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## CHAPTER 1

### THE PILLARS OF GLOBALIZATION

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#### I. Introduction

Globalization has become an increasingly significant force in the world of academia and in governmental institutions and processes over the past few decades. How to define globalization, the historical origins of the phenomenon, and how to measure its impact on policy have all been subjects of discussion within various think tanks, governments, and international institutions around the world. By assessing all of these subjects in terms of security, one can start to understand the current and future implications of globalization and how it will shape our future in terms of politics, economics, the environment, and military matters. The five pillars of globalization as we define them are: the definition of globalization, the history of globalization, quantification of globalization, security aspects of globalization, and, finally, stability aspects of globalization.

Each pillar of globalization provides a fundamental piece of the concept that is needed in order to understand its beginnings, current status, and future influences. The second chapter provides a historical overview of the abundance of definitions and perceptions of globalization while also presenting our own definition. Chapter 3 looks at the historical origins of globalization and analyzes trends by identifying what we have termed “globalization events” throughout history from a number of cultural perspectives. Chapter 4 assesses how globalization can be measured and quantified by assessing current policy challenges to states and regions. In the fifth and sixth chapters, the authors explore the ways in which globalization can

impact security and stability at the international level and ways in which we can measure the impact of globalization on both.

This book developed out of a desire to provide a comprehensive review of the impact that globalization is having on international and national security. In order to do that effectively, a definition of globalization was established, and the development of globalization was also examined. Globalization has not emerged outside other historical events; rather, globalization is a theme that has been impacting our societies and communities for quite some time.<sup>1</sup> This publication will describe the main origins of globalization and how various individuals, institutions, and governments have attempted to define globalization. We will also propose a method for measuring the impact of globalization on policy-making processes at the state, regional, and international levels, as well as the impact on the geopolitical implications of globalization for security and stability. By providing a viewpoint from each of these perspectives, globalization will be well established as a topic to be studied in a number of fields by providing information required for any comprehensive and effective study of globalization and its implications for the future stability and security of the international system.

Throughout the book, the various ways in which globalization and its effects have shaped past and current decision-making apparatuses within states will become clear. Though the term *globalization* appeared in dictionaries only a quarter of a century ago,<sup>2</sup> what could be called *globalization events* were occurring as early as 2500 BC through large-scale contact and trading between European and Asian powers. We define a globalization event or milestone as an event or an occurrence that brought people, states, institutions, languages, or some other facet of humanity closer together than they were previously. Understanding the origins of globalization and the evolutions that it has experienced over the centuries is critical to understanding current trends and also to understanding the various options for where globalization is headed in the future. By illustrating how globalization is variously understood, as well as its origins, proposed means for measuring various aspects of the process of globalization, and its impact on security and stability, an encyclopedic reference of globalization has been established that will be useful for anyone seeking to gain a better understanding of this force and its impact on our modern world.

## II. Defining Globalization

Since globalization was first defined in 1961, numerous academics, policy makers, academic institutions, governmental organizations, and governments have developed their own definitions. It is not easily defined, and those definitions that have been proposed are largely based on the ideological position of the person or institution making the proposal, as well as whether the person views globalization as a positive or negative influence in the world. The number of definitions collected in this publication is indicative of the number of viewpoints shared within the global community, as well as how the impact of globalization has emerged over the years.

Many authors have attempted, with relative success, to define globalization in a variety of ways. Some claim that it cannot be done, others claim that it would constrain the concept to do so, and still others have defied these two beliefs and have constructed a working definition. Despite differing opinions about developing a definition, all authors agree on one thing: that defining this term is anything but easy. This chapter will attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of the existing definitions of globalization and introduce our proposed definition:

***“Globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities.”<sup>3</sup>***

This definition developed out of the way that globalization should be viewed, in our opinion, in order to accurately and effectively analyze its impact on the international system. It encompasses all of the important components of globalization, most notably not limiting itself to its causes, course, or consequences; rather, it gives weight to each of these elements in the process of analysis. The causes, course, and consequences of globalization do not always impact the debate in the same way, and only when one looks at each of them in the context of one’s own perspective will it be possible to precisely identify how globalization is largely perceived. Debate and disagreement will be forever prominent in the development of a definition; nevertheless, a definition that is as comprehensive as it can be provides a stronger foundation for any dialogue that develops out of this topic.

The most important components of this definition focus on the transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities. The term *transnational* is used throughout this book to refer to the new way that the concept of *international* must be conceived of in a globalized world. Historically, *international* meant other countries but not your own. In other words, there was a clear separation between one country and another. In a globalized world, we no longer have the luxury of this distinction; therefore, to perceive our world as such is neither accurate nor practical. Furthermore, countries will continue to become more dependent on one another in the future due to the fact that globalization has turned international issues into transnational issues.

The human component of our definition is fairly clear. This relates to those activities that are a direct result or consequence of human interaction. This can range from the creation of state institutions to human-security elements. Non-human activities, on the other hand, are those activities that do not occur as a direct result of human influence. While it is difficult to imagine that there are events that take place in our modern world that are not in some way tied to human activities, this aspect of the definition encompasses everything from natural disasters to the evolutionary process of disease to the availability of natural resources. While the last example may be tied to human exploitation of these resources, the amount of resources available for human consumption – in the case of oil, for instance – is not directly influenced by human activities.

As will become apparent in Chapter 2, the various definitions of globalization do not limit themselves to the ways that the West largely perceives globalization; rather, they provide a broad and inclusive understanding of globalization, its origins, and how intellectuals and policy makers view the evolutionary process known as globalization. Globalization, and therefore the world order as it is historically understood and defined in contemporary terms, is the result of pre-planned social actions in some cases and an automatic evolutionary response in others. In other words, human history has entailed both pre-planning and the consequences of unplanned historical events.

The definitions presented also indicate where globalization first developed: of the 114 definitions presented in Chapter 2, 67 of them make some reference to economics. This is clearly not a coincidence. The various ways that globalization is understood

seemingly center on economic integration and the opening up of free-market economies; therefore, globalization is most often referred to in these terms. Over the past twenty-five years, perceptions and analyses of globalization have evolved to include other aspects of international relations, but its origins in economics cannot be denied.

A firm grasp of the scope and variation of the definitions of globalization, including ours, will provide the necessary foundation for understanding the historical and evolutionary process that became known as globalization. This is possible by illuminating current and historical thought about the way in which this concept is and was perceived. An individual's definition of globalization "depend[s], among other things, on whether one gains or loses from it."<sup>4</sup> This is certainly true when assessing the vantage point of a number of these definitions. Globalization has been understood by some to be Westernization and the imposition of colonialism on the rest of the world. Martin Khor and Jain Neeraj understand it within the context of colonization.<sup>5</sup> However, as Amartya Sen once argued, "Our global civilization is a world heritage — not just a collection of disparate local cultures."<sup>6</sup> Despite this, seeing globalization in terms of Western dominance may accurately reflect the understanding and experience of the process, especially for those in parts of the developing world. It is not uncommon for any influential development to be variously defined and understood, and globalization is certainly not immune to this abundance, agreement, and dissent.

How will this review of definitions help us understand the implications and consequences of globalization for global security and stability? One of the important parts of the chapter is a discussion of how these points are seen in both historical and current discourse on globalization and the effects thereof. We have determined that globalization is not an endpoint to be discussed, dealt with, and then discarded; rather, globalization has existed in the folds of human history, and various forms of globalization will impact the world our children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren will live in. Therefore, it is critical to understand how we can shape the world and discussion today in order to look toward a brighter and more stable tomorrow.

It would be an impossible task to agree, even partially, with every definition that is presented within the chapter. We can, however, suggest the idea that the broader and more inclusive a definition, the more applicable it will be. For instance, David Held and others define

globalization as "...the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual."<sup>7</sup> This definition encompasses a number of aspects of human and non-human (spiritual) existence and is very broad in its scope. However, other authors such as Ray Kiely and Phil Marfleet limit their conception and perception of globalization: "...a world in which societies, cultures, politics and economics have, in some sense, come closer together."<sup>8</sup> Each definition presents its own perspective; however, by limiting your understanding of globalization, it is possible to limit yourself to seeing its dilemmas as well as its opportunities. Our definition, as presented earlier in this introduction, encompasses all cultural and state-based components of the globalization process in order to analyze it in its entirety, thereby identifying areas where globalization can provide the most benefit and where globalization must be carefully watched in order to control its potential destabilizing influence.

Globalization is a progression that helps us to understand, analyze, predict, investigate, synthesize, and classify our world and the events that unfold within it. A restrictive definition can imply right or wrong, judgment, and exclusivity, which do nothing but foster misunderstandings, hate, and intolerance when developing thoughts, papers, and discussions in policy circles. Definitions that remain broad and inclusive are better able to help move our world forward. That said, it does not mean that this publication favors definitions that are extensive and detailed in nature; rather, it only provides a guideline for understanding the impact that various conceptions of the term may have, as well as for establishing a better foundation for absorbing the intricacies of this publication.

A remaining point of discussion lies in the value added by a publication that reviews the existing characterizations of globalization. As Philip Kelly illustrates, "a central component in the globalization debate has been the contemporary role of the state in a period when national political boundaries are increasingly porous to flows of capital, commodities, people and information."<sup>9</sup> Consequently, understandings of, and approaches to, globalization are a vital component to understanding the basis of policy makers, governmental institutions, and other parties that can have a direct or indirect influence at the state level. The behavior of states is based on their understanding of the process and effects of globalization. Without

fully understanding the diversity that exists, states cannot be properly prepared to deal with one another. Despite the fact that agreement cannot be reached on how to define and classify globalization, the point of this publication is to illustrate how the definition can provide a basis of understanding that can further global security and stability.

### **III. Historical Milestones of Globalization**

Once a definition of globalization has been understood and studied, the next interesting progression can be identified within the evolutionary process from which globalization emerged. Globalization can no longer be understood as a passing phase or a trend that, if ignored, will pass through some states as a revolution of sorts and then give way to a time of recovery and rebuilding. Many historians, politicians, academics, government officials, and scientists have tried to pinpoint the “big bang” of globalization. Some academics claim that globalization began with the “permanent connection between the New World and Asia beginning in 1571 – via the silver-laden Acapulco-Manila galleons ... Connection of the New World with the Old World profoundly influenced the shape of today’s world.”<sup>10</sup> Others, however, claim that it began in the 1820s.<sup>11</sup> When did the globalization that we understand today begin, and where can we expect it to be headed? In order to properly understand this question, one must look at the origins, the middle ages, and current developments within the timeline of globalization and explore the question of when globalization actually began.

#### **(a) Origins**

If one’s viewpoint of globalization centers on the integration of human and non-human activities, it already starts to become clear where the origins of globalization can be found. Globalization’s roots are in the first interconnection of communities and the first migration of people. Our study of the historical milestones of globalization must then originate around 2500 BC with the first large-scale, cross-cultural contact and trading between the European and Asian worlds.<sup>12</sup> Anything at the beginning of recorded history that brought together existing civilizations can constitute a globalization event. Most notably during the first century AD, this took the form of the propagation of ideas and the spreading of religion. The development

and spreading influence of Christianity and Islam between 36 and 622 AD reinforced one type of transnational community.

Shortly thereafter, the concept of conquest and dominance would again have important consequences for subsequent historical events. Between 711 and 718, the Arab invasion of the Iberian Peninsula was an important step forward in the development of transcultural identities and economic relations. As the Arab invaders settled into their new territory, the spreading of ideas, religion, and culture truly began. This was also experienced through economic channels in the development of the Hanseatic League, the remains of which can still be felt in those cities that benefited from the interaction brought about by the League. The cooperative efforts of German merchants during the early 1100s and into the 1600s led to the development of cities such as London, Hamburg, Stockholm, Lübeck, Cologne, and Königsberg.

The next integral globalizing event was the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague in 1347, which lasted until 1350, though there were smaller outbreaks in subsequent years. The spreading of the Plague from China to Europe illustrates the impact that travel and trade can have on human health and communities. As a result of the devastating effects of the Plague, Europe underwent vast changes. Entire communities were wiped out, as the Plague brought Europe to its knees. Development stalled, and a lengthy period of recovery began. Like with the Plague, the modern world has experienced similar effects of globalization in the forms of HIV/AIDS, severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), and avian flu.

The origins of globalization can also be found in the invention of the modern printing press. While earlier printing methods were practiced in China,<sup>13</sup> Johannes Gutenberg is credited with developing the modern printing press, which made the wider dissemination of ideas possible through the inexpensive mass production of printed material. With this invention, “In the late fifteenth century, the reproduction of written materials began to move from the copyist’s desk to the printer’s workshop. This shift, which revolutionized all forms of learning, was particularly important for historical scholarship.”<sup>14</sup> The printing press allowed for the Bible to be made widely available and widely read. Consequently, the invention of the printing press can be seen as vital to the spread of ideas, culture, and religion that sparked revolutionary changes in thinking in Europe and later throughout the globe.

### **(b) The Middle Ages of Globalization**

The events that occurred during what we will call the *middle ages* of globalization were vast in their influence. During this time, global trade and the wealth of information available as a direct result of travel expanded to unprecedented levels. This era began with the fall of Grenada in January 1492 and continued with the expulsion of Islamic civilization from Spain. These events had a lasting impact on the continent and led to Columbus' expedition in April of that year to discover a new route to Asia. Because of the Islamic expulsion, Columbus was accompanied by captive Arab sailors who gained their freedom by safely returning him to Toledo. Columbus' discovery of America began a race for colonies that would last throughout the next five centuries. As William H. McNeill described it, "The year 1500 marks an important turning point in world history also. The European discoveries made the oceans of the earth into highways for their commerce and conquest."<sup>15</sup> The importance of this discovery and expansion has also been noted by Ronald Findlay: "the extension of the overseas frontier to the Americas caused profound changes within Europe itself and subsequently in Asia and Africa as well."<sup>16</sup>

Developments during the 17<sup>th</sup> century would also have a lasting impact on the development of modern civilization. With the end of the Thirty Years' War and the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, the concept of the modern nation-state was born: "According to the conventional view of international law during the Cold War period, it was the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) that ushered in the modern period of the nation-state and state sovereignty, departing from the previous medieval pattern, in the case of Europe, of religious universality and political feudalism."<sup>17</sup> This notion of sovereignty has had a lasting impact on the structure of the international system and the way in which the role of the nation-state is understood. This concept is important to understand due to the fact that many authors argue that it is exactly this world order that globalization challenges.

The next globalization event worth highlighting occurred just a few years later in 1683 with the siege of Vienna and the halt of Islamic influence in Europe. It can even be argued that "the relaxation of the Ottoman challenge in Europe helped facilitate the emergence of the Westphalian political order in the latter part of the seventeenth century."<sup>18</sup> The ramifications of this are still being dealt with in Europe (most recently illustrated through the printing of cartoons

depicting the Prophet Muhammad in European newspapers),<sup>19</sup> and the lines drawn between cultures and nations at that time still resonate throughout the international system.

The globalizing decade of the 1760s saw an explosion of knowledge. The Enlightenment introduced the age of reason. Developments in mapping, surveying, exploration, and expanded commercialism and imperialism resulted in important milestones in the history of globalization, most notably the development of the steam engine in 1765. During the Industrial Revolution, man was replaced by machine and production levels soared. Communities moved into the modern era as jobs that were traditionally done by hand were now the domain of automated systems, thus freeing labor and increasing the production of goods worldwide. This process continued in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Henry Ford mass-produced the first automobile. The invention of the steamship in 1807 and the steam locomotive in 1825 made travel easier, and the resulting increase in movement brought people together faster and more efficiently than had ever been experienced. This was followed by the invention of the telegraph and the telegraph cable, which helped to move humanity into an era of mass communication and production. Without the developments experienced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, transnational integration would have remained in its infancy for many years.

### **(c) The Birth of Modern Globalization**

It can be argued that modern globalization began in 1903 with the birth of manned flight. As the Wright brothers flew 120 feet, they lifted the hopes and dreams of the modern world with them. The invention of the airplane would, over the next century, propel globalization into a new era, easing connections between people, cultures, languages, economies, and playing a leading role in the development of modern warfare. The impact of this invention and the way in which it shaped our modern world was a decisive globalization event. As noted on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Wright brothers' achievement: "It's hard to overstate the importance of that moment because, as Wilbur Wright watched his brother guide their flying machine into the air, the past and the future separated and the world started shrinking. Left behind were weeks-long trips across the United States (US) and months-long crossings of the Atlantic Ocean. Ahead lay transcontinental trips of less than a day, and eventually even the oceans would be crossed in a few hours."<sup>20</sup>

The past century has also seen political movements and other events that developed the framework of modern globalization. The Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Balfour Declaration, the creation of the League of Nations, World War I, and the discovery of penicillin would all have a lasting impact on humanity. These political developments and the discovery of the antibiotic would lead to further discoveries in both of these fields. The ramifications of some of these political developments are still being dealt with in modern, globalized political structures. There were other important events and themes during this time that should be noted. The United Nations was established out of a desire for increased international cooperative efforts toward peace. Unfortunately, this would not prevent the Cold War and the emergence of a bipolar world; however, it did establish international cooperative measures that are still in place today. The development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the establishment of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, which would later become the World Trade Organization) all firmly established the mantra of the international system, which focused strongly on the development of international organizations designed to promote stability within a number of sectors.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century was also plagued by economic disaster. The Great Depression was the first prominent illustration of the vulnerabilities that can result from economic integration, and it led to a halt in global interdependencies. This changed after World War II with the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and other institutions that were designed to act as regulatory bodies watching over the economic interactions of states. There have also been important technological breakthroughs during the past century. The second half of the previous century saw the birth of live political broadcasts in 1961 with US President John F. Kennedy holding a televised news conference, the launch of the first telecommunications satellite, the first global media event (Neil Armstrong landing on the moon), and the development of the Internet, all of which were events that led the course of globalization toward the present day. The further development of technologies in our present world is largely based on the advancements made during this time.

The social revolution that occurred in the 1960s in the US is also significant. This decade saw an increased awareness of the environment, politics, societal norms, and human rights, which would

facilitate the creation in the 1970s of Greenpeace, forums on global issues, the publication of *The Limits of Growth* for the Club of Rome, as well as a number of other social and environmental movements. At this time, the social impact of these movements was felt largely on a national scale; however, globalization has turned what started out as national movements into transnational movements.

The period covering the birth of modern globalization saw the development of many of what would later become the current trends and movements that define present-day globalization. The technological developments of the last century would lead to the Internet, increased travel, and would also give rise to a number of antiglobalization events in the 1990s. The collapse of the Argentinean economy and the development of cloning would clutter the headlines in the 1990s. Globalization was occurring at an alarming rate, and the increased integration of peoples would set the stage for the development of present-day globalization.

#### **(d) Present-Day Globalization**

Globalization has led to an integrated world of mass production, communication, travel, and migration. Over the past twenty years, globalization has been marked by the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the introduction of the World Wide Web. Communication has become infinitely easier; we have seen the emergence of 24-hour news channels; the shortening of travel times has caused increased movements of goods and people. Distances are now traveled at speeds that were unimagined in earlier times, and this has contributed in part to the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS and the potential of global pandemics such as that linked to the discovery of avian flu in humans. While this has also been influenced by the migratory patterns of humans and animals, it is also partially linked with the ease with which movement currently takes place.

Other important aspects of globalization have included international cooperation in dealing with environmental issues, which resulted in the Kyoto Protocol; the antiglobalization movement that emerged in 1999 at the WTO meetings in Seattle, Washington; the development of the European Union (EU) and thus a common European currency that also led to discussions concerning a common European security and defense policy. Widespread destruction has resulted directly from the related processes of globalization as a result of transnational security threats. The events of September 11 have

forever altered how people and states interact, as well as views of transnational security. Attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq followed, thus dividing the world politically and militarily. The subsequent war on terror has brought many issues to the table in terms of human rights, civil liberties, and military responsibility, and it has called into question the idea that globalization is both an American export and that it is tied to the export of democracy.

SARS and avian flu have brought global health issues to the forefront of the international agenda and have led to discussions surrounding travel and migration. Large numbers of people are fleeing from African and Eastern European countries to work illegally in the EU in an attempt to better their lives. These movements put pressure on the international system to act in a way that is both beneficial to the nation-states that need this labor and conducive to international economic demands. It has ensured that legislation aimed at developing balanced migration policies has been listed high on the security agendas of states. Recently, ministers from EU countries gathered to discuss the increased influx of migrants from Africa, a demonstration of which could be seen recently in the Spanish Canary Islands, where “9,000 African migrants were intercepted in the first five months of 2006 -- with 4,780 in May alone.”<sup>21</sup>

Natural disasters have been increasing in both frequency and scale. Recent disasters such as the tsunami in Southeast Asia, the earthquake in Pakistan, and Hurricane Katrina have wrought unprecedented destruction. Consequently, states are now trying to find ways to better prepare themselves for future disasters by developing coherent policies that provide for effective relief efforts, as well as for the placement of proper early-warning systems. This includes work by the United Nations to develop an early-warning program for disaster prevention.<sup>22</sup>

The printing of cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad in European newspapers in 2005 brought to the surface tensions within states, showing that integration processes and education about various cultures and ethnic groups are in dire need of repair and modification. Similarly, the political apprehensions surrounding a potential US deal with a United Arab Emirates (UAE) company that would have allowed it to take over the running of some key American ports sparked a debate about national-security issues and concluded with the UAE company retracting its bid. The US ports deal as well as the attempt by Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation to take over

Unocal and the Mittal Steel attempt to purchase Arcelor “all provide high-profile contemporary examples in which Western states have prevented companies in the Middle East, India, and China from buying domestic ones; by doing so, these same Western states have prevented the global economy from operating according to free-market principles, whereby acquisitions should be governed by economic considerations, not political ones. Collectively, these episodes suggest that ‘economic patriotism’ is as much a political response to the perception of untrammelled globalization as it is an economic one.”<sup>23</sup>

While modern globalization has played a role in what we would deem positive developments, it has also been involved in numerous negative changes. Positive events can largely be understood as events that contribute to furthering global stability and security in the short and long term, while negative impacts generally refer to events that have been detrimental to either the security or stability of national and international institutions. As our world becomes smaller, tensions are raised between cultures and nations that must be dealt with in the short term in order to guarantee long-term stability and security. While contemporary globalization may differ in its nature and components, the impact of modern globalization events is similar to the impact of globalization events that occurred more than two millennia ago. Events that are shaping our world today and our modern understanding of the concept can be found at the beginning of recorded history. Therefore, this chapter provides a comprehensive look at the major milestones in the history of globalization as a way of identifying trends and future trajectories of our global system.

#### **IV. Measuring Global Impact**

Any comprehensive review of globalization must also consider its impact on policy makers. The authors have developed a globalization matrix in order to better understand the policy challenges and responses posed by diverse, dynamic, topical, and contemporary issues. The ultimate aim of this exercise is to better comprehend the relationship between globalization and stability. While we recognize that, at first glance, the matrix is complex in nature, we nonetheless propose it as a methodological tool that can be employed in policy analysis. This matrix allows for the conceptualization and contextual investigation of certain issues and, at the same time, highlights

security implications of globalization at the state, regional, and international levels.

This matrix was developed out of a desire to construct a methodological tool that could highlight the connectivity between the impact of globalization and policy decisions. Chapter 4 puts forth an original matrix that analyzes the impact of a given current event at the state, regional, and international levels. In order to understand the methodological gap in the literature that this matrix fills, the chapter includes a comprehensive review of existing measures of globalization and its effects. Our proposed matrix links specific, time-sensitive policy issues by isolating and discussing them in a way that provides clear links between the event under consideration and future policy decisions. At various times, states will naturally face challenges and dilemmas, and this is arguably more prominent when dealing with issues of integration and interdependence. Our matrix provides a means to assess these challenges and reactions at the state, regional, and international levels in order to predict potential future trends and levels of security within the global security system.

Chapter 4 presents the globalization matrix along with its methodology and components. Furthermore, the matrix is tested by two recent examples: rapid demographic decline in Russia and the publishing of cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad in Denmark and other European countries. Both of these issues impacted regional security and had the potential to be important destabilizing factors for regions and thus the international system. Through our analysis, we are able to view these issues from a number of different angles, assessing the entire impact from a framework that clearly connects the issues to current stability and security and can offer predictions on where certain policy decisions will lead states in terms of their level of globalization.

This matrix can prove most useful when used to break down an issue related to a variety of sectors. In today's discourse, it is rare that one challenge to a state will have an impact on one sector in isolation from all other sectors. Some alternative indices employ very effective methods, such as the A.T. Kearney/*Foreign Policy Globalization Index*,<sup>24</sup> but they do not evaluate challenges in relation to other factors. Globalization implies that various sectors will impact not just one or two other dimensions, but that in every issue, a majority of the security sectors (political, economic, societal, military, and environmental) will be affected and therefore should be valued as

one unit. When an index fails to do this, its measure and indications are still useful in order to gain some understanding of the impact of globalization on an issue at a given time, but it will fail to provide a complete picture of all factors taken into account by policy makers when they are making their decisions.

It is also important to take into account the reaction of the government, public opinion, and the media in any given case. The governments of neighboring states and regions have an influence on how states make their decisions and should therefore also be included in any realistic assessment of policy challenges. Naturally, some challenges and subsequent responses will have a greater impact on a state than others, and this is also accounted for in the publication. Finally, looking toward the future, alternative outcomes are explored up until the year 2056 as a way of thinking in the long term and foreseeing the path that a certain confrontation to the state will take in shaping policy. A lessons-learned section provides an opportunity for reflection and the proposal of concrete, effective policy recommendations at the state level in order to promote policies that further global security and stability.

## **V. The Implications of Globalization on Transnational Security and Stability**

In discussions of globalization – how it should be defined, what the historical milestones of globalization are, and how one can measure the impact that globalization has on the modern world – one must also look at how globalization creates long-term implications for the international system in terms of security and stability. While there are measures within the current academic literature that propose a number of useful matrices for measuring security and stability at various intervals, most indices remain focused on one or two components of measuring these elements.

Globalization promotes the interconnection of economies, political systems, cultures, and languages, and therefore has both negative and positive implications. This is certainly the case when discussing stability and security. Through a review of the current literature that deals with measuring levels of stability and security at the state level, it became obvious that there was a lack of connectivity between a number of important facets. For instance, agencies that were conducting measurements of various forms of stability were able

to identify and measure contributing factors to stability that they found to be important. If it was the Foundation for International Studies of the University of Malta conducting the measurement, for instance, then it is not surprising to learn that it measured the vulnerability of small island developing states and focused on factors such as exposure to foreign economic conditions, remoteness and insularity, and proneness to disasters.<sup>25</sup> Other indices do not illustrate such an obvious connection between those who are conducting the measure and the variables selected; however, it is quite common to see indices that are focused on only a couple of factors. This can most likely be attributed to funding resources and the focus of the program conducting the measurement, or simply due to a lack of time and access to information.

This is also the case when assessing security at the state level. Quite often, indices share commonalities between the types of variables used and the methods employed. Furthermore, some indices measure variables that can simultaneously contribute to studies of security and stability. Despite these parallels, measurements do differ. For example, the International Institute for Strategic Studies has compiled an armed-conflict database that looks at a number of different types of conflict and the political status of the conflicts themselves.<sup>26</sup> While this will have implications for stability as well, it is more indicative of the security level of a state and potential sources of instability for a region. Indices of this nature also look at security in new frontiers, such as the Eisenhower Institute, which has provided an index measuring the security level of space.<sup>27</sup> This index assesses variables such as commercial space, protection of space and the space environment, as well as the possibility of space-based strike weapons. All of these elements contribute to an annual assessment that looks at the status of space security, as well as developments in space security based on primary, open-source research.<sup>28</sup>

There have been numerous attempts, with varying degrees of success, to identify criteria that can be used to measure the stability of states. The indices developed using such criteria are not as comprehensive as they could be, instead providing only partial assessments of state stability by focusing on a limited number of relevant dimensions. Therefore, we propose a stability matrix that provides a more thorough and comprehensive assessment of the dynamic *factors* that impact on stability at any given time. The authors' aim was to develop a diagnostic tool that will enable analysts,

policy makers, and practitioners to more effectively quantify state stability and to assess the nature of regional stability and its impact on the international system.

By providing a more complete study of stability and its factors, one is able to make distinct recommendations at the state level on how states should move forward to make themselves and their regions more stable. A measurement of this kind can identify areas of potential weakness in a state system and identify potential sources of conflict before they occur. It provides an important tool for policy makers particularly when dealing with neighbors within a region where stability is not easily maintained.

There have been numerous projects that have attempted to measure levels of state security, whether from the human, societal, or governmental perspective. None of these projects has been able to accurately measure both the level of individual and community security within a given state and the security of that state's government structures. This chapter therefore proposes a matrix that would provide a means for measuring the level of security of a state and of the people who reside within it. The matrix utilizes those factors and variables that have been provided by existing matrices and also includes variables that are deemed important in literature and studies of security at all levels. While each of the existing matrices provides effective measurements for the elements assessed, our matrix will allow for the inclusion of many factors contributing to security to be analyzed under one matrix, thus providing a more complete and accurate assessment of the overall security level of a state.

Measures of security are also aimed at factors that deal with security issues, and often this means dealing with issues surrounding crime and justice. These measurements also look at whether or not individuals in a state are terrorized by the political structures within a country. This can mean whether torture is used, whether people fear random imprisonment, and whether or not politically motivated murders are common. Finally, the protection of civil liberties must also be maintained. The Political Terror Scale proposed by Linda Cornett and Mark Gibney<sup>29</sup> looks at these issues as a way to measure the human rights situation in individual countries. This has important implications due to the security level it measures: that of whether or not the state works to protect its citizens from potentially harmful political leaders and institutions.

In both instances, the indices offer a glimpse into the security implications of globalization on issues related to security and stability. Our review of current indices led us to the development of indices that bring together the best each existing index has to offer in an attempt to create an index that can offer an umbrella framework that incorporates existing indices while including factors that may have been omitted when assessing security and stability from a number of perspectives. Furthermore, these indices take into consideration factors related to globalization, thus fully examining the relationship between globalization, security, and stability.

## VI. Conclusion

The five pillars of globalization that are presented in this book provide an encyclopedic reference for those wishing to understand the past, present, and trends of this modern-day force. Globalization is a term that has been used to encompass multiple aspects of politics, economics, society, military developments, and stability within the international system. An understanding of the historical roots of globalization, as well as the challenge of properly defining this term, provide the reader with a foundation to assess the impact of globalization on policy. The measures of the stability and security of the international system propose a more thorough examination of some key elements to predicting the future status quo of global cooperation. This book brings together the foundational elements of globalization that are an essential tool for understanding where globalization has come from, where it is now, and, more important, where it is headed and how these lessons can be used to promote global security and stability.

## References

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<sup>1</sup> M. Cuddy-Keane argues that globalization, “although frequently hailed as a recent phenomenon, has been a long historical process.” See M. Cuddy-Keane, “Modernism, Geopolitics, Globalization,” *Modernism/Modernity*, Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> The term globalization first appeared in Webster’s Dictionary in 1961, a point identified by Richard Kilminster in “Globalization as an Emergent Concept,” in A. Scot (ed.), *The Limits of Globalization: Cases and Arguments* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Please see Chapter 2 of this book.

<sup>4</sup> G. Ritzer, “The Globalization of Nothing,” *SAIS Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Summer/Fall 2003, pp. 189-200, p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Khor, 1995, as cited in J.A. Scholte, “The Globalization of World Politics,” in J. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International*

*Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 15, and J. Neeraj, *Globalisation or Recolonisation* (Pune: Elgar, 2001), pp. 6-7, see [http://www.globalizacija.com/doc\\_en/e0013glo.htm](http://www.globalizacija.com/doc_en/e0013glo.htm). These definitions also appear in the table of definitions (Table 1) in Chapter 2.

<sup>6</sup> A. Sen, "Does Globalization Equal Westernization?," *The Globalist*, March 25, 2002.

<sup>7</sup> D. Held, A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt, and J. Perraton, *Global Transformations, Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> R. Kiely and P. Marfleet, *Globalisation and the Third World* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> P. Kelly, "The Geographies and Politics of Globalization," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1999, pp. 379-400, p. 389.

<sup>10</sup> D.O. Flynn and A. Giraldez, "Globalization Began in 1571," in B. Gills and W. Thompson (eds.), *Globalization and Global History* (New York, Oxford: Routledge, 2006), p. 244.

<sup>11</sup> K.H. O'Rourke, J.G. Williamson, "When Did Globalisation Begin?," *European Review of Economic History*, Vol. 6, 2002, pp. 23-50, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> A.G. Frank, "A Theoretical Introduction to 5000 Years of World-System History," *Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1990, pp. 155-248, as cited in R.J. Holton, *Globalization and the Nation-State* (New York: Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> There is evidence to suggest that in "1041-48 a Chinese alchemist named Pi Sheng appears to have conceived of movable type made of an amalgam of clay and glue hardened by baking," *Encyclopedia Britannica, Online Edition*, <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-36831>.

<sup>14</sup> E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> W.H. McNeill, *A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 295.

<sup>16</sup> R. Findlay, "Globalization and the European Economy: Medieval Origins to the Industrial Revolution," in H. Kierzkowski, *Europe and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> T. Inoguchi and P. Bacon, "Sovereignities: Westphalian, Liberal and Anti-Utopian," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2001, pp. 285-304, p. 289.

<sup>18</sup> P. Rich, "European Identity and the Myth of Islam: A Reassessment," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, 1999, pp. 435-451, p. 443.

<sup>19</sup> For analysis of the way that this event impacted global security, see G. Herd and Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, "GCSP Policy Brief No.7: Danish Cartoons: A Symptom of Global Insecurity," July 12, 2006, available at <http://www.gcsp.ch/e/publications/Globalisation/Publications/index.htm>.

<sup>20</sup> W. Drye, "First Flight: How Wright Brothers Changed World," *National Geographic News*, December 17, 2003.

<sup>21</sup> "Europeans and Africans to Tackle Clandestine Immigration," *Deutsche Welle*, July 11, 2006.

<sup>22</sup> For the most recent information concerning the development of this program, see "Early Warning – From concept to action: The Conclusions of the Third International Conference on Early Warning," March 27-29, 2006, Bonn, Germany, available at [http://www.ewc3.org/upload/downloads/Early\\_warning\\_complete2.pdf](http://www.ewc3.org/upload/downloads/Early_warning_complete2.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> G. Herd and Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, "GCSP Policy Brief No. 6: Oil, Ports, and Steel: Symptoms of Global Insecurity," July 7, 2006, p. 3, available at <http://www.gcsp.ch/e/publications/Globalisation/Publications/index.htm>.

<sup>24</sup> See "Measuring Globalization," *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2005, pp. 52-60.

<sup>25</sup> For a complete review of the variables and methods of this measurement, please consult the table in Chapter 5 of this book that looks at measures of stability, or see L. Briguglio, "Small Island Developing States and Their Economic Vulnerabilities," *World Development*, Vol. 23, No. 9, 1995, pp. 1615-1632.

<sup>26</sup> For more information on the database and the variables and methodology employed, see <http://www.iiss.org/publications/armed-conflict-database/> or Chapter 6 in this book.

<sup>27</sup> See <http://www.spacesecurity.org/> for more information on the index and the variables and methodology employed or Chapter 6 in this book.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> See L. Cornett and M. Gibney, "Tracking Terror: The Political Terror Scale 1980-2001," available at [http://www.humansecurityreport.info/background/Cornett-Gibney\\_Political\\_Terror](http://www.humansecurityreport.info/background/Cornett-Gibney_Political_Terror)

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