

Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives
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Lecture 15
Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Emerging from a Rivalry of Distinctions

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Rooted Cosmopolitanism:
Emerging
from a Rivalry of Distinctions

Ulrich Beck



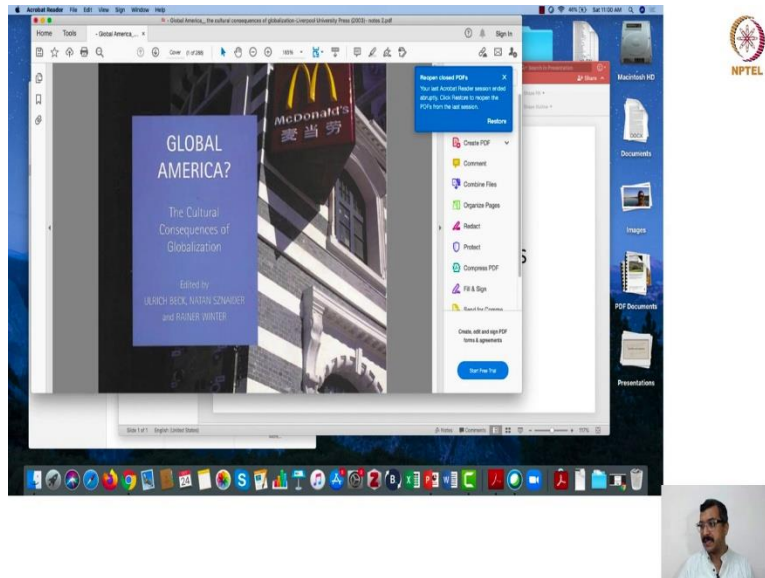
Welcome back to the class. And in this class, we are going to discuss a very interesting argument by Ulrich Beck, a German sociologist on his idea of rooted cosmopolitanism and this is the final class in our two weeklong discussions on cultural globalization. So, I hope you remember all the previous classes.

We started discussion on the notions of culture and then globalization, we discussed about clash of civilization, we discussed about a number of other interesting topics, and we spent lot of time with Appadurai, and we discussed McDonaldization, and I thought we will end this discussion on cultural globalization with a very important and impressive argument by Ulrich Beck on the idea of cosmopolitanism and he qualifies it by calling it as rooted cosmopolitanism.

And this argument follows from a much larger argument about whether the whole world is witnessing a homogenization, Is American invasion taking place across the globe, so a host of discussions and debates were created in the background of George Ritzer's theory of McDonaldization.

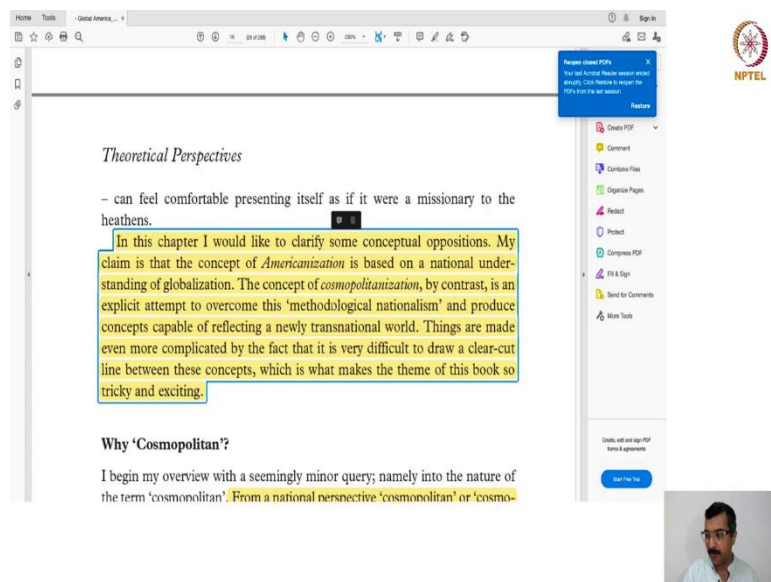
There were lot of scholars who argued that there is a kind of a new cultural imperialism from America is taking place at American cultural consumption patterns, cultural ideas and a host of other things are spreading across the globe. So, in that background Ulrich Beck has written this and I would go with his original essay. An essay published by written by Ulrich Beck.

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It is from this book 'Global America, The Cultural Consequences of Globalization' by Ulrich Beck Natan Sznaider and Rainer Winter. And as from the title, you can see it shows McDonald's in China. And so, this is the first chapter that we are going to discuss in this work. So, if anybody is interested in understanding the debates around the question of Americanisation, American influence on Globalization, this book would be of immense use. So, let us get started with that.

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Now, Ulrich Beck, he straightaway wants to say what exactly he intends to do in this paper or particular chapter. In this chapter I would like to clarify some conceptual oppositions. My claim is that the concept of Americanisation is based on a national understanding of Globalization.

The concept of cosmopolitanism by contrast is an explicit attempt to overcome the methodological nationalism and produces concepts capable of reflecting a newly transnational world. Things are

made even more complicated in the fact that it is very difficult to draw a clear-cut line between concepts and that is what makes the theme of this book so tricky and exciting.

So, he argues, he is critical of this whole idea of Americanisation, because we know that we discussed Appadurai and then things are not simple as what is presented in the larger argument of Americanisation.

And Beck argues that this Americanisation is based on a national understanding of Globalization, and he goes on elaborating what is national understanding, what is international understanding of Globalization, what is transnational understanding of Globalization.

So, they are all very important theoretical arguments. The concept of cosmopolization by contrast is an explicit attempt to overcome this methodological nationalism. So, what does methodological nationalism mean, we will come back to this discussion again later when we discuss Ulrich Beck.

He makes a very fervent call for social scientists especially socialist to move beyond methodological nationalism and he argues that methodological nationalism is the methodological orientations of social sciences to look at their subject matter as something that is bounded within the boundaries of nation-state.

For example, conventionally when you talk about Indian society, you think that Indian society is something that is delimited within the boundaries of Indian nation-state, so is the case with Indian polity or Indian economy. So, he says that this particular framework that the nation-state is the container of the economic or political or social activity, is a very modernist understanding where the nation-state is seen as the natural containers or boundaries of human activity.

And this he argues is becoming outdated fast especially after the process of globalization became more intense and what we require is a methodological cosmopolitanism. Methodological cosmopolitanism where we look at the societies in India or in any other country for the matter as being influenced by cross national currents and transnational flows and influences and other stuff. We will come back to that more in detail.

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The screenshot shows a PDF viewer interface. The main document is titled "Why 'Cosmopolitan'?" and contains text discussing the concept of cosmopolitanism. The text is highlighted in yellow. The sidebar on the right shows various PDF tools like "Crop PDF", "Comment", "Combine Files", "Organize Pages", "Protect", "Compress PDF", "Fill & Sign", "Send for Comments", and "More Tools". At the top right of the sidebar is the NPTEL logo. At the bottom right of the sidebar is a small video feed of a man speaking.

Why 'Cosmopolitan'?

I begin my overview with a seemingly minor query; namely into the nature of the term 'cosmopolitan'. From a national perspective 'cosmopolitan' or 'cosmopolitanism' is viewed pejoratively, as an enemy image. 'Cosmopolitan' refers to the 'global player', the 'imperial capitalist' or 'middle-class intellectual without local roots', and as such is a loaded concept. The term has a long history in the social sciences, going back to ancient Greek philosophy (Diogenes) as well as to the Enlightenment (Kant, among many others). However, there is a 'new cosmopolitanism' in the air since, through criticism, the concept has been rediscovered and reinvented. Since the late 1990s there has been a sharp increase in literature that attempts to relate discourse on globalization (in cultural and political terms) to a redefinition of cosmopolitanism for the global age.

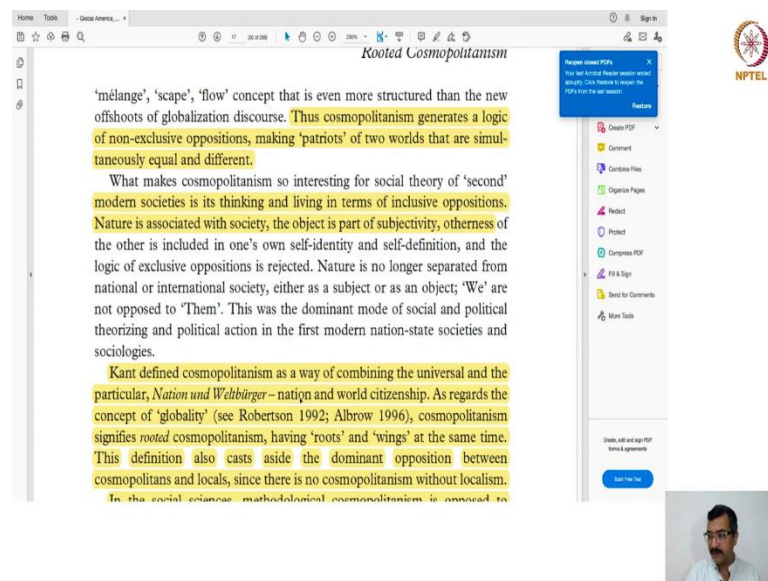
For this reason it is worth pointing out that etymologically, cosmopolitan is a combination of 'cosmos' and 'polis'. Thus 'cosmopolitanism', interestingly enough, relates to a premodern ambivalence towards a dual identity and a dual loyalty. Every human being is rooted (*beheimatet*) by birth in two worlds, in two communities: in the cosmos (namely, nature) and in the polis (namely, the city/state). To be more precise, every individual is rooted in one cosmos, but simultaneously in different cities, territories, ethnicities, hierarchies, nations, religions, and so on. This is not an exclusive but rather an inclusive plural

So, from the national perspective, cosmopolitan or cosmopolitanism is viewed pejoratively as an enemy image. Cosmopolitan refers to a global player, the imperial capitalist or the middle-class intellectual without local roots and such is a loaded concept. You know we use this term cosmopolitan not always in a positive way because cosmopolitan is seen as people do not have any claim to any particular territory, they do not have any roots, they are seen as the enemies of nationalism, whereas nationalists are seen as the sons of the soil.

They have a kind of increased attachment to their own place of birth whereas, cosmopolitans do not have that kind of a loyalty. So, he is trying to strike a balance between that. So, since the late 1990s there has been a sharp increase in the literature that attempts to relate discourses on globalization in the cultural and political terms to redefinition of cosmopolitanism for the global age.

And then he goes on for a lengthy analysis about the emergence of this term cosmopolitan, but it is very interesting to see that because it emerges from two terms, one is cosmos that is nature and the polis, namely the city or state. To be more precise, every individual is rooted in one cosmos, that is naturally we are all human beings belong to a particular part of the nature, but simultaneously in different cities, different territories, ethnicities, hierarchies, nations, religions and so on.

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The image shows a presentation slide titled "Rooted Cosmopolitanism". The slide content includes several paragraphs of text, with several lines highlighted in yellow. The highlighted text includes: "Thus cosmopolitanism generates a logic of non-exclusive oppositions, making 'patriots' of two worlds that are simultaneously equal and different.", "What makes cosmopolitanism so interesting for social theory of 'second' modern societies is its thinking and living in terms of inclusive oppositions. Nature is associated with society, the object is part of subjectivity, otherness of the other is included in one's own self-identity and self-definition, and the logic of exclusive oppositions is rejected. Nature is no longer separated from national or international society, either as a subject or as an object; 'We' are not opposed to 'Them'. This was the dominant mode of social and political theorizing and political action in the first modern nation-state societies and sociologies.", "Kant defined cosmopolitanism as a way of combining the universal and the particular, *Nation und Weltbürger* – nation and world citizenship. As regards the concept of 'globality' (see Robertson 1992; Albrow 1996), cosmopolitanism signifies *rooted* cosmopolitanism, having 'roots' and 'wings' at the same time. This definition also casts aside the dominant opposition between cosmopolitans and locals, since there is no cosmopolitanism without localism.", and "In the social sciences, methodological cosmopolitanism is opposed to". To the right of the slide is a sidebar with a blue header "Features" and a list of icons for various functions like Comment, Combine Files, Organize Pages, Redact, Protect, Compare PDF, Fill & Sign, Send for Comments, and More Tools. At the bottom right of the slide is a small video feed of a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a white shirt. In the top right corner of the overall image, there is a circular logo with a red border and the text "NPTEL" inside.

So, cosmopolitanism from the very beginning indicates this kind of a tension between something that is very common and something that is unique and distinct. Thus, cosmopolitanism generates a logic of non-exclusive opposition making patriots of the two worlds that are simultaneously equal and different. What makes cosmopolitanism so interesting for social science, social theory of second modern societies is its thinking and living in terms of inclusive oppositions.

So, what makes cosmopolitanism so interesting for social theory for the second modern society is that we are living in terms of inclusive oppositions. Nature is associated with society, the object is part of subjectivity, otherness of the other is including in one's own self-identity and self-definition and the logic of exclusion, exclusive opposition is rejected.

So, he says that in the first modernity these things were present, the nature and the culture, the nature and the society, the nature and the group in which you belong. All these things were presented as opposites, as mutually exclusive opposites but that is not the case in the second modernity.

Second modernity is the rough time frame that these scholars attribute to say post 1980s or post 1970s period. The same period that many other scholars characterize as postmodern and I mentioned in the previous class or I am going to explain it in the coming week that scholars including Ulrich Beck and a host of other sociologists do not agree to this concept called as a post modernity, rather they would call it as late modern or reflexive modern or high modern because they argue that this concept of modernity cannot be completely thrown away.

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The screenshot shows a PDF viewer interface. The main text is from a document titled "Kant defined cosmopolitanism...". The text is as follows:

sociologies.

Kant defined cosmopolitanism as a way of combining the universal and the particular, *Nation und Weltbürger* – nation and world citizenship. As regards the concept of 'globality' (see Robertson 1992; Albrow 1996), cosmopolitanism signifies *rooted* cosmopolitanism, having 'roots' and 'wings' at the same time. This definition also casts aside the dominant opposition between cosmopolitans and locals, since there is no cosmopolitanism without localism.

In the social sciences, methodological cosmopolitanism is opposed to methodological nationalism; that is, it rejects the state-centric perspective and sociological (lack of) imagination. It attempts to overcome the naive universalism of early Western sociology (which has nevertheless been quite productive in creating Eurocentric sociological frames of reference, which up to now have defined global realities very powerfully). Methodological cosmopolitanism implies becoming sensitive and open to the many universalisms, the conflicting contextual universalisms, for example, of the postcolonial experience, critique and imagination. Methodological cosmopolitanism also means including other ('native') sociologies – the sociologies of and about African, Asian and South American experiences of 'entangled modernities' (Randeria 2002) in the European perspective. 'Entangled modernities' replaces the dualism of the modern and the traditional, pointing to and again creating the image of a deterritorialized mélange of conflicting contextual modernities in

The right sidebar contains a list of PDF files: "Create PDF", "Convert", "Combine Files", "Organize Pages", "Protect", "Fill & Sign", "Send for Comments", and "More Tools". Below this is a small video feed of a man with a beard and mustache, wearing a light blue shirt.

So, Kant defines cosmopolitanism as a way of becoming universal and the particular, *Nation und Weltbürger*- nation and the world citizenship. As regards the concept of globality (Roland Robertson and Albrow) cosmopolitanism signifies 'rooted' cosmopolitanism having 'roots' and 'wings' at the same time and this is something very interesting because once you have the roots alone, then you are restricted to a particular given place and time and if you have only wings alone, then you fly all the time.

So, here they are talking about a possibility seemingly impossible —possibility of having roots and wings at the same time. This social science, methodological cosmopolitanism is opposed to methodological nationalism that is, it rejects state centric perspectives and sociological lack of imagination. That is what I was referring to sometime back and we will come back to that later.

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The screenshot shows a web browser window with a video lecture interface. The main content area displays a text document titled "Theoretical Perspectives" with a sub-header "Nationality, Internationality, Transnationality". The text discusses Americanization and the work of anthropologist Louisa Schein. On the right, there is a sidebar with various interactive tools like "Comment", "Organize Pages", and "Share". At the bottom right, there is a small video feed of a man speaking.

From this section onwards he indulges in a very interesting discussion on nationality, internationality and transnationality and it is important that we understand these concepts beforehand before going into the readings. So, when you look at nationalism and internationalism, these were very specific modern constructs because nation-state is a product of modernity, nation-state as the form of organisation of governance is something very recent in its origin. So, within the modernity framework, you have nation, you have a group of nations coming together.

So, you have one nation and then it has adjacent other nations, so you look at internationality as a scenario which is comprising of different nations coming together with very well bound well defined boundaries or a very well demarcated boundary. So, you see it as agglomeration of well-defined boundaries with very concrete kind of national boundaries. So, even when you talk about the internationalism, we understand it is about the larger phenomenon of different nations coming together without losing any significance.

But whereas when you talk about transnationality which is now becoming more important and relevant, we are not talking about internationalism, but we are talking about much more than that. So, when you talk about transnationalism, when we are talking about transnationalism, we are talking about a scenario where the national state, the nation-states are transcended and we are looking at the larger global flow of ideas, people, finance, technology, and a host of other things.

So, transnationality has more emphasize on the flow of ideas, people, and other thing and it gives less, or it has an understanding that the nation-states are not as well-defined entities with very clear and impenetrable kind of boundaries. So, herein, transnationality as well, we understand the existence of nationality, but these nation-states are not seeing as very important or rigid kind of entity, rather we understand that in a globalized world, a large-scale movement of people, movement of ideas, movement of finance, movement of technologies, movement of trade is happening which cuts across the nation-state.

So, a perspective based on nationality and a perspective based on internationality is not sufficient when you talk about a global in the era of globalization. So, that is exactly what Beck is explaining in this section.

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The screenshot shows a web browser window displaying a text document. The text discusses the relationship between nationality, internationality, transnationality, and cosmopolitanism. Key phrases are highlighted in yellow. On the right side of the browser window, there is a sidebar with various tools and a small video feed of a man speaking. The NPTEL logo is visible in the top right corner of the browser window.

the attempt to form a transnational Hmong identity would be affected by the rivalry between the United States and China.

To understand her analysis, we need to make a distinction between nationality and internationality, on the one hand, and transnationality and cosmopolitanism on the other. Nationality and internationality are not opposed to one another. On the contrary, they presuppose each other. A single nation, whose borders and sovereignty are not recognized by other nations, is just as inconceivable as a global nation state. Neither of them has the unity that defines a nation state. One lacks it from the outside, the other from within. Nations can only exist in the plural. Internationality makes nationality possible. They are two sides of the same state system.

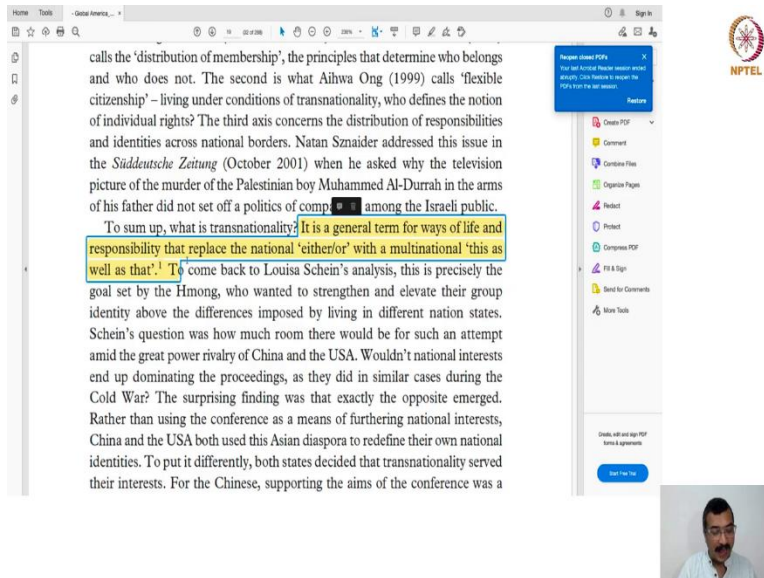
Transnationality and cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, undermine this system and presage a Copernican revolution in both political thinking and social theory. Let me explain what I mean briefly in terms of Kant. Kant believed that powerful cosmopolitan sentiments would emerge in eighteenth-century Europe from the universalization of commerce and the dissemination of republican principles. When cosmopolitan sentiments became strong enough to cancel out the tendency of states to act as self-regarding autonomous units, all individuals would be seen 'as though' they were co-legislators in a single moral community. Kant assumed, to put it in Habermasian terms, that the decisive political inspiration of future centuries would be the development of a universal communication community. The Enlightenment that discloses

To understand her, so she he is talking about an anthropologist Louisa Schein, so to understand her analysis, we need to make a distinction between nation-state and internationality, nationality and internationality on the one hand and transnationality and cosmopolitanism on the other. So, nationality and internationality are not opposed to one another. On the contrary, they presuppose each other because I mentioned that you cannot have an internationality without the idea of a nation-state as a very important entity.

And internationalism is seen as a scenario of where you put all these nation-states together. A single nation whose border and sovereignty are not recognized by others is just as inconceivable as a good as a global nation-state. On the other hand, transnationality and cosmopolitanism on the other hand, undermines this system and presage a Copernican revolution in both political thinking and social theory. Let me explain what I mean briefly in terms of Kant.

Kant believed that powerful cosmopolitan sentiments would emerge in eighteenth century Europe from the universalization of commerce and the dissemination of republican principle. When cosmopolitan sentiments became strong enough to cancel out the tendency of states to act as self-regarding and autonomous units, all individuals would be seen 'as though' they were co-legislators in a single moral community.

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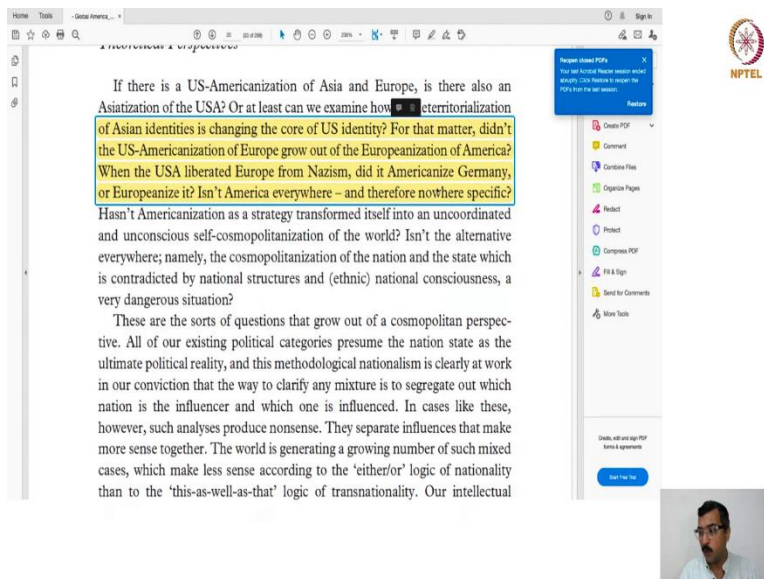


calls the 'distribution of membership', the principles that determine who belongs and who does not. The second is what Aihwa Ong (1999) calls 'flexible citizenship' – living under conditions of transnationality, who defines the notion of individual rights? The third axis concerns the distribution of responsibilities and identities across national borders. Natan Sznajder addressed this issue in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (October 2001) when he asked why the television picture of the murder of the Palestinian boy Muhammed Al-Durrah in the arms of his father did not set off a politics of complicity among the Israeli public.

To sum up, what is transnationality? It is a general term for ways of life and responsibility that replace the national 'either/or' with a multinational 'this as well as that'. To come back to Louisa Schein's analysis, this is precisely the goal set by the Hmong, who wanted to strengthen and elevate their group identity above the differences imposed by living in different nation states. Schein's question was how much room there would be for such an attempt amid the great power rivalry of China and the USA. Wouldn't national interests end up dominating the proceedings, as they did in similar cases during the Cold War? The surprising finding was that exactly the opposite emerged. Rather than using the conference as a means of furthering national interests, China and the USA both used this Asian diaspora to redefine their own national identities. To put it differently, both states decided that transnationality served their interests. For the Chinese, supporting the aims of the conference was a

So, this whole idea of cosmopolitanism and transnationality are coming together because you require that kind of an identification not only with your nation-state in which you are a part, but with a larger global understanding. So, this is a general term for ways of life and responsibility that replace national either or with a multinational this as well that. So, as beck mentioned, he gives quite a lot of illustrations and examples I would argue you to read them.

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If there is a US-Americanization of Asia and Europe, is there also an Asianization of the USA? Or at least can we examine how deterritorialization of Asian identities is changing the core of US identity? For that matter, didn't the US-Americanization of Europe grow out of the Europeanization of America? When the USA liberated Europe from Nazism, did it Americanize Germany, or Europeanize it? Isn't America everywhere – and therefore nowhere specific? Hasn't Americanization as a strategy transformed itself into an uncoordinated and unconscious self-cosmopolitanization of the world? Isn't the alternative everywhere; namely, the cosmopolitanization of the nation and the state which is contradicted by national structures and (ethnic) national consciousness, a very dangerous situation?

These are the sorts of questions that grow out of a cosmopolitan perspective. All of our existing political categories presume the nation state as the ultimate political reality, and this methodological nationalism is clearly at work in our conviction that the way to clarify any mixture is to segregate out which nation is the influencer and which one is influenced. In cases like these, however, such analyses produce nonsense. They separate influences that make more sense together. The world is generating a growing number of such mixed cases, which make less sense according to the 'either/or' logic of nationality than to the 'this-as-well-as-that' logic of transnationality. Our intellectual

So, if there is a US-Americanization of Asia and Europe, is there also an Asianization, Asianization of the USA or at least can we examine how deterritorialization of Asian identity state in changing the core of US identity? Now he comes back to this whole question of Americanisation, is it true or can we go by the argument that there is an Americanisation, the influence of America is being extended, uncritically, unopposed across the globe, is it true or is it something tenable?

And Ulrich Beck is of very strong opinion that that is not tenable because first of all what is happening within America itself is something very interesting. The very American identity or very American processes are no longer homogeneous or no longer singular. He talks about Asianization of America, of USA. For that matter did not the US Americanization of Europe grow out of Europeanization of America and the USA liberated Europe from Nazism, did it Americanize Germany, or Europeanize it, is it not America everywhere and therefore nowhere specific. And this is a very important argument.

I, you know there are lot of people who say that America belongs to everybody, and America belongs to nobody. So, it is always seen as a melting pot of cultures, it is always seen as a highly intermixed and diverse and heterogeneous community. So, this argument about American culture embedding out countries is something that Ulrich Beck does not kind of agree with.

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide titled "Cosmopolitanization". The text on the slide discusses Second Modernity, pluralistic and multi-ethnic complexes, and the initial definition of cosmopolitanization as inner globalization. Several lines of text are highlighted in yellow. To the right of the slide is a sidebar with a list of actions: Create PDF, Comment, Combine Files, Organize Pages, Protect, Unprotect, Compare PDF, Fill & Sign, Send for Comments, and More Tools. Below the sidebar is a small video feed of a man speaking. The NPTEL logo is visible in the top right corner of the presentation area.

Cosmopolitanization

Second Modernity is characterized by ways of life that scramble the one-to-one correspondence that once existed between language, birthplace, citizenship, nationality and physical appearance. There are now pluralistic and multi-ethnic complexes combining elements that would formerly have been kept apart by national and cultural barriers. Indiscriminate mixing of national identities is no longer a nationalist nightmare or a utopian dream. It is an everyday fact and a trend that will increase. This was the initial definition of cosmopolitanization: inner globalization, globalization from within – the blurring, through migration, telecommunications and transport, of the foundations of nationhood. The root cause is competition in a world market, especially in a world labour market. The conflicts produced by the resultant clash of incommensurable world-views, and the creativity that arises from trying to synthesize them, has become an everyday feature of the human condition.

There are at least two ways of conceptualizing globalization. On the one hand is what David Held (1995) calls interconnectedness. This view highlights the way in which interdependencies, networks and flows are increasing in the modern world. This view still presumes that national units, which are being interconnected, are the ultimate reality, which is the central principle of what I

And he comes back to his idea of cosmopolitanization to explain. Second modernity is characterized by ways of life that scramble one to one correspondence that once existed between language, birth place, citizenship, nationality and physical appearance. So, this is something that we discussed extensively when we discussed Arjun Appadurai, when he talks about the increasing disjuncture between these 5 scapes that he was talking about.

So, earlier in the modern society or even in the premodern society, you had all these things together, language, birthplace, citizenship, nationality and physical appearance. You could easily say that this population belongs to this particular region or this particular nation because their citizenship, their language, their political possession, their identity, their everything, physical appearance everything seems to be same. Now that is completely scrambled or unglued in the language of Arjuna Appadurai.

So, there are now pluralistic and multi-ethnic complexes combining elements that would formally have been kept apart by national and cultural barriers. Indiscriminate missing of national identity is no longer a nationalist nightmare or a utopian dream. So, the mixing of natural cultures or your native culture is being contaminated or polluted by other culture is no longer a big fear. Of course,

it is a fear along different sections of people, but what we are seeing is the free flow of cultures, and ideas and other thing.

This is the initial definition of cosmopolitanization: inner globalization, globalization from within, the blurring through migration, telecommunication, and transport of the foundations of nationhood. So, this is an extremely important point that he talks about. Where is cosmopolitanization taking place? It is an inner globalization, a globalization that takes place within individual, within a nation-state, within its own population, community because it gets exposed to, it begins to welcome other ideas and, in that sense, turns out to be more open, more open minded, more cosmopolitan. If there is an inner globalization, a globalization from within—the blurring through migration, telecommunications and transport, of the foundations of nationhood.

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The screenshot shows a PDF viewer interface. The main text discusses globalization, mentioning David Held (1995) and Michael Billig (1995). Several paragraphs are highlighted in yellow. A sidebar on the right contains a menu with options like 'Download PDF', 'Comment', 'Complete Files', 'Organize Pages', 'Protect', 'Print', 'Fill & Sign', 'Send for Comments', and 'More Tools'. At the bottom right, there is a small video feed of a man speaking.

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There are at least two ways of conceptualizing globalization. On the one hand is what David Held (1995) calls interconnectedness. This view highlights the way in which interdependencies, networks and flows are increasing in the modern world. This view still presumes that national units, which are being interconnected, are the ultimate reality, which is the central principle of what I call 'methodological nationalism'. Cosmopolitanization, on the other hand, which is my own tradition, highlights how far social structures and institutions are becoming transnationalized. The premise here is that the national is ceasing to be the national. Once we take this point of view, we need a systematic distinction between the national manifestation and the cosmopolitan reality of 'global fluids'—the flows of information, symbols, money, education, risks and people.

The British sociologist Michael Billig (1995) has developed the concept of 'banal nationalism'. He means that we are constantly and unconsciously defining and confirming our national identities as we engage in mundane activities. The opposite is true as well. We often experience what could be called 'banal cosmopolitanism'. This seems obvious when we look at pop music or fads, although youth culture is tricky. As John Tomlinson (1999) has done, let us look at something more central to existence: food. Is it even poss-

And there are at least two ways of conceptualizing globalization. At one hand it is the David Held who called it interconnectedness. This view highlights the ways in which interdependencies, networks and flows are increasing in the modern world. That we know that they are talking about the kind of interconnectedness and then linkages and other things. And the second term or cosmopolitanization on the other hand, which is my own tradition highlights how far social structures and institutes are becoming transnationalized.

So, he is making this distinction very clear, the distinction between internationalization and transnationalization. The premise here is that the national is ceasing to be national, that is very important point. He is not saying that the national is going to disappear, it is not going to be irrelevant, but it is going to change its traditional rules. Once we take this point of view, we need a systematic discussion between national manifestation and cosmopolitan reality of 'global fluids'—the flow of information, symbol, money, education, risk and people.

So, globalization in the sense is not only interconnectedness, it is not only about linkages, but it is about the fluid, the fluidity of the contemporary times, the flows of people, the flow of technology, the flow of money, the flow of various equipments, commodities, fashions, consumption, culture,

various cultural artefacts. So, when you look at it as a highly fluid, as a fluid state of being this national or interconnectedness kind of a framework is not sufficient.

So, British sociologist Michael Billig has developed the concept of banal nationalism. He means that we are constantly and unconsciously defining and confirming our national identities as we engage in mundane activities. The opposite is true as well. We often experience what could be called banal cosmopolitanism. Banal in the sense it is there everywhere, it is there as a kind of an unconscious, unseen kind of a thing, it is there everywhere?

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whenever we turn on the TV. An everyday life in which television plays an integral part – and perhaps soon one into which the Internet will be just as integrated – is not one in which walls or physical distance do much to separate a person, even a sedentary one. In a sense, all individual monads occupy simultaneously the same undivided space, consuming the news of the world together. When this goes on long enough, our acquaintances from the news start to become part of our lives, like spirits haunting a house. In the end, even immobile individuals, by virtue of occupying the same simultaneous global present, become like Leibnizian monads, in whom the complexity of the world is reflected.

Banal nationalism is being constantly eroded by this torrent of banal cosmopolitanism. This process of inner globalization is exemplified perhaps most surprisingly in military organization. It is difficult to criticize people whose first instinct is to view NATO's current attempts at cosmopolitan renewal with distrust. After all, we all know that each country treats its national security apparatus as though it were a holy of holies. Yet the leadership of NATO really is pushing forward the process of denationalization. A particularly striking case is the transnationalization of production of weapons such as the Panzer, new warplanes and transport carriers, new information systems, and so on. This means sharing weapons secrets, although it was only a decade ago that secret weapons were the national analogues of sacred relics, things that sanctified the border-barriers that preserved them. These are rapidly turning into their

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Banal nationalism is being constantly eroded by this torrent of banal cosmopolitanism and he gives lot of examples about say how our TV shows are being inflected with quite a lot of ideas, tropes and genres of programs from outside, our reading habits, our films our various forms of cultural consumptions are being extremely influenced by the global processes. This process of inner globalization is exemplified perhaps most surprising in military organisation, he gives the example of NATO and so please go through that.

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Rooted Cosmopolitanism

The main conclusion to be drawn from all these examples of banal cosmopolitanism is that the experiential space and horizon² that distinguished First Modernity – that of national societies bounded off from one other, each distinguished by its own language, identity and politics – are rapidly becoming a myth. Precisely those institutions that were thought to best define the nation are becoming progressively more transnational and cosmopolitan. That means that our most basic categories for understanding the social world will have to be altered.

Society and politics are shedding their national form even while the new organizational forms of the cosmopolitan are still struggling to be born. From this ontological change must follow an epistemological one. However, we must not fall from one fallacy into its opposite, from an imagined homogeneity of the nation state to an imagined homogeneity of cosmopolitanism. Empirically the process of inner cosmopolitanization appears to run up against quite obvious limits. On the one hand, a transnational space and horizon of experience have entered the seemingly closed confines of the nation state and recentred social life. On the other hand, social acts are still given tangible shape by the institutions of the nation state through such ordinary things as passports, labour markets, migration policies, and political parties. To the extent that people are

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The main conclusion to be drawn from all these examples of banal cosmopolitanism is that the experiential space and horizon that distinguished first modernity that of the national society is bounded off from one another, each distinguished by its own language, identity and politics are rapidly becoming a myth. This is something that we mentioned several times. Precisely those institutions that were thought to be best defined the nation are becoming progressively more transnational and cosmopolitan, that means that our most basic categories of understanding social world will have to be altered.

So, this is what he talks about as the need to move from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism because the very national institutions, the very nation-state itself, the very national organizations themselves are becoming kind of a global. There is a kind of an inner globalization taking place from within. Society and politics are shedding their national form even while the new organizational forms of cosmopolitan are still struggling to be born. From the ontological change must follow epistemological change.

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renexes. regaraiess, let us turn to a more technical question. why is this process better understood as banal cosmopolitanization, rather than as banal Americanization, banal multiculturalism or banal universalism?

Universalism and Cosmopolitanism

The question that really distinguishes one doctrine from another is where they stand on the otherness of the other. The answer seems simple enough: cosmopolitanism affirms it; neo-liberalism, globalization and Americanization deny it. In fact this simple answer will take a while to dissect.

Discourse on modernization and development has come in for a lot of criticism, especially from thinkers in the Third World. Several writers, above all postcolonialists, have shown that the doctrine of universal values is honey-combed with interpretations that regulate how Europeans are supposed to

2 R. Kosselleck makes a systematic distinction between these two concepts in his book *Futurgenese Zukunfts* [Futures Past] (1989).

23

Now, universalism and cosmopolitanism, the question that really distinguishes one doctrine from another is where they stand on the otherness of the other. So, where do they stand on the otherness of the other because there is otherness of the other is some is an inescapable reality, you cannot change that, the other is always there. Now, the whole question is how do you deal with this other, how do you communicate with the other, how do you have a dialogue with the other?

The answer seems simple. Cosmopolitanism affirms it. Cosmopolitanism affirms the otherness of the other, it recognizes it, but it is open to that. And neoliberalism, globalization and Americanization deny it. In fact, this simple answer will take a while to dissect.

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progress of navigation and trade brought forth the promise of a world society – what Jean Bodin called *res publica mundana* – than the genus humanum began to be divided according to the dictum that ‘equal’ means ‘of equal worth’ and ‘different’ implies ‘of lesser worth’.

My thesis, which owes a lot to my reading of the postcolonialists, is that the production of knowledge about the Other is a necessary preparation for, and an invariable accompaniment to, colonial rule. From this perspective, the European doctrine of universally valid claims is, still today, a strategy of power. Every concept of modernization implies a traditionalism against which it can be measured, and every assertion that modernization is good entails a claim that the traditionalism it is replacing is worse. In this context, claiming that modern science and modern economics are value-free approaches to universally valid knowledge, while at the same time identifying these approaches with modern society, amounts to elevating the assertion that traditional societies are inferior into an indisputable dogma. In this sense, the discursive strategies of the present differ only in their sophistication from those of 500 years ago, despite the fact that the institutional landscape has changed entirely.

The Finnish political scientist Teivo Tievainen (1999) discusses in detail a conference held in 1550 in Valladolid to determine an answer to the question of whether Indians were different from, and therefore of lesser worth than, Europeans. He points out that there are interesting parallels between the positions staked out there and the postulates that guide the IMF and the

So, my thesis, which owes a lot to my reading of the post colonialist is that the production of knowledge about the other is a necessary preparation for an invariable accompaniment to colonial rule. Now, there is quite a lot of things, literature written about colonial rule, and we know that

colonial rule was not only a rule aimed at economic exploitation, but it also was a cultural project. It was a cultural project, it had a cultural project, it emerged from the very strong conviction that the culture of the colonized are in is inferior to that of the colonizers. So, that is why this whole process was justified on the basis of the White man's burden and other kind of arguments.

So, every concept of modernization implies traditionalism against it, against which it can be measured and every assertion that modernization is good entails a claim that traditionalism it is replacing is worse. In this context, claiming that modern science and modern economy is economics are value free approaches to universal valid, universally valid knowledge. While at the same time identifying these approaches with modern society amounts to elevating the assertions that traditional societies are inferior to an indisputable dogma.

So, this is something very interesting because when we discuss notions of modernity in the coming lecture, it becomes very clear because European enlightenment had this very strong conviction that the modern that is coming into the place of tradition is far better, far better ethically and morally and it is also far better intellectually in terms of its intellectual rigor. So, what they argue was that this kind of a displacement of tradition is a positive thing, displacement of tradition is positive thing, and they were extremely optimistic about the promise of reason.

They were extremely optimistic about the promise of science, they were extremely optimistic about the promise of progress, the modern understanding of progress. So, that kind of displaced the transnational and that kind of painted everything that is transnational as negative, as unworthy, as regressive, as something that needs to be eliminated. So, that position of modernity is something that Ulrich Beck finds extremely problematic, a kind of an uncritical acceptance of modernist project.

(Refer Slide Time: 26:58)

worth. Thus both positions presuppose a universal scale of values that necessarily transmutes difference into superior/inferior. Even good Father Las Casas only accepts the equality of the Indians because they are capable in his eyes of accepting the universal truth of Christianity. He believes that the split between Christians and heathens can be resolved because it can be overcome. The barbarians can be baptized, and then they can partake of true religion. This is not that far from saying that 'underdeveloped countries' and 'traditional societies' can be 'modernized' – that they can be baptized in the truth of democracy and market economics, and thereby achieve salvation through Western universalism.

There are two sorts of power at work here. In the first place, when universalism identifies difference with lesser value and similarity with equal value, history shows that in the end this is used to justify physical force. In the second place, the missionary perspective that is still present in concepts such as 'modernization' and 'development policy' makes a pedagogical goal out of justifying authority. It was this pedagogical aspect that Gramsci had in mind when he wrote that hegemony was always justified in part through the educational process, and that this was not only true for domestic authority, but also between nations and between world cultures. Michel Foucault (1982) called this the 'ritual of truth'. It grows out of the duty to normalize the truth: to deny the otherness of the Other, and to convert the latter to the universal truth – which Europe and the USA just happen to possess.

So, this the kind of elaboration you need to go through that in between. There are two sources of power at work here, at the first place, when universalism identifies difference with lesser value and similarity with equal value, history shows that it ends at the in the end this is used to justify physical force.

So, when you on the one hand you have certain claims to universalism which are considered to be superior morally, ethically and then intellectually and when it comes up when it encounters with more particularities of differences, then this has the tendency to kind of overcome the other by using physical force.

In the second modernity, the missionary perspective that is still present in the concepts such as modernization and development policy makes a pedagogical goal out of justifying authority. So, this whole missionary perspective that the Christian missionary or any religion for that matter which believes in proselytization believes that the concept of goal of this people are much inferior and they really need to be saved.

So, that is a very strong self of self-righteous on the part of this people who want to uplift this downtrodden people. So, that kind of arguments Beck says will have to be tempered. It was a major characteristic feature of first modernity which does not have much of a relevance in the second modernity.

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The screenshot shows a PDF viewer interface. The main content area displays a slide titled "Theoretical Perspectives". The text on the slide discusses cosmopolitanism and the recognition of the "Other". A portion of the text is highlighted in yellow: "It affirms both of the Valladolid positions rule out: that the Other is both different and equal. Cosmopolitanism therefore sets itself against both racism and universalism. Cosmopolitanism is the struggle to keep this seemingly timeless racism from enduring into the future. This includes making clear the extent to which the ethnocentric universalism of the West is an anachronism that can be overcome." The right sidebar contains a list of tools including "Open PDF", "Comment", "Combine Files", "Organize Pages", "Protect", "Unprotect", "Fill & Sign", "Send for Comments", and "More Tools". At the bottom right, there is a small video feed of a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a light blue shirt.

So, I began this section by saying that the core of cosmopolitanism is the recognition of the otherness of the other. I can now make this proposition more precise. It affirms both the Valladolid position rule out: that the Other is both different and equal. Cosmopolitanism therefore sets itself against both racism and universalism. Cosmopolitanism is the struggle to keep this seemingly timeless racism from enduring into future. This includes making clear that the extent to which the ethnocentric universalism of the West is an anachronism that can be overcome.

So, now you might know that there are quite a lot of discussion about the ethnocentric character or Eurocentric character of European enlightenment. All these important thinkers whom we discussed whether Marx, Durkheim, Weber or Kant or any of these of the obvious enlightenment thinkers were extremely Eurocentric, they were ethnocentric.

And that specifically shaped the contours of European enlightenment, and it also shaped the contours of a universalism. A universalism that has scanned regard or scanned respect for

differences and diversities and then different cultural forms. So, in the second modernity that kind of arguments will have to be taken very cautiously.

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide titled "Internationality and Transnationality". The main text on the slide discusses the dualism of cosmopolitanism and the emergence of a new kind of existence. It mentions that the first modern world was a national world with a clear division between inner and outer, domestic and foreign. It also notes that international politics was a multiplication of nation states, each defining one another's borders and mirroring one another's essential categories. The slide concludes by stating that national and international were two sides of an interdependent whole and that the reality of transnationality is turning this structure of meaning inside out.

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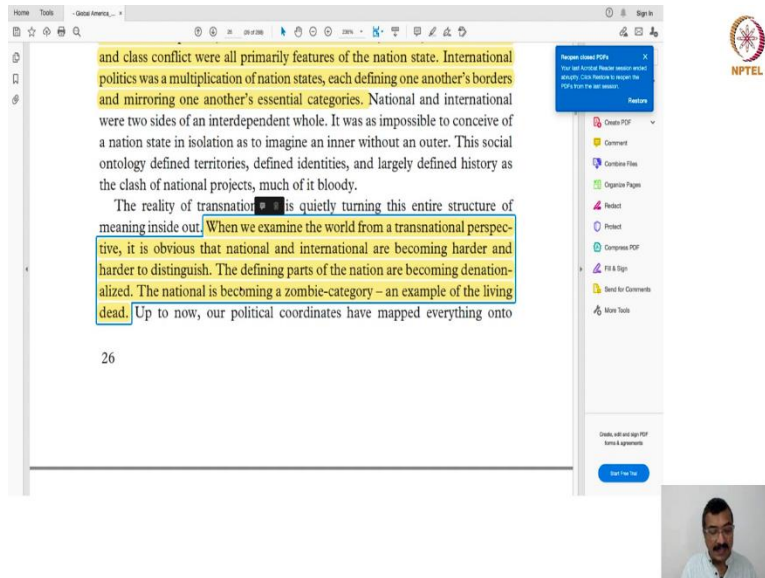
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Small video inset showing a man speaking.

So, to summarize internationality and transnationality, the dualism that lies at the base of cosmopolitanism is conceived in very different ways by the competing conceptual schemes of internationality and transnationality. Between these two ways of thinking, a new kind of existence is taking place. The first modern world was a national world which we discussed. There was a clear division between inner and outer, between domestic and foreign. In that world, the nation-state was a principle of order.

Politics were national politics, cultural was national culture, labour, class formation and class conflicts were all primarily features of the nation-state. International politics was multiplication of national state, each defining one another's borders and mirroring one another's essential categories.

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and class conflict were all primarily features of the nation state. International politics was a multiplication of nation states, each defining one another's borders and mirroring one another's essential categories. National and international were two sides of an interdependent whole. It was as impossible to conceive of a nation state in isolation as to imagine an inner without an outer. This social ontology defined territories, defined identities, and largely defined history as the clash of national projects, much of it bloody.

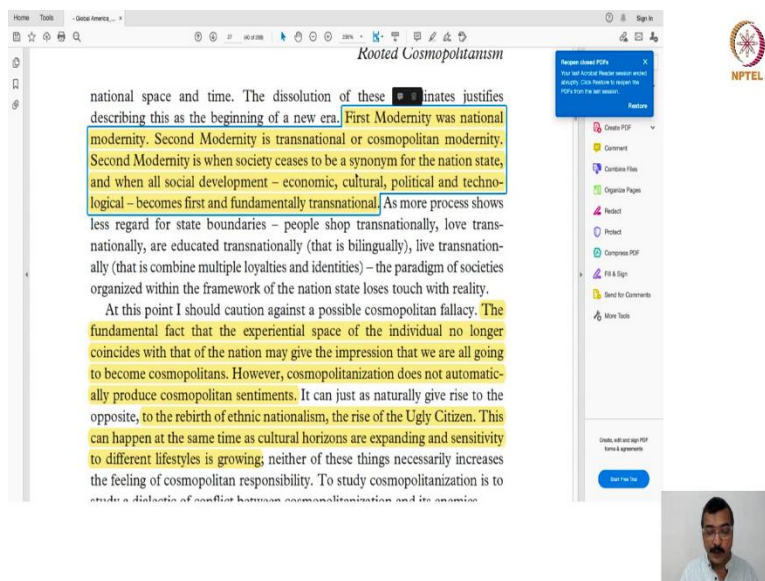
The reality of transnationalism is quietly turning this entire structure of meaning inside out. When we examine the world from a transnational perspective, it is obvious that national and international are becoming harder and harder to distinguish. The defining parts of the nation are becoming denationalized. The nation is becoming a zombie-category – an example of the living dead. Up to now, our political coordinates have mapped everything onto

26

This, the reality of transnationality is quietly turning this entire structure of meanings inside out. When we examine the world from a transnational perspective, it is obvious that national and international are becoming harder and harder to distinguish. For example, a terrorism, global terrorism is no longer a national problem, global warming is no longer a national problem or fight against pollution is no longer a national problem, the risk from nuclear armaments is no longer a national problem and no nation will be able to resolve these things independently.

A pandemic like Covid-19 is no longer a national problem. It requires a transnational attempts and then serious engagements to control it. The defining parts of the nation are becoming denationalized. The national is becoming a zombie-category - an example of a living dead.

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Rooted Cosmopolitanism

national space and time. The dissolution of these **inates** justifies describing this as the beginning of a new era. First Modernity was national modernity. Second Modernity is transnational or cosmopolitan modernity. Second Modernity is when society ceases to be a synonym for the nation state, and when all social development – economic, cultural, political and technological – becomes first and fundamentally transnational. As more process shows less regard for state boundaries – people shop transnationally, love transnationally, are educated transnationally (that is bilingually), live transnationally (that is combine multiple loyalties and identities) – the paradigm of societies organized within the framework of the nation state loses touch with reality.

At this point I should caution against a possible cosmopolitan fallacy. The fundamental fact that the experiential space of the individual no longer coincides with that of the nation may give the impression that we are all going to become cosmopolitans. However, cosmopolitanization does not automatically produce cosmopolitan sentiments. It can just as naturally give rise to the opposite, to the rebirth of ethnic nationalism, the rise of the Ugly Citizen. This can happen at the same time as cultural horizons are expanding and sensitivity to different lifestyles is growing; neither of these things necessarily increases the feeling of cosmopolitan responsibility. To study cosmopolitanization is to study a dialectic of conflict between cosmopolitanization and its opposite.

So, we will also discuss Beck's very interesting arguments about the changing features of state, nation-state, very interesting argument. So, the first modernity was national modernity. Second

modernity is transnational or cosmopolitan modernity. This is a very important argument which he kind of makes it in the nutshell. Second modernity is when society ceases to be a synonym for the nation-state and when all social development, economic, cultural, political and technology becomes first and fundamentally transnational.

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide with a light blue background. The main text is in a serif font, with some parts highlighted in yellow. The text discusses the opposition between transnational and international, the emergence of rooted cosmopolitanism, and its definition against the extremes of being at home everywhere and nowhere. It references Roland Robertson (1992) and John Tomlinson (1999) and their concept of 'ethical glocalism'. The sidebar on the right contains a search bar, a list of navigation links (Home, About, Contact, etc.), and a small video inset of a man speaking.

Thus the opposition between transnational and international is neither logically nor temporally exclusive. Instead there is an uneasy coexistence between the two realities and the two ways of thinking. Furthermore, their combination is not a zero-sum game. It is possible for both to wax simultaneously. It is during this transitional period that rooted cosmopolitanism emerges.

Rooted cosmopolitanism is defined against the two extremes of being at home everywhere and being at home nowhere. It refers, as Roland Robertson (1992) and John Tomlinson (1999) argue, to an 'ethical glocalism'; that is, to be engaged in the local and the global at the same time. It is opposed to ethnocentrism but also to universalism, whether from the left or the right. Familiar with the violent realities that grow out of mutually exclusive certainties, it is suspicious of the false euphoria and the covert essentialism of multiculturalism.

When it comes to the critique of imperialism, rooted cosmopolitanism points out that in a postcolonial world there is no pure, pre-colonized nation to go back to. The only way forward is into a cosmopolitan world beyond both nationalism and imperialism.

The situation is similar with regard to struggles over class, gender, ethnicity and sexual preference. All of these started as national struggles, but all have overflowed and networked beyond the boundaries of the nation state. The cosmopolitanization of social movements is one of the most striking

At this point I should caution against a possible cosmopolitan fallacy. The fundamental fact that the experiential space of the individual no longer coincides with that of a nation might give the impression that we are all going to become cosmopolitans. However, cosmopolitanization does not automatically produce cosmopolitan sentiments. This is a very important point that he is talking about, a process of cosmopolitization need not result in the emergence of cosmopolitan sentiments or cosmopolitan values.

In other words, if there is a serious back clash against some of the most globalised societies, it stands as the perfect example for this particular argument. These globalised societies though they have become globalised, their economy has become globalised, they are being exposed to whole lot of cultures and people and other thing, they have not really produced cosmopolitan, virtues of cosmopolitan sentiments. Many a times, there is a strong back clash against such an over exposure, or exposure to globalisation and these people have gone back to a sovereigntist frame of mind, a kind of assertion of their culture.

They are no way; they are in no mood to accept the otherness of the other. So, these two processes are very different, the process of cosmopolitization many times forced one is quite different from cosmopolitan virtues or cosmopolitan emotions or sentiments that we consider as kind of more welcoming or as kind of more virtuous.

I can, it can naturally give rise to opposite, the rebirth of ethnic nationalism, the rise of ugly citizen which we see in the US or in different parts of the country, different parts of the nation, different parts of Europe where there is a kind of an assertion about a kind of ultranationalism has emerged.

This can happen the same time as cultural horizons are expanding and sensitivity of lifestyle is growing, a very interesting, a very contradictory kind of a process. Thus, the opposition between

transnational and international is neither logically nor temporally exclusive. Instead, there is an uneasy coexistence between these two realities and the two ways of thinking. Furthermore, their combination is not a zero-sum game.

So, rooted cosmopolitanism is defined against these two extremes of being at home everywhere and being home nowhere. It refers as Roland Robertson and John Tomlinson argue to an ethical glocalism that is, to be engaged in the local and global at the same time.

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide with a light blue background. The main text is in a serif font. The first paragraph discusses the uneasy coexistence between two realities and two ways of thinking, noting that their combination is not a zero-sum game. The second paragraph defines rooted cosmopolitanism as being at home everywhere and nowhere, referencing Roland Robertson (1992) and John Tomlinson (1999). It contrasts this with ethnocentrism and universalism, and mentions the critique of imperialism. The third paragraph discusses the situation of struggles over class, gender, ethnicity, and sexual preference. On the right side, there is a vertical list of navigation options: 'Comment', 'Download Files', 'Organize Pages', 'Protect', 'Protect', 'Compress PDF', 'Fill & Sign', 'Send for Comments', and 'More Tools'. At the bottom right, there is a small video feed of a man with a beard, wearing a white shirt, with his hand on his head. The NPTEL logo is visible in the top right corner.

It is opposed to ethnocentrism but also universalism, whether from the left to the right. So, the problem with universalism is that it has a strait jacket understanding about how the world should work and it has the wherewithal, it has the power, political power, economic authority to impose the strait jacket model to societies across the world unmindful of the violence that it might unleash. So, Beck is talking about a middle path, a kind of a rooted cosmopolitanism where one is not ethnocentric, one is not ready to open up their eyes and mind to outside, but it is also not a very rigid idea of universalization, universalism.

Familiar with the violent realities that grow out of mutually exclusive certainties, it is suspicious that the false euphoria and the covert essentialism of multiculturalism. So, this is again a very interesting point where he talks about the false euphoria and the covert essentialism of multiculturalism. When we talk about multicultural societies, for example, the UK, we understand that multiculturalism is seen as an amalgamation of different cultures. But there is a problem, the problem is that when you talk about multiculturalism, these cultures are being essentialized.

We and that creates quite a lot of problems for the individuals, it creates problems for everything it provides quite a lot of false sense of essentialism to this kind of cultural categories and concepts and other things. So, he concludes this essay with this cautionary note that cosmopolitanization does not lead to cosmopolitan sentiments and what you need to strike is a balance between a rooted cosmopolitanism, a cosmopolitanism with more roots as well wings.

And I think this really is a very remarkable, very important argument looking at the kind of changes that are happening in the global society because it is not that the kind of a very rosy glorious picture

that many people fantasied that the globe is, the world is going to be global village and people will become cosmopolitan and people will become world's citizens. So, that is what is happening and instead what we are witnessing is a series of backlashes, very strong backlashes against globalization, increase in hate crimes, increase in xenophobic crimes. So, Beck is more of a realist in that sense.

So, let us wind up the class here and this is the final class for the week and of the two weeks of discussion on cultural globalization and we will move ahead with the discussion on modernity and globalization in the next week, in fact two weeks because that is a central thing. So, see you then, Thank you.