the ‘transnational culture-ideology’ of consumerism holds the system together.

Another key exponent of this theoretical perspective is Robinson (Robinson, 2004; 2017). Robinson argues that globalization is a process of waves of expansion and crises in capitalism that force the capitalist class to reconfigure the system from time to time by bringing new institutions and new agents. “A ‘brave new world’ of globalized capitalism burst forth in the latter decades of the twentieth century....It was culmination of imperialism—a “...new epoch of global capitalism”(Robinson, 2017:125). Capitalism, according to Robinson, has developed over four stages. Beginning with the early era of capitalism that rested on colonialism, it has moved through industrial capitalism, national corporate capitalism of late 19th century, and culminated in the global capitalism of late 20th century. He argues that capitalism faced a major crisis in 1970s as a result of oil crisis, and Vietnam War and it solved this crisis through a restructuring of the system that gave it a global shape. The key process behind it he calls transnationalization which was driven by new inventions in communications and information technology, transportation, marketing, management, and automation. The new technologies made it possible for capitalism to expand its organizational form across the planet and the policies of neo-liberalism removed all obstacles to its victorious path towards global reach. It has led to the growth of a transnational capitalist class as agents of global capitalism that serves its interests. With the aid of transnational capitalist class and transnational state apparatus, global

capitalism has been able to exercise unprecedented economic control and political domination all over the world. It has led to increasing polarization of people marginalizing millions within a structure of “new global social apartheid” within and among nations (Robinson, 2017:126). The triumph of new technology that generated great momentum for the global capitalism is now producing its peril by creating unemployment and misery on a vast scale. It is producing protracted dissent and protests against the global capitalism which are likely to coalesce and deepen in future transforming it into a new form.

Drawing on Neo-Marxism and post-colonialism, Pieterse (2009; 2018) has developed an interesting theory of globalization. Pieterse (2009) is highly critical of the Eurocentric view of most globalization theories that consider it as an extension of western modernity across the world. Existing theories of globalization, he holds, takes “...Anglo-American capitalism as the gold standard” (Pieterse, 2018: XV). Most of the theories of globalization from Marx to Wallerstein are grand narratives. The changing and contingent nature of globalization demands a middle range theory which he has followed through his extensive range of writings and which defies easy encapsulating. Summarizing the diversity of the globalization discourse, he observes, “...the attempt to capture all the world’s variations under a single heading is a familiar refrain of hegemony in action, featuring U.S. capitalism as the end of history” (Pieterse, 2009:20). It is tempting to add to his observation that the discourse is exactly the same as Hegel’s conception world history in his time (Hegel, 1975). Pieterse views it as a deep historical and dialectical process involving multi-dimensionality and unequal power hierarchy and the idea of human integration posited by globalization will remain “...manipulative or meaningless, hypocritical or rhetorical.,” without policy and intervention for global equality (Pieterse, 2009:26). In his view, globalization can be traced to the spread of humans across the world and related to the uneven articulation of modes of production over time producing a variety hybrid forms.

In his opinion, the specific form that globalization has assumed since 1960s is different from imperialism. Contemporary globalization is less cohesive and more heterogeneous. “Dependency theory may be read as a theory of structural hybridization in which dependent capitalism is a *mélange* category in which the logics of capitalism and imperialism have merged” (Pieterse, 2009:72). The structural pluralism of globalization produces variety of cultural forms. Cultural hybridity or glocalization as a single category is meaningless. “Each of these terms—creolization, *mestizaje*, orientalization—opens a different window on the global *mélange*” (Pieterse, 2009:77). The terms like hybridity or glocalization are meaningless and only hide deep “actual unevenness, asymmetry, and inequality in global relations” (Pieterse, 2009:72). He examines hybridity as historically embedded layers stretching from prehistory to contemporary post-imperialist time that involves three broad phases—hybridity across modes of production, hybridity before and after industrialization and hybrid regulation like Fordism or the third way. There are also hybrid states, regions and communities. Pieterse looks at the merging global culture as a process of multi-faceted hybridity that involves a continuous interplay of the local and the global with flows of ideas and images moving in different directions. It is much more complex than what Robertson calls glocalization and involves

both westernization and easternization. Thus contemporary culture provides a scenario of global *mélange* which cannot be interpreted by earlier theories or in terms of any structural determinism.

This brief and partial review of the major theoretical perspectives shows that the neo-Marxist or radical theoretical perspective goes wholly against the theory of world polity/society theory as developed by Meyer and his associates. Thus globalization theory provides a new intellectual theatre for the ideological battles that have continued in the West in the modern era. Globalization theories thus both reflect and represent the ideological fault lines that characterize modern history.

Globalization studies have proved to be a fertile ground for many other minor theoretical perspectives and a review of all these theories is impossible within the space of a single paper. But it is worth mentioning that major sociological theoreticians like Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck or urban sociologist Sassen or anthropologists like Appadurai have also produced powerful theories of globalization.

Giddens (1990) considers that globalization is an essential consequence of modernity-‘modernity at large’ and a multi-faceted process. It leads to time-space compression and intensification of interpersonal relationships. For Giddens (1990: 64):

Globalization can ... be defined as the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much a part of globalization as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space.

He argues that the term that best describes the fast moving contemporary society which is experiencing sweeping institutional transformation is globalization. He attributes development in the ICT technology and international division of labour as the key driving forces behind the unleashing of globalization in our time.

Giddens views globalization as consisting of four interrelated dimensions: nation states, world military order, world capitalist economy and international division of labour. Globalization occurs from above as a result development in technology and global market forces and also from below as individuals and organizations become organized on a global level. Globalization produced a new form of individualism with new skills centred on professionalism. Giddens compares globalization with juggernaut without centralized control mechanism that produces both benefits for individuals, inequality among them and unforeseen risks for human society.

Beck (2002), in particular, focuses on the nature of global risks which the first phase of modernity have produced and which now demand new intellectual tools and vision in sociology beyond the limits of nation-states and small collectivities to effectively deal with it. It demands transnational collective action and cosmopolitan worldview for solving crises and dangers that are destined to affect the planet as a whole like the climate change or nuclear winter. Thus Beck articulates a normative and futuristic theory that should form the eye of the storm in the intellectual debates of today in our endangered planet.

Sassen (2007) focuses on the network of global cities that are the command centres which determine the flow of capital, commodities and firms across the world and control local economies. The pivotal cities of today constitute the nerve centres of global economy. They are playing a key strategic role in today's world and are likely to be more influential in the increasingly urbanized world of 21st century.

Sociologist George Ritzer (1993) has produced one of the most provoking metaphors of globalization through his theory of McDonalidation. He has captivantly captured the global consumption style—"the modern "cathedrals of consumption" (Ritzer, 1993:5) from the examples of the global diffusion of McDonald fast food and shopping malls of advanced capitalist countries. Ritzer argues that the global consumption pattern is driven by deep rationalization of production and distribution of consumption goods. MaDonald's world-wide appeal lies in its uniform quality, cheap price and ease of distribution that it ensures by simplifying production and distribution (based on stock of semi-processed food that can be prepared and served quickly and low labour input achieved through introduction of self-service system). McDonald provides the perfect recipe for organizing a busy, competitive and Darwinian life in the global era. Thus globalization should be viewed essentially as McDonalidization writ large. McDonalidization is a recipe for global organizations to survive and flourish. It serves as the metaphor for the universal butchering of workers leaving as little as possible the scope for human mediation between production and consumption.

One of the most popular theories of globalization was spelled out by Appadurai (1990) who viewed the process of globalization as consisting of an interlinked five domains. He called these domains scapes. Globalization thus has occurred through sacrospace that means religious revivalism over the global landscape, ethnoscares consisting of supra national organizations, econoscape that refers to global flow of commodities and labour and a common style of consumption across the globe; mediascape that ensures the global flow of images and information and finally, leiscurescape that signified universal tourism and all these leading to the rise of global life -world.

Evaluation of theories

Sklair's (Sklair, 1999:159) critical and excellent summary describes the blind spots of each theoretical perspective and is worth quoting.

Each of the four approaches to globalization has its own distinctive strengths and weaknesses. The world-system model tends to be economicist (minimizing the importance of political and cultural factors), but as globalization is often interpreted in terms of economic actors and economic institutions, this does seem to be a realistic approach. The globalization of culture model, on the other hand, tends to be culturalist (minimizing economic factors), but as much of the criticism of globalization comes from those who focus on the negative effects of homogenizing mass media and marketing on local and indigenous cultures, the culturalist approach has many adherents. The world society model tends to be both optimistic and all-inclusive, an excellent combination for the production of world-views, but less satisfactory for social science research programmes. Finally, the global capitalism model, by prioritising the global capitalist system and paying less attention to other global forces, runs the risk of appearing one-sided. However, the question remains: how important is that 'one side' (global capitalism)?

It is, however, necessary to point out that the world-system theory is not a theory of globalization as it describes the uneven development of capitalism in the West. Wallerstein himself is critical of the concept of globalization. The two other theories –global cultural and global society approach are strongly normative for they assume the existence of a global culture or global society. If global capitalism appears to be inevitable, it is likely to contain great diversities leading to diverse forms of globalization. A key limitation of the world polity theory is the complete reliance on the process of rationalization and collective good that globalization produces. The world polity theory has drawn critical fire from one recent critic Olaf Corry (2013). The author argues that the prevailing theory of world polity has failed to address many crucial issues of contemporary politics which demand new theorizing.

In fact, a key limitation of the theories of globalization is the fact that each of them has strong normative stand point. The so-called hyperglobalizer theories assert the virtues of globalization and its immanent permanence. The sceptical theories deny that it is anything new or beneficial and thus of little importance. The transformational theories see it as an inevitable process for reshaping the world. The in-built ideological aspect of each theory makes it vulnerable to strong denouncement from other ideological standpoints. Thus, all theories of globalization manifest simplistic, unidimensional and fragmented views geared to supporting ideological standpoints.

These theories hardly mention that globalization had serious negative consequences on the south. The globalization discourse has been characterized by two absences. Beyond the abstract local, the south does not exist. Giddens' seminal book *The Run Away World* (Giddens, 2002) has only one reference about the vast geographical territory called south. Beck (2002) evokes the image of Brazil only to suggest that the West should be careful not to descend to that black hole. The cognitive framework has been dominated by the metropolitan vision in most studies of globalization in the south. Major theorists of globalization nd baum 1974 pdf

like Bauman, Beck, Robinson, Kellner or Sassen never took into account the social thought from the south Connell, 2007). Nor does Robertson, despite his career in development studies. Sassen, in particular, draws critical fire from Dawson and Edwards (2004) because of her focus on cities in developed countries although 95 percent of population growth in the 21st century would occur in the south and most of the growth of mega cities is taking place here. Giddens did not agree with the view that that globalization increased income inequality(Carnegie Endowment for international Peace,2000) even though it has been completely refuted now (Inequality Lab, 2018. And it was characterized by another great absence – globalization theory never included any black face or women or its impact on the south (Connell, 2007). The best evidence that existing theories of globalization are fundamentally flawed is evident from the fact that nearly all of them failed to anticipate the widespread resistance to globalization and its demise.

Nearly all theories are normative as each of them reflects an ideological standpoint. The world culture theory deals with cultural domain while the world-system theory focuses on economic factors. Neo-Marxist theories

fail to take into account the issues of rationalization and agency. The world polity theory becomes only concerned with collective good disregarding its negative consequences or dysfunctional aspects. Globalization theories also focus almost exclusively on the north taking little account of its dynamics and impact on the south. So what we need is paradigm-birding as Ritzer (1975) calls it. For more robust analysis of globalization we need merging of theoretical horizons that can seal the fragmentation and loopholes of current theorizing. I present below the outline of such a schema.

The review of the existing theories of globalization shows that each theory explains a specific aspect of globalization and fails to illuminate other aspects. A crucial problem of globalization theories is the lack of specification about its origin and end. Modernization theory deployed the concept of tradition as its point of departure and modernity as its end point. But globalization theories lack any such landmarks. Thus the huge controversy and confusion in globalization discourse can be reduced if we can locate it within the framework of social change.

Thus globalization discourse embodies all the shortcomings of modernization theory and now faces the same fate. In short, “globalization is both bad empirics and bad theory” (Held and McGrew, 2007:3). The obituary notice of the *Economist* ignores the fact that globalization has been dead for a long time. More recent studies of globalization are largely devoted to the autopsy of a vast body of intellectual endeavour geared towards the construction of a cosmic view of the social structure of the contemporary world shaped and reshaped by the fast pace of social change through which we are passing in the 21st century. Perhaps no other field of social sciences has attracted so many ideas within such a short time. Yet globalization—a child of the late twentieth century has gone with the wind. Globalization has been replaced by another master metaphor—deglobalization (Karunaratne, 2012) signifying the collapse of the intellectual castle that globalization theorists had tried to construct and following Thomas Kuhn (1970), it is best to acknowledge that the dominant paradigm has passed away and it is time to construct a new paradigm (for a full discussion of Kuhn’s theory and its application in social sciences(see, Islam 1985).

Part 2

Towards a new metaparadigm of globalization

Towards a definition globalization

After reviewing the existing definitions of globalization, I propose the following definition of globalization. **Globalization is a sub-process of social change involving greater connectivity, cultural homogenization, cosmopolitanism and cultural mélange which are triggered by technological breakthrough or development of new cultural forms or new policies or through any combination of these that result in compression of time and space and greater connectivity among different geographical regions and peoples enabling certain regions to exercise economic domination, political and cultural hegemony and permitting increased flow of ideas, innovations, practices,**

commodities and services, enhanced mobility of people and heightened cultural exchanges and interaction among people dispersed over the planet or parts of it. Far from being a deterministic or linear process, globalization manifests a punctuated process of social change involving waves of expansion and counter waves of contraction.

The chief merits of this definition are:

- It clearly identifies the broad causes that lead to globalization including the role of agency
- It is not deterministic or linear.
- It views globalization within the broader framework of social change.
- It analyzes globalization as a contradictory and punctuated process consisting of waves and counter waves that enjoy both expansion and contraction.

Towards a new analytical Framework

The best approach to understanding of globalization lies in discarding both ideological and sectarian theories of globalization through integration of different theoretical perspectives or what Ritzier (1975) described as 'paradigm-bridging.' It is necessary to view globalization as part of the broader process of social change over time. This process is both evolutionary and cyclical. The evolutionary process involves punctuated evolution in which it occurs in rapids bursts of change followed by long periods of stasis and stagnation (Gould and Eldrege, 1977). The search for a single master cause of any dramatic event leads us to sterile dead-end. Although a single cause may be important, but it is always a specific interacting causal complex which is responsible for the rise of a new form of globalization. Every form of globalization also manifests cycles of expansion and decay. The history of globalization shows powerfully the interplay of these two forces at work. It occurs in the form of waves and counter waves of globalization and de-globalization which have characterized our known history. It calls for mapping out these waves and counter waves and what leads to one particular wave or its counter wave and it demands trans- disciplinary efforts to construct an integrated theory or what I would call metaparadigm.

Key arguments of the paper

1. First, I argue that globalization should be viewed as an aspect of a broader process of social change.
2. Secondly, I would argue that globalization theorists should agree with the minority view that globalization began very early in human history. The dispersal of Homo Sapiens out of Africa to all parts of the globe serves, indeed, as the best example for what we call globalization.
3. Thirdly, I would argue, following Hopkins (2002) for making a distinction between proto-globalization and globalization. Then I carry it further by indicating the different phases of

globalization in modern times suggesting that globalization does not constitute a single process. It is best to view it as multiple globalizations. The process of globalization in future will take the shape of multiple globalizations which I call segmented globalization. This schema will bring order into the lack of consensus about the onset of globalization.

4. Fourthly, I argue that globalization is a contradictory non-linear and punctuated evolutionary process consisting of waves of globalization and counter waves de-globalization.
5. Fifthly, I would argue that the world-system theory is particularly relevant for the analysis of globalization. Globalization or even proto-globalization always starts in the core and spreads over semi-periphery and periphery. Chase-Dunn and his associates have made major contribution in the study of globalization which should be integrated within the new meta-paradigm of globalization.
6. Sixthly, every new phase of globalization is triggered by major breakthrough in technology, military technology, emergence of new cultural forms, new business models or new strategic policy reforms. Although a single causal factor may have overwhelming role, most often it is a complex set of factors that trigger globalization. The causal complex is specific to each phase and thus it is useless to talk about generic causes of globalization as a whole. The absence of such rigorous causal analysis has bedeviled the existing discourse of globalization. In analyzing the causes, it is necessary to take into account both structure and agency perspectives.
7. Seventhly, I argue that modern globalization is the child of a contradictory process –concentration and incarceration of slaves and indentured workers in the plantations and mines of the colonies. Sugar, cotton, opium, tea, tobacco and other plantation products alongside gold and silver produced in the mines of the new world fuelled the rise and expansion of international trade (Wolf, 1982) which was a major contributing factor for the Industrial Revolution.
8. My eighth argument is that each theoretical perspective of globalization is partial and carries an ideological iceberg. An adequate sociological understanding of globalization calls for a blending of theoretical horizons. It will cancel out the different normative views on globalization and provide us with a broader perspective. Borrowing from a term from nursing studies and medicine, I would call the outcome of such endeavour metaparadigm (Nikfarid, Hekmat, Vedad and Rajabi, 2018).
9. I argue that globalization should be viewed in terms of core and periphery and both the processes of globalization and de-globalization radiate from the core and affect the semi-periphery in different ways which allow a few countries to move to the core.
10. Finally, I argue that we are now living in a post-global era characterized by four worlds of globalization and de-globalization. I call the first world global village (McLuhan, 1960) which means increasing connectivity, flow of trades, capital and expanding communication among countries and regions. I call the second world McWorld (Barber, 2008) which signifies both deepened rationalization of our life world, cultural flows from both global core and local cultures giving rise to complex hybridity and what Pieterse (2009) calls cultural *mélange*. Glocalization is too simple a category to capture this complexity. The third world I call the world on fire (Chua, 2003) that has

characterized the twentieth century and continues unabated until now. The fourth world I call lonely planet that marks the alienation and loss of identity in an expanding world of simulation, robotization and genetic experimentation.

The point of departure

There is no other better point of departure for an analysis of globalization other than Karl Marx who beginning from 1848 provided an analysis of globalization that has hardly any parallel on the discourse of globalization. It was Marx who first spelled out the unique inherent dynamics of capitalism as the driver of globalization which is inscribed in one of his most quoted observations. "Accumulate, accumulate! This is Moses and the Prophets!" of capitalism ((Marx.n.d: 595). It ceaselessly drives the expansion of capitalism and globalization. As Marx explained it eloquently (Marx, n.d. :16, Internet archive)

Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian nations, into civilisation. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

Marx showed that it was search for profit that compels the bourgeoisie to drive for continuous technological innovations and search for raw materials all over the world. The increasing competition and falling rate of profit also force them to spread over the globe. But he also showed it as manifesting contradictory cycles of expansion and crisis that punctuated the history of capitalism.

I would like to argue that although globalization as a process of social change as old as humankind, it is best to view it as a distinctive feature of capitalism and integrate Marx's insights, world-system theory, modernization theory, recent developments in evolutionary biology with Paul Kennedy's (Kennedy, 1987) concept of rise and fall of great powers and the concept of de-globalization to explain the dynamics of globalization. Daniel Lerner, the pioneer of modernization theory acknowledged Marx as one of the first modernizing theorists. He is also the father of globalization studies. Marx provides insights that globalization is a dialectical process that manifest regular cycles of expansion and contraction. I would argue that globalization is also a contradictory process that involves waves of expansion and counter waves of de-globalization. Globalization begins from the core of an empire or civilization and spreads to semi-periphery or periphery through expanding market ties and cultural diffusion.

Globalization as it flourishes in the core and radiates from the core spreads to semi-periphery and periphery in its economic, political and cultural forms. The integration of Marx's insights, world-system theory and modernization theory allow us a better point of departure for the study of globalization. I have thus attempted to spell out the process of expansion of globalization through a marriage of theoretical perspectives of modernization and neo-Marxism. The process of institutional or cultural diffusion takes place on the strength of economic domination and political hegemony. Globalization advances by destroying or radically changing localized economic, political, social and cultural forms most often by deploying varying degrees of violence. It produces complex forms of hybridity of social structure and cultural forms which cannot be captured by the concept of glocalization. Most often it is more than that and the notion of cultural *mélange* can be a better concept to convey this complexity (Pieterse, 2009; 2018). As a contradictory process, globalization is both a process of structural connectivity and cultural homogenization and cultural *mélange*, and a force that produces structural divergence and clash of cultures. It is a process that reflects a change in the power hierarchy of nations, regions and localities; and inevitably causes violence, fragmentation of social life, religious revivalism and decline of social capital apart from growing inequality and political instability. Globalization does not result only in increased economic benefits and cultural homogeneity; it also leads to uneven economic benefits for different geographical regions and social collectivities. The concept of glocalization produces more analytical problems than it solves. Neither the global is pristine pure nor is local. The local culture is often pre-constituted by the earlier forms of proto globalization. The global culture is also adulterated with local cultures.

Figure 1 below shows the antinomies and contradictions of globalization in the form of globality and locality, convergence and divergence, hybridity, cultural *mélange*, globalization and de-globalization, and the four worlds that the contemporary post-globality manifests. The first two worlds—global village is the world of connectivity that has continued to grow from the colonial era and will continue in future as new technologies of communication develop including expansion of automatic translation among different languages, increasing trade flows and flows of capital and technologies. The great technological development, especially development of information technology has led to the shrinking of time and space--railways, telegraphy, telephone, radio, TV, internet and migration have led to great diffusion of ideas, cultural values, and social practices. It has now led to the death of space. The 2018 Global Connectedness Report shows that "[T]he world's level of connectedness reached a new record high in 2017. For the first time since 2007, the shares of trade, capital, information, and people flows crossing national borders all increased significantly" (Altman, Ghemawat and Bastian, 2018:4). Although Europe remained the most connected region, South-East countries of Cambodia, Malaysia, Mozambique, Singapore, and Viet Nam were also very high in connectedness. Exports of goods and services expanded reaching 29% of the GDP, FDI flows reached 7% of fixed capital, 7% of the telephone calls were made across countries though only 3% of the people lived outside the country of their birth (Altman, Ghemawat and Bastian, 2018:12).

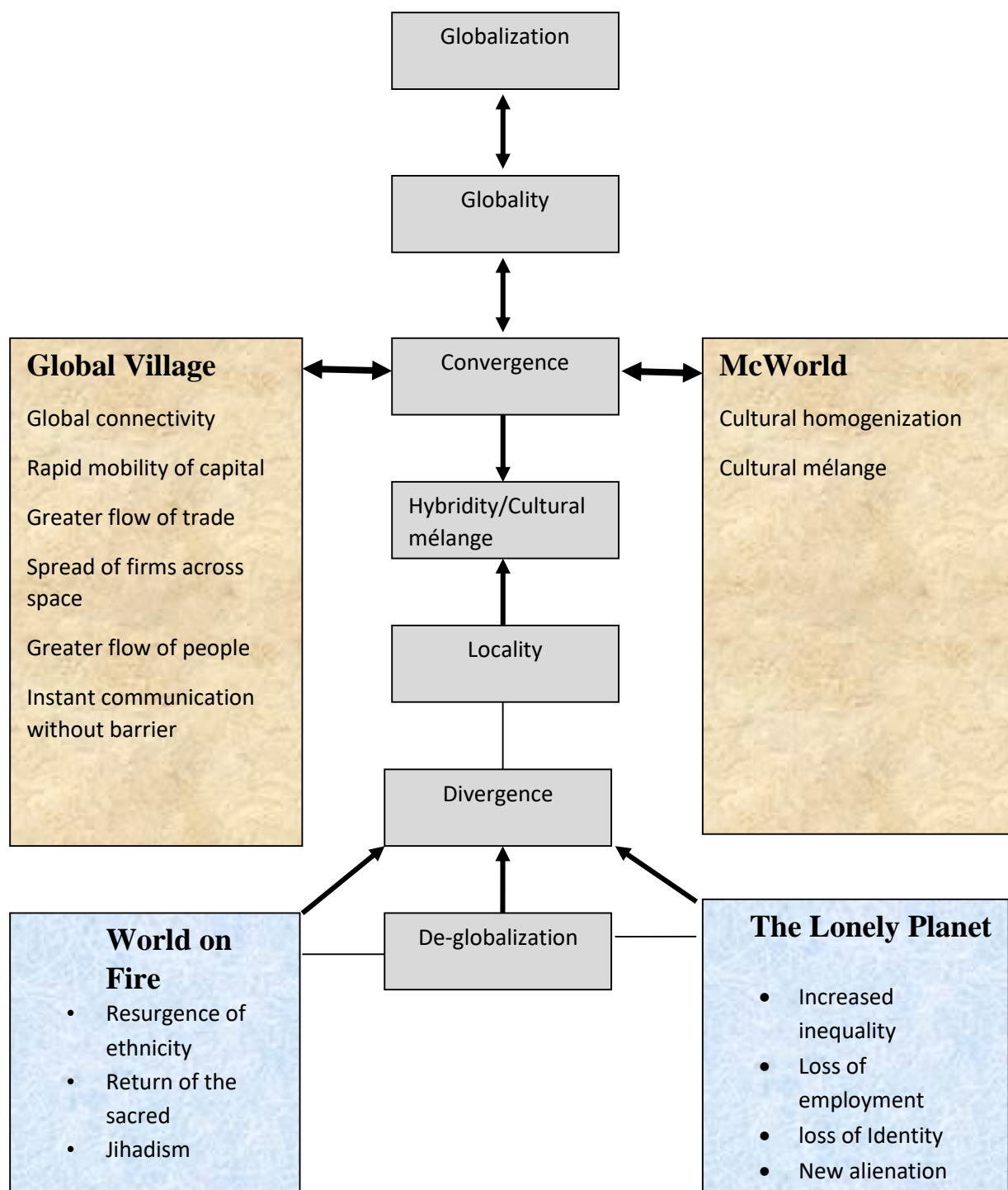


Figure 1: Four Worlds of Globalization

In a remarkable historical parable Admiral Cheng Ho completed his last voyage to the Indian Ocean region in 1433 that signalled the end of China's exploration of the world and its inward looking policy that sealed her fate into the cocoon of involution and stagnation, and in 2013 [Xi Jinping](#) unveiled the vast mega project Belt and Road Initiatives to connect China with Asia, Africa and Europe as the Silk Road once did while USA turned inward to protect its domestic economy sealing her voyage of globalization. This mega project when implemented will mark a new age in global connectivity and regional governance (China Centre for International Exchanges and UNDP.n.d).

The McWorld represents continuity in the increasing rationalization process of capitalism following Fordism and post-Fordism as new business models develop. The strategic business policies of transnational corporations and activities of transnational class will carry forward the process of deepening of the rationalization process of production and it will be dominated increasingly by robotization of production and distribution replacing shopkeepers and shop staff. Globalization theorists hold that interconnectivity is producing a flattened world (Friedman, 2005) or leading to McDonaldization of the world as Ritzer (1993) calls it. One can find, in fact, McDonald in the Chalk of old Delhi where no transport other than rickshaws can move. It means cultural homogenization all over the world through a common consumer culture. It is leading to the formation of a common global youth culture across the world. The key factors of McDonaldization are satellite TV, advertisement, internet, mobile and film. The global culture both reflects US hegemony dictating a common cultural pattern as well as fusion of local and global cultures producing cultural *mélange*.

The world on fire which I borrow from Amy Chua (2003) captures two related issues. She shows how the market-driven globalization and export of democracy in poor countries have let great ethnic violence in the Third world and East Europe. The second aspect draws into attention four flashpoints of the world today. First, it point to the war in the Middle East and the consequent migration crisis which has produced severe backlash in Europe and USA leading to right-wing politics and even growth of anti-migrant extremism and threatening liberal democracies in the West as well. The second issue deals with increasing ethnic conflicts in different parts of the world. The third issue is the escalating religious revivalism not only among the Muslim countries, but also in India, Myanmar and Russia, The fourth issue deals with terrorism. Although it has gone down considerably, yet the threat is not yet over as terrorist groups continue to attract new recruits and plan new operations. The political instability of many countries may also fuel new acts of terrorism. "We are in the beginning of a new era, characterized by great insecurity, permanent crisis and the absence of any kind of *status quo*....". Hobsbawm began the conclusion of his majestic survey of the twentieth century by citing M. Stürmer (Hobsbawm, 1995:500). In fact, much of the history of from the period of Crusades to until now has been characterized by great violence. Not only the colonial era, but also two World Wars have shown the ferocity of the killing machines of modernity. Amy Chua's book 'World on Fire' (Chua, 2003) asserts that recent globalization and democratization have led to an escalation of ethnic violence in various parts of the developing world. She holds that global market forces have favoured small

mainly ethnic minorities such as the Chinese in South-east Asia, the Lebanese in West Africa, Indians in East Africa, and whites in Latin America who have been able to take advantage of the global opportunities. This has created an explosive relationship between majorities and minorities in these countries. These are likely to lead to conflicts and it will not be possible to contain these conflicts. This will lead to backlash against globalization and threaten democracy.

According to the Global Peace Index 2018, the impact of violence on the world economy in 2017 stood at \$14.76 trillion in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP) which was equivalent to 12.4 per cent of the global GDP or \$1,988 for every person. It underwent a rise of 16 per cent since 2012.

Looking at where event counts and reported fatalities are highest can help to identify conflict hotspots. But, relying on these aggregate figures alone misses the whole picture of what happened in 2018. While political violence decreased overall in volume, it also expanded. In 2018, more locations saw violence, more conflict actors emerged, more actors targeted civilians than before, and more countries saw disorder increase than decrease within their borders. Overall, the footprint of conflict expanded significantly (ACLED, 2018).

The number of locations in which conflict took place soared up by 11% worldwide and the number of actors involved by 20% within a year (ACLED, 2018). In 2016, 99000 people died as a result of warfare increasing by more than double from 2004 and 560,000 people from other forms of violence. It translates into one death by violence every minute of the year. The total number of violent death is projected to increase to 610,000 by 2030. Firearms killed 210,000 people in 2016 (Mc Evoy and Hideg, 2017).

Urban violence

The urban life: isolation and violence. There has been phenomenal rise in urban violence fuelled by, growing inequality and growing urbanization including mega cities characterized by 'planet of slums' and unstable political conditions and global networks of criminal or violent groups. In fact, global flow of small arms has been one of the most terrifying impacts of globalization (;Muggah, 2001; Moser, 2004).

"On average, 300,000 intentional firearm deaths occur each year as a direct result of armed conflict. An additional 200,000 intentional firearm deaths also occur in countries ordinarily classified as 'peaceful' (Muggah, 2001:72). In many countries, and in Latin America in particular, the city has become increasingly divided into citadel of the rich, enclaves of ethnic groups and the ghetto of the poor (Davis, 2007). In essence, the rise in urban violence is a response to changes in global and sub-national demographics, growing inequality in urban areas, and increasingly unstable political conditions in developing countries (Moser, 2004).

Terrorism and violence

Extended southern Asian region, comprising Xingjian, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Myanmar, are presently the main cauldron of fundamentalist, Islamic and separatist terrorist activities. South Asia has become a major social space for religious revivalism. It emerged with global support (war in Afghanistan against Soviet Russia) and global money (Middle

East). The BJP - a major political party of India and preaches Hindu fundamentalism receives money and support from non-resident Indians from various parts of the world. Since 2002, the world except North America suffered from increase in terrorist attacks. The number of countries experienced death by terrorism from 65 in 2015 to 77 countries in 2016. Deaths from terrorism soared up by 67 per cent compared to battle deaths which went up by 66 per cent between 2006 and 2016 (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2017), Globalization has also produced socio-political instability.

The concept of lonely planet maps out the growing inequality, unemployment, fierce competition and loneliness of man against the brutal faceless forces of the market that makes most men vulnerable to quiet suffering. As Kuttner (2002) observes:

... 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 (Kuttner, cited in Mentan, 2015 :153).

Globalization and growing inequality

The World Inequality Report 2018 (World Inequality Lab, 2018:5) shows that income all over the world has increased sharply.

In 2016, the share of total national income accounted for by just that nation's top 10% earners (top 10% income share) was 37% in Europe, 41% in China, 46% in Russia, 47% in US-Canada, and around 55% in sub-Saharan Africa, Brazil, and India. In the Middle East, the world's most unequal region according to our estimates, the top 10% capture 61% of national income.

The **lonely planet** symbolizes a world growingly dominated by the rich and the super-rich. Firstly, it draws attention to the growing inequality and unemployment that have haunted the world from 1990s as a result neo-liberal policy of globalization. In 1997, Dani Rodrik (1997) sounded the bell of alarm that everything was not going well in the flattened world. Trade restrictions were beginning to loom large on the horizon for slashing of the trade barriers had signaled a world of Darwinian competition in which many people were becoming losers. Others pointed out the growing inequality that was producing growing insecurity for the poor and the vulnerable and the campaign against one percent that held most of the wealth of the world turned into global rage. Increasing inequality will continue to escalate as a major social problem in future technologies of communication –social media and robotization of the life- world haunted by breakdown of family life and other human relationships. As people become more engaged in the virtual world, live in a world of multi-layered simulation, they will become more and more alienated and lose social connectivity and social identity as well. It may also lead to increasing violence among children and adolescents. "With increased competition in the globalized economy and the rapidly rising capacity to use 'world time' to enhance productivity, the very best workers are now those who never sleep, never consume, never have children, and never spend time socializing outside of work" (Carnoy cited in Perrons, 2004: 275).

"... in this way, a Darwinian world emerges-it is the struggle of all against all at all levels of the hierarchy, which finds support through everyone clinging to their job and organization under conditions of insecurity,

suffering, and stress.” (Bourdieu cited in Ali, 2018:8) The negative impact of globalization: an overview. The following figure encapsulates the issues discussed above.

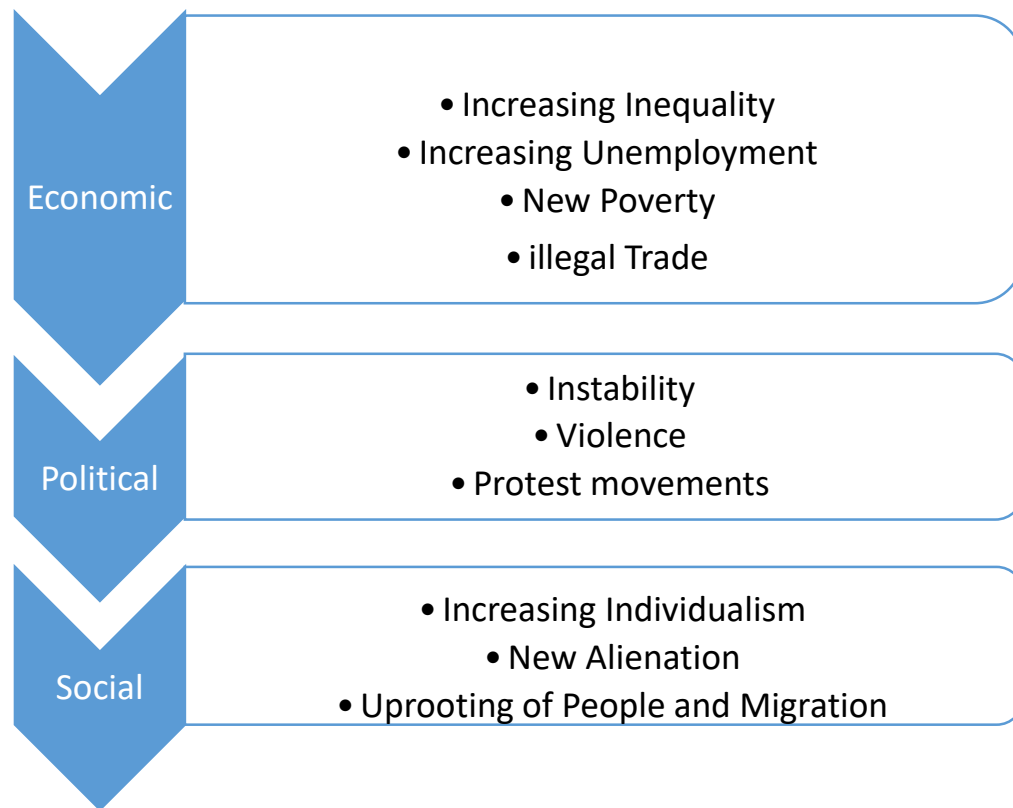


Figure 2: Negative Impact of Globalization

Waves and counter waves of proto globalization

Globalization shows that it is neither a deterministic nor a linear process. As indicated earlier, it is a cyclical process involving bursts of globalization and de-globalization. This long process can be divided into a number of phases: proto-globalization (Hopkins, 2002), early modern, modern and late modern and post-global era of de-globalization. Each wave spreads from a spatial core resulting from technological breakthrough in production, military technology or techniques, development of new cultural forms or policy breakthrough and lasts for a specific period of time. Then the wave loses its momentum and the process of globalization comes to an end as it suffers from a counter-wave. Again a new spatial niche archives technological breakthrough and new economic domination, develops new cultural forms and devises new policies and turn into a new core. Globalization begins to expand from this core and spreads over distant regions.

Table 2 below maps out the major historical forms of proto-globalization that predated the modern era.

Table 2: Dynamics of Proto-globalization

Type of Technology	Time period*	Dynamics	Carriers	Type of civilization	Location	Type of globalization
Neolithic Revolution Invention of Agriculture Emergence of Cities Invention of Writing Emergence of State	Various time periods	Spread of agriculture Spread of cultures	Soldiers Merchants /traders Priests	Rise of empires and civilizations	Middle East, South Asia, China	Early proto-globalization
Invention of New Cultural form Hinduism Buddhism	1500 BCE-1200 CE, India	Spread of Buddhism and Hinduism	Priests and monks	South-east Asian civilizations	South Asia, South-east Asia	Trans-regional proto-globalization
Decline of Hinduism in India	12 th century	Muslim invasion of India	Soldiers, saints	Muslim civilization in india	South Asia	De-globalization
New military technology Slavery	800BCE	Rise of Greek philosophy	Soldiers Merchants Philosophers	Greek civilization	Greece and Eurasia Greek empire and influence	Trans-continental proto-globalization
Crisis	Decline 148 CE-	Warfare Crisis	Roman attack	Fall of Greek civilization	Eurasia	De-globalization
Invention of new military technology Slavery Christianity as New cultural forms Barbarian invasion	509-480 CE	Spread of Christian civilization	Priests soldiers Merchants	Roman civilization	Eurasia	Transcontinental proto-globalization
	395 CE-500 CE	Fall of Roman Empire	Feudal lords Serfs	Feudalism	West Europe	De-globalization
New military technology Islam as new cultural form	7 th century CE to early18 th century	Spread of Islamic civilization	Soldiers Merchants Saints	Islamic Civilization	Eurasia	Transcontinental proto-globalization
Decline of Islam	From early18 th century	Crisis of Ottoman Empire Mughal empire	Warfare Threats from rising Europe	Decline of Islamic civilization	Eurasia	Deglobalization

*Dates and examples used are tentative and merely indicative of the beginning of rise and onset of decline of different civilizations for the sake of discussion and subject to further revision.

This table is self-explanatory. Every new civilization springs from a backward region that invents a new technology, new source of wealth or military technology or a new cultural form or a combination of a set of complex factors. The dynamics of its expansion lies in the extension of the empire or civilization or cultural diffusion to adjoin areas. The typical carriers of globalization are soldiers, merchants and priests. Soldiers protect or expand the borders of the empire. Each new empire or civilization has specific template and features. The rise of a new civilization heralds a new era of globalization. The fall of that civilization signals a process of de-globalization. At one time, there are many parallel civilizations with periodic exchange of culture and commodities. The table above only cites a few common examples of rise and fall of globalization or globalization and de-globalization as examples.

It shows globalization in its archaic form or proto- globalization. Each wave is distinctive. Each wave has its spatial origin. Each wave is based on a key or set of technological inventions and innovations. Each wave has a distinctive institutional configuration in the form of empire and civilizations including long-distance trade routes that connected distant civilizations. The typical carriers of the empire or civilization are soldiers who fight to expand its border, merchants who carry goods and commodities within the empire or to distant regions. The priests or saints spread the religion or religions both within and outside it. The waves can be also seen as changes in the centre of civilizations. The earliest proto globalization began with the Neo-lithic Revolution in the Middle East that gave rise to cities and cultural diffusion from these cities over distant areas. It followed a period of the rise of empires and civilizations in different parts of the world all of which led to multiple sites of proto-globalization often with regular or sporadic trade links as the fortunes of these civilizations rose and fell. These civilizations thus were regional or transcontinental. Buddhism and Hinduism spread as mere cultural forms to many parts of Asia. Islam, on the other hand, became transcontinental.

I have shown that it was the new maritime technology including ships fitted with cannon and compass which came from China that led made it possible for Spain and Portugal to establish their colonies in Latin America and other places (Cipolla, 1989). But it was definitely not a single factor. There were other factors which were responsible for it which are not shown here for the sake of brevity. Historians most often waver between search for a master cause or empiricism that lists the possible causes of dramatic historical events. The rise of capitalism or modern globalization provides a good example of it. The rise of capitalism has proved to be a battle field for historians and social scientists. In trying to explain the birth of modern globalization in Great Britain, I have tried to build up an integrated model that comprises two different causal loops—one internal and the other external. It shows that the key to the rise of modern globalization was the plantation economy that created demand for slaves or indentured workers who were brought from long or short distance and kept confined in the plantations under the most brutal disciplinary regime that the colonial regimes imposed. It was the immobility of labour which was crucial to the dynamics of the global Atlantic trade in the 17th and 18th centuries in sugar, cotton, tobacco, tea, opium and other such products that

together with a number of other factors, both internal and external, led to the Industrial Revolution and modern globalization. The internal factors are primitive accumulation resulting from enclosure movements

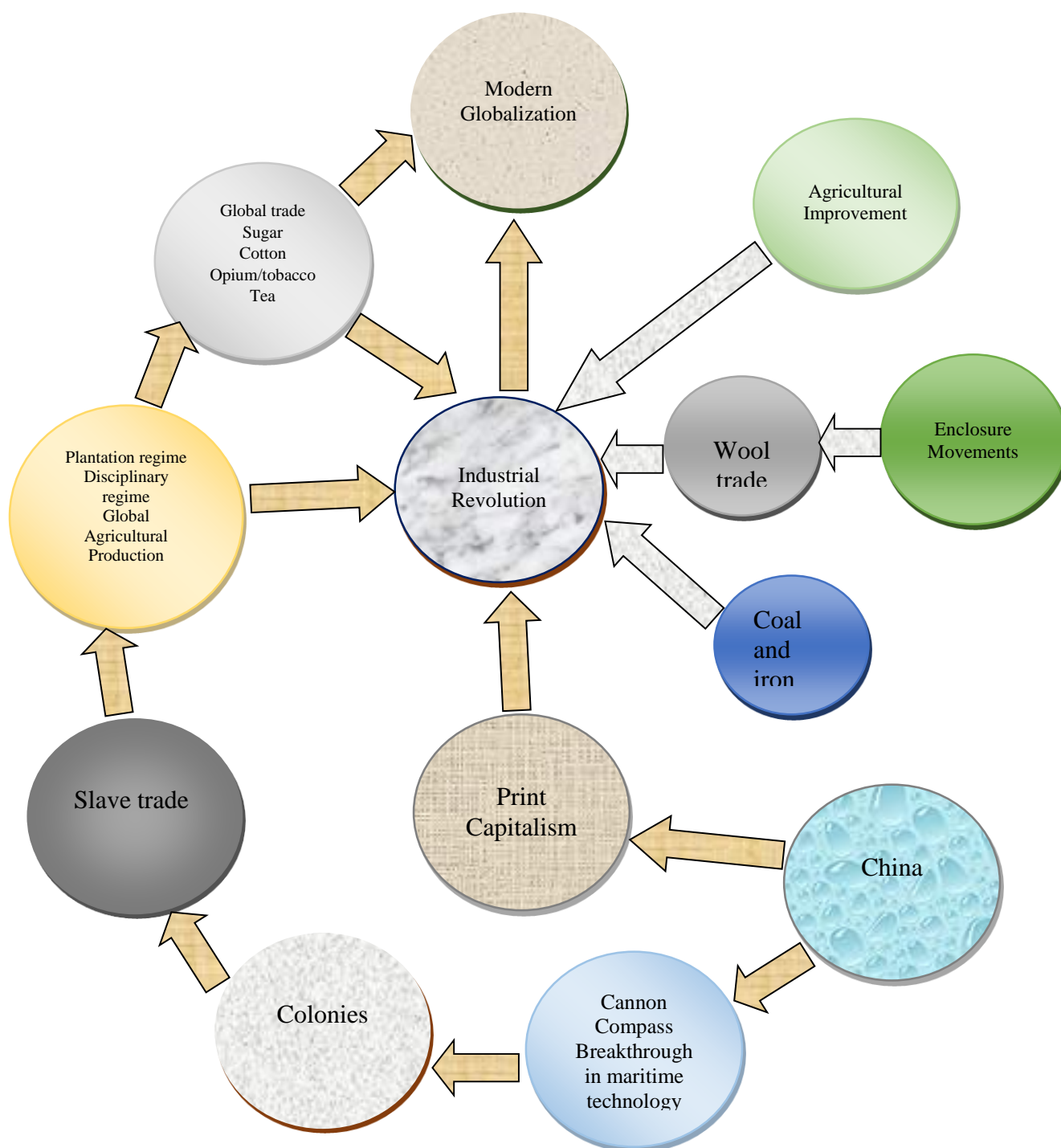


Figure 3: The Crucible of Modern Globalization

and which led to the growth of wool trade and mass market for Great Britain as Wallerstein (1974) shows. But equally important was the growth of what Anderson (1983) calls print capitalism that led to the growth of knowledge and information sharing and construction of a common world view among people.

Tables 3 describe the waves of globalization proper. It describes globalization as consisting of five phases.

Wave 1 1492-1757-- Early modern globalization: Iberian colonialism

The early phase of globalization began from the Iberian core with the discovery of the New World by Columbus and which was followed by the age of geographical discovery and colonialism that opened up the world for colonial domination. It was a period of great violence.

Wave 2: 1757-1910 Modern globalization

The first Iberian wave failed to assume the global form as Great Britain became the new core and established her hegemony over the world. This phase began with the triumph of East India Company in Bengal over the local ruler that paved the way for Pax Britannica. Its high point was Industrial Revolution.

Wave 3: 1945-1989

This wave began after the World War II with the ascent of US as the new core and shaping of the international financial and political system under the influence of US neo-imperialism. The development of new communication technology like radio, TV, Hollywood and Fordism as corporate strategy paved the way towards 'global village.' This wave paradoxically contained de-globalization as nation states began to achieve independence over the ruins of colonialism with territorial sovereignty. It was also marked by clash of ideologies leading to the Cold War.

Wave 4: 1990-2000

This is a short but strong wave that accompanied the fall of communism, the IT Revolution, post-Fordism as a corporate model and the triumph of neo-liberalism as a commanding doctrine of the world order. I have called it late modern/postmodern period of globalization. It was apparent that there was nothing to stop the march of the 'jauggernaut' (Giddens and Sutcliffe, 2013). The world appeared to be flat with an end of history under US hegemony. The utopia lasted only for a short decade followed by a period of de-globalization.

Wave 5: 2000-2030

The post-global era of de-globalization the late/postmodern phase of globalization has now been replaced by the post-global era of de-globalization. It will be characterized by both high intensity regional globalization and deglobalization as the core changes from USA to China and India. The rapid development of

communication technology and robotization will mark the process of globalization in this era. I have called it global village with increasing global connectivity and McWorld that will ensure deep rationalization and robotization and homogenization of culture over much of the world. The post-global era has also begun to trigger an intense process of de-globalization which I have described under two metaphors –world on fire and the lonely planet. This period will be characterized increasingly by conservative extremism, ethnic conflicts and clash of cultures. Inequality, unemployment and deep alienation will characterize this robotized planet as discussed above.

Wave 6: 2030-50

It will be followed by segmented globalization during 2030 and 2050 during which new waves of globalization driven by new technologies will deepen regional ties in different parts of the world and even among different parts of the in an increasingly multi-polar world.

Table 3: Globalization in Modern Era

Type Of technology	time	Dynamics	Carriers	Type of civilization	Location	Type of globalization
Breakthrough in maritime technology	1492 - 1757	Spread of Iberian Empire	Soldiers Merchants Priests Spanish and Portuguese settlers	Extended Iberian civilization	South America/Latin American/parts of the Carribean	Transcontinental globalization
Superior naval technology Scientific and technological breakthrough Industrial Revolution Invention telegraph and telephone and deep integration of empire Spread of modern education and War technology	1757 - 1910	British colonialism British imperialism	Soldiers Merchants Missionaries educationists Transnational corporations	British empire	World –wide British colonies	Modern British-led globalization
War technology	1910 - 1945	Crisis of British imperialism	Armies	Clash of nations	Europe Southeast Asia	De-globalization
Superior military technology Fordism	1945 - 1989	American imperialism	Soldiers, military bases Transnational corporations Fordism	American Empire	USA	Modern America-led globalization

Spread of democracy			IMF/World Bank Experts			
Spread of radio, TV, film						
Hollywood as cultural model						
New information technology	1990 - 2000	High American imperialism	Soldiers, military bases Transnational corporations IMF/World Bank Experts	US as new core of capitalism Unipolar Global American Empire End of history	USA	High globalization
Neo-liberalism						
Post-Fordism						
Global relocation of production						
Stagnation in US technology	2000 - 2020	Decline of American Empire	War Afghanistan Iraq Trade war with China	Multipolar world	USA	De-globalization
Increasing protectionism						
Rise of new cores	2000 - 2030	Chinese Indian economic empires		Multi-polar World order	Different regions:BRICS	Post-Global Era
China						
India						
Southeast Asia						
Divergence	2030 - 2050	Multiple centres of globalization		Multi-polar World	China, Southeast Asia India, Russia, Brazil South Africa With increasing impact on other countries	Segmented globalization

Conclusion

Globalization is more than before an expanding process of our time. Except any major catastrophe, it will continue to accelerate in future. But it has serious human costs. Globalization has led to the growth of tremendous inequality, ethnic violence, genocide, religious revivalism, terrorism, refugee crisis and now threatens the established democracies of the West. These serious human costs are forcing many countries to adopt a policy of de-globalization and scholars to describe the contemporary period as post-global era. But if we look carefully at the history of globalization, we will find that all past periods of globalization has ended in such de-globalization followed by a new wave of globalization. Neither hyperglobalization theorists, nor sceptics nor transformationalists are correct. The current period only marks a phase of

reconfiguration of the world system in which new cores are emerging which are destined to advance the course of segmented globalization in the form of robotization, faster interconnectivity and greater fusion of local cultures with the metropolitan culture in the post-American age. It remains to be seen whether the current crisis of globalization can open up new policy agenda to address the global problems that the 'run away' globalization has produced. The history of China between 1433 and 2019 teaches us the follies of wrong policy.

References

- ACLED, 2018. "While overall violence has declined in 2018, conflict is spreading. Available <https://www.acleddata.com/2018/12/21/press-release-while-overall-violence-has-declined-in-2018-conflict-is-spreading/>
- Adams.G.P.1965. *Competitive Economic Systems*. New York: Crowell
- Albrow, Martin and E. King. 1990. "Introduction." In Martin Albrow and E. King (Eds.) *Globalization, Knowledge and Society*. London: Sage.
- Al-Rodhan, Nayef R.F. 2006 Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition. Available at iteseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.472.4772&rep=rep1&type=pdf
- Ali, Tariq. 2018. *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of Sixties*. London: Verso
- Altman, Ghemawat and Bastian, 2018. *DHL Connectedness Report 2018*. Available at <https://www.logistics.dhl/content/dam/dhl/global/core/documents/pdf/glo-core-gci-2018-full-study.pdf>
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso
- Appadurai, A. "Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy." *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7(2-3).
- Aron, Raymond. 1967. *18 Lectures on Industrial Society*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Barber, Benjamin. 2008. Jihad vs. McWorld. In Frank J. Lechner and John Boli (eds.). *The Globalization Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell: 32-38
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2000). *Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Beall, Jo. "Globalization and Social Exclusion in Cities: Framing the Debate with Lessons from Africa and Asia." LSE working paper No. 02-27 Available at <http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/pdf/WP/WP27.pdf>
- Beck, Ulrich (2002). *What is Globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bienefeld, Manfred. "The New World Order: Echoes of a New Imperialism." *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1994): 31-48.
- Bly, [Martha C. E. Van Der .2005.](#) "Globalization: A Triumph of Ambiguity." *Current Sociology*, 53 (6): 875-89.

Brecher, Jeremy, and Tim Costello. 1994. *Global Village or Global Pillage? Economic Reconstruction from the Bottom Up*. Boston: South End Press

Burbach, Roger and William I. Robinson. 1999. "The Fin De Siecle Debate: Globalization as Epochal Shift". *Science and Society*, 63(1):10-39.

Cammack, Paul 1998. "Globalization and the death of liberal democracy." *European Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 249-263

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2000. "Anthony Giddens Discusses the Globalization Debate."

Chase-Dunn, Chris. 1998. *Global Formation: Structures of the World Economy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

China Centre for International Economic Exchanges and UNDP. n.d. "The Belt and Road Initiative: A new means to transformative global governance towards sustainable development." Available at <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/china/docs/Publications/UNDP-CH-GGR%202017.pdf>

Chua, Amy. 2003. *World on Fire*. New York: Random House

Coleman, William D. 2011. "Globalization, imperialism and violence." In Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur (eds.). *The Dark Side of Globalization*. Tokyo: United Nations Press: 19-31

Cammack, Paul. 1998. "Globalization and the death of liberal democracy." *European Review* 6(02):249-263.

Cipolla, Carlo M. 1989. *Guns, Sails, and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1440-1700*. Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 2007. "The Northern Theory of Globalization." *Sociological Theory*, 25 (4) page(s): 368-385.

Corry, Olaf. 2013. *Constructing a Global Polity: Theory, Discourse and Governance*. London: Palgrave.

Davis, Mike. 2006. *Planet of the Slums*. London: Verso

Dawson, Ashley and Brent Hayes Edwards. 2004. "Introduction: Global Cities of the South," *Social Text*, 22(4):1-7

Dicken, Peter. 1998. *Global Shift: The Internationalization of Economic Activity*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Dirlik, Arif. "Globalization as the End and the Beginning of History: The Contradictory Implications of a New Paradigm", GHC Working Paper 00/3

Doran, Christine. (June). 2008. "Globalization, Dead or Alive? Review Essay." *Globality Studies Journal*: 1-7.

Dussel, Enrique. 1995 (trans. Michael D. Barber). *The Invention of Americas: Eclipse of the 'Other' and the Myth of Modernity*.

Falk, Richard. 1999. *Predatory Globalization: A Critique*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Falk, Richard (1997). "State of Siege: Will Globalization Win Out?" *International Affairs*, 73(1): 123-136.
- Frank, A. G. 1998. *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Frank A. G., Gills B. K. 1993(Eds.). *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* London: Routledge.
- Frank, A. G., Thompson, W. R. 2005. "Afro-Eurasian Bronze Age Economic Expansion and Contraction Revisited." *Journal of World History* 16: 115–172.
- Frank, A. G. 1993. "Bronze Age World System Cycles." *Current Anthropology*, 34(4): 383–419.
- Frank, A.G. 1974. Dependence Is Dead, Long Live Dependence and the Class Struggle: An Answer to Critics", *Latin American Perspectives*, 1(1): 87-106.
- Friedman, Thomas L. 2005. *The World is Flat: The Globalized World in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Penguin
- Fuchs, Christian. 2010. "Critical Globalization Studies: An Empirical and Theoretical Analysis of the New Imperialism." *Science & Society*, 74(2): 215–24
- Garret, Geoffrey. 2000. "The Causes of Globalization." *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(6/7): 941-991
- Giddens A. 2002. *Runaway World. How globalization is reshaping our lives*. Profile Books: London, UK.
- Giddens, A. and Philip W. Sutton. 2013. *Sociology*.
- Gould, J and Niles Eldredge. 1977. "Punctuated Equilibria: The Tempo and Mode of Evolution Reconsidered." *Paleobiology*, 3(2):115-151. Available at [URL:http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0094-8373%28197721%293%3A2%3C115%3APETTAM%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0094-8373%28197721%293%3A2%3C115%3APETTAM%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H)
- Gray, J. 1999. *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism*. London: Granta.
- Gray, John. 1998b. "Globalization--the Dark Side." *New Statesman*, 13 March, 32–4.
- Grinin, E.F. and Andrey V. Korotayev. 2014. Origins of Globalization in the Framework of the Afroeurasian World-System History. *Journal of Globalization Studies* 5 (1):32-64.
- Guillen, Mauro F. 2001. "Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble: A critique of Five Key Debates in Social Science Literature." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27:235–60
- Hall, Stuart. 1991. "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity." In Anthony King (ed.). *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*. London: Macmillan: 19-40.
- Harvey, David. 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. London: Verso.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1994. *The Age of Extremes*. London: Abacus
- Hegel, G.W.F. 1975 (trans. H.B. Nisbet). *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Heine, Jorge and Ramesh Thakur (eds.). 2011. *The Dark Side of Globalization*. Tokyo: United Nations Press
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. and Perraton, J. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Held, David, and Anthony McGrew. 2007. *Globalization/Anti-Globalization*. Cambridge, England: Polity.
- Hirst, P. and G. Thompson. 1996. *Globalization in Question*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hopkins, A. G. (Ed.). 2002. *Globalization in World History*. New York: Norton.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 2011. *The Clash of Civilizations: Remaking of the World Order*. New York: Simon Schuster
- Igrappé Institute.2018 "Citizen security in Latin America: Facts and Figures."
<https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Citizen-Security-in-Latin-America-Facts-and-Figures.pdf>
- Inequality Lab. 2018. *World Inequality Report 2018*.file:///H:/globalization%2030.6.19/world%20inequality%20report%202018.pdf
- Institute for Economics and Peace. 2018. *Global Peace Index 2018* available at
<http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/06/Global-Peace-Index-2018-2.pdf>
- Islam, S.Aminul.1985. "Modernization: Fall of a Surrogate Paradigm. Dhaka University Studies, part A, 42 (2):129-155
- Jameson, Frederick. 2009. *Valences of the Dialectic*. London: Verso.
- James, Harold. 2017. Deglobalization as a Global Challenge. Centre for International Global Governance. paper no. 135 available at file:///H:/globalization%2030.6.19/deglobalization%20report.pdf
- James, Paul and Manfred B. Steger.2014. "Geneology of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept" *Globalizations*,11(4):417-434, Available at DOI:10.1080/14747731.2014.951186 ,11 (4): 417–434
- Jones, A. 2006.*Dictionary of Globalization*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Jones, Barry R.J. 1995. *Globalization and Interdependence in the International Political Ecobnomy: Rhetoric and Reality*. London: Pinter.
- Karunaratne, Neil Dias.2012. "The Globalization-Deglobalization Policy Conundrum" *Modern Economy*, 3: 373-383
- Kerr, C.D., et al. 1962. *Industrialization and Industrial Man*. London: Pinter.
- Khondker, Habibul Haque.1996. "Globalization Theory: A Critical Appraisal. *Journal of Social Studies*, 73:44-88
- Kiely, K .1995. *Sodology and Development: The impasse and Beyond*. London: UCL Press.
- Lamy, P. (1976). "The globalization of American sociology: Excellence or imperialism?" *The American Sociologist*, 11(2), 104–114.
- Lechner, Frank and John Boli. 2008. "General Introduction" in Frank Lechner and John Boli. (eds.)*Globalization Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell; 1-5
- Lechner, Frank and John Boli. 2008. "Explaining Globalization: Introduction" in Frank Lechner and John Boli. (eds.)*Globalization Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell: 51-54.
- Lechner, Frank J. and John Boli.2005. *World Culture: Origins and Consequences*. Oxford: Blackwell

Leonid E. and Andrey V. Korotayev. 2013."Globalization in Historical Retrorspective: Origins of Globalization." *Globalistics and Globalization Studies*: 8–35

Levy, M. Jr. 1966. *Modernization and Structure of Modern Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University.

Lewis, D., and Moore, K. 2009. *The Origins of Globalization*. London: Routledge

Marx, Karl. n.d. *Capital*, Vol.1 Marxist Internet Archive Available at <https://www.marxists.org>

Marx, Karl.1948. *The Communist Manifesto*. The Marxist internet archive. Available at <https://www.marxists.org>

Mazlish, B., and Iriye, A. 2005.(Eds.). *The Global History Reader*. New York: Routledge

Mc Evoy, Claire and Gorgely Hideg.2017. Global Violent Deaths: Time to Decide. Small Arms Survey. Available at <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/U-Reports/SAS-Report-GVD2017.pdf>

McLuhan, Marshall.1960. *Explorations in Communication*. Boston: Beacon Press.

McMichael, Philip.1996. *Development and Change: A Global Perspective*. Thousand Oakes, Cali: Pine Gorge press.

McNeill.1999. *A World History*. New york: Oxford.

Mentan, Tatha.2015. *Unmasking Social Science Imperialism. Globalization Theory As A Phase Of Academic Colonialism*. Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG.

Meyer, John. 2008. "Reflections on Institutional theory." Available at http://www.laisumedu.org/DESIN_Ibarra/pdf/Lectura2.pdf

Moore, W.E. (1966) "Global Sociology: the World as a Singular System." *American Journal of Sociology*. 71: 475-82.

Nikfarid, Lida, Nasrollah Hekmat, Arash Vedad, Anahita Rajabi.2018. "The Main Nursing Metaparadigm Concepts in Human Caring Theory and Persian Mysticism: a comparative study. *Journal of Medical Ethics and History of Medicine*, 11(6):1-9.

O'Rourke, K. H., and Williamson J. G.2000. "When did Globalization Begin?" NBER Work-ing Paper 7632. Cambridge, MA: NBER.

O'Rourke, K. H., and Williamson, J. G. 1999. *Globalization and History: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Petras, James and Henry Veltmeyer. 2001. *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st century*. Delhi: Modhyam

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen.2018. *Multipolar Globalization: Emerging Economies and Development*. London: Routledge

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen 2009. *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 1996. "Globalization and Culture: Three Paradigms." *Economic and Political Weekly*, xxxi (23): 1389-1393.

Perrons, Diane.2004. *Globalization and Social Change: People in a Divided World*. London: Routledge.

- Ritzer, George. 1993. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oakes: Sage
- Roberts, J. Timmons and Amy Hite (eds.). *From Modernization to Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Robertson, Ronald. 1997. "Social Theory, Cultural Relativity and the Problem of Globality." In Anthony D. King (Ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota: 69-90.
- Robertson, Ronald. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.
- Robertson, R. 1990a. "After Nostalgia? Wilful Nostalgia and the Phases of Globalization" in B.S. Turner (ed.), *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity*. London: Sage.
- Robertson, R. 1990b. 'Globality, Global Culture and Images of World Order', in H. Haferkamp and N. Smelser (eds), *Social Change and Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Roland Robertson. 1990c. Mapping the Global Condition: Globalization as the Central Concept. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7:15-30
- Robertson, R. 1989 "Globalization, Politics and Religion", pp. 10-23 in J. A. Beckford and T. Luckmann (eds), *The Changing Face of Religion*. London: Sage
- Robertson, R. (1987a) "Globalization Theory and Civilization Analysis", *Comparative Civilizations Review* 17 (Fall): 20-30.
- Robertson, R. (1987b) "Globalization and Societal Modernization: A Note on Japan and Japanese Religion." *Sociological Analysis*, 47(S): 35-42.
- Robertson, R. and Chirico, J. (1985) "Humanity, Globalization and Worldwide Religious Resurgence: A Theoretical Exploration." *Sociological Analysis*, 46: 219-42.
- Robertson, R. and Lechner, F. (1985) "Modernization, Globalization and the Problem of Culture in World-Systems Theory." *Theory, Culture & Society*. 2 (3): 103-18.
- Robinson, W.I. 2017. "Theories of Globalization." *Blackwell Companion to Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell; 125-143
- Rodrik, Dani. 1997. *Has Globalization Gone too Far?* Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Rosenberg, Justin. 2000. *The Follies of Globalisation Theory: Polemical Essays*. London: Verso
- Ross, R.J.S. and K.C. Trachte. 1990. *Global Capitalism: The New Leviathan*. New York: New York State University press.
- Rugman, Alan I. 2001. *The End of Globalization*. London: Random House Business Books
- Sassen, Saskia. 1991. *The Global City*. New York. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Saul, J.R. 2005. *The Collapse of Globalism*. London: Atlantic
- Scholte, J. A. (2000) *Globalization. A critical introduction*, London: Palgrave.
- Scholte, J. A. 1997. "The Globalization of World Politics". In J. Baylis and S. Smith, (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 13-30.

Scholte, J. A. 1996. "Beyond the Buzzword: Towards a Critical Theory of Global-ization." In E. Kofman and G. Young (eds) *Globalization: Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter.

Schuurman, F.(ed). 1993. *Beyond the Impasse. New Directions in Development Theory*. London: Zed Books

Sheffield, Jim, Andrey Korotayev Leonid Grinin (eds).2013. *Globalization: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. Litchfield Park, AZ: Emergent

Sklair, Leslie. 1995. *Sociology of the Global System*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sklair, Leslie. 2008. "Sociology of the Global System." In Lechner, Frank and John Boli(eds.).*Globalization Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell: 62-69

Steger, MB. 2013. "Political Ideologies in the Age of Globalization." In M. Freeden, L.T., Sargent and M. Stears (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press :214–231.
Steger, M. B. 2008. *The Rise of the Global Imaginary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Steger, MB .2007. "Globalization and Ideology." In George Ritzer (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers: 367–382

Sutherland, John (6 July).2006. The Ideas Interview: Saskia Sassen. *The Guardian*.

Teney, C, O.P. Lacewell, and P. De Wilde. 2014. "Winners and Losers of Globalization in Europe: Attitudes and Ideologies." *European Political Science Review* 6(4), 575–595.

The Economist. (June, 28)2019 "Globalization is Dead. We Need to a New World Order."

Tomlinson, John. 1991. *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*. Baltimore, Mary-land: John Hopkins University Press.

Vago, Steven.2004. *Social Change*. New Jersey: Pearson

Waters, M. 1995. *Globalization*. London: Routledge

Wimmer, Andreas and Yuval Feinstein.2016. "Still no Robust evidence for World Polity Theory." *American Sociological Review*, 81 (3);608-615

World Inequality Lab. 2018 *World Inequality Report 2018*

Zuker, L. G. (1977). "The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence." *American Sociological Review*,42: 726-43.

Zürn, M, De Wilde, P .2016. "Debating Globalization: Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism as Political Ideologies." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21(3), 280–301.

Copyright of Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology is the property of Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.