CoCu 6303 Course Syllabus -- 2009
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Markets, Citizenship, Identity: Emergent Themes in the Globalization Narrative

The goal of this course will be to examine how the media has filtered and shaped our understanding of globalization and the globalization debates. We will focus on questions of structure and agency, the place of communication and culture in the public sphere, citizenship, the transformation of discursive representation of culture and the ways in which our understanding of globalization has progressed.

Our readings will be organized under three broad rubrics.

I.   **The Great Debate: Representing Freedom and Equality** – The first section explores the role of governance, politics, culture and fate in the globalization narrative. We are particularly interested in tracing the way that print and electronic media have begun to interrogate the highly deterministic interpretation of globalization as it was originally theorized. The emergence of global publics due to new information technologies such as the internet, cell phone, blogs and global news broadcasting has to be read in context with the decline of authority. These two powerful 'leveling trends' against command/control models of state authority have nurtured a culture of dissent and opposition wordwide. We will be particularly focused on Obama's stunning victory and the role of the internet in it.

II.   **Modernity and Citizenship** – The second section attempts to explain the way media depiction of the process of globalization, market overreach and cultural convergence has become increasingly contested as the politics of fate thesis has been increasingly challenged by civil society, and to a lesser extent, academics and policy makers. New public spaces such as networking as a place to be heard opens the possibility for micro-activism on an unprecedented scale. The Habbersian sphere of interactive communication and the use of public reason for debate, deliberation and mobilization is no longer a theoretical possibility but a lived reality for new identities and citizenship practices. As new information dynamics are devolved downwards, to be informed forms the threshold to be a social actor. We need to conceptualize the transformation of the Habbermas face to face sphere of interactive Web 2.0 communication.

III.   Identity after Modernity – The third section focuses on postmodern identity, suggesting that whether we recognize it or not, we live in a time of strange multiplicity of competing identities which globalization has both aided and hindered with its contradictory effects on the local. We are consumers, activists, environmentalists, skeptics but first and foremost we are defined by the knowledge economy and it is this access to information of every variety that is crucial to the fully realized citizen. Not surprisingly the consequence of this is that what we can see across the globe is the decline of deference towards public and private authority. In the family, in political life, and in society authority is challenged and has lost its ability to control the agenda through filters and the mass media. This final section examines the role of globalization, discursive movements and civil society as counter-hegemonic agents. In the attempt to create emancipatory spaces and practices, the media has played a crucial role in giving legitimacy to post-Seattle/Quebec movements of all kinds. However many filters still affect the way globalization is presented in the public sphere. Our work will also attempt to identify ideological constraints on public policy makers in support of market fundamentalist principles.

Course Evaluation

The course will be graded on the basis of participation and interaction, **20 percent**. The 1000 word weekly reading diary **30 percent in which you are required to write a short one and a half page response and interrogation of the weekly reading assignments. The weekly diary will help you work through the ideas and themes of the course.**

The diary should be sent to me Thursday night and bring your copy to class.

A major 20 page + bibliography and references research-oriented essay is required: **50 percent. Due date: the last class.**

Course Materials and Text Book

Most readings will be included in the course kit which is purchasable from KEELE COPY CENTRE tel. 416-665-9675 Speak with Rick

This year we will use my book *Defiant Publics: the Unprecedented Reach of the Global Citizen*, Polity 2008 as the text for our work and debate.

1. **The Great Debate: Representing Freedom and Equality**
   Globalization promised to create a stable international order without precedent based on private wealth creation, free trade and privatization. The bogey man was the state and Keynesian safeguards. But markets met stiff resistance from institutions and from angry counter-publics that surged into public view in the iconic battle in Seattle. So the question is will the aspiration for freedom and equality ultimately force a change in system and structure? What aspects of globalization is reversible? Is that time now?

   Daniel Drache *Defiant Publics* Intro and Chapter one

   Francis Fukuyama, After Neo Conservatism, NYT Magazine, February 19, 2006.

   Introduction Daniel Drache and Jaigris Hodson, I Gotta be Me: Public Reason and the Global Citizen. A Digital Report from the Counterpublics Working Group 2007, Robarts Centre www.robarts.yorku.ca

   ICommons Lab Report, Your Window on the Commons
   http://www.icommons.org/magazine/lab-report-april-2008/

2. **The Great Fear: Offside Publics and the Promise of Sweeping Change**

   In the literature on neo-liberal globalization a sense of fear and disempowerment is dominant dominant. The social economy is pushed far on the back burner. Certainly there is an analytical sense that neoliberalism and the unleashing of markets across the globe are impossible to disentangle. However the reverse is the case. In the debates about cultural globalization the local and social networking have flourished under neoliberalism. The aspiration is one of skepticism towards authority and a decline of deference to leaders and elected officials. Many empirical studies underline the stark intergenerational value shift. Do you believe that the explosion of micro-activism and networking has tamed the worst aspects of the sense of futility and disorder?

   Daniel Drache *Defiant Publics,* chap 2 and 3

   Joseph Stiglitz On Capitalist Fools About Us, Vanity Fair 2008.

   Barry Wellman, Physical Place and Cyber Place: The Rise of Personalized Networking

   Drucker, Peter. "The Changed World Economy." *Foreign Affairs* 64.

   Falk, Richard. The Decline of Citizenship in the Era of Globalization

Task: To compare and contrast the different theories of globalization; to theorize the growing divide between the economic and cultural aspect of financial and cultural flows. To explain the network society and new forms of power. To identity key turning points in the neo-conservative revolution.; to answer the question have we entered the post neoconservative era?

3. Globalization as Fate Hard v. Soft Power

The theory of globalization focuses on state and other kinds of 'hard power' that effectively marginalizes the citizen as a disinterested easily manipulable social entity. We need to engage both ends of the spectrum of hard and soft power with the interest in soft power and new citizen practices ascendent. At one end is the end of history thesis which has framed the neoconservative revolution in constitutional and human rights. At the other end is the explosion of the internet age that prioritzes participation, feedback and being informed = citizen empowerment. What is soft power in the first place and why has it grown? What are its limitations and potentiality?

Drache, Daniel   *Defiant Publics,* chap. 3 and 4

Andrew Gamble,. *Politics and Fate*, *Themes for the 21st Century*. Cambridge, UK. ; Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2000. (chapters 2, 5)

Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the last Man*, a selection

Nye, Joseph S. "Soft Power." In *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization*, edited by Joseph S. Nye. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

John Dewey, The Public and its Problem, New York: 1923.

Wellman, Barry the Strength of Internet Ties The internet and email aid users in maintaining their social networks and provide pathways to help when people face big decisions, 2006

Task: To examine the way fate is a constructed narrative and to address new theories of agency; to explore the critical concept of the public and to define different varieties of publicness; to tackle the role and impact of new information technologies on social networks.

4. Left and Right: Refining Our Terms

The left-right binary defines all political and social left in subtle and in your face ways. Two things have profoundly altered and reorganized the left-right axis of public and private left. In the global south the push from transparency and

accountability has transformed the relationship between the citizen and the state. Here is a story about Beijing pushed for economic disclosure. Information forces onto the agenda the powerful idea that citizens have rights and the state has to 'share' information with its publics. http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/1eff6064-0759-11de-9294-000077b07658.html?nclick_check=1 In the global north left right spinal cord has been challenged by feminists, environmentalists and anti-racism coalitions. A less intrusive state and more interventionist state seem to be the motto of our age from across the spectrum. It's forced in Bobbio's terms to redefine the 'binary' for a modern age of micro-activists. Do u agree or is the binary still defined by inequality and property rights?

Bobbio, Norberto. *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.   (chapters 1, 3, 6)

Michael Adams. Social Values: Retrenchment and Renewal American Backlash the Untold Story of Social Change in the US, Penquin 2995.

Neil Nevitte Value Change and Governance in Canada, May 2002

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London and New York: Verso, 1991. (pp. 22-46)

Lakoff, George. *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*. 2nd ed. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002. (chapters 1-4)

Task: To focus on the meaning of left and right; define our terms; to examine the impact of social values as a counter-discourse to globalization. To address the reasons for the growth of diversity at a time of mass consumption and globalization.

5. The Great Debate: Theoretical Underpinnings of the Market Economy

We need to focus our collective intelligence on different conceptual notion of the market as invisible hand v. a constructed institution. The laws and dynamics of the metaphysic of the market constitutes one of the fundamental fault lines in social science Economists, trade lawyers, sociologists, public opinion pollsters sharply disagree about its defining properties, principles, dynamics and rights and obligations. The market is seen as rational self interest, a defense of property rights and individual freedom and choice. The market as as mechanism of empowerment is very much present on the internet and new information technology as exchange value for powerful media and entertainment interests. For internet users the market creates non-market spaces such as the creative commons and the public domain, a place for infinite varieties of the public. The question is to reconcile and explore competing and opposing notions of the market and to examine the ideological underpinnings of Hayekian v. the Polanyian constructs.

Hayek, Friedrich A. von. *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 15)

Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Second Beacon Paperback edition ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 (original publication date 1944). (Introduction by J. Stiglitz, chapters 4, 5, 6, 21)

Friedman, **Thomas** *The Earth if Flat:* New York, 2005. Ten Structural Reasons that the Earth has Changed.

Couldry, Nick and James Curran, The Paradox of Media Power and Lance Bennett the Internet and Global Activism

Task: To become theoretically literate about opposing theorizations of the market. To use the Hayek/Polanyi debate on the market as a way to understand the present polarized views of social activists and Washington Consensus advocates. To identity the ways globalization is redirectable if at all; to come to terms with the structural changes in the global economy and to become knowledgeable about media activism.

II. Modernity and Citizenship Practices

6. Globalization and its Discontents: Cultural Practice in an Age of Liberal Empire Building Discursive Internet Communities: Theorizing the Habbermasian Turn

Academics and activists are focused not on the concept of class as a pivotal concept in the way they used to. Instead the emphasis has shifted to the possibilities and practical needs of communities of choice. Class and other 'born into' categories can be contested by the individual and find ways to define who they are. This kind of constant identity formation and reformation has much to tell us about modernity's anti system and structure project. Fundamental rethinkers include Charles Taylor, Cass Sunstein and Nancy Fraser among others as well as Hardt and Negri. The list is long and we can only sample some of this outstanding theoretical body of citizenship. In particular we want to see the way dissent and conformity paradoxically are interconnected as two sides of a very large coin. Chapter 3 of Defiant Publics will set the context for the way networked social activists have appropriated and adapted legal notions of citizenship for anti-globalization ends.

Lawrence Lessig	Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace Four Puzzles from Cyberspace pp. 9-60
Manuel Castells	Global Governance and Global Politics, 2004 Ithiel de Sola Lecture
Bruce Sterling	The Brief but Glorious Life of Web 2.0 and What Comes Afterwards, *Wired* 2009. http://blog.wired.com/sterling/2009/03/what-bruce-ster.html

Yochai Benkler, the Wealth of Networks How social production transforms markets

Kahn, Richard and Douglas Kellner, New Media and Internet activism: from the 'Battle of Seattle' to Blogging, *New Media and Society* 6:1 2004.

Task: To explore the notion of Web 2.0 technology and the way it can be appropriated by internet communities. We need to come to terms with the macro dimensions of new information technology and how internet activism has been supported by it. It is critical to acquire a solid understanding of the imperative of publicness and new theories of the global public sphere. You will need to explore the idea of a Habbermasian turn; to identify the robustness of the notion of strong v weak democracy; to begin to construct the lineages and constituent components of the modern concept of the public domain.

7. Politics of Recognition

Arjun Appadurai, Chapters 2, 3.4, *of Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (2006)

Charles Taylor, *The Politics of Recognition* (1989)

Sidney Tarrow, Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics, Annual Review of Political Science, 2001

Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2004. (chapter 2.3)

Lippman, Walter. *The Phantom Public,* New York: 1926. Selection

Task: To test the idea of the conflicted role of the public as a disinterested spectator and to establish the characteristics of being an active contrarian; to identify the limits of liberal economic determinism; to theorize the post-marxist view of agency as articulated by Hardt's and Negri's understanding of intersubjectivity; to identify new citizenship practices as part of Taylor's pivotal notion of self-recognition in an age of transnational politics.

8. The Functionality of Dissent in the Building of the Public Sphere

Sunstein, Cass R. *Why Societies Need Dissent*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2003. (chapters 1 and 2)

David Held "Democracy and Globalization." In *Re-Imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, edited by Daniele Archibugi, David Held and Martin Kohler. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.

Nancy Fraser, Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actual Political Democracy

Howard Reingold Habermas Blows off question about the internet and the Public Sphere, November 5, 2007.

Henning Ziegler, Dissent on the Net: Cultures of Electronic Resistance in the US

Task: To interrogate the functionality of dissent for the social order; to address the way new technologies reshape culture, collective identity and the political; to interrogate the way tribalism has become a necessary part of globalization; to address contemporary varieties of cosmopolitanism and transnationality.

The Return of Civil Society: Representing the Dynamic of Exclusion and the Imperative of Inclusion

III. Identity after Modernity

9.   New Citizenship Practices

Isin, Engin F., and Bryan S. Turner. "Citizenship Studies: An Introduction." In *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, edited by Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner. London: Sage, 2002.

Sassen, Saskia, Repositioning of Citizenship and Alienage: Emergent Subjects and Spaces for Politics, *Globalizations* May 2005.

Lasch, Christopher. *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1995. (chapters 1, 2, 4)

Drache, Daniel, David Clifton and Marc Froese. The Iconography of Dissent and Global Politics. A Digital Report from the Counter-Publics Working Group

Jonathan Fox,   Unpacking Transnational Citizenship Annual Review of Political Science 2005.

Task: to develop a grammar of citizenship studies; to examine the transformative impact of new theories of the citizen as subject and agent; to compare and contrast theories of mass consumer culture with global activism. To analyze anglo-american elite support for neo-liberalism.

10. Copyright, the Net and the Public Domain

Richard Barbrook, Imaginary Futures, Chap 7 and 15

Larry Lessig The Future of Ideas, the Fate of the Commons in an Interconnected World, Chaps 1 and 11

Jonathan Zittrain, the Future of the Internet and How to Stop It, chap 1 and 2

Thomas Schott Global Webs of Knowledge

Noortje Marres and Richard Rogers, Recipe for Tracing the Fate of Issues and their Publics on the Web in Making Things Public, Bruno Latou8r and Peter Weibel, eds. 2005.

Daniel Drache and Marc Froese   Globalization World Trade and Cultural Commons: Identity Citizenship and Pluralism

Task: To critique the role of mass media and corporate branding; to examine the limits of consumer passivity; to investigate the sustainability of globalization-from-below; to consider the strength and limitation of internet activism.

11. Discursive Communities and Counterpublics: Micro Representation and Macro Reality

Daniel Drache, *Defiant Publics*, chap 5

Bruno Latour Morality and Technology The End of Means

Appadurai, Arjun. "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination." In *Globalization*, edited by Arjun Appadurai: Duke University Press, 2001.

Warner, Michael. "Publics and Counterpublics." *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002).

Conway, Janet Citizenship in a Time of Empire: the World Social Forum as a New Public Space, *Citizenship Studies* 8:4 December 2004.

Urlich Beck, Industrial Fatalism and Organized Irresponsibility, Ecological Politics in an Age of Risk and the Poisoned Cake: Capital and Labour in a Risk Society.

Task: To identity the defiant and unexpected return of counterpublics; to delineate counterpublics as a novel and innovative form of social activism; to test the hypothesis of the breakdown of the Bush neo conservative revolution; to explain and analyze strategies of resistance and opposition set in motion by global neoliberalism.

12. **Essay Presentations and Discussion**