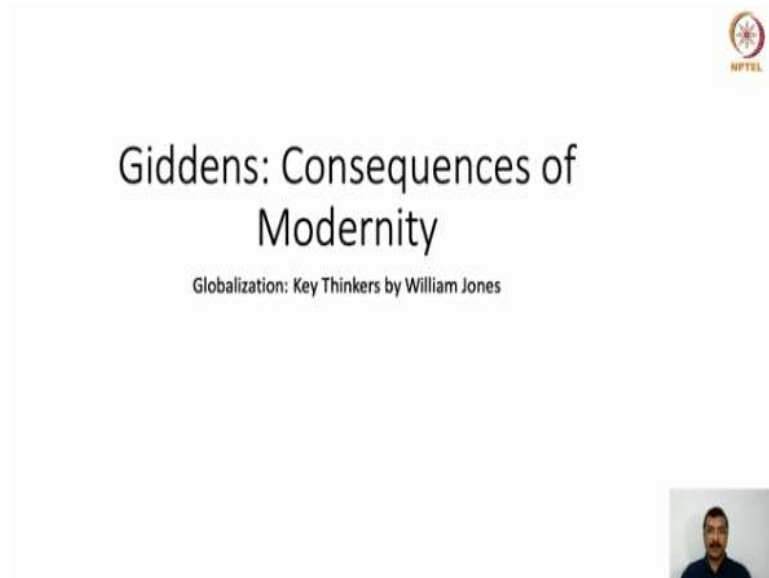


**Globalization: Theoretical Perspective**  
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**Lecture 20**

**Giddens: Consequences of Modernity, Globalization: Key Thinkers by William Jones**

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Welcome back to the class and we are continuing our discussion on Giddens, Anthony Giddens, one of the foremost theorists of modernity, a British sociologist. So, for the last three or four classes we have been discussing his work, that is the consequences of modernity and we want to or rather I want to conclude that discussion on this book consequences of modernity.

And in the previous classes we looked at his first chapter, the introductory chapter where he makes the major arguments of his whole thesis or the whole book and you can go through the book, I explained the content of the book and the subsequent chapters really look into the specific aspects of the overall argument. So, if we go chapter by chapter, it might take a lot of time and we do not have that much time in our disposal.

So, instead of going in detail on the original essay or original chapters of this particular book, what I am doing is I am depending upon this book by Globalization Key Thinkers by William Jones and this is one of the reference books that I have suggested for this course. So, he has summarized the larger arguments of the subsequent chapters of this particular book.

So, for this chapter, for this class as well as for the next class where I am talking about his other book that is 'The Runaway World' I am depending upon William Jones, I am depending upon William Jones's book 'Globalization: Key Thinkers'. So, I have the photocopies of different paragraphs which kind of summarize the overall arguments of the work, so in this class and in the next class we are not looking at the original articles of Anthony Giddens because it is a kind of a time-consuming effort.

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Globalization represents, for Giddens, the contemporary deepening and development of the essential dynamism of modernity and its ongoing transformation of space and time. Central to understanding contemporary globalization is the nature of time-space distancing processes. The central premise of this framework is the need to conceptualize the 'relations between *local involvements* (circumstances of co-presence) and *interaction across distance* (the connections of presence and absence)'. Giddens argues that in what he terms 'the modern era', the level of time-space distancing is now much higher than at any previous period. Furthermore, the relations between local and distant social forms and events become compoundingly 'stretched'. This is the essence of what globalization 'is' – this stretching process. The result is that contemporary social life is increasingly characterized by modes of these stretched connections as different social contexts or regions become networked across the earth's surface as a whole (ibid.).



So, globalization represents for Giddens, the contemporary deepening and development of the essential dynamics of modernity and its ongoing transformation space and time. And this is a point that we discussed several times in the previous class at the risk of repeating myself let me also say since it is the very beginning of the class.

Giddens along with David Harvey or Ulrich Beck are not the votaries or not the supporters of the post modernity argument, rather they are the very strong advocates of the argument that you can still use this framework of modernity in order to make sense of all these changes that are happening.

And Harvey has his theory of time-space compression and Giddens has his theory on of time-space distancing which we will discuss in the coming week more elaborately but he argues that whatever we are seeing today, the contemporary deepening and the development of the essential dynamism of modernity.

So, the essential features of modernity, the very inherent features of modernity is what is you are seeing today but in a more radicalized manner. So, it is not that era of modernity or the dynamics of modernity is completely over and then we all are transported into a post-modern world, scholars like Giddens does not agree with that. Central to understanding contemporary globalization is the nature of time-space distancing process.

This is something that we discussed briefly but we will discuss it more elaborately later. So, the basic argument is that earlier in pre-modern time an action takes place in the same place at a given time and the place and space was co-terminus because it has to be located in a given geographical area and incident takes place at a given time in a given place and only if you are present in that particular place, you will be able to get involved or you will be able to understand or take part in that particular social event or that particular social action.

Now, with the advent of modernity, with the advent of modern technology of communication and transportation, this started to become extended, it started become distanced, you do not really need to be there in order to organize that and what Giddens argues or what David Harvey argues is that in a globalized world where you can sit in one particular place and then organize or coordinate social action or social events in any other part of the world.

So, Giddens uses the term time-space distancing in order to explain that whereas, Harvey uses another term that is time-space compression which we will discuss in the next week. The central premises of the framework is the need for conceptualize the relations between local involvements, that is circumstances of co-presence and interactions across distances, the connections of presence and absence. And this is exactly the same point what we discussed.

The central premise of this framework is the need to conceptualize relations between local involvements. Circumstances of co-presence, you need to be present with others in a given time and interactions across instances, the connections of presence and absence. So, we discussed quite a lot of examples as well in that in some of the previous classes, you can discuss about how an organization must function by sitting some thousands of kilometres away.

So, you are not physically present there but you are present, so you are not physically present but your involvement is very much there, your actions can be seen, your voices can be heard, your decisions do matter there, your decisions are the one which are implemented there, so we are encountering a very interesting dynamics of this presence and absence in this modern world.

Giddens argues that in what he terms as the modern era, the level of time-space distancing is much higher than at any previous period. When we discovered or when we invented telegraph for the first time, we were able to send a short message to some thousands of kilometres away or hundreds of kilometres away, from that particular moment with the invention of telephone it became much easier and now with the advent of internet and live streaming and video conferencing and whatnot, that particular process has come to an extreme form or it has come to a kind of a radical form.

Furthermore, the relations between local and distant social forms and events become far stretched, this is the essence of what globalization is. So, this is an important point, he is trying to explain what is globalization, this stretching process, so the things which are, which earlier used to happen at a given time as at a given space is now stretched across the place.

Things that happen some thousands of kilometres away can have direct impact on an incident or a situation in your place and something what happens in your physical place will have equally important consequences some thousands of kilometres away. So, there is a kind of, Giddens uses the word distancing, stretching whereas Harvey uses compression. We will come back to that later.

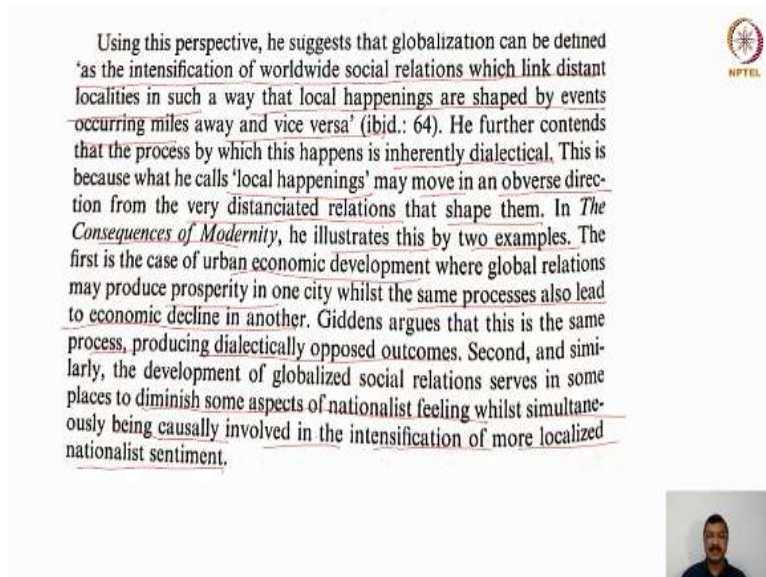
So, the result is that contemporary social life is increasingly characterized by modes of the stretched connections as different social context or regions become networked across earth's surface as a whole. So, we are seeing a scenario where different physical places of the earth are networked and we will come back to this whole spatiality of this network. The whole question whether are all the places equally well integrated in this particular network?

Obviously, the answer is not, for example, a city like Mumbai or a city like Hong Kong or Beijing or London or New York, they are so deeply ingrained and integrated in the overall global network, there are certain remote places even within India, within U.S, within China are completely almost left out.

So, we will come back to those arguments later, but this is how he visualizes the result is that the contemporary social life is increasingly characterized by modes of the stretched

connections as different social context or region becomes networked across earth's surface as a whole.

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Using this perspective, he suggests that globalization can be defined 'as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa' (ibid.: 64). He further contends that the process by which this happens is inherently dialectical. This is because what he calls 'local happenings' may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. In *The Consequences of Modernity*, he illustrates this by two examples. The first is the case of urban economic development where global relations may produce prosperity in one city whilst the same processes also lead to economic decline in another. Giddens argues that this is the same process, producing dialectically opposed outcomes. Second, and similarly, the development of globalized social relations serves in some places to diminish some aspects of nationalist feeling whilst simultaneously being causally involved in the intensification of more localized nationalist sentiment.

Using this perspective, he suggests that globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relationships which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa. This is a definition that Giddens provides.

As the intensification of worldwide social relationships and this worldwide social relations could be through communication, through flow of ideas, finance, technology, media and then the transportation of goods and then people, increase intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa.

So, something that is happening in your own locality, your own local neighbourhood is no longer can be understood by looking only into that geographical area. The things that you consume, the kind of advertisement that you see, the kind of video that you watch or the kind of job opportunities that you have or the people with whom you interact during your professional meeting or your business meeting they are all sitting elsewhere or they are all influenced from a much-distant part.

So, the local and the global are becoming very interesting categories according to this particular definition. He further contends that the process by which this happens is inherently dialectical. It is not a one-way process, it is inherently dialectical this is because what he calls the local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. In the consequences of modernity, he illustrates this by two examples.

So, this local happening, so what is local? For somebody in London, the local could be the things that are happening in his or her immediate vicinity, but whereas for us that is global, so this obverse relationship, this dialectical relationship is very evident in this whole thing. He gives two examples, the first is the case of an urban economic development where global

relations may produce prosperity in one city while same process also leads to economic decline in another.


And we know that how that some of the cities, you know we are talking about urban expansion, urbanization you are talking about the large-scale investment of foreign capital in certain region. So, these are all happening as a very selective process, while certain regions become so prosperous with the investment of some huge multinational companies in the form of development of a port or a special economic zone, certain other parts are kind of impoverished.

Giddens argues that this is the same process producing dialectically opposed outcomes. Second and similarly the development of globalized social relations serves in some places to diminish some aspects of nationalist feeling while simultaneously being causally involved in the intensification of more localized nationalist sentiments.

I do not think that I need to elaborate this further because globalization has on one side have given rise to attitude among the youth, among the people that you do not need to really cling on to this kind of nationalist identity beyond a point, you are all modern, you are all postmodern, late modern, you can become a global citizen, you can think about the globe, the whole world as your home, the kind of a cosmopolitan sentiment that we discussed earlier when we discussed Ulrich Beck.


But at the same time we are seeing large scale backlash, we are seeing large scale opposition to these kind of sentiments and we are seeing people becoming more and more exclusivist, people are showing more and more resentment against the other, people are increasingly declaring that this is our land and we do not want anybody else, we do not want outsiders and this outside is such a broad category it could be migrants, it could be refugees, it could be laborers, it could be tourists in some places. So, these dialectical processes take place simultaneously in each of these places.

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Giddens therefore proposes that the world capitalist economy is one of four dimensions of globalization which he develops from his four-fold classification of modernity. The other three are the nation-state, the world military order and the international division of labour (shown in Figure 3.1).

In relation to the second, the nation-state, Giddens argues that the main centres of power in the world economy are the capitalist states. Whilst the major agents of economic activity – firms – are to some degree 'insulated' from the political realm and can wield immense economic power, he argues their power cannot rival that of states in some key respects. These areas are essentially 'territoriality' and 'control over the means of violence'. He emphasizes that there 'is no area of the earth's surface, with the partial exception of the polar regions, which is not claimed to be under the legitimate sphere of control of one state or another' (ibid.: 71).



Giddens therefore proposes that the world capitalistic economy is one of four dimensions of globalization which he develops from his four-fold classification of modernity. So, this is an

extremely important point where Giddens is talking about the four important inherent processes or features of modernity and he sees globalization as an extension of the same processes.

So, the world capitalist economy is one and the other three are nation-states, the world military order and the international division of labor. So, this capitalist economy which we will come back to again when we discuss David Harvey in the coming class, because we know that modernity is something solely, something very specifically built around modern forms of capitalism.

So, modernity you cannot imagine modernity, you cannot visualize modernity without disconnecting it with that of feudalism, medieval period is connected with feudalism and the emergence of modernity in Europe is specifically closely linked with the emergence of modern capitalist system.

So you cannot think of modernity without understanding its connection with the capitalism and definitely according to Giddens and Social scientists, capitalist economy or capitalist form of economic activity is one of the most important features of globalization and then what we are seeing today is you can call it as late capitalism, you can call it as neoliberal capitalism.

But still its foundational characteristics, its fundamental characteristics have no change, we have not seen any alternative forms of economic activity or economic system, we are still very much a capitalist economy. In relation to the second, the nation-state, Giddens argues that the main centres of power in the world economy are the capitalist states.

Again, we have mentioned it several times, that the rise of modern nation states, this is again a very important feature of modernity, the idea of the whole idea of a nation state having, as having a sovereign power and it is presiding over a given territory with its citizens, not with its subjects.

There is a huge difference between citizenship and citizens and then subjects, you talk about the king and the subject, you never talk about the king and the citizen, citizen is understood as a set of people who have certain kind of rights bestowed on them. So, the relationship between state and citizenship is something very different from that of a monarchy and the subjects or king and the subjects or an emperor and a subject.

While the major agents of economic activity, firms are to some degree insulated from the political realm and can wield immense economic power, he argues that their power cannot rival the states in some key respects. So, it is very interesting, the whole discussion, even in the discussion on neoliberalism, you always come across this kind of a tension between the sovereignty of a nation state and enormous power wielded by this huge multinational corporations.

We know that there are you know several multinational corporations who are far, far richer than a large number of nation-states in the world. At the same time, so can we say that these nation states have completely lost their sovereignty, are they completely helpless in the face of this large multinational companies?

Situation is more complicated, it is not a very straightforward answer and in the recent past what we are seeing is that many in places nation-states are actually exerting their power including in India, including in India, including in the U.S., including in China, Russia in every



place you are seeing the nation states are reasserting their power over certain multinational companies and their economic activity.

He emphasized, these areas are essentially the territoriality and control over the means of violence. So, two things in which the traditional power of the state has not diminished, one is about the territoriality and you know that how this old-fashioned understanding of territory is still important, the geography is important, the soil is important, your boundaries are very important.

And we have not been able to move beyond that, even when we say that the boundaries have become more and more porous, it is becoming more and more flexible, still these boundaries appear to be very, very important. And control over the means of violence and this again we know that very important argument of Max Weber, it was Max Weber who defined the state as having the legitimate authority over violence.

In a modern state only state and state apparatus have the ability to inflict violence over the people, nobody else, may be slight exception could be when your life is under threat you can use violence, but otherwise only state has the ability to use legitimate violence. I hope you understand the meaning of legitimate, again you need to remember Weber because Weber is the one who defined authority as the legitimate form of power, every form of power does not constitute authority.

When you talk about authority it is a situation where even the subjects of the power, the people on whom this power is exerted they also accept that the power can be exerted on them, so that is what you call it as legitimate power, authority is defined by Weber as legitimate power and he talks about three types of authority, I am not going into the details.

He emphasized that there is no area of the earth's surface with the partial exception of the polar region which is not claimed to be under the legitimate sphere of control of one state or another. So, even in the most postmodernist world that we are talking about, some of the fundamental features of modernity is still intact, that is what Giddens argues again and again.

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The state is therefore bound into the third dimension – that of the military order. Giddens argues that this corresponds to 'the connections between the industrialization of war, the flow of weaponry and techniques of military organization from some parts of the world to others, and the alliances which states build with one another' (ibid.: 74). He suggests these relations exist in the same dialectical 'push-pull' as those between the other dimensions in that the Cold War saw the USA and USSR build an essentially bipolar system of military alliances that was global in scope. The countries involved in these military alliances thus will 'necessarily accept limitations in their opportunities to forge independent military strategies externally' (ibid.: 74). Furthermore, the 'globalizing of military power' is not confined to weaponry and alliances but also concerns war itself. Giddens argues that two world wars attest to the way in which local conflicts become global involvements (although as will be discussed later, this global-local division may be problematic). Thus whilst nuclear weaponry precludes that kind of war between the main powers, a series of orchestrated wars have been instigated in peripheral regions.



The third and the fourth points - The state is therefore bound into the third dimension, that of the military order. Giddens argues that this corresponds to the connection between the industrialization of war and the flow of weaponry and technique of military organization from some part of the world to other and alliances with which states build with one another.

And this is also very closely connected with the expansion of modernity, expansion of system of nation state, expansion of modern capitalist system, the connection between industrialization of war, what does it mean industrialization of war? We know that this weapon industry is a huge multi-billion enterprise today, every country is scouting for more and more lethal weapons.

We know that India is one of the largest importers of weapons, we are spending billions and billions of rupees every year to procure more and more advanced weapon and weapon technologies and we all know about this recent accusation of the fighter flights or fighter planes from France.

So, is the case with almost every country, there could be very few exceptions, so that is a huge military industry out there and it is highly industrialized with quite a lot of private players in place. And the flow of weaponry and the techniques of military organization from some part of the world to others and the alliance which starts with states build with one another.

He suggests these relations exist in the same dialectical pull push as those between other dimensions of the Cold War saw in the U.S. and USSR build on an essentially bipolar system of military alliances that was global in scope. The countries involved in these military alliances thus will necessarily accept limitations of their opportunities, limitations in their opportunities to forge independent military strategies externally.

Furthermore, the globalization of military power is not confined to weaponry and alliance but also concerns war itself. Giddens argues that two world wars attest to the ways in which local conflicts become global involvements, although as will be discussed later, this global local division may be problematic. Thus, while nuclear weaponry precludes the kind of war between main powers, a series of orchestrated wars have been instigated in peripheral regions.

So, he is talking about how these wars and the larger commercial interest and the business interest and the industrial interest behind the whole question of a war continues unabated, even though we have moved out of the cold war era, where almost every country was divided into either with the USA block or with the USSR block and there was a major arm raise and with the fall of USSR and with the fall of Berlin wall, we believed that era of Cold War is over.

But we see, we are seeing now more localized kind of tensions, we saw the Gulf war, we saw the war against terror, we saw a kind of lot more localized kind of global tensions and then military skirmishes and other places, and China recently we know that is creating so much heat in this part of this whole world. So, this logic of military industrial nexus and the role of nation state has not changed much according to Giddens.

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The fourth dimension – industrial development – relates to the expansion of the global division of labour and the geography of production. He argues that both firms and states are bound into complex dialectical processes that produce global-scale class relations and which separate workers from the means of production. This 'globalized industrial development' is leading to differentiations between different areas of the world both in terms of the level (or 'order') of job tasks and in regional specialization in terms of types of industry, skills and the production of raw materials. He points to the diffusion of machine technologies as one of the major features of globalized industrialism and argues that it not only affects the sphere of production but also many aspects of day-to-day life (ibid.: 76). Furthermore, this diffusion of industrialism has created 'one world' in a more negative and threatening sense – a world where actual or potential ecological changes of a harmful sort affect everyone on the planet.



The fourth dimension that is industrial development relates to the expansion of the global division of labor and the geography of production. So, here again we know that the rise of industrialism in the Europe, it was heavily influenced by the colonial administration, the raw materials were taken from all the colonies and it was produced and the finished goods were sold back in their colonies at a much higher prices and that surplus created quite a lot of economic affluence and prosperity in these colonial states.

Now what has happened to that kind of a, sorry, that kind of a process? He argues that both firms and states are bound into complex dialectical process that produce global scale class relations and which separates workers from the means of production. This globalized industrial development is leading to differentiation between different areas of the world both in terms of the level or order of job tasks and in regional specialization in terms of types of industry, skills and the production of raw materials.

He points to the diffusion of machine technologies as one of the major features of globalized industrialism and argues that it not only affects the sphere of production but also many aspects of day-to-day life. Furthermore, this diffusion of industrialism has created one world in a more negative and threatening sense, a world where actual or potential ecological changes of a harmful sort affect everyone on the planet.

And now the relationship between industrialism, production, the process of production and globalization is a very, very fascinating one and I hope you remember when we discussed Arjun Appadurai he spoke about production fetishism, Marx speak about the fetishism of the product, of the commodity but Appadurai spoke about the fetishism of the production itself and the fetishism of the consumer.

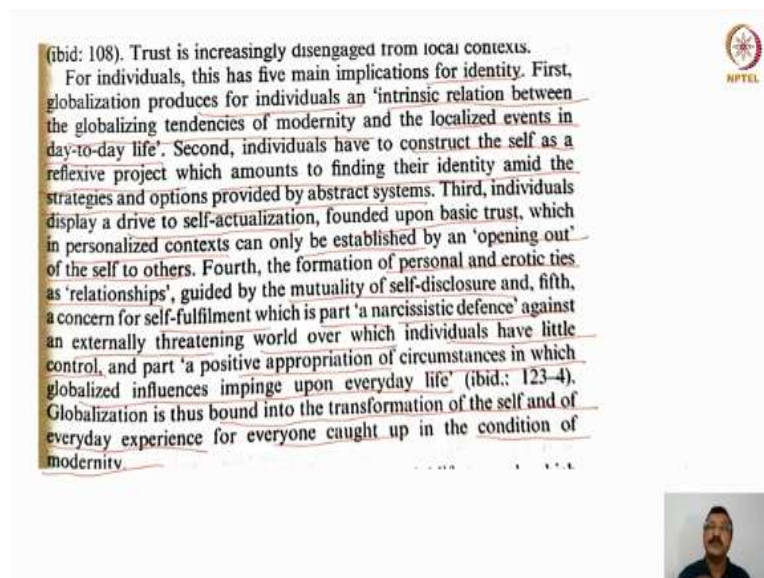
Now, he is talking about a similar kind of a process where the workers are taken away from their means of production, that is understood with the very emergence of capitalism, but now this production is concentrated, it is divided, it is refashioned in such a manner that there is a kind of a division of labor across the globe.

There are certain regions which are known for producing different kind of material, equipment and other things, there are certain other regions which are known for that and there are certain areas which are completely neglected or which are completely excluded. So, there is a global

dimension to this division of, industrial division of labor and it is done solely on the basis of this profiting, on the basis of making more and more profit from a purely business in the interest or purely commercial interest of point.

So, furthermore this diffusion of industrialism has created one world in a more negative and threatening sense, a world where actual or potential ecological changes of a harmful sort affects everyone on the planet. And whether it could be ecological changes or it could be even an economic crisis in a completely globally interconnected world, you cannot have any economy which is completely isolated and that is what we saw in 2008, the global meltdown, it significantly affected almost every country in the world and India was able to you know withstand it significantly but that is the whole scenario.

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And he goes on to discuss questions about trust and risk which we discussed in the previous class and there is a one chapter in which he talks about the implication of trust and risk on individuals, on our own subjectivity, I remember, I hope you remember our discussion about expert systems and symbolic tokens and how modernity brings in these two very important elements.

Symbolic tokens like cash or money which can be exchanged across and expert systems which have made our everyday life much easier but we do not know any of these things work and that is why we feel that we are completely disembedded from that. So, this whole idea of deterritorialization, disembedding, expert systems and symbolic token, these are all part of the larger theoretical scheme of Giddens.

So, this section he is talking about how this deep territorialization and this disembedding really influence the individuals and it is a very interesting thing and all of you must be able to identify yourself with this process when Giddens speak about it. For individuals, this has five implications on identity.

I am talking about the significance of trust in a globalized era. First, globalization produces four individuals an intrinsic relation between the globalizing tendencies of modernity and the localized events in day-to-day life. So, an individual is really forced to reconcile or to make

sense of the intrinsic relationship between the globalizing tendencies of modernity all the things that we discuss so far and to make sense of the localized events in the day-to-day life.

And this localized event could be very closely connected with your tradition, it could be connected with your family, with your community, with your locality. So, an individual in today's world, I am talking about you or anybody for that matter, is constantly reminded of this tension between the demands from your locality, from your tradition and the kind of larger changes that are happening.

Second, individuals have to construct the self as a reflexive project, which amounts to finding their identity amid the strategies and operations provided by abstract systems. This is an extremely important point, now the whole question, who am I? You know that is a very profound question, every philosopher must have pondered over this whole question but here we are talking about not a philosophical question who am I but a more sociologically rooted question, who am I.

And this who am I is becoming more and more complicated in a globalized era, it becomes extremely difficult to identify ourselves, it is difficult to describe yourself. A simple description no longer would be valid and this is very different from people who lived in a pre-modern world or even now people who live a more traditional life back in villages or in some remote areas.

For them who they are is not a very profound question, it is a simple question. Whereas for somebody who is living in urban areas, who is exposed to this kind of arguments, counter arguments about identity, about sexuality, about various kind of concerns, various kind of ideological position and to talk about yourself, who you are becomes a very reflective process and this reflective process is complicated more by the abstract systems.

You need to think about what is your sexual orientation, what is your position with respect to sexuality, with respect to gender, with respect to religion question, with respect to a citizenship question, a host of other issues come into your own self-definition, self-identification and makes your life more complicated. Third, individuals display a drive to self-actualization, founded upon basic trust, which in personalized context can only be established by an opening out of self to others.

So, in order to establish a deep relationship with one another, in order to trust somebody, you have to undergo, you have to undertake a very systematic processing of opening out, explaining who you are, because you may not be something so easily comprehensible for the other person, because the other person must be coming from a completely different kind of background.

I hope you understand this, people who are born in same village will not have so much of complicated life stories, they will not have completely different kind of selves, their characters would be different, their names would be different, other things would be different but their characters, their self-definitions would not be so complicated in comparison with you, when you want to establish a mutual trust with somebody else and you will have to undergo a deeper process of explaining out, opening out of the self to others.

Fourth - The formation of personal and erotic ties as relationships, guided by the mutuality of self-disclosure. Again, to fall in love becomes a more complicated affair in a globalized world. I hope you would have noticed that, so to fall in love with somebody and to see that whether you are compatible with each other or what is the meaning of compatibility, your idea of a

relationship, whether it is going to be a permanent relationship or a causal relationship or your understanding of marriage, your understanding of family, whether to have children or not to have children.

All these things have really complicated our relationships and our previous generations or some three or four generations ago, those people simply did not have this much of confusions, they simply did not have this much of choices, the life was much simpler, whether it is good or bad that is a different story, but they did not have so much of things to disclose to each other and then to come to a conclusion and only to see that things are too complicated.

And fifth, a concern for self-fulfilment which is part of a narcissistic defence against an externally threatening world over which individuals have little control and you all tend to turn more narcissist, more concerned about your own pleasure, your own life, your own idea because you realize that there is nothing much in the outside that you can have control of. And part of a positive appropriation of circumstances in which globalized influences impinge upon everyday life.

Globalization is thus bound into transformation of the self and of everyday experience for everyone caught up in the conditions of modernity. So, I found this argument very interesting because Giddens is able to explain how your questions of subjectivity, your questions of everyday life, your questions of your own self-definition is inescapably, intricately connected with these larger dynamics of globalization and we are all becoming more and more complicated people.

We are our self-definitions, our nature of relationship, our understanding, our interaction with others it is all becoming more and more complicated because of this ideas, because of this abstract systems, new ideas, flow of ideas, identities, new technology and that is what Giddens argues how that globalization has a profound influence not only on the economy or on the polity or on the cultural thing but also on the most personal level, on the whole question of your subjectivity and your identity.

So, let us stop here and we will continue with Giddens next work, the last class on Giddens will be for the next week we will discuss his 'Runaway World'. Thank you.