

Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives
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Lecture 36
Ulrich Beck- The Nation-state and Globalization Part – I

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Ulrich Beck: The Nation-state
and Globalization

The Cosmopolitan State: Redefining Power in the Global Age Author(s):
Ulrich Beck Reviewed work(s): Source: International Journal of Politics,
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Welcome back to the class; we will discuss, again, Ulrich Beck. I am sure you remember this name; we had an elaborate discussion on his theory of reflexive modernity a couple of weeks ago. And in this week, this is a new week we are starting the eighth week. I planned to discuss Ulrich Beck because Beck is a critical scholar this week. I will touch upon only two of his significant concepts or major arguments, though Beck has written extensively on various topics. It is almost impossible to discuss Beck in this given limited time.

So, I would urge you to go to the library or get material, both books, commentaries, articles both by Ulrich Beck and about Ulrich Beck. There are quite a lot of interviews and lectures on YouTube by Ulrich Beck.

So, I request you to oversee them because he is one of the most critical scholars. Especially Ulrich Beck was in discussions in recent times in COVID19. Because he argued about risk

society, we will discuss that in detail; maybe after the next class, we will spend some three hours discussing or three sessions discussing the risk society.

So, that risk society became a critical talking point in the days of COVID19. Many of the arguments he put forward are his theories on risk came out to be accurate or became very relevant in the context of this global pandemic. So, in this class, I am going to have two sessions on this part and the same reading. It is a reading on the national state and globalization. And I am depending upon his original essay, redefining power in the global age, Ulrich Beck.

It is published in the International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society. The Cosmopolitan age, the Cosmopolitan state, Redefining Power in the Global Age, that is an essay around a 20-page report, I thought that it would be easier for you to follow if I have this PPT rather than scrolling down the original article, but all these PPT every everything is taken from verbatim from that essay, so that if you want to read it, or when you read it, it becomes easier for you.

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- Globalization, in a socio-theoretical context, is tantamount to a revolution in the social sciences, forcing a change in perspective, a change of paradigms from the predominant "methodological nationalism" to a "methodological cosmopolitanism".
- I will first examine this thesis in general and then, as a second step, develop it in more detail using the example of a key topic, the concepts of power and state.



So, it is all it is not my writing; it is all taken verbatim from Beck's essay. So, you will see this first-person coming in; it is all Beck, who is mentioning himself. So, globalisation in a socio-temporal, socio-theoretical context is equivalent to a revolution in the social sciences,

forcing a change in perspective and changing the paradigms from methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism.

So, this essay has roughly two parts, maybe one of the initial parts, he is making critical observations about the nature of social science in the globalised era. Remember, in the previous class, when we started with Manuel Castells, we also started with Manuel Castells's arguments about new network Sociology. He argued that the fundamental character of societies changing social structure is changing. Hence, you also require a new Sociology that is sensitive to these changes.


And Beck is also saying precisely similar things. And he is not talking about Sociology as a discipline. Still, he talks about the kind of methodologies or the principal methodologies that we are following now and how they need to be changed.

So, in this first part of the essay, which I will discuss in this class, maybe I will touch upon some of the arguments about the second part; he talks about the necessary changes for the functioning and practising of social sciences. So, globalisation in a socio-theoretical context is equivalent to a revolution in social sciences, forcing a shift in perspective and paradigms from the predominant methodological nationalism to a methodological cosmopolitanism.

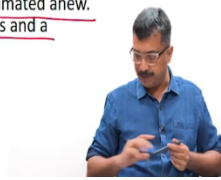

So, these two things are essential methodological nationalism and methodological cosmopolitanism. So, what does he mean by that? We will come to that. I will first examine the thesis in general, and then, as a second step, I will develop it in more detail using the example of a critical topic, the concept of power and state. So, with this concept of power and state, he examines the nature of power and state in the contemporary global scenario.

And he would argue that to capture these changing forms of power and state; you require a methodological cosmopolitanism because this new similar view is simply beyond the reach of methodological nationalism. So, that is a kind of a connection between these two sections.

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- what does "internal globalization" or "cosmopolitanization from within" mean?
- One central operational thesis, basic indicator of reflexive modernization is the pluralisation of borders. This is supposed to be true for so fundamental dualisms like the borders between nature and culture, knowledge and unawareness, subject and object, peace and war, life and death, We and the Other.
- In terms of the "methodological nationalism", which has so far been dominant in the social sciences, these borders coincide, the axiom of the congruity of borders. In the terms of a "methodological cosmopolitanism" these borders diverge. "Internal globalization" thus stands for dissonance in the drawing of borderlines.
- In other words: borders are no longer predetermined, they can be chosen (and interpreted), but simultaneously also have to be redrawn and legitimated anew. There is both: an increase in plausible ways of drawing new borders and a growing tendency to question existing borders.



So, let us try to understand what he means by the term methodological globalisation, sorry, methodological nationalism and methodological cosmopolitanism. And again, please keep in mind that Beck recognises that many of the arguments he puts forward in this essay are strictly applicable to Western societies, which are considered the highly globalised scenario. And he is optimistic about its applicability in the rest of the world.

But for him, when he talks about cosmopolitanism and a cosmopolitan state, he primarily talks about the western societies that are most advanced and which are seeing the maximum fullest potentials of globalisation in a global era. So, he is talking about internal globalisation or cosmopolitanism from within means?

So, he is talking about what does internal globalization, when you look at within a particular community, when you look at one's society, when you look at your neighbourhood, when you look at your immediate region, what kind of changes what kind of cosmopolitanism is happening from within? Cosmopolitanization is seen as something, not as something imposed from the top, but you can imbibe a whole set of new ideas, opportunities and other things.

One central operational thesis, a primary indicator of reflexive modernisation, is the pluralisation of borders; this is supposed to be true for fundamental dualisms like the borders between nature

and culture, knowledge and unawareness, subject and object, peace and war, life and death, we and other. So, remember our discussion on reflexive modernity when we talk about how this reflexive modernity is very different from the first modernity as a radically different form.

So, suppose the first modernity was around this idea of very rigid boundaries, here in the era of reflexive modernity. In that case, we are encountering the pluralisation of borders, borders do not disappear, but you are faced with an assortment of fences. And that is a very, very interesting usage because when you, when the image comes about a boundary or a frame. It uses a very idea of a very concrete structure that demarcates or distinguishes between two entities, either as a wall or as a fence or as a river, something like that.

But when you have multiple borders, the borders do exist. Still, these borders are negotiable; these models are mobile, the models are more, and they are not as rigid or fixed as they are. He talks about the pluralisation of borders in late modernity or reflexive modernity.

And this borders between nature and culture, we just mentioned in the previous class, how human beings could make inroads into the fields considered purely in the realm of nature, genetics. We can define, even predict or even engineer a child of our choice. We have heard about many controversies about how these designer children are being planned in China or some experiments taking place.

Or you can have a child with certain kinds of genetic predispositions. So, we can genetically engineer children that were simply beyond human imagination some 100 years back. Or knowledge and awareness or subject and object or peace and war or life and death and we and others.

So, in all these things which, you know, modernity believe that there are very fundamental boundaries, now, limitations exist but as less fixed as less rigid and less fixed. In terms of methodological nationalism, which has been dominant in the Social Sciences, these boundaries coincide with the hypothesis of the congruity of borders.

So, the congruity of borders in terms of a methodological cosmopolitanism, these borders diverge, internal globalisation stands for dissonance in the drawing of borderlines. So, in the case

of methodological nationalism, as we have discussed earlier, you think that your nation-state is the container.

So, the boundary of the nation-state, for example, if this is India, Indian society is considered to be, is supposed to be contained within this particular boundary and Indian economy, Indian polity, Indian society everything you understand it has a congruent congruity of the borders. So, everything contained within this nation-state is what we understood as the Indian one.

So, this is precisely a methodological nationalism. We confuse or think that the boundary of the nation-state and the boundary of all the social and political things are congruent. These borders coincide with the hypothesis of the congruity of the walls in terms of methodological cosmopolitanism; these borders diverged.

In the case of methodological cosmopolitanism, which Beck argues is something so necessary in a global world, these borders diverged. Your national boundary becomes less significant when you think about the national economy. Your federal limit becomes less critical when you talk about your culture, consumption, ideas, leisure, or anything.

So, internal globalisation stands for dissonance in the drawing of borderlines. In other words, borders are no longer predetermined. They can be chosen and interpreted, but simultaneously, they also have to be redrawn and legitimated new. There is an increase in plausible ways of drawing new borders and a growing tendency to question existing boundaries.

So, again, keep in mind that he is not saying that the borders have become irrelevant, or walls have entirely disappeared, and we are in a truly global world. Or, as in the case of the first lecture that we had about Friedman, when he talks about this world is a flat space where anybody can go anywhere, that does not happen. That does not occur; there are boundaries. There are borders.

But these borders are becoming less permanent less rigid. Depending upon your position, depending upon your thing, you can redraw the boundaries and negotiate the borders. There is an increase in the plausible ways of drawing new walls and a growing tendency to question existing frames.

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- Globalization, understood as pluralisation of borders, produces, in other words a legitimation crisis of the national morality of exclusion.
- This emerges under two conditions: Firstly, insofar as the national social and political problem contexts become transnational (and are recognized as such), demanding transnational solutions in turn.
- Secondly, insofar as national and ethnic ties are pluralised, overlap and are de-essentialised within one and the same lived context.
- In the course of such a pluralisation of borders and the resulting exclusion crises and conflicts, which assume new patterns and forms of development, the nation state axioms of the social sciences implode. A shift of paradigm from the prevalent "methodological nationalism" to "methodological cosmopolitanism"



Globalisation, understood as the pluralisation of borders, produces, in other words, a legitimation crisis for the national morality of exclusion. So, he is talking about is the national character of exclusion. If you look at globalisation as a pluralisation of borders, of course, barriers exist, but the walls become more flexible and impregnable. And in that sense, it produces a legitimation crisis.

What do you mean by legitimation crisis? A legitimation crisis is a crisis about its very legitimacy. I hope you understand this term legitimacy is something very closely connected with maybe I can give you an example about saying power and authority. When I teach Max Weber, this is one of the critical arguments.

So, power is in the conventional Social Sciences or commercial Sociology; power is understood as somebody's ability to influence the other person; despite that person's willingness or whether that person agrees or knows, you can impose your power on somebody. So, every power is not legitimate a power. So, authority becomes a legitimate power; source means even the person subjected to the power agreed that the other person has the right to exercise this power over somebody.

So, Weber describes two or three different types of authority. He talks about traditional power, charismatic leadership, legal; I am not going into that. But a legitimation crisis is a crisis of its

very justification. So, he argues that this pluralisation of borders will result in the nation-state losing its ability to justify the national morality of exclusion.

Because we know nation-states are founded on the logic of exclusion, the very idea of citizenship and the citizens are included, non-citizens are excluded. National income, national statements, national symbols, and national culture are all based on the national morality of exclusion. So, every nation can build its own identity only through this process of exclusion.

And he argues that globalisation brings a serious challenge to that; this emerges under two conditions. Firstly, insofar as the national social and political problem context becomes transnational and is recognised, demanding multinational solutions in turn. So, in a globalised world, every nation is confronted with global challenges, whether at the economic front or the best example is what is happening in the COVID 19.

Since we are in that context, I am giving more and more examples from that particular case. Or take the chance of environmental degradation of global warming or nuclear disarmament. So, each of these problems is transnational. Each of these issues is transnational, and a single nation-state, whether it is China or USA or Russia, is incapable of addressing them on their own; they require global cooperation from others.

So, this political problem context becomes transnational or even the example of terrorism, global terrorism. Terrorism has become an international phenomenon, and no single state can fight it and is recognised as demanding transnational solutions in turn. Secondly, insofar as national and ethnic ties or pluralised, overlap are de-essentialized within the same lived context.

So, the second issue is that insofar as national and ethnic ties are pluralised, when the people who are defined as your people and the people who belong to a nation once it becomes pluralised, it overlap and de-essentialized within the same lived context. So, globalisation also requires you to be less rigid about the definition of your people.

So, the sons of the soil argument become redundant, sons of the soil argument become redundant because, in a globalised world, you require people from across the globe and look at maybe the USA or London or many of the European societies, you have these people coming from around

the world. And that is what is required, or that is happening through the process of globalisation. And in such a context, you will have to be less rigid about your definition of your people, your citizens, or other concerned people.

In such pluralisation of borders and the resulting exclusion of crisis and conflicts, which assumes new patterns and forms of development, the nation-state hypotheses of the Social Sciences implode—a shift of paradigm from the prevalent methodological nationalism to methodological cosmopolitanism.

So, for example, who is an Indian? Who is an Indian? Or who is a, who is a citizen? Who is an American? And we know the whole debate about or discussions or controversies about American citizenship, especially when Donald Trump became the President last time; one of his significant political promises has been to throw out all the illegal migrants, the majority of them whom, he argued, are coming, have come from Mexico or other countries.

So, these arguments become highly problematic when we look at them from the point of view of methodological nationalism. Instead, you will have to develop a methodological cosmopolitanism point of view. See, Beck in that article, he gives a lot of examples about a series of questions that you can ask in a say cosmopolitan place like London, about the number of people who are born and brought up there, number of people who have married outside their race or the nationality.

Number of people who have travelled across, number of people who have citizenship in multiple countries. So, a host of questions will give you answers about a completely different idea about citizenship and then life.

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- "methodological nationalism", meaning explicit and implicit assumptions that the nation state is the container of social processes, and that the national provides the core order for the analysis of social, economic and political processes.
- The assumed correspondence between national territory and the national as well as the related implication that the national and the non national are two logically mutually exclusive conditions. In fact, however, this previously constitutive distinction collapses as a result of Globalization processes.
- 'Cosmopolitan index' of global cities




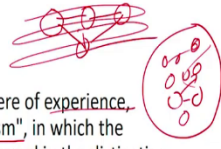
So, methodological nationalism means the explicit and implicit assumptions that the nation-state is the container of social processes. The nation provides the core order for analysing social, economic, and political processes; we mentioned earlier that the nation-state is the container. So, everything that happens within this particular space is what is needed to be understood.

So, because this particular border looks pretty rigid, it looks pretty impenetrable. So, when you talk about Indian society, you think about Indian culture as defined within the nation-state framework. And the assumed correspondence between national territory and the federal and the real related implication that the national and non-national are two logically mutually exclusive conditions.

However, this previously constituted distinction collapses due to the globalisation process, the same point that we mentioned and the cosmopolitan index of global cities; I was saying a bit above. Suppose you undertake a survey, for example, in London or Hong Kong or New York about their ethnic identities about their ethnic affiliations, nationalities, languages, and life partners, about the children they know they married to other people. So, if you look into that kind of cosmopolitan index, you will see that the people who constitute that population in London or

New York are entirely mixed; they truly have that kind of a sophisticated background or cosmopolitan outlook.

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- Social structures or social reality and dynamics, to put it more carefully are being transnationalised.
 - The international and the transnational
 - The international, located in the external sphere of experience, corresponded to the image of "multiculturalism", in which the national self-perception is reflected and confirmed in the distinction from and exclusion of stranger
 - Against the backdrop of the transnational, it suddenly emerges that national and international cannot be clearly differentiated, nor can they serve to separate homogenous entities from one another.
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So, social structures or social reality and dynamics are to be put in more carefully are being transnationalised; that is his overall argument. So, this Indian society maybe Indian society may not be a correct answer because India is far less transnationalised than many of the western societies that Beck is referring to. But many societies are being perhaps transnationalism.

And here he brings in this distinction between transnationalism and internationalism, and I think we made, we discussed this topic earlier. So, when you talk about internationalism, we prioritise the different nations and try to understand the relationship between other countries. But when you talk about transnationalism, we give far less importance to the countries but are talking about processes that go across these national boundaries.

The international, located in the outer sphere of experience, corresponds to the image of multiculturalism. The national self-perception is reflected and confirmed in distinguishing from excluding strangers. And this is a fascinating debate about multiculturalism. This concept is more prevalent in the UK or even in the US to a large extent because the UK identified their national imaginary as a place of multiculturalism.

Because of multiculturalism, you celebrate the cultural uniqueness of different cultures. So, you are seen as somebody who represents a culture, so, whether it is Indian, South Indians, or including Indians and Pakistanis, different religious communities, other ethnic communities.

So, all these people put together seems to represent the British culture British community. So, that imagination has a problem and the problem because it tends to essentialise each of these communities. And they tend to consolidate, crystallise, and even after so many decades, you will see, they are looking at each other, and they tend to exclude each other.

The Sikhs will remain to be Sikhs, the Hindus will remain to be Hindus, and regional, national identities will remain different national identities. So, nothing that happens in between; they tend to see as very concrete, essentialised, crystallised identities to exclude the stranger.

Against the backdrop of transnational, it suddenly emerges that national and international cannot be differentiated, nor can they serve to separate homogeneous entities from one another. So, when you look at from the background of transnational, then it becomes evident that this distinction is no longer more straightforward, who is a national and who is a non-national becomes a very tricky thing because many of you are, many of the population a substantial section or at least a significant section of your people might be your permanent residents who have taken new citizenship.

Or there could be a massive section of say migrants are or refugees. So, these are the people, for example, the status of a refugee. So, how do you look into these accounts? They become critical points.

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- Social sciences must be founded anew as a science of transnational reality conceptually, theoretically, methodologically, and also organisationally. The key concepts of "modern society" ? household, family, class, democracy, power, state, economy, public sphere, politics, etc. must be removed from their fixed settings in methodological nationalism. They must be redefined or rethought in the framework of methodological cosmopolitanism.



Social Sciences must be founded anew as a science of transnational reality, conceptually, theoretically, methodologically and organizationally. The fundamental concepts of modern society, household, family, class, democracy, power, state, economy, public sphere, politics, etc., must be removed from their fixed settings in methodological nationalism; they must be redefined or rethought in the framework of methodological cosmopolitanism.

This is a fundamental argument that he puts forward that our framework of modernity, which we looked at through the prism of the nation-state, is no longer possible. Instead, it would help if you had a methodological cosmopolitanism. And all these terms like household, modern society, democracy, power, state, economy, and public sphere all need to be seen as transcending the nation-state's boundaries. So, that is the argument that he puts forward.

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How do the concepts of "power" and "state" have to be redefined in the global age?



• **First thesis:** The relationship between world economy and the state now resembles a meta power, that is: the power to change the rules of the national and international power relation. The economy in particular has gained this meta-power because it has broken out of the cage of the territorially and nationally organised and dominated power conflict and has acquired new power moves in the digital space. So by "meta-power game" I mean playing for power while simultaneously changing the nation-state rules of power. It's like playing chess and changing the rules of the game along the way.



From this initial argument about the necessity to bring forth the methodological cosmopolitanism, he will analyse the role of power and state and how these two need to be redefined global age? And after two after this session and the next session, it becomes evident to you that a framework of methodological nationalism is utterly incapable of addressing these two transformations.

And this section also is crucial because he is bringing out some fascinating arguments about the nation-state the role of the nation-state in the era of globalisation. So, I decided to include this particular reading to give exciting ideas about the transformation of the nation-state. Because the nation-state was a product of modernity, it is a significant symbol of modernity and Beck has a fascinating argument about the nation-state in a global age.

So, he has a series of thesis around six or seven hypotheses that he put forward. And I will discuss maybe first and second, perhaps one more and the first very first thesis in this session, and we will take a break, and we will go to the remaining dissertation in the coming class. So, the first thesis, the relationship between the world economy and the state, now resembles a meta power.

That is the power to change the rules of the national and international power relations; the economy, in particular, has gained this meta power because it has broken out of the cage of the territoriality and nationally organised and dominated power conflicts and has acquired new power, most in the digital space. So, by meta power game, I mean playing for the administration while simultaneously changing the nation-state governance rules.

It is like playing chess and changing the game's rules along the way. So, one of his critical arguments is that you need to look at the nation-state the power of the nation-state, not in isolation, but by looking at the relationship between the nation-state and economy as something called a meta power. This power is beyond the strict confines of a nation-state.

The power to change the rules of the national and international power relations. Because this meta power can change the laws of the nation-state, this is significant because when we talk about the nation-state, we used to think we always think about sovereignty. The nation-state is equivalent is with the, with power. The nation-state is supposed to be the most sovereign authority.

So here, Beck argues that this new relation between nation-states and the economy has redefined the state's position as a sovereign entity. It becomes apparent in the coming classes.

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- The threat is no longer of an invasion but of the non-invasion of investors, or the threat of their withdrawal. There is only one thing worse than being overrun by big multinationals: **not** being overrun by multinationals. The new global economic power of big business is thus, in this sense, not founded on violence as the ultimate rationale to force their will upon others; it is precisely this which makes it so much more mobile, that is, not tied to any specific location and consequently "globally disposable".
- The power of the state is thus not undermined or broken by state power, i.e., military threat and conquest, but rather deterritorially, exterritorially, by way of a new weightlessness of transnational trade and activity in the digital space. This deterritorial conception of power reverses the logic of the traditional understanding of power, violence, authority.



So, the threat no longer has an invasion but is often known as charge of investors. This is a fascinating argument because, in earlier conditions, every kingdom was afraid of an earlier attack from the neighbouring countries. Every country has fought with each other. Every country has lived in perennial fear of being invaded and conquered by the other.

And here also in the modern states, they have a fear of invasion. But this fear of attack is not about being invaded; it is not about being invaded but worry about not being invaded. Or the threat of withdrawal, there is only one thing worse than being overrun by big multinationals, not being plagued by multinationals. So, imagine prospects where all major multinational companies decide to withdraw from India.

That could be a significant nightmare for the administrators. And remember, during the 60s or early 70s, we had political decisions where many of these multinational companies were forced to leave because that was a time of national, extreme nationalism. Now, our ministers are our Prime Minister, our ministers, all of them are going abroad to invite investment.

The new global economic power of big business is this, in this sense, not founded on violence as the ultimate rational or to force their will upon others; it is precisely this which makes it so much more mobile than it is not tied to any specific location and consequently, globally disposable. So, now, every country is a kind of a disposable thing for most multinational companies.

I hope you are familiar with this recent argument about China plus one policy; because of this current controversy about China's very aggressive foreign policy, every major organisation plans for another country. So, of course, they will invest in China, but they are also getting prepared to come out of China so that China plus one becomes an important policy.


So, every country is, in that sense, is globally disposable. Of course, the markets matter, but theoretically, every country is globally disposable. Thus, the state's power is not undermined or broken by state power, that is, military threat and conquest, but rather deterritorially, exterritorial, by way of new weightlessness of global trade and activity in the digital space.

This deterritorial conception of power reverses the logic of the traditional understanding of power, violence and authority. So, this is a fundamental understanding of power. I mentioned a



Weberian sense of power that you understand power as emanating from one thing. It imposes sure something, which is mostly either with violence or with the threat of use of violence.

But here, this power is something very different. It is very closely associated with the kind of faucolidan understanding of power. Even the threat to withdraw from your territory can shatter your ideas and other things.

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- Two often unseen consequences of this meta-power of global economy are really remarkable. So far throughout history the rules of the game in world politics have been bloody and imperialistic. The new global meta-power is in its essence pacifistic (maybe not in its consequences).
- Second, perhaps and only in a special sense, "cosmopolitan corporations" and maybe even a "cosmopolitan capitalism" is in the making. Global corporations are using and developing the productivity of diversity. The mixing of races, ethnic groups and nationalities at home and abroad is becoming their central resource for creativity and at the same time a dominant employment policy of transnational corporations.



So, two often unseen consequences of this meta power of the global economy are remarkable. So far, throughout history, the rules of the games or world politics have been bloody and imperialist. The new global meta power is, in essence, pacifistic, may not be in its consequences. So, one of the things that he says is that this meta power could be nonviolent; it is not very bloody or it is not based on conquest or bloodbath and other things but could be more pacifist. But its consequences could be equally violent; that is a different matter.

Second, perhaps, and only in a unique sense, cosmopolitan corporations and maybe cosmopolitan capitalism are in the making. Global corporations are using and developing the productivity of diversity. The mixing of races, ethnic groups, and nationalities at home and abroad is becoming their central resource for creativity and, at the same time, a dominant employment policy of transnational corporations.

So, he is talking about the possibility of cosmopolitan corporations or even cosmopolitan capitalism, which benefits from the availability of sophisticated talents from across the globe. And again, I am inviting your attention to the recent controversy in the US where the Trump administration decided to impose many restrictions on the H1B1 visas of highly skilled people.

And almost all prominent leaders of technological firms, whether Sundar Pichai or Zuckerberg or everybody, came against saying that America or Silicon Valley can make this headway only because they had the best minds coming from across the globe, and that should not be undermined. So, he talks about it as the very first thesis. So, we will continue in the next class in the next session. Again, it will be a continuation of the same essay. Thank you.