

CHAPTER 17

Globalization Antennarratives

Globalization is storytelling of three varieties: (1) a tale of linear succession from old forms of commerce and world governance to better or worse ones; (2) a recurring cycle of oligarchy overtaking democracy, then falling into tyranny, and calls for military rule; and (3) the rhizomes, those non-linear, non-cyclic tales. All three are world changing and shape organizational behaviour; we become characters in these stories, following or resisting their storylines.

<p>CHAPTER OUTLINE</p> <p>Opening Definitions and Chapter Overview</p> <p>Two Linear Globalization Antennarratives</p> <p>Two Cyclical Globalization Antennarratives</p> <p>Rhizomatic Globalization Antennarratives</p> <p>Alternative Theories for Studying Globalization</p> <p>Defining Globalization</p> <p>Conclusion</p>	<p>LEARNING OBJECTIVES</p> <p>After studying this chapter, you should be able to</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Differentiate between linear, cyclical, and rhizomatic antennarrative of globalization; 2. Construct a linear antennarrative, such as imperialisms becoming empires from Babylonian through Spanish and British to US ones; 3. Chart a cyclical antennarrative, such as one that shows the rise and fall of an empire as a cycle instead of a simple line; 4. Describe a rhizomatic globalization development that is neither linear nor cyclical; 5. Apply “productive femininity” antennarratives of globalization to education and work experience; 6. Assess the consequences of globalization in terms of labour process, racial stereotyping, cybernetics, exhaustion of environmental resources, and biotechnology; and 7. Demonstrate an awareness of different approaches to the study of globalization: critical postmodern theory, narrative theory, and post-colonial theory. 																								
<p>KEY TERMS</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Antennarrative</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Hyper-competitiveness</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Productive femininity</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Colonization empire</td> <td>Imperialism</td> <td>Rhizome</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cyborg Fair and free markets</td> <td>Neocolonialism</td> <td>Simplicity movement</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA)</td> <td>Neo-conservatism</td> <td>Society of the spectacle</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Genetically modified organism (GMO)</td> <td>Neo-liberalism</td> <td>Sustainability</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Global racism</td> <td>North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)</td> <td>Wal-Mart effect</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Globalization</td> <td>Postmodern</td> <td>World Trade Organization (WTO)</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Predatory capitalism</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>		Antennarrative	Hyper-competitiveness	Productive femininity	Colonization empire	Imperialism	Rhizome	Cyborg Fair and free markets	Neocolonialism	Simplicity movement	Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA)	Neo-conservatism	Society of the spectacle	Genetically modified organism (GMO)	Neo-liberalism	Sustainability	Global racism	North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)	Wal-Mart effect	Globalization	Postmodern	World Trade Organization (WTO)		Predatory capitalism	
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This chapter was written by David Boje.

Wal-Mart and Globalization

Wal-Mart sells itself as the engine of economic progress. The simple antenarrative—“*globalization is progress*”—covers up thousands of consequences. Smaller businesses shut their doors when **WAL-MART** comes to town; they are unable or unwilling to pay employees poverty wages or to sell such cheaply produced goods. Wal-Mart buys more sweatshop goods than any firm in the world: 85 per cent of Wal-Mart products are made in Third World sweatshops where workers earn approximately \$.33 per hour and work 70-hour weeks, without overtime pay or benefits. According to Wal-Mart’s 2004 annual report, \$15 billion in products came from China. *Business Week* puts it at \$18 billion for 2004.¹

In 2003, clerks in Wal-Mart stores in the United States were paid \$8.23 an hour (or \$13,861 a year). That means clerks earn \$800 a year below the US federal poverty line for a family of three. And Wal-Mart employs many Americans at these low wages. With 1.1 million employees, Wal-Mart is the second largest employer in the US; the federal government is the first. One consequence of these low wages is that Wal-Mart clerks are many times more likely to rely on state-provided health plans.

Opening Definitions

GLOBALIZATION is a story about how the world of commerce and marketplace relate to world governance. Some believe in a linear story of progress, that a free market economy will lead to liberation of workers; others say that globalization is a recurring cycle of oligarchy falling into tyranny and even military rule. And some do not believe in linear or cyclical stories, and prefer something called a rhizome. A rhizome is that plant whose roots and veins grow every which way, and there is nothing linear or cyclic about it. The linear, cyclical, and rhizomatic storytelling are what I call antenarratives.

An **ANTENARRATIVE** is a “bet” that a story can change the world; it is also not a full-blown story, just a simple tale. Narratives, by contrast, have beginnings, middles, and ends and are therefore more “coherent.”² First, ante means “before,” and second it means a “bet.” The antenarrative is a “pre-narrative” and a “bet” (ante) that you can tell a pre-story that will become a cohesive story, one that is world changing.



WEBVIEW

What is Antenarrative?

http://cbae.nmsu.edu/~dboje/papers/what_is_antennarrative.htm

Globalization antenarratives are bets that a certain combination of government, capitalism, and trade will either improve or deteriorate humanity and ecology. Globalization antenarratives have material realizations and consequences, defining, for example, prescribed relations

between nation states and transnational corporations. Globalization antennarratives define and constitute gender roles, the pecking order between ethnic or racial groups, and they plot out who does what kind of work.

Chapter Overview

Globalization is an antennarrative called "*Road to the Top*"; in this case, it is a storyteller's bet that a pre-story (a gambler's bet) can set up subjective expectations: e.g., Wal-Mart is globalization, the story of economic progress. There is a second antennarrative that we will call "*Road to the Bottom*" about the changes in the material working and shopping conditions, and this antennarrative does not fit the linear progress version.

Today, globalization is a well-established discipline throughout business schools in North America, Europe, and other parts of the world. As a business school discipline, globalization has remained primarily concerned with a managerialist focus on how to manage workers in other nations to attain the highest levels of performance. Performance, in this case, means "work until you drop dead." In recent years, a number of new theories of globalization have developed into schools of thought that focus on different areas of concern. The new schools of thought include critical theory, critical postmodern theory, and post-colonial theory, and they have contributed to a broader understanding of the consequences of globalization. (These schools are reviewed at the end of the chapter.)

The success of an organization—whether it be a transnational corporation, a global governance institution like the **WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO)**, or an activist movement like Sweatshop Watch—depends in large part on how its people are organized and how they relate to one another, to clients and customers, and to other associated people. In short, the behaviour of people in an organization or transorganization or an activist movement contributes to its ability to achieve its ends. In other words, the management of success often begins with the successful management of organizational behaviour.

In counter-globalization, people make choices to exit the world of militarism and transnational corporate rule. Students are making a choice to be in solidarity with workers in countries around the globe. Choices are being made to unplug from the globalization matrix and to engage in simplicity living—to literally go off the power grid and live in ways not dependent upon transnational corporate rule. The people making these choices seek to bring about a post-globalization world. This is linear thinking.

Cyclical globalization antennarratives pose a different bet, a plot of repeating the same cycle of exploitation again and again. These are less popular in business courses than the straight linear narratives; lines are simple, circles are tougher to grasp. Globalization, to cyclical theorists, is not a line, not a succession of progressive Darwinian social evolutions through which enlightenment and reason or science and technology are able to bring about world peace and harmony. Linear globalization, to the cyclical theorists, is just illusion, entangled error, not even a persuasive narrative to control the hoard.

The third globalization antenarrative we will examine is the **RHIZOME**; it is neither line nor circle. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's book *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1987) is our starting point. A rhizome is a creeping root stem below ground that forms fleshy tubers that send out aerial runners above ground. Rhizomes capture open territory by deterritorializing it, extending in all directions until an obstacle is encountered. In the rhizome antenarrative, capitalists and transnational corporations are tubers sending out creeping root stems and networks of runners that deterritorialize, and their primary obstacle is the declining nation states. For thousands of years, the nation state also deterritorialized and established colonies and used military and diplomacy to root its trading companies.

This chapter will now turn to a more detailed examination of linear, cyclical, and rhizomatic antenarratives of globalization.

Two Linear Antenarratives of Globalization

Two linear antenarratives of globalization persist across a succession of stages or epochs of becoming global: the "Empire Race to Top" and the "Imperialism Race to Bottom." Let's introduce the globalization players and then begin linear storytelling.

Who Are the Globalization Players?

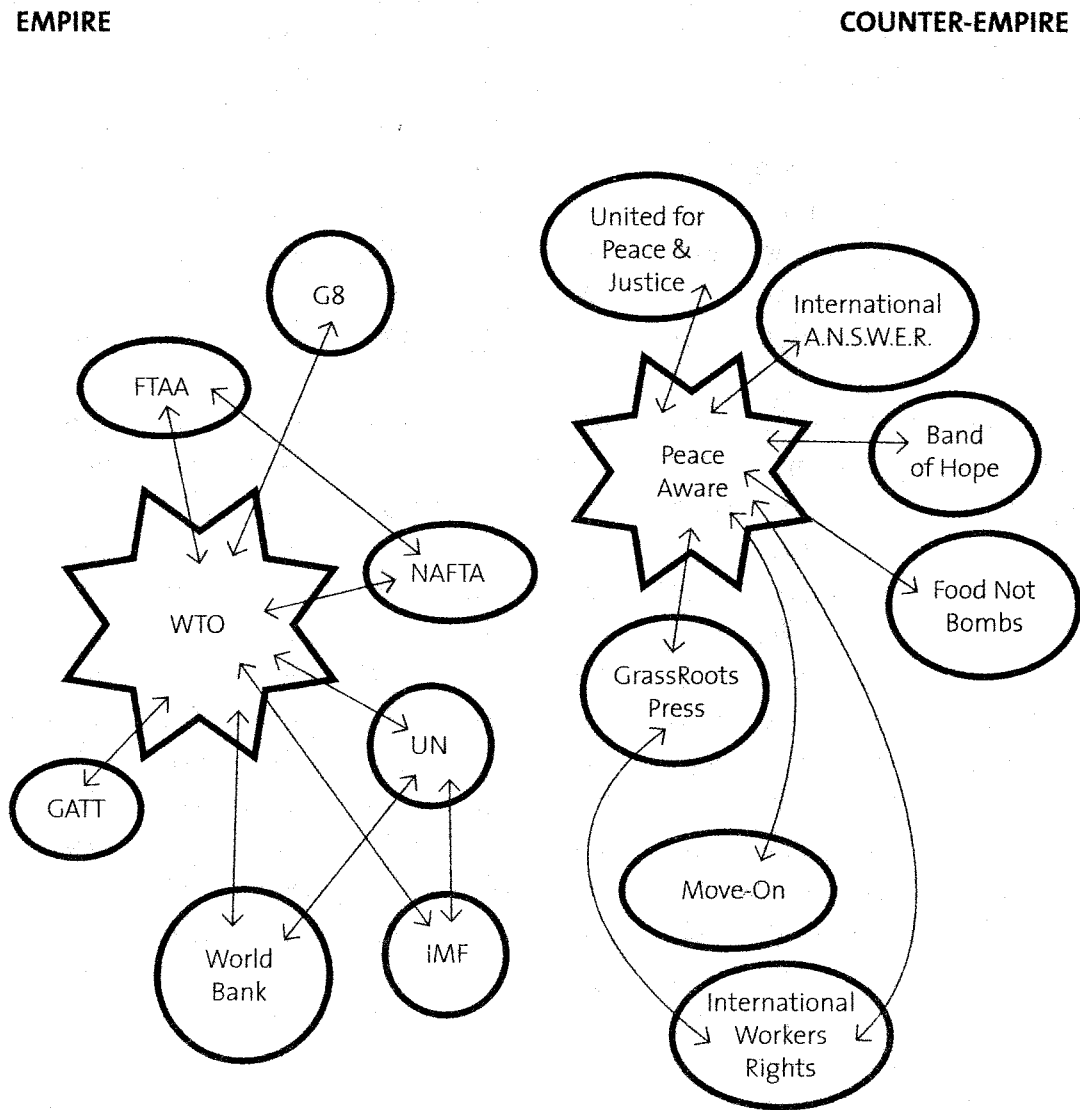
Figure 17.1 lists some of the globalization players. The linear antenarratives of the Race to Top and Race to Bottom players meet to persuade their audiences in the annual meetings of global governance institutions, such as the Group of 8 (G8), the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Race to Top players also include those involved in the following agreements and trade areas: the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the **NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT** (NAFTA), and the **FREE TRADE AREA OF THE AMERICAS** (FTAA).

The Imperial Race to Bottom storytellers have quite a post-colonial and **POSTMODERN** assortment of participants, everything from turtle to tree lovers and anti-war rebels to union workers, e.g., the Florida Fair Trade Coalition (www.ffairtrade.org) and the International Forum on Globalization (www.ifg.org).

Figure 17.1 presents a map of some of the empire and counter-empire players. The map represents an important dialectic of opposing networking forces. The solid lines indicate direct working relationships, and the dotted ones more informal affiliations. The depicted empire organizations network into *transorganizational networks*. A *transorganizational network* is an informal or more formal alliance around a particular issue, in this case, free market trade as a passageway to Race to the Top. There is a jagged line blurring the boundary between empire and counter-empire players.

The counter-empire is a bunch of transorganizational networks connecting local networking organizations, such as *PeaceAware*, to national and international networking or-

Figure 17.1: Empire and Counter-Empire Transorganizational Networking



ganizations, such as International A.N.S.W.E.R., Move-On, International Workers Rights, United for Peace and Justice, United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), and Food Not Bombs. All of these transorganizations encourage local affiliations of volunteers to participate in their activism. Activism can range from doing teach-ins and marches to letter writing campaigns, petition drives, and protests at annual meetings of empire institutions such as the WTO, FTAA, World Bank, and IMF.

The counter-empire movement is not one movement; it is many movements, and their coalition behaviour has undergone profound shifts in composition and strategy between 1980 and 2003. While there is a growing consensus that child labour needs to be addressed, that poverty can be alleviated with a living wage, and that corporations need to heed environmental limits, there are numerous divisive differences over the issues of how to deal with terrorism, war, and the ecological consequences attributed to empire.

There are many other empire and non-empire transorganizational networks, too many to list here. Here is a question you can discuss: What are the local peace, justice, and environmental counter-empire groups in your community?

Globalization and Carnivals of Counter-Empire Resistance

As mentioned, the empire and counter-empire forces often clash at meetings of various organizations that pursue policies of globalization. They also come into conflict in response to the policies of multinational corporations. Let's examine a few of these organizations as agencies of globalization and sites of resistance.

Monsanto Corporation is trying to persuade US and Canadian farmers to accept genetically engineered wheat, which no other countries will accept. Monsanto has taken a patent on wheat strain from India, forcing India to buy back its seed knowledge. Is this modern day piracy? According to researchers from New Delhi, twenty-thousand farmers have committed suicide due to the sale of expensive seeds and chemicals. They drank the pesticide that helped put them in debt.³ Monsanto sells through the India companies they buy up, using pictures of India's gods; for example, the Monkey God sells Monsanto as life giving mythology, as a god bringing you the ultimate deliverance from poverty.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) was formed April 15, 1994. It includes agreements on trade-related intellectual property rights that are being opposed by a variety of activist groups seeking a voice in the trade agreements. Activists challenge GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, the WTO, and the US Empire's system of global trade, fronted by military invasion that enriches multinational corporations as it drives down environmental and labour standards around the world.

In 1999, the WTO meeting collapsed into chaos, amidst what has been dubbed "the Battle for Seattle." In Cancun (September 12-14, 2003), WTO talks among 134 member nations collapsed after strong pressure from protest groups seeking to expose undemocratic and illegitimate mechanisms of corporate globalization.⁴ "At 2:00 pm on Sunday, September 14, 2003, Dr Mukhisa Kituyi, Kenya's Trade and Industry Minister, entered the lobby of the Cancun convention center to announce that the 5th Ministerial meeting of [the] World Trade Organization (WTO) had collapsed."⁵ The WTO is seen by the rejectionists as the most powerful and most secretive global governance institution on earth. In 1999, tens of thousands of people converged on Seattle to expose the real agenda behind "free

trade”—devastating the environment and eroding basic rights, protections, and services for the vast majority of the world’s population.

According to counter-empire groups, globalization promises progress and economic development, but seems instead to erode human rights, to lower wages overseas and decrease workers’ rights at home, to limit democracy, and to erode environmental protection.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) met November 20–21, 2003 in Miami, Florida. Again, the pressure groups alleged that global governance decisions benefited multinational corporations at the expense of people and the environment. An estimated \$8.5 million from the US Iraq reconstruction bill went to pay for police in Miami.

The level of anger and frustration among counter-empire adherents is evident in a posting to the Globalization Research Center:

Is anyone out there?!! Does anyone care about something other than themselves? What is the use of all this information if no one is willing to share it? Where were your clothes made? How much did you spend on them and how much did the person creating these clothes get paid? Do people even care about the exploitation of others in another part of the world? Does anyone even read these messages on this lame ass bulletin board? Obviously not!! You’re all slaves to the systems you embrace. Wake up people and smell the coffee. Corporations would rather ruin some poor bastard’s life than pay them a real wage to live on.⁶

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was first signed October 30, 1947. The workings of the GATT agreement are the responsibility of the Council for Trade in Goods (Goods Council), which is made up of representatives from all World Trade Organization (WTO) member countries. GATT includes trade-related intellectual property rights agreements that give monopoly over life itself.

Financial Global Governance Institutions, namely, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were created at the Bretton Woods Meetings in 1944, where finance ministers from the countries emerging victorious from World War II met to design a new architecture for the modern international economy. The World Bank was set up to help rebuild war-torn Europe, but soon thereafter turned its focus to the “underdeveloped” world to bring poor countries into the international economy.

Debate continues: what should be the role of the WB and IMF in today’s global economy? Critics would like to see both the Bank and the IMF decommissioned. On the other hand, the US government proposes expanding the role of both organizations. Having introduced the players, we turn to the linear tales.

Globalization's Race to Top Antenarratives

In the globalization race, nations and transnational corporations learn to compete, to trade freely across unrestricted borders, and, in the process, to develop their industrial infrastructure (transportation, skilled labour, communication, pipelines). In linear globalization antenarratives, there is a long (linear) succession of imperialisms, then empires, to the present moment.

Empire Overtakes Imperial Forms of Globalization

Imperial globalization makes claims to the divine rights of monarchies (and now to the supremacy of corporate rule). In a succession of imperialisms (e.g., Babylonian, Greek, and Roman in premodernity; British and US imperialism in modernity), the question is who gets to decide how to rule the world.

We will treat empire as different from **IMPERIALISM**. Both are theories of global sovereignty; empire is the more postmodern of the two. Empire is characterized by a network of global governing institutions, such as NAFTA, the FTAA, the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank—*Long Live the Empire!* There is a global resistance movement that is counter-empire, which views the trading empire as a disguise for a new imperial slavery, colonization by military and police force, the spread of cloning and **GENETICALLY MODIFIED ORGANISMS**, and a clever mask for transnational corporate power that has succeeded the nation state and operates behind the scenes controlling the network of globalization governing institutions.

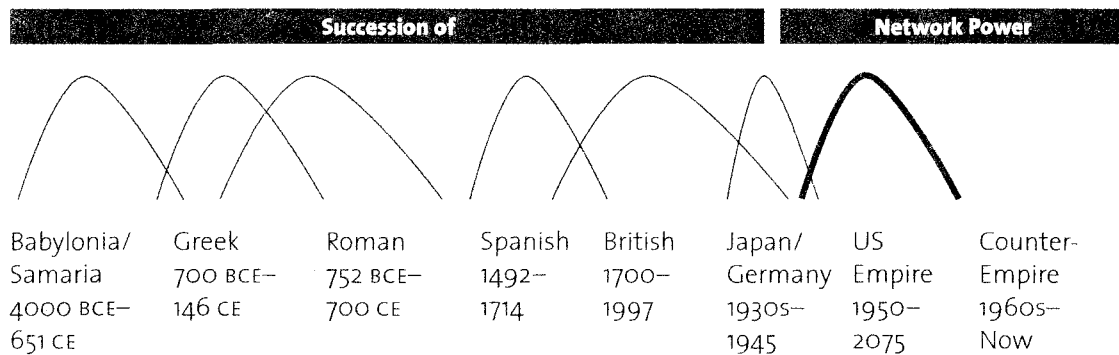
The stakes of the race (to the Top or to the Bottom) are human rights, ecological **SUSTAINABILITY**, the biotechnology revolution of human **CYBORGS** (hybrids of animal, plant, and human life forms), and balancing nation state and corporate rule with the needs of 6.3 billion people and those of the deteriorating diversity of species.

Every Imperial and Empire Collapses

The decline of imperial globalization as a hegemonic discourse is marked by a series of crises such as the 1990 **FREE-MARKET** reform crisis in Russia, the 1994 peso crisis in Mexico, and the 1997–1998 financial market crisis in Asia. Hegemony is defined as a dominant group that presents itself as the motor force of economic expansion that is in the best interests of all subordinate groups; hegemony attempts to pull people into a consensus.⁷ The dominant group of organizations lead this charge, such as the WTO and the network (at the left) in Figure 17.1. Corporate and government officials constitute a network alliance around a common idea system: the Race to the Top through globalization is best for everyone.

The Race to Bottom storyline, by contrast, is a doomsday plot in which the world's oil supply, despite the Iraq war (a race for oil), runs dry and the planet's life-sustaining resources—water and air—are so polluted by about the year 2400 that no science-fix can

Figure 17.2: Succession of Global Imperialisms and the US Empire



save the final extinction of human kind. The counter-plot of the Race to Top storyline is that, through the science of agribusiness, genetically modified organism (GMO) creation, and even cloning, life forms that live in more toxic conditions will exist and humanity will survive the planet's transformation from natural to artificial habitat.

The dotted line in Figure 17.2 represents the failure of any empire (defined as a counter-culture movement to imperialisms) to save humankind from doomsday. Empire has its own resistance, a counter-empire, a postmodern array of disparate social movements expressing such philosophies as simplicity (cutting back dependence on oil and other planetary resources) and self-sustainability (living according to one's fair share of planetary resources) and involving a number of allied peace and justice movements (espousing belief in fair trade, equality of trade, taking back democratic governance from corporate rule, and reducing the mega size of transnational corporations). In Race to Bottom, the opposing forces of counter-empire are no match for the resource predation of empire forces. After a succession of imperialisms, the struggle of counter-empire against empire is too little too late.

Figure 17.2 gives you an historical map to contextualize the current US Empire, as one of a long line of imperialisms. Each imperialism and empire (and counter-empire) has a delicate balance with the ecological resources that are coveted and traded throughout its colonies and allied nations. In each wave of globalization, these imperialisms and empires collapse when they outstrip the carrying capacity of earth's resources. The year 2075 is a commonly predicted date for the collapse of the US Empire, as this is when the world's oil supply will be depleted. You can get some sense of the timelines of the various imperialisms and empires in the webview.

 **WEBVIEW**

Imperial Timelines

Babylon: <http://www.internews.org/visavis/BTVPagesTXT/Timelines2.html>

Greek: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/landmarks/ancientgreece/timeline/>

Roman: <http://www.dalton.org/groups/Rome/RMap.html>

British: <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/timeline/timeline.htm>

Babylonia/Samaria Imperialism

Babylonian and Samaritan imperialism rose beginning in 4000 BCE. In 3500 BCE, Upper Egypt was consolidated. Between 333 and 330 BCE, Alexander the Great of Macedonia campaigned against the Achaemenian Empire under Darius III. In 323 BCE, Alexander dies in Babylon. And the death of Yazdagird III in 651 CE ends the Sassanian Imperial. The demise of this imperialism is most often attributed to lands being stripped of trees and to overgrazing and deforestation to the point that the ecology is no longer sustainable. The imperialism collapses.

Greek Imperialism

About 750 BCE, Homer writes the Iliad and the Odyssey. In 508 BCE, democracy begins in Athens. Sometime between 428 and 348 BCE, Plato complained of the ecological devastation of imperialism, for example, "in the area of Attica."⁸ The Greek mainland was deforested to build war ships, and the soil from the hills washed down onto the deforested terrain. Empire exhausted its environmental resources and collapsed.

Roman Imperialism

Rome was founded by Romulus in 752 BCE. Roman imperialism sees a series of uprisings, such as the 73–71 BCE slave uprising led by Spartacus. Julius Caesar was assassinated on 15 March 44 BCE. Roman imperialism colonized areas of North Africa for its "bread basket" until the ecology was destroyed. This imperialism, like the Greek one, exploited North Africa as the mainstay of its food source. There were 600 colonial cities from Egypt to Morocco that provided Rome with two thirds of its wheat. In 451 CE, there is an alliance of Romans and barbarians that defeat Attila the Hun on the Catalaunian Plains in Gaul. In 455 CE, Vandals sack Rome, and, in 476 CE, the last Roman emperor abdicates, and Britain, Spain, most of Gaul, and North Africa is abandoned.

Spanish Imperialism

Spanish imperialism begins slowly with Christopher Columbus's voyage to the Americas in 1492. It spreads in 1516 with the death of Fernando of Aragon, whereupon the Spanish Crown goes to Charles I of Spain, who is also Charles V of Germany. As a consequence of Charles's ascension, the Spanish kingdoms of Castile and Aragon plus the Italian and European dominions of the Habsburgs unite under a single imperial sceptre. The Spanish set about the

conquest of Native Americans, including enslavement and genocide under the conquistadors. There is a northern renaissance in the early 1500s, which meant the importation of Italian humanist ideas into northern Europe and which sparked calls for church reform. The Spanish imperial collapse begins in 1700 with death of Charles II, and the war of Spanish succession breaks out. The war ends in 1714, when France imposes Philip V of Anjou; Spain also loses to Belgium, Luxemburg, Milan, Naples, Sardina, Minorca, and Gibraltar.

Linear History of Trading Corporations and Globalization

Let the global race begin. History records that the first Europeans to establish free trade agreements in India since the fall of the Roman Empire were the Portuguese, who landed at Calcutta in 1498 and were led by Vasco da Gama; then came the British, who, seeing the Dutch firmly controlled the East Indies, focused their attention on India, hoping to outdo the Portuguese there.



WEBVIEW

The East India Trading Company

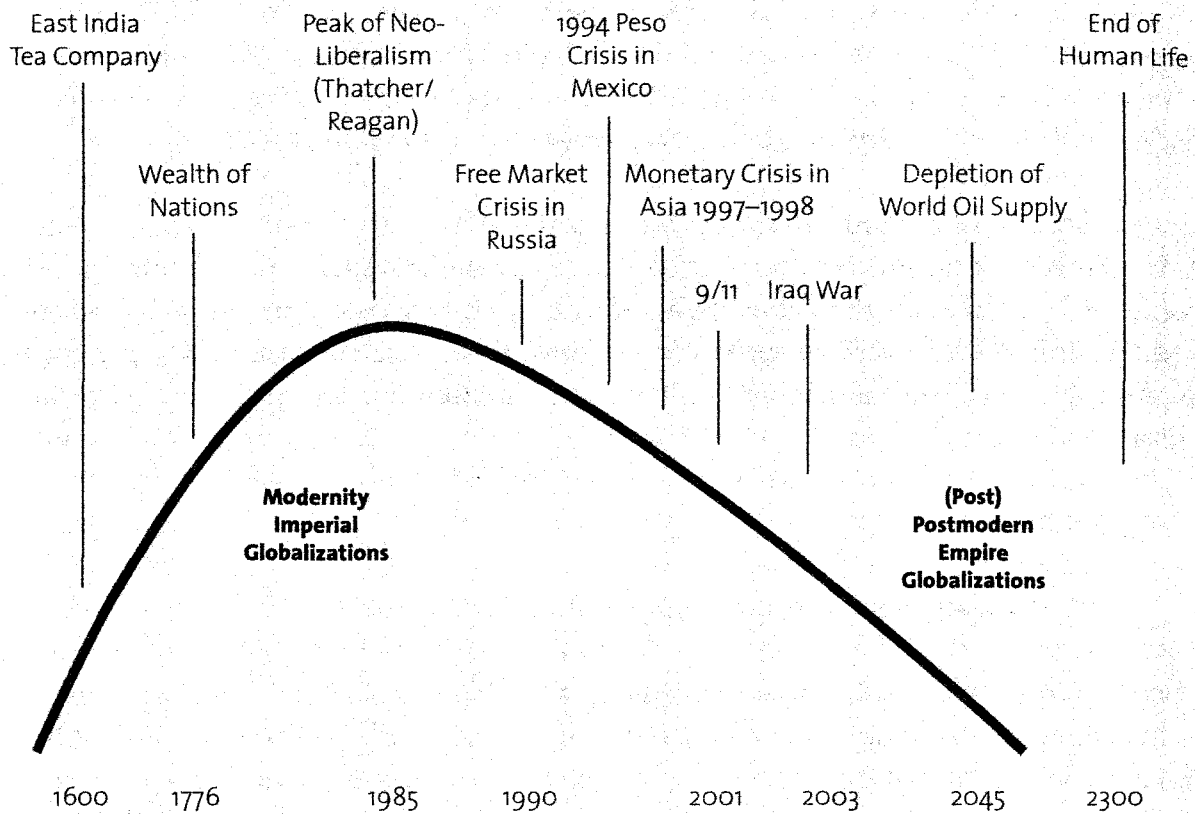
<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/History/British/EAc.html>

The *East India Trading Company* was among the early merchant adventurers promoting free trade and globalization. This corporation, founded December 31, 1600 under Queen Elizabeth I, played the global race with much success for two and a half centuries, until it was dissolved in 1878. During its zenith, its corporate board of directors ruled over one hundred million people. Globalization continued after the East India Trading Company through a host of other British firms with government backing. Then, in 1942, the great Bengal famine killed two million people. That is when Gandhi started the “Quit India” movement to get the British to surrender power and leave.

Figure 17.3 is a Race to Bottom map charting the rise and fall of globalization ideologies and practices. It begins with the East India Trading Company, one of the many global trading corporations that ruled trading empires (see the previous section). Adam Smith wrote the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 at a time when Spanish imperial power was collapsing and British imperialism was ascending. Globalization discourse reaches its peak around 1985 with the heyday of Margaret Thatcher (UK) and Ronald Reagan (US) who advocate the doctrine of neo-liberalism (explained below). In 1989, the Berlin Wall began to crumble and collapsed. In 1990, the Soviet Union collapsed, and US imperialism (not yet the US Empire) attained its zenith.

Let me tell you the basis of my optimism for our future. What has made the United States great is that ours has been an *empire of ideals*. The ideals of freedom, democracy, and a belief in the remarkable potential of the individual.—Ronald Reagan⁹

Figure 17.3: The Rise and Fall of Globalizations



Living in a Transorganizational World

A network of organizations is called “transorganizational,” and these organizational networks undertake governance tasks. A transorganization is defined as multiple organizations making network links of communication, governance, and resource flows. GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF are transorganizational governance institutions. Their legitimacy for transorganizational governance is the culmination, as the story is told, of a linear progress from imperial, to empire, to oligarchic networks that become the successor of nation states—from colonialism to the United Nations to the World Trade Organization, so the antenarrative storyline goes.

The new transorganizational world also includes major transnational corporations, the former Enron, plus Bechtel, Halliburton, Wal-Mart, General Electric, Monsanto, and a hundred or so more. Many have revenues higher than the gross national products of nation states; and that is fine since nation states are about to become as extinct as dinosaurs in this evolutionary progress tale.

These powerful and wealthy transnational corporations are able to influence and benefit from the trade policies of the transorganizational institutions (e.g., the GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, etc.). Together, this transorganizational network of institutions and transnational corporations affects the daily lives of 6,333,168,366 people (6.3 billion) as of January 12, 2003.

We are living in a transorganizational world, one that is in a linear progress from imperialism to empire to post-empire. As the linear story goes, throughout history, capitalist adventurers have teamed quite effectively with nation states, who provided their armies and navies to construct an ever more globalized enterprise. Each generation believes that it has the technology—be it the horse, telegraph, telephone, computer, or biotechnology—to accomplish the final globalization triumph. And any nation state, Luddite company, or person that gets in the way of this progressive evolution is swept away. The progress myths of wealth from new markets can also bring about widespread suffering and doomsday. Is globalization emancipation or enslavement, reality or fantasy?



WEBVIEW

What is Neo-Liberalism?

<http://www.corpwatch.org/issues/PID.jsp?articleid=376>

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/econ/histneol.htm>

Globalization and the Neo-Liberalism Worldview

Neo-Liberalism and Globalization

The 1980s saw the rise of **NEO-LIBERALISM** as a globalization ideology. Neo-liberalism became the favourite story of “Race to Top storytellers.” You entered the race and made the bet that increased international economic integration of markets through privatization, outsourcing, and deregulation is the world’s best hope for the world to alleviate poverty and starvation. Neo-liberalism was not always so popular.

In the early post-World War II climate of unions, job protection, and safeguards, neo-liberalism was a radical idea. People still remembered the horrors of the Depression, and they preferred that governments keep a close eye on markets and marketers. Neo-liberalism, by contrast, viewed everything as a tradable commodity, and its proponents preferred unrestricted borders and harmonized food and product standards, and they proposed that trade should be free of tariffs and, for efficiency’s sake, free of government interference. Globalization is the free trade not only of products but also of capital.¹⁰ Those were the rules of the neo-liberal race.

If you subscribe to the Race to Bottom story, then you will need your doublespeak language decoder to deconstruct several terms. “Neo” means we are talking about a new kind of liberalism (in this context, liberalism means a conservative, no holds barred attitude taken by governments toward corporations); it is better phrased as *conservative economics liberalism*. Corporate Watch decodes the doublespeak:

1. *The rule of the market.* Liberating “free” enterprise or private enterprise from any bonds imposed by the government (the state) no matter how much social damage this causes. Greater openness to international trade and investment, as in NAFTA. Reduce wages by de-unionizing workers and eliminating workers’ rights that had been won over many years of struggle. No more price controls. All in all, total freedom of movement for capital, goods and services. To convince us this is good for us, they say “an unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone.” It’s like Reagan’s “supply-side” and “trickle-down” economics—but somehow the wealth didn’t trickle down very much.
2. *Cutting public expenditure for social services* like education and health care. *Reducing the safety-net for the poor*, and even [cutting funds dedicated to the] maintenance of roads, bridges, water supply—again in the name of reducing government’s role. Of course, they don’t oppose government subsidies and tax benefits for business.
3. *Deregulation.* Reduce government regulation of everything that could diminish profits, including protecting the environment and safety on the job.
4. *Privatization.* Sell state-owned enterprises, goods and services to private investors. This includes banks, key industries, railroads, toll highways, electricity, [as well as] schools, hospitals and even fresh water. Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs.
5. *Eliminating the concept of “the public good” or “community”* and replacing it with “individual responsibility.” Pressuring the poorest people in a society to find solutions to their lack of health care, education and social security all by themselves—then blaming them, if they fail...¹¹

How did Neo-Liberalism Begin?

Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979, and she undertook the neo-liberal sales campaign in Britain. In the US, Ronald Reagan became the chief sales barker for neo-liberalism between 1977 and 1988. Income inequalities grew, but people held tight to the Race to the Top storyline. For example, “In 1977, the top 1 percent of American families had average incomes 65 times as great as those of the bottom 10 percent. A decade later, the top 1 percent was 115 times as well off as the bottom decile.”¹² (Please see <http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/econ/histneol.htm>.)

Continuous Crisis in Globalization

The Reagan-Thatcher case for neo-liberalism needed more and more advertising dollars to forestall popular disbelief. It was an easy sell in the mid-1980s but a hard sell in the mid-1990s, and the story was quite hard to sell in the post 9/11 era. Still the Race to Top storyline had lots of buyers. The 1990s gave its critics visible markers of the consequences of neo-liberal ideology:

- 1990 free market reform crisis in Russia
- 1994 peso crisis in Mexico
- 1997–1998 financial market crisis in Asia

By the late 1990s, the transorganizational governance bodies (IMF, WB, G8, and WTO) began to capitulate, and they softened, a bit, the fundamentalist allegiance to Race to Top rules of trade. For example, the 1998 G8 Birmingham summit put national debt on its governance agenda. In 1999, the IMF committed to targets that deal with lowering world poverty by 2015. Two Nobel Prize-winning economists were critical of the neo-liberal free market globalization ideology: Joseph Stiglitz, who won the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2001, and Amartya Sen, who won the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1998). To get to the point, there were significant shifts—in the rules of free market trade and in the governance institutions' dialog. And in the 2002 annual meetings of the WB and the IMF, delegates admitted that the age of neo-liberal fundamentalism concerning free trade and globalization was over. There were also shifts in the Race to Bottom adherents.

The Race to Bottom Antennarratives

Race to Bottom storytellers say that the WTO, FTAA, World Bank, and IMF meet behind closed doors, deciding the fate of Third World countries, while outside, participation happens amidst police dressed like Star Wars Storm Troopers. They advocate opening up the discussion to less elite participation. As this storyline goes, the WTO and FTAA are viewed as only organized for the benefit of highly privileged transnational corporate executives and a few professionals at the expense of most of the world's population and the environment.

The debate rages. The Race to Bottom storytellers say that the neo-liberal model of globalization is (linear) mega-corporate expansion through militarism, in the name of “free trade.”

The Race to Bottom model for resistance and reform is to establish and protect local “fair market trade” from **PREDATORY** transnational corporate greed. Can self-reliance and the autonomy of sustainable communities be established when the mindset is that “free markets” unrestrained by government interference is the way to go?

Post-colonial Globalization

“By the early years of the twentieth century, Western colonial empires covered some 84.6 percent of the area of the earth.”¹³ Some opening definitions will get you started.

Post-colonial theory is defined most simply as what happens after Western colonialism, whether this colonialism came about by imperial or empire conquest. In a more complex definition, post-colonial theory is defined as being “explicitly committed to developing a radical critique of colonialism/imperialism and neo-colonialism.”¹⁴

Colonialism is defined as “actual physical conquest, occupation, and administration of the territory of one country by another.”¹⁵

NEOCOLONIALISM is defined as the “continuation of Western colonialism by nontraditional means.”¹⁶ One of these non-traditional means is biopower. Biopower is a form of power exercised on the body; it is the **COLONIZATION** of the mind that conquers subjectivity and forces the unquestioned acceptance of elite sovereignty whether this sovereignty is imperial or derived from empire. Post-colonial theory problematizes the political correctness of globalization narratives, pointing to the misery beneath the claims of progressive evolution, the accelerated pace of ecological degradation, the reduced diversity of cultures and species, and the growing gap between rich and poor. In sum, critics of biopower condemn the control of one race over the body of another race—the way Third World races provide the sweat in sweatshops so other bodies of other races live “sweat free.”

Post-colonial theory attacks grand narratives of globalization for being ethnocentric, for dualizing nations between the “developed” and the “developing.” The antenarrative of development that constructs the duality between “developed” and “developing” nations was popularized by President Harry Truman in a 1945 speech. Developing nations could become developed by entering “free trade” agreements. This, to the neocolonial theorists, is an expansion of neocolonialism, a non-traditional extension of colonial rule. In the Road to Top antenarrative, the “native persona” is characterized as “culturally inferior to the Western self” but as an attractive source of cheap labour; especially indigenous female labour is viewed in this way. Globalization opens up formerly regulated and protected economies to the transnational corporate economy.¹⁷

Neo-liberal ideology becomes a key selling point in organizational studies to legitimate a hegemonic globalization. You can find it in the bulk of management and organizational studies textbooks that centre globalization and free trade as common sense, in a perspective that post-colonialists call “globalcentricism.”¹⁸ The counter-story is the Race to Bottom, the widening gap between rich and poor. For example, in India, in violation of neo-liberal predictions, “rural poverty was worse in 1992 than in 1989–1990.”¹⁹ Globalization, then, may not be an inevitable and inescapable or linear ride from developing to the developed. Globalization, however, is taught as a managerialist philosophy; we are taught how Euro- and US-centric management practices can improve developing nations.

To the neocolonial theorists, globalization is an overly simplistic antenarrative, a simple-minded interpretation of the complex political economy—just one more imperialism. The idea that globalization automatically means progress or that a free market economy is somehow more efficient without government is rejected. Globalization is seen as another way of saying Americanization (the spread of American consumerism and management practices everywhere).

Post-colonial theorists narrate that American imperialism and the US Empire constitutes an exercise of power by military or economic conquest using institutions such as the WTO, FTAA, IMF, and the like.

In business schools (and through the mass media), students learn to internalize a “global self” and memorize the requisite Western category hierarchies prevalent in the teaching machine (such as Hofstede’s “power distance” categories of nation state cultural differences). In Hofstede’s power distance index, entire nations are categorized by a kind of racial profiling that places nations with large populations and warm climates in a state of dependency. In general, Hofstede’s cultural value dimensions support the ascendancy of the liberal and neo-liberal concept of individualism, which is so dear to US culture. To the post-colonial theorists, Hofstede’s supra-nation categories are master works of racial fiction, a way to inscribe both the Western global self and the subjectivity of the governed self by white rule. The irony is that Road to Top is an antenarrative about empowering the Other, about liberating and developing the Other; but the contradiction is that the antenarrative ends up disempowering the Other through a neocolonial subjectivity, a subjugation of Eastern and Southern to Northern and Western logics. Now empire, the neocolonial successor to imperialisms, writes its own heroic antenarrative role, one that is sold in Western business education, which sets up outposts throughout the world.

Globalization is a myth of progressive evolution, of a move to democratize the world through transnational corporate global governance. Yet the World Bank is often described in post-colonial circles as the citizens and executives of 100 countries, who attended only US universities.

The most recent change in the Road to Top antenarrative, say the post-colonial theorists, is that the failed script of development is being rewritten and rescripted in the new sustainability script. Meanwhile, wealth accumulates at the top, and the fantasy enrols weak-minded followers into subjectivity.

In post-9/11, the Race to Bottom storytellers experienced a hegemonic shift. Few cared about the race. The anti-globalization movement lost the centre stage to the peace movement with the invasion and occupation of Iraq.

The Race to Bottom resisters and reformers once again entered the global stage a few years later. The November 2003 meetings of the FTAA began to see a unification of peace and anti-globalization groups and agendas. The convergent issue was how militarism and war were being used to further corporate wealth acquisition in the Race to Bottom.

Here are questions for contemporary debate:

1. How sustainable is global governance by institutions such as the IMF, WB, and WTO?
2. Should the debts of the poorest developing nations be forgiven?
3. Will the FTAA succeed NAFTA?
4. What is globalization when 1.2 billion people (one-fifth of humanity) survive on less than a dollar a day, when masses of small farmers commit suicide in India, unable to escape its consequences?

Counter-Empire

In response to empire is a postmodern mishmash of squabbling, discordant groups ranging from the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAA) or the Clean Clothes Campaign to environmental groups, such as People for Ethical Treatment of Animals, and peace movement organizations, such as International A.N.S.W.E.R. or Move-On. Carnavalesque overflows as imaginative differences turn the streets outside WTO, FTAA, WB, and IMF meetings into street theatre, into satire and chaotic patterns of defiance mixed with anarchy and deviance, nudity and chanting.

In *Race to Bottom*, there are three interest groups: the rejectionists, the reformers, and the nation statist.



WEBVIEW

Three Counter-Empire Groups

<http://www.cafod.org.uk/archive/policy/globalisationandcritics200301.pdf>

Globalization and Three Counter-Empire Movements

There are three strands to the counter-empire movement that we will look at in more detail.²⁰

- *Rejectionists* see the G8, GATT, WTO, FTAA, NAFTA, IMF, and WB as failed governance institutions that need to be decommissioned and abandoned as hopeless. The *Race to Bottom* is a rigged game, and it cannot be fixed. Rejectionists believe that corporate profit interests will always supersede all humanitarian and environmental interests.
- *Reformists* believe that, through greater participation by excluded Third World nations and the excluded voices of labour and environment, the global governance institutions can be reformed and a better system of global governance will be achieved. In this way, the *Race* can be played by rules that are fair to all nations.
- *Nation Statists* contend that balance in globalization between rejection and reform can be achieved by rebuilding the role of the nation state and by implementing the “Small is Beautiful” philosophy of E. F. Schumacher that became popularized in the **SIMPLICITY MOVEMENT**. It is like allowing the local races to continue with the global race. Statists support a return to Adam Smith’s idea that corporations should be small and locally accountable players; this is part of the movement to de-charter corporations that are anti-community, a movement popularized by David Korten. This de-chartering is like red-tagging corporations that do not play by fair race rules.

The Bush administration, say the counter-empire storytellers, is on a reckless quest for empire, combining the global might of the United States military with the global reach of

massive corporations. WTO rules provide a “security exception” that protects and fosters weapons manufacture and the arms trade. Basic worker and consumer rights and environmental protections could be jettisoned as “unfair barriers to trade.”

Scenario 17.1: A Local Counter-Globalization Example

PeaceAware is a transorganizational network that facilitates coalitions in its network of 28 groups and organizations interested in peace, justice, and environmental awareness issues in southern New Mexico. PeaceAware is one of many such transorganizations that are working to take back American democracy from corporate rule and militarism. (See the next Webview for a listing of more transorganizational examples.) PeaceAware has direct relationships to United for Peace and Justice, Band of Hope, USAS, and Food Not Bombs. It has more loosely coupled ill-defined relations to International A.N.S.W.E.R. and Move-On. All of the national and international counter-empire transorganizations want to encourage participative relations in terms of social action and fundraising with local coalitions such as PeaceAware.

I lead PeaceAware and co-organize local actions with an activist named Anne Wing. Anne founded the local chapter of Food Not Bombs and a global exchange initiative called “Code Pink.” PeaceAware co-sponsors a local community newspaper called *GrassRoots Press*. Steve Klinger, the editor, is a member of PeaceAware’s Steering Committee.

A key concern in the opposition of empire is the corporate control over newspaper, radio, and TV chains. The corporate press tends to undercount counter-empire event turnout, report it in quite an empire-biased manner, or ignore it completely. Alternative media outlets such as Common Dreams, Alternet, and Indy Media have emerged as counter-empire alternatives to the corporate media. (See the next Webview for a list of scores of alternative media, including postmodern theorist Douglas Kellner’s blog.)

PeaceAware has many local and international affiliates. (As mentioned, some 28 local groups and organizations are on the PeaceAware Advisory Board.) PeaceAware coalition organizations put on weekly peace and justice vigils in front of the Federal Building on Church Street in Las Cruces, New Mexico. There are thousands of such vigils being held in communities around the world. (Visit the PeaceAware website to find photos, peace poetry, and essays written by community members.) What effect does a peace vigil or Food Not Bombs event have? I think it is the beginning of a worldwide movement to reshape globalization, to create local awareness of issues that are not being broadcast on TV.

PeaceAware is a transorganizing hub that is an example of other transorganizational networking occurring in communities around the world. Dealing with the preferences and consequences of globalization and trade agreements on local economies is an activity that mobilizes millions of people. Before the Iraq War, some 30 million people worldwide turned out to protest the planned invasion, which began on March 20, 2003.



WEBVIEW

PeaceAware Link

<http://peaceaware.com/>

Transorganizational Link

<http://peaceaware.com/transorg.shtml>

Alternative Media Link

http://peaceaware.com/links_for_peace.htm

Douglas Kellner's Blog

<http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/courses/ed253a/blogger.php>

Most management and organizational theory textbooks only tell the Race to Top story, in which unfortunate consequences happen sometimes, but the only real hurdles are the obstacles that protectionist governments put in the way of efficient market performance and trade with transnational corporations. (Pick a case from any management strategy textbook, and search for how globalization is presented in only the most positive light.) You will find the conventional Race to Top mantra: “We live in a global economy where the free market should determine wages and prices.” Or “It’s progress; the fit survive and the rest are left behind” (a modern day Social Darwinist ideology that permeates management texts).

For example, the text *Strategic Management: Creating Competitive Advantages* characterized globalization in this way:

Globalization is the defining feature of the global economy ... with globalization, time and space are no longer a barrier to making deals anywhere in the world.... Along with the increasing speed of transactions and global sourcing of all forms of resources and information, managers are struggling to balance the paradoxical demand to think globally and act locally.... To summarize, globalization requires that organizations increase their ability to learn and collaborate and to manage diversity, complexity, and ambiguity.²¹

Globalization is summarized in one Road to the Top sentence: “This is not a new trend but it has intensified, with enormous opportunities opening up in Asia, central and eastern Europe, and Latin America.”²²

As Thomas Hobbes put it, the life of the native is “solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short (*Leviathan*, 1651).²³ Empire’s Race to Top antenarrative has these globalization assumptions:

- Globalization is a more efficient use of indigenous resources;
- Globalization with GMO and agribusiness is the best way to feed the 6.3 billion people on earth;

- Globalization spreads American business technical know-how, American culture, and American values to backward economies;
- Globalization frees people from religious fundamentalism and terrorist ideologies by spreading global republicanism;
- Those opposing globalization have anti-American attitudes that are barbaric;
- Globalization homogenizes cultural differences with computer, Internet, and TV access, so it is impossible to distinguish local from global life and business practices; and
- There is no point in resisting.

While globalization may seem a two-way street that lets Third World goods and services get into the First World market, the relative advantage moves towards the elite class of professional in both worlds, the people who work for or own the voting shares in transnational corporations. It can also be argued that, with the patenting of seeds by Monsanto and other agribusinesses, indigenous resources (i.e., freely grown seeds) must now become corporate purchases. As an exercise, take each of the six points made by Race to Top, and pick them apart with logic, statistics, and other arguments.

Next we look at particular historical examples of quite early formulations of globalization and Road to Top antenarratives.

The Race is Changing

In communities throughout the world, people organize a global uprising for peace and justice. Race to Bottom storytellers see some kind of connection between militarism and free trade. For example, globalization institutions began arguably with GATT in 1944, and they continue with formation of the WTO in 1995. In both, the military is used to enforce trade regulation. Military spending by governments increases as a way to protect trade and to promote military jobs and the weapons industries; the result is militarizing societies all over the world. For example, the United States spends more on the military than any nation in the world; in fact, it spends more than the next 26 nations' combined military budgets.

Much of the resistance to militarism and globalization is quite carnivalesque. In Mexico, a coalition of groups—comprising labour unions, farmers, and other non-government organizations—burnt a banner on September 14, 2003 that read “No WTO” and “Stop Free Trade” at the end of a forum on the impact of the world trade body on the poor. Some resistance to WTO and FTAA is more tragic. Lee Kyung-hae, a Korean farmer, committed suicide in front of the conference hall in Cancun, Mexico on the first day of the WTO meeting in 2003. In grotesque irony, Kyung-hae carried a placard that read “WTO Kills Farmers,” before stabbing himself.

In Thailand, Pongpit Samranjit, director of the Rural Reconstruction Alumni and Friends Association, said the WTO's free trade policy favours big exporters. “Local farmers would be hurt when cheap, imported farm products were dumped on the market. The

government had already agreed to lift tariffs on 23 items including potatoes, soybean, corn, coffee beans, coconut and palm oil.”²⁴ Thai activists on September 14, 2003 burned a placard bearing the World Trade Organization’s logo in Bangkok, expressing solidarity with anti-globalization protesters as the world trade talks in Mexico went into their final day.

As the peace and anti-war movements combine, the Race to Bottom story takes on new twists and plots. For example, “Advocates for corporate globalization are descending on the remains of Iraq to divide up the spoils of war even as the body count grows higher.”²⁵ But the Bush regime’s “good news” media offensive, its blatant censorship,²⁶ and fake letters home from GIs can’t obscure the realities on the ground. US military morale is low and the Iraqi occupation is starting to be reminiscent of Vietnam.²⁷ In both wars, the general populace was slow to turn against the war; in both the relationship between corporate contractors and militarism became increasingly debated.



WEBVIEW

Empire and AIDS

<http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=17281>

AIDS and Globalization

When it comes to HIV/AIDS, the Road to Bottom antenarrative paints a doomsday scenario. Joanne Mariner, a human rights attorney based in New York tells the story:

Here are some numbers to consider: 14 million, 35.9 billion, and 1. The first is an estimate of the number of people who will die of AIDS and other treatable diseases over the course of the coming year, most of them in the poor countries of the developing world.

The second figure represents the combined 2002 profits, in dollars, of the 10 biggest pharmaceutical companies listed in *Fortune* magazine’s annual review of America’s largest businesses.

The third figure corresponds to the number of countries that, last week, voted against a U.N. resolution on access to drugs in global epidemics such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. The resolution emphasized that the failure to deliver life-saving drugs to millions of people who are living with HIV/AIDS constitutes a global health emergency. One hundred sixty seven countries voted in favor of the resolution. The single vote against it was cast by the United States.²⁸

Hyper-competitiveness

HYPER-COMPETITIVENESS results from the fear of losing to the competition, and it can become so great that every strategy and tactic is used to disable and destroy one’s competitors. In globalism, hyper-competitiveness is accompanied by the fear of losing to the competition,

so international organizations such as the WTO and the FTAA are set up to control competitive urges by working out agreements between heads of state and heads of multinational corporations. The way it works is that only the top executives and government heads are at the bargaining table. Those affected by the bargaining do not attend. Under hyper-competition, everyone worries about how fast the game rules are changing under globalization.

In its egotistic and ethnocentric stages, globalization has a spirit of expansion; imperial globalization wants to gobble up the world, to eat the world. In the early phases of globalization, agrarian nations trade, and slavery and patriarchy are standard practices. One linear antenarrative is the gross leap forward from imperialism to empire, thought to be irreversible in linear antenarratives of globalization, and the frantic state of hyper-competitiveness that (as the argument goes) only agencies governing global trade can contain.

Throughout the history of the world, merchant adventurers teamed up with generals, financiers, and politicians to control and, some say, exploit the global economy with "free trade agreements." For example, although India grew cotton in the early twentieth century, its own cotton industry, based on handloom production, had been destroyed by mass produced textiles from British cotton mills, which were sent to India under the banner of free trade. Gandhi and the All India Congress Party fought against free trade as well as industrialization and colonialism when they adopted the spinning wheel as a symbol of Indian nationalism and led a boycott of British goods, especially against cotton textiles. The trade agreements were "free trade" to the British but not "fair trade" from Gandhi's point of view. With the invention of computers and cell phones, there are changes in the technology of globalization, but the global race is still the same: how to amass wealth by creating "free" markets that are not necessarily fair markets. The rules of the race and the awareness of costs and benefits have shifted dramatically with each antenarrative bet.

Globalism, say the imperial, Race to Bottom, linear antenarrative storytellers, is a form of feudalism, a way for multinational corporations to take money out of other countries. In the birth of the United States, colonists fought for liberty by boarding the British East India Company ships and throwing a Boston Tea Party. Colonists feared corporate power, so they limited corporate life to a charter of 12 years; those times are gone. Now the corporation, while mentioned nowhere in the US Constitution or the Bill of Rights, is considered a US citizen. It was not always so. And it does not have to remain so. In an 1886 US Supreme Court ruling, corporations were deemed to have the same rights as individuals. In Pennsylvania, the Community Environmental Defense Fund is challenging the idea that the corporation is a citizen, in the courts.²⁹ New legislation restricting corporate rights is taking place in New Jersey as well.³⁰

In the Race to Bottom antenarratives, the line regresses (instead of progresses); the rich nations get richer and the poor ones get poorer through the enforcement of so-called "free trade agreements." Humanist science and industrial manufacturing's succession of agrarian production acted to free the slaves and, given that women are needed in the factory, extended some limited rights to women. Modernity's most positive contribution is the

end of slavery and the liberation movements for women and blacks. But, there are many dire consequences that breed an ethnocentric hatred. A book that presents this storyline is Amy Chua's *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*.³¹ Sylvia Nassar says that the rich and free owe the poor and oppressed for globalization's spreading ill effects.³² Compare these to the books by Singer and Ferguson, who are much more apologists for empire.³³

Chua, Nassar, and Zakaria also focus on the unintended consequences of the US Empire and free market democracy, namely, the ethnocentric ones. These consequences include the concentration of wealth into fewer hands and increased genocide (the racial murder and "ethnic cleansing" of the natives to appropriate their lands). Chua calls for tax transfer programs from rich to poor nations. Zakaria wants to extend the Bill of Rights to the world (but does not challenge the American-European project of colonizing the undemocratic with democracy). Zakaria is making the point that democracy is majority rule, but does not have a place for elites to become guardians of individual freedoms or for maintaining accountability.

Free trade, to those even more critical of globalization, is just more doublespeak, one more word that means its opposite: Free trade is only "free" if you have the power, the military clout, or bribes to enforce unfair trade agreements. Race to Bottom stories characterize transnational corporations as

1. Putting shareholder profits ahead of community and even customer interests;
2. Putting mega profit ahead of ecological preservation;
3. Putting hyper-competitive, even predatory, behaviour ahead of human rights;
4. Putting small businesses out of business (including small farms which cannot compete against agribusiness subsidies); and
5. Putting big corporate interests ahead of national allegiance, which is how, for example, transnational corporations avoid paying taxes.

The imperial Race to Bottom storytellers say that globalization is not progress, it is not new, and it is time for "fair markets" with "living wages" and "sustainable" global practices. Race to Bottom storytellers remember a long succession of imperialisms, and see empire as just imperialism in a mask. They see the succession of imperialisms and the contemporary US Empire as a journey to planetary suicide—the exhaustion of all life-sustaining resources (oil, water, air, and trees).

A middle of the road position on globalization is presented in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's book *Empire*.³⁴ They reserve the term "Imperial" for the modern attempts at globalization, and the word "Empire" for the late postmodern forms of global capitalism. The middle of the road position is in between linear globalization (i.e., the sequence from Imperial to Empire) and rhizomatic globalization that spreads its runners and roots into a

network of power and that connects ancient production with modern industrialization. We will have more to say on this when we get to rhizomes of globalization (below).

Collapse of Empire

As empire begins to exhaust its own core resources, there is an explosion of colonies and conquest (often war) to compensate. As the colonies' ecology is devastated and the environmental carrying capacity is exceeded, the (linear) prediction is that empire implodes and collapses.

A typical mantra is "progress" seems to be "regress." These are the key issues in the collapse of empire:

- No job security in empire
- No health benefits in empire
- Gender discrimination accompanies empire
- Union busting comes with empire
- Environmental destruction comes with empire
- State spying on citizens comes with empire
- State violence against citizens comes with empire
- Landless population of indigenous peoples creates cheap labour of empire
- De-democratization of nations critical to empire global control
- Increased poverty insures cheap labour pool for empire
- When planetary resources are exhausted, empires collapse

In sum, the two storylines, empire's Race to the Top and the imperial Race to the Bottom, resonate with different constituencies. There has been a shift between fair market protection after the Great Depression to free market neo-liberalism in the age of Thatcher and Reagan. Because of the expenditure of massive advertising dollars, the current generation believes that neo-liberal free market globalization is the natural, god-given state. The Social Darwinism of the 1800s reasserted its popularity in the 1980s and 1990s. With the Asian, Mexican, and Russian financial crises, the grip of neo-liberalism as the only globalization ideology lessened. People are making these global institutions more accountable and turning out in larger numbers to protest G8, FTAA, IMF, WB, and WTO meetings. There is a call for more rigorous empirical study of the side-effects of neo-liberalism globalization. Corporations such as Nike, Wal-Mart, and Gap have become global brands, and visible symbols for the anti-globalization movement.

Road to Bottom antennarratives make several predictions, which are summarized in the next sections about ecological collapse, the consequences of biotechnology, and the redeeming power of the escape from "affluenza" into simplicity.

The Ecological Collapse of Global Carrying Capacity

William Kötke burst in my office in Las Cruces, New Mexico and told me, “I hear you care about ecology and business practices. I wrote this book, I’m moving tomorrow.”³⁵ His book adds something significant to Hardt and Negri’s *Empire*, a thorough scientific look at the collapse of the global ecosystem’s carrying capacity for empire, in terms of soil, forest, industrial agriculture, oceans, and species die-off. He gives a thorough history, psychology, and cosmology of imperial colonialism in the modern world. He contributes ways the ecosystem can be revitalized, how life on earth can be restored, and how humanity can choose to live after empire.

Affluenza

In terms of solutions to the impending ecological collapse brought on as a consequence of empire, there is a critique of “affluenza” (over-consumption).³⁶ The book explores ways to live simpler lives with advice on how to overcome shopping fever, chronic excess, and the viral epidemic of over-consumption that is affluenza.



WEBVIEW

Affluenza PBS Program

<http://www.pbs.org/kcts/affluenza/>

Biotech Century

Jeremy Rifkin’s *The Biotech Century* is also an excellent supplement to Hardt and Negri’s *Empire*.³⁷ Hardt and Negri do include Donna Haraway’s cyborg fable: “... the ambiguous boundary between human, animal, and machine, introduces us today, much more effectively than deconstruction, to these new terrains of possibility—but we should remember that this is a fable and nothing more.”³⁸ However, in this chapter, I want you to consider that antenarrative fables can be world transforming (becoming a storyline on which to base behaviour).

For example, Rifkin posits that a postmodern philosophy is essential to legitimating the new sciences of the biotech century, a fable to make it real-ize and materialize and be world changing. In this antenarrative bet, science is reinventing nature in the image of the cyborg using genetic (re)engineering technologies that are traversing and blurring boundaries between human, animal, and machine. The question for you: Is this a Road to Top linear progress, or is it a Road to Bottom line of regression?

The Postmodern Adventure of Globalization

One postmodern view of globalization is that we are entering not just a biotech century but a third millennium that introduces thorny ethical and philosophical issues. These are explored by philosophers Steve Best and Douglas Kellner.³⁹ The US Empire is in an unprecedented

crisis of “overpopulation, rampant consumerism, ozone thinning, global warming, and rain forest destruction [that] forecast massive species extinction and multiple ecological crises.”⁴⁰ Best and Kellner present the dark side of postmodernism and develop a “critical postmodern” theory that we can use to analyse globalization in the third millennium. Best and Kellner are excellent guides for differentiating various postmodern and critical postmodern theories.⁴¹

Rather than the postmodern form of globalization imagined by Hardt and Negri, there is a more post-postmodern globalization antennarrative on the immediate horizon. It is a much more terrifying antennarrative than that of postmodern globalization (defined as the networking of corporations to accomplish world governance and the hastened exhaustion of the planet’s natural resources.) What post-postmodern globalization adds that is quite scary is the ideology of evangelical capitalism. Evangelical capitalism becomes a linear successor from imperialism and the oligarchic empire.

Evangelical Capitalism, the New Successor, and the Post-Postmodern Antennarrative

Postmodern and post-postmodern globalization antennarratives differ in how they outlaw or embrace evangelicalism.

Evangelical capitalism can be defined as the replacement of a neo-liberal economic ideology by a neo-conservative economic ideology where the use of pre-emptive military strikes and the use of propaganda, disinformation, and bogus intelligence are reminiscent of the cold war. As the antennarrative is told, neo-conservatives such as Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith formed an underground cabal that schooled the new president George W. Bush in the wisdom of invading Iraq, not only before 9/11 but before Bush took office, before January 2001.

Ali and Camp have noticed an antennarrative bet that evangelical capitalism is the new form of globalization, but they do not give it a name. I would like to christen it the *post-postmodern globalization antennarrative*.⁴² The move from postmodern to post-postmodern is done through storytelling that creates a scenario that actually shapes our material condition. It occurs when the postmodern empire of US capitalism overflows its narrative boundaries, and storytelling defines the real.

Ron Suskind did an article on the evangelical use of storytelling in the White House.⁴³ The Suskind article is quite revealing about the “evangelical capitalism.” Leadership by faith, in this case, means that, when a decision made, and an oftentimes rather weak scenario such as the “Axis of Evil” story is spun, there is no critical review by departments of government. Agency heads who question a faith-based decision are not invited back; the result is a form of groupthink (defined as not engaging in critique of decision options).

Scenario 17.2: When Storytelling Defines What is Real

Here is what Ronald Suskind wrote in the *New York Times Magazine*. I go on to make a point based upon my discipline, storytelling theory and organizations.

In the summer of 2002, after I had written an article in *Esquire* that the White House didn't like about Bush's former communications director, Karen Hughes, I had a meeting with a senior adviser to Bush. He expressed the White House's displeasure, and then he told me something that at the time I didn't fully comprehend—but which I now believe gets to the very heart of the Bush presidency.

The aide said that guys like me were “in what we call the reality-based community,” which he defined as people who “believe that solutions emerge from your judicious study of discernible reality.” I nodded and murmured something about enlightenment principles and empiricism. He cut me off. “That's not the way the world really works anymore,” he continued. “We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality. And while you're studying that reality—judiciously, as you will—we'll act again, creating other new realities, which you can study too, and that's how things will sort out. We're history's actors ... and you, all of you, will be left to just study what we do.”⁴⁴

There is a difference between a “reality-based community” of government and corporate decision makers who govern globalization and the post-postmodern globalization governance that is defined here as *scenarios creating the new realities*. Suskind adds, “This is one key feature of the faith-based presidency: open dialogue, based on facts, is not seen as something of inherent value. It may, in fact, create doubt, which undercuts faith. It could result in a loss of confidence in the decision-maker and, just as important, by the decision-maker.”⁴⁵

What is an antenarrative storytelling view of post-postmodern globalization? We in the “reality-based community” are busy trying to deconstruct the stories put out by globalization leaders. Meanwhile, the faith-based storytellers in the White House are busily doing empire, creating the story realities that students of globalization are busy studying. In simple language, the storytellers are spinning new story versions faster than we can decode them.

There is a modernist history behind evangelical capitalism. In the Enlightenment's project of modernity, spirituality and beliefs in a transcendent God, the afterlife, and the enchantment of nature were marginalized to give space and prominence to the rational—to science, technology, and humanism. Premodern beliefs in the transcendent spirit and after life were demonized in the Enlightenment project, of which Renaissance humanism is a symbolic exemplar. Of course, people continued to incorporate the spiritual into capitalism,

but in strange ways, such as through Spencer's Darwinian capitalism, where the rich got rich because they were God's chosen, most evolved species, and the poor were meant to be slaves or wage slaves, without the support of social welfare (it just encourages them to breed). The nation state had always invoked God on its side, as if capturing the territories of other nation states was the will of God, part of his divine globalization plan. With the expansion of market capitalism through modern Taylorism and Fordism, into the modern epoch of post-Fordism, and then into the virtuality wonderland of postmodern globalization, it seemed as if humanism left spirit behind.

With the rise of communist imperialism as a threat to democratic imperialism, the cold war years after World War II unleashed two forms of land capture onto the world. The world nations had to choose between the two forms of imperialism. "The cold war" was instrumental in the rise of evangelical capitalism.⁴⁶ After the cold war ceased, the Second World collapsed (with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union) and the oligarchic global capitalism of transnational corporate rule seemed to carry the day.

The Neo-Conservative Underground

Mother Jones magazine features a story by Robert Dreyfuss and Jason Vest on the Bush administration's neo-conservative "lie factory," which churned out propaganda and disinformation and concocted wildly exaggerated threats to persuade the American people to get behind their president and pre-emptively invade and occupy Iraq. Wolfowitz was calling for regime change in Iraq after Bush Sr. failed to invade Baghdad in 1991.⁴⁷ Dreyfuss and Vest contend that various agenda-bearing think tanks, Project for a New American Century, and the American Enterprise Institute became unofficial recruiting offices to hire Washington staff members who would be enthusiastic about the anticipated Iraq crusade.



WEBVIEW

The Neo-Conservative Lie Factory

<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article5398.htm>

From Postmodern Globalization to Post-Postmodern Globalization

The merger of neo-conservative thinking with evangelical fundamentalism is an example of the *post-postmodern antenarrative*. It is the newest form of globalization. Like all antenarratives, this one strings together idea fragments and characterizations of the Other into a scenario. As this antenarrative scenario took shape, it capitalized upon 9/11. After 9/11, evangelical capitalism's scenario was to carry out a literal crusade against the alleged axis of evil. This scenario served to legitimate the formation of a capitalist/religious war machine to pre-emptively invade Baghdad. As the scenario became embellished, other legitimations were incorporated, such as that pre-emption is necessary in order to liberate Iraqi women from despotic rule, and to liberate subterranean oil reserves for more enlightened investment.

The post-postmodern globalization antenarrative, then, is defined as a story of control of the globe by a network of organizations. An example is the above crusade scenario. Post-postmodern globalization is also describable as the antenarrative of reclaiming nation state control from global corporate rule. An example of global oligarchic rule is the network of the WTO, FTAA, and IMF.

In sum, evangelical capitalism alters postmodern globalization to a new form we are calling post-postmodern globalization. The aim of both forms is to correct “the assumed ills of the global economy by advocating the establishment of a powerful elite class to lead and think for the unsophisticated and naive population.”⁴⁸ The aggressive promotion of post-postmodern globalization comes with the fusion of **NEO-CONSERVATISM** with evangelical mission. The dark side of the new post-postmodern globalization includes permanent global warfare, widening the gap between the rich elite and the poor, failure to plan for the collapse of oil-based economies, concentration of surplus wealth into the hands of war profiting transnational corporations and into the hands of the global elite class, and the coupling of transnational corporations with a more militarized nation state form of governance. The linear succession antenarrative runs from imperialism to empire to postmodern governance by transnational networks of corporations and then to post-postmodern globalization, which has a more militarized state relation to corporate rule. Another way to describe this linear antenarrative is as the transformation of oligarchic rule into democratic rule and then into elite tyranny. (See Plato’s cyclic model below for an explanation of oligarchic, democratic, tyranny rule.)

The obvious problem with the linear globalization antenarratives is the question of what comes after post-postmodern globalization. Certainly we do not want to remain in an elitist, militaristic, and deceitful globalization empire. The forces of counter-empire, the grassroots protests in cities and towns throughout the planet, are resisting the march of evangelical capitalism and calling for a return to the nation state, to adherence to UN resolutions and international law, to more inclusive democratic governance (beyond just corporate and government heads), and to the separation of religion and state power from international governance.

We turn next from these linear antenarratives to the cyclical globalization antenarratives. It is time to wake up from the linear antenarratives of globalization and look at more options: the cycle and the rhizome.

Two Cyclical Globalization Antenarratives

We will look at two cyclic antenarratives: (1) Plato’s *Republic* and (2) Nietzsche’s Eternal Return.

Plato's Cyclical Model of Globalization

Plato actually proposed a cycle of empires. Plato's cyclical antenarrative is like a Ferris wheel with only four seats that rotate, bringing each to the top of world governance, one after the other.

Timocracy → Oligarchic imperialism → Democratic imperialism →
Tyranny (and Military Sovereignty) → Back to Timocracy ...

The cycle begins with timocracy (a hybrid of military and sovereign imperialism in which possession of land secures political power). Next up is oligarchic imperialism; the next turn is taken by democratic imperialism, which self-destructs and collapses into a multiplicity of self-interests. Tyranny responds to the contagious fear occasioned by this collapse, until the despot is overrun by the military sovereign (or becomes one), and the cycle repeats itself (cycling back to timocracy)—the Ferris wheel turning into eternity.

Plato observed how in Greece, democratic imperialism was collapsing as the Athenian oligarchs regained control, using their power to revise the democratic constitution to rid themselves of their democratic enemies.

Plato foresaw that the Greek democracy would collapse into self-interest and that the tyrants would eclipse the oligarchs, who would once again rule.

Webview gives a link to Book VIII of Plato's *Republic*. Plato gives a brief history of four regimes that went corrupt. The timocracy degenerates into oligarchy; the oligarchy degenerates into democracy; the democracy degenerates into tyranny. About democracy, for example, Plato says, "The good at which such a State aims is to become as rich as possible, a desire which is insatiable."⁴⁹



WEBVIEW

Plato's *Republic*, Book VIII

<http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.g.viii.html>

This cycle of four degenerating globalization regimes seems to repeat itself. In World War II, for example, the democratic, socialist, and communist nation states had to contend with their economic collapse and with the rise to power of the tyrants: Hitler, Mussolini, and the Emperor Hirohito of Japan. A timocracy of military-industrial complexes rose to worldwide power to vanquish the tyrants and set the stage for democratic imperialism to capture markets with neo-colonialism.

Where Are We Now?

You decide! It would appear that world governance and world capitalism, with its one worldwide market, is between oligarchy and democracy, but because of 9/11, the wheel

accelerated then turned, and fear became a fertile ground for a tyrant who could deliver the multitude from terrorism.

Or, do you think that Plato's Ferris wheel of globalization is turning more rapidly? Has the postmodern, US-based democratic world empire—with its virtuality and oligarchic networks of transnational corporate world governance (e.g., the WTO, NAFTA, IMF, etc) defining trade with Third Worlds—now been eclipsed by the cry for a saviour, a tyrant to declare war on an “Axis of Evil”? Fear gripped the West (particularly the United States and the United Kingdom) following the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon. As the globalization wheel of world governance spins, timocracy (military sovereignty) seems more powerful than ever, and a military emperor sits atop of the Ferris wheel of the US Empire.

Or, is the Ferris wheel moving backwards? Over thirty million around the world keep taking to the street to protest the military and oligarchic rule. They keep trying to move the wheel back to governance by the multitude.

Or, in post-postmodernity, have the four seats of global world governance (timocracy, oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny) melded and fused into a hybrid? (See the rhizomatic antenarrative below.)

Or, how about a Platonic interpretation of evangelical capitalism? In Plato's cyclical model, evangelical capitalism is a turning of the Ferris wheel, where democratic imperialism has been supplanted by tyranny and is along the way to using timocracy to pre-emptively invade and occupy its colonies.

Or, here is a more anarchistic view: We can only hope that oligarchy will prevail and then collapse, to bring about more democratic global governance. With tyranny comes the repression of civil liberties, such as the infamous *USA PATRIOT Act* of 2001. In a recent 2003 interview, General Tommy Franks says that if another attack on the United States occurs, an attack that results in high casualties, the US constitution will likely be scrapped in favour of a military dictatorship.⁵⁰ Welcome timocracy!

Nietzsche's Eternal Return

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) tried to escape the linear progress (or regress) concept and Plato's cycle of the Ferris wheel of globalization, by positing the “eternal return” antenarrative. Nietzsche's superman would embrace the scientific bet that, when there was a configuration of forces, history would repeat itself because people forget the lessons of the past.

Nietzsche rejected the linear grand narrative of the Enlightenment's moral progress. The superman would be bold and would embrace the eternal return, within which configurations of power that had previously existed would resurface, but not in a cycle or a line of one after the other. The eternal return can be defined as the idea that whatever globalization we have now shall repeat again and again, eternally; there is no absolute beginning or ending, only recurring constellations of power and domination. Nietzsche's belief is somewhere

between the Eastern notion of being born again, until karma is overcome, and the constellation of planets constituting the repetition of earthly events.⁵¹

To paraphrase Nietzsche, the eternal return is the *Dionysian* world that is eternally self-creating, a cycle without beginning and without end. This world is enclosed by “nothingness” that is endlessly extended by a play of self-creating and self-destroying forces. The world is eternally changing and flooding back the contradictory energies with years of recurrence. These forces do not get weary and are never satiated; they are “beyond good and evil” and without a goal. The name for this world is *will to power*.⁵²

Nietzsche puts eternal recurrence into a formulation that we recognize today as complexity and chaos theory, where the play of forces and waves of forces eternally rush back into emerging patterns or configurations of history, and into anticipatory antenarratives of *will to power* that manifest in the material condition of contrary forces at each turn in the cycle of history.



WEBVIEW

Nietzsche's Eternal Return

http://cbae.nmsu.edu/~dboje/teaching/503/nietzsche_links.html

Rhizomatic Globalization Antenarratives

A rhizome has root stems, bulbs, and above ground runners that extend in every direction, forming tubers. If you have ever tried to weed out flowers such as irises or trumpet vines, which have these structures, you know it is impossible.

It is time to look at the big picture. We have already looked at linear globalization and at cyclical globalization; now we pose the possibility that the various forms are interacting.

A rhizomatic globalization is neither linear nor cyclic, but happens in the in-between spaces of the rhizome, which ceaselessly establishes network connections between different organizations of power, such as local labour markets, and social struggles, and global forms of capitalism.

Linear globalization's antenarrative is that corporations and states are like a tree, with many branches and smaller branches. For example, the tree of globalization has a branch of communism and another of capitalism; and both these modernisms are branches different from postmodern branches of the tree. The tree separating into branches is a dualistic theory, expressing, for example, the duality of communism and capitalism and of modernity and postmodernity. A rhizome is quite a different idea; instead of a tree with branches, the rhizome networks in all directions, grasping quite different forms of globalization.

The linearity and cyclical logic of globalization antenarratives, while quite popular, do not get us very far (according to rhizome theorists), when it comes to understanding networks of global power. Once we move away from the dualistic logic that delineates this or that global system, such as capitalist or not, we enter into the world of the hybrid, or

rhizome. The rhizome world allows for multiple forms of global power to co-mingle. It is a world in which a democracy forms an alliance with a tyranny (or, in Plato's terms, with a timocracy).

A rhizome makes interconnections between quite different entities (such as between timocratic, oligarchic, democratic, and tyrannical forms of globalization). Each tuber (or globalization form) in the rhizome is a line of flight that deterritorializes its global environment, reterritorializing that global environment into some quite different territory.

We can summarize the difference between the theories of globalization represented by the tree and the rhizome in two words: and/or. A rhizome proceeds by "and" instead of by "or." A rhizome is about combination and conjunction (the "and"); the tree theories are about linear duality (the "or").

Deleuze and Guattari are critical of the cyclical models. They are critical of how Nietzsche shatters "linear unity of knowledge, only to invoke the cyclic unity of eternal return."⁵³ They would no doubt be as uncomfortable with Plato's cyclical theory. Deleuze and Guattari prefer the networking model of the rhizome to explain global capitalism.

For Deleuze and Guattari, "economic evolution," be it linear or cyclic, is an "impossibility," such antenarratives are hardly believable. Linear and cyclical models of globalization have too much cohesion, too much linearity, too much teleology, and too much optimism.⁵⁴ The reason that they view optimism as a negative is that it leads to one-dimensional thinking, i.e., to the idea that things get better and better or that one should only engage in positive thinking and that negative thinking should be avoided. Critical theorist Herbert Marcuse calls this optimism one-dimensional thinking (focusing on the positive and disallowing critical thinking).⁵⁵



WEBVIEW

Marcuse's One Dimensional Man

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/marcuse/works/one-dimensional-man/>

The one-dimensional optimism Deleuze and Guattari are sceptical about is exactly the "Race to the Top" antenarrative; the one that says transnational corporate governance will bring an end to war: "Mankind has waged wars since the world began" and continues to do so today.⁵⁶ Each antenarrative is a storyteller's dream of utopia. For example, the State dreams of advanced agriculture brought about by enslavement that would increase global production. The state dreams of advanced industrialization extended by the antenarrative that wage-slaves would increase global production. The state dreams of advanced post-industrialization promulgated by the antenarrative that net-slaves (computer workers) would increase global production. The state dreams of postmodern globalization where the WTO, WB, and IMF can end war. The state dreams of advanced post-postmodern capitalism where evangelical capitalism fights perpetual wars.

Instead of linear, or cyclic, a rhizomatic globalization is a hybrid or network form, one that is without beginning, middle, or end; it is just the antennarrative bet that change will keep on happening and that globalization makes for strange bedfellows. The rhizome theory includes the idea that there are always accompanying counter-globalizations to ward off the anticipated globalizations, to make crystallization into some kind of stage just impossible.⁵⁷

Rhizomatic globalization theory has three key terms: territorialization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization. Territories (places) get reterritorialized by new ideas and markets. Deterritorialization is what occurs when the old ways of territorializing are destroyed. Rhizomatic globalization antennarratives accomplish world transformation by acts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of the old world territories. Third World nations are just territories ripe for deterritorialization and reterritorialization by some entrepreneur. Nation states and transnational corporations do the rhizomatic acts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

Nation states, for example, construct deterritorialization antennarratives, such as one that says a young Asian woman is the ultimate productive cash generating machine. Transnational corporations also deterritorialize, saying that children have more nimble dextrous fingers, so we should subcontract them to make rugs or soccer balls. And there are acts of reterritorialization, saying that something has gone too far, that child labour needs to be restricted or outlawed or that women have equal rights or that a global social movement must resist a globalization move.

The next section gives you a practical and quite common historical example of how deterritorializing antennarratives do their rhizomatic thing in selling the world and the business college on the profitability of **PRODUCTIVE FEMININITY**.

Scenario 17.3. Globalization and the Feminization of Work

I have a story to tell from work done by Leslie Salzinger about Mexican workers in global factories.⁵⁸ It is a story about the feminization of work, about how even male labour becomes feminized as part of globalization.

The Mexican *maquiladora* plants near the US border were established in 1965, initially to create jobs for Mexican males who had been illegally crossing the US border since World War II. But once they had a look at their East Asian counterparts, the Mexican plant managers decided to follow their example and hire young women who had been brought up to be obedient and respectful of authority. Ironically, the advertisement in the free trade zones of the virtues of the Asian female work forces created employment appetites in Mexico's males; they wanted to do a gender switch from male to female behaviours.

An international consulting firm, Arthur D. Little, issued a report in 1966 testifying to the advantages for *maquila* managers who dared to hire young women instead of men, thereby imitating the success of East Asian free trade zones. The antennarrative storytelling had the

strange idea that, from childhood, the young women of Mexico are socialized to be obedient and show respect to men in authority; the trick was to duplicate patriarchal authority structures in the Mexico transnational factories. The antenarrative has a strange plot that involves hiring those women who appear quite docile and not hiring men since they are obviously not as docile.

Local Juarez elites also began to worry that the young women, removed from their patriarchal family life and inserted into *maquila* production, would earn wages that would make them sassy, defiant, assertive, and unruly—in essence, liberated women who might be cheap, in the sexually promiscuous sense, and spread venereal disease. This was also a concern of the families, especially of the males.

The antenarrative in Asia and Mexico was to produce an “army” of what Salzinger calls “docile and dextrous young women” who could provide globalists with the wealth of their surplus [feminine] value (note: the Marxist pun is intended).⁵⁹ From 1965 to the early 1980s, the *maquilas* hired women that managers thought exhibited the imagined natural docility, and they did not hire unruly women or the slothful males. In the 1990s, the *maquila* transnationals went as far as South Mexico in search of the ever scarcer supply of docile young women.

The dream was that “cheap feminine labour,” young women with docile natures and dexterous fingers, could do for Mexico what cheap women were doing for Asian transnational production. This was too much of a global fantasy for the state to resist. It is another example of how a story shapes reality. Globalization, in this story, became a fantastic dream of the profits of productive femininity (those pre-existent young docile women that patriarchal families produced in such abundance in Asia and Mexico).

Productive Femininity and Rhizomatics of Globalization

Salzinger’s ethnographies, described in Scenario 17.3, can be reread as rhizomatic globalization antenarratives. The productive femininity antenarrative fantasy shaped and reshaped local Mexican labour markets, and reconstituted the subjectivity of gender on the *maquila* transnational factory floors.

The productive femininity antenarrative of globalization became rooted in the managers’ multitude of efforts to construct gendered (and racial) productive femininity in transnational corporately subcontracted factories in Mexico. This example is an antenarrative, a now legendary search of the earth for pre-controlled, preset women of docile femininity to imitate in Mexico what were stereotypes of the obedient gestures of Asian women. The search for traditional Mexican women was on, and an explicit antenarrative of the transnational gendered image of Third World femininity was a projected managerial fantasy.

The problem is that the preset docility of Third World women is a globalization antenarrative fantasy. Salzinger reveals in her ethnographies the “magnitude of variation in the content of femininity, across space and time.”⁶⁰ This means that different cultures produce

different types of women; some are more docile as (global) employees. Yet this globalization fantasy is an antenarrative with powerful effects on the material conditions of labour and factory life. These gendered ways of seeing, prompted managers to recruit nubile young women, to hire women that seemed to fit their fantasy, to construct technologies to accommodate the imagined productive femininity.⁶¹

The supervision technology changed as well; the technology of watching the young women developed, of making their femininity practices visible through surveillance by male managers. The male supervisors watched young women to insure that they were docile, obedient, and passive to authority, and that they displayed the requisite sexual attractiveness. The productive femininity antenarrative explains capital's incessant search for cheaper, more malleable, young women in the Third World.

Rhizomatics explains how the globalization antenarratives interact with local context to produce highly varied local effects, such as on gender, ethnic, and racial subjectivities (i.e., being docile), which are built into the supervision and work roles. Then something strange happened. In the 1980s, the demand of young docile Mexican women outstripped supply. With this shortage of natural docile women, transnational corporations either (1) left the playing field or went to Asia; (2) migrated further south of the border from towns such as Tijuana and Juarez, even to Central America; or (3) engaged in the strange practice of hiring men that were naturally feminine (or acted quite gay). Globalization, in all these consequences, remained an antenarrative that constructed gendered and racial meanings. And this antenarrative's construct is taught in the business college—docile workers are good for business.

With the shortage of preset naturally docile young women, the *maquilas* hired gays and transvestites, even, for a brief time, encouraging straight males to dress as females. Men who were neither gay nor transvestite pretended to be so in order to obtain employment during the late 1980s and 1990s.

Young ethnic women are over-represented in the transnational work force in Mexico and Asia. It took a couple of decades for the globalization antenarrative to accommodate men. The material conditions of gender and racial work and management are constituted by globalization antenarratives; higher levels of surplus value were fantasized as being contingent upon the recruitment and supervision of young ethnic women workers. Productive femininity under tight male supervision is believed to yield the highest profit margins. The women and the men behaving as women were paid less than a male would be paid; this is how profits were increased. The male supervisor is an essential part of the story because these managers negotiate the employee's role behaviour and frame the job description of productive femininity.

Rhizomatic globalization sent out virtual runners across the globe. It searched to capture naturally productive femininity, home grown in the patriarchal family and social structure of the Third World. The rhizomatic globalization antenarrative is that transnational corporate capitalism, by locating its offshoots in the Third World, is liberating women from the

bonds of familial patriarchy; employment in the transnational factory is the imagined route for women to escape social patriarchy; and capital is the liberator of the cheap women it hires and supervises. If they run out of women, then that business model has to change. Cheap men will have to do, but they must be malleable men. In these ways, the rhizomatic globalization antenarrators created the material conditions of gendered and ethnic global subjectivities. And in the business college, the Hofstede stereotypes of gender and ethnic malleability became the foundation of global transnational corporate strategy and international human relationship courses. And productive femininity became taught as just the pure common sense of globalization, and, in that way, became so very hegemonic. Critical postmodern theory deconstructs the common sense essentialism of this preset "natural docility" that has been studied. (See the section below on critical postmodern theory.)⁶²

Patriarchy is male dominance; it is families, governments, and corporations dominated by males. The patriarch fears that women may become liberated by employment. This is true even when it is the woman's docile femininity that is being productively employed in the *maquiladora*. The male fear is that the women will become unruly when outside the gaze of father and brothers and that working women will become sexually promiscuous. This is an example of how deterritorialization and reterritorialization work. The old male dominance of patriarchy family surveillance is deterritorialized, so that it can reterritorialize into the male supervisor's gaze upon docile, obedient, nubile women. In globalization antenarrating, each deterritorialization of a terrain is pre-storied by a new subjectivity of productive, low-cost efficiency that can realize surplus value for capital flows. In this case, being docile is thought to enhance efficacy, be lower in cost than supervising questioning males, and thereby lead to surplus value. In simple terms, subject women or feminized men work long hours at low pay and are obedient to male authority.

There is staying power to these antenarratives; the real world is moulded by them, and, even when a particular productive subjectivity is revealed to be a fantasy, the frantic search for it continues long after the reality fades. Women in Mexico and in Asia are organizing and defying the stereotype. In this sense, the productive subjectivity, the fantasy, is always more real than the reality. Globalization is scouring the earth for the cheapest most docile labour, and the sightings are everywhere, in every free trade zone, in the media advertisements of the virtues of this or that productive subjectivity, from African black slaves to Asian women to Mexican transvestites. Women and men who want work, no matter what race, conform to the storied character.

The antenarrative was so strong in Juarez that, from 1965 to 1978, men were shunned, and young women were over-recruited. In 1979, one plant hired 88 males, but men remained a miniscule percentage of the total *maquila* workforce until the mid-1980s. By 1991, males crept up to 45 per cent of the total *maquila* workforce, but, by this time, the patterns of supervision were constructed to make work as feminine as possible.

In 1981 and 1982, in Mexico, the antenarrative of productive docile femininity shattered into unbelievability when young women were televised yelling at their bosses, claiming the

rights of self-determination, and demanding a living instead of a poverty wage. The irony is that, during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, the antenarrative of productive femininity created employment conditions that undermined its very existence; the women rebelled at the strict male supervision that was supposed to keep their docility in order.⁶³

There is a second irony: the freedom for the traditional patriarchal family becomes a force of male supervisor oppression, and then the women rebel anyway bringing about a force for equality with males, and freedom to organize.

There you have it, linear, cyclical, and rhizomatic antenarratives of globalization compete for your attention in the business college. Currently, the linear antenarratives dominate business college curriculum. The cyclical ones are gaining some ground, and the rhizomatic antenarratives are way too complex for popular mass consumption. To study this cacophony, you need some storytelling theory. I have used the storytelling theory of the antenarrative to sort out the ways in which a story can create a reality, even a global one. The problem is that people forget it's a story, and act it out anyway, in ways that change material conditions of organizational behaviour.

Conclusion

This chapter can be best summarized by revisiting the key terms we have encountered in it. To begin, let us examine the words of the chapter's title: globalization and antenarratives. There are many different *definitions of globalization*.

Globalization is the linear, cyclical, or rhizomatic interconnectedness of individuals, groups, nation states, and transnational and local companies.

Globalization is storytelling of three varieties: (1) a tale of linear succession from old forms of commerce and world governance to better or worse ones; (2) a recurring cycle of oligarchy overtaking democracy, then falling into tyranny, and calls for military rule; and (3) the rhizomes, those non-linear, non-cyclic tales. All three are world changing.

Antenarrative: An antenarrative is a pre-story, a bet that storytellers and story subscribers make that a plot of characters and idea systems will shape the world this way or that way, to the benefit of the few or the many. Globalization pre-stories, or antenarratives, come in three flavours: linear progression or regression; cyclical rotation or cyclical return; and the rhizome, the hybrid of aerial runners and subterranean root stems that interconnect across advanced and primitive forms, such as between a plush privileged core of First World executives and the periphery of subcontracted factories in Third Worlds.

Linear Globalization Antenarratives: These tell tales of linear succession. A contemporary model is that premodern feudalism is succeeded by modernity, which is followed, in sequence, by late modernity, postmodernity, and post-postmodernity. In the contem-

ary model of premodern, modern, and postmodern stages, the premodern stage of trading companies and antiquated religious states spread across the globe through colonization and war and was succeeded by the modern stage of imperial nation states spreading by industrialization and neocolonization. The modern stage was succeeded by the late modern stage of post-industrial modes of Post-Fordism (flexible production), and this late modern stage was followed by the postmodern stage of globalization, characterized by virtual corporate empires subcontracting to sweatshops and calling for an end of the nation state. Finally, the postmodern stage was followed by the post-postmodern stage.

Cyclical Globalization Antennarratives: Plato (470 BCE) and Nietzsche (1882 CE) present cyclic models that reject the idea of linear moral progress in history. Plato's cyclic model is a rotation of four types: *timocracy* (military and monarchical rule mixed with religious zeal), which turns into *oligarchy* (corporate rule), which transforms into *democracy* (the votes of the multitude), which degenerates into *tyranny* (despotic rule). Then Plato's cycle of global governance repeats itself. Nietzsche's cyclical model is the "eternal return," in which no event is unique and global configurations that previously existed recur, their nexus of events repeating again and again. Nietzsche subscribed to an ancient Pythagorean notion: "when the heavenly bodies are in the same constellation, the same events must also be repeated on earth."⁶⁴ When the stars are configured just so, a new Columbus will discover a new America, a new Brutus will murder a new Caesar. Some Eastern religions believe in a different kind of eternal return; we are reborn and live again and again until we attain enlightenment.

Rhizomatic Globalization Antennarratives: Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) rhizomatic theory of globalization is neither a cycle nor a linear model. A rhizome is a plant that sends its runners above ground and its root-stems below ground, extending from the middle outwards until some obstacle or limit is encountered. In the rhizomatic globalization antennarrative, instead of postmodern replacing (late) modern that has replaced premodern, all three "moderns" were present at the beginning, using different technologies and believing different things. Instead of a cycle of timocracy, oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny, all four governmental forms coexist, and are in hybrids.

Imperialism: Imperialism is defined as a pre-modern or post-modernity project by which one or more nations oppress the multitude of people by acts of conquest, enslavement, war, genocide, and colonization. Imperialism has a power centre and expanding identifiable borders.

Empire: An empire is defined as the proliferating *network power* of supranational governance institutions and trade agreements that mediate conflicts between transnational corporations and nation states. Empire is opposed by the forces of counter-empire (a networking of disparate movements such as those for global peace, world justice, global human rights, sustainability, simplicity, indigenous intellectual property rights, and anti-Franken foods). Empire is defined as a "universal republic, a network of powers and counterpowers structured in a boundless and inclusive architecture."⁶⁵ Negri (2003) defines empire as in this

excerpt: “The transition we are witnessing today from traditional international law, which was defined by contracts and treaties, to the definition and constitution of a new sovereign, supranational world power (and thus to an imperial notion of right), however incomplete, gives us a framework in which to read the totalising social process of Empire. In effect, the juridical transformation functions as a symptom of the modifications of the material biopolitical constitution of our societies.”⁶⁶

Evangelical Capitalism: Evangelical capitalism is defined as the succession of neo-liberal economic ideology by a neo-conservative economic ideology in which the use of preemptive military strikes and the use of propaganda, disinformation, and bogus intelligence are reminiscent of the cold war.

Eternal Return: The idea of the “eternal return,” when applied to globalization, means that, whatever globalization we have now, shall repeat again and again, eternally; there is no absolute beginning or ending, only recurring constellations of power and domination.

Hyper-competitiveness: Hyper-competitiveness results from the fear of losing to the competition. It can become so great that every strategy and tactic is used to disable and destroy one’s competitors.

Privatization: “Privatization means the shift of activities from the government and non-profit sectors to the market. It may take the form of the sale of public (or non-profit) sector assets to private companies or the contracting out of services previously supplied by public employees ... The privatization wave over the past twenty years is rooted in increased corporate power. This growth, based partly on greater capital mobility, has led to renewed aggressiveness by business, political successes (including the elections of Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and neo-liberals widely), and a parallel weakening of labour.”⁶⁷

Transorganization: Relations among multiple organizations form the transorganization. The transorganization can be defined as the transorganizational structures of global economic governance by transnational corporations influencing trade agreements such as GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, and the WTO, and the financial players, the WB and the IMF.

Study Break

The following questions are designed to strengthen your understanding of the chapter. Write short notes in answer to each. The assignments are intended to encourage you to reflect on what you have read so far.

- Q.1** How can globalization be understood through antenarratives? Give specific examples of globalization antenarratives to support your answer.
- Q.2** How do the storylines of *Race to Top* and *Race to Bottom* contrast? How is the race changing?

- Q.3** In the case of Wal-Mart, who are considered the globalization players? Among these players, which are networked under the *empire* category and which are networked under the *counter-empire* category? What are their roles, stories, and interrelations?
- Q.4** According to Figure 17.2, we are in the global development phase of “*US Empire*” networked with “*Counter-Empire*.” Based on your understanding of globalization and the stories surrounding globalization, where do you see the global succession trend taking us in the future?
- Q.5** What is neo-liberalism? How does it relate to globalization? Give examples.
- Q.6** What are the three *counter-empire* movements under the *Race to Bottom* storyline? How are they related to globalization? Give examples.
- Q.7** Give examples of hyper-competitiveness in global competitive strategic decision making.
- Q.8** When does storytelling define what is real? Who is the audience of this so-called “reality”?
- Q.9** How are rhizomes used to describe globalization? How is this different from a linear or cyclic approach? Why is rhizomatic globalization a networked (hybrid) form of structure?
- Q.10** What are the three main terms of rhizomatic globalization theory? Use the case of Wal-Mart’s global strategy to explain each term.

Notes

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4. For more on the WTO, see the website of the International Forum on Globalization <<http://www.ifg.org/analysis/wto/aboutwto.htm>> (accessed May 12, 2005).
5. International Forum on Globalization <<http://www.ifg.org>> (accessed May 12, 2005).
6. Slave to the Traffic, “Global Hawaii” <<http://www.globalhawaii.org/bulletinboard/postings/1022696230.208.200.215.150.shtml>> (accessed May 12, 2004). The person is reacting to this article:

Fred Riggs, "Globalization, Ethnic Diversity and Nationalism: The Challenge for Democracies," <http://www.globalhawaii.org/PDF/riggs.html>.

7. This is basically Gramsci's definition of hegemony. For more on hegemony in globalization, see A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971); David Levy, "Hegemony in the Global Factory: Power, Ideology and Value in Global Production Networks (paper presented to the Academy of Management CID, 2004 #12617).

8. W.H. Kötke, *The Final Empire: The Collapse of Civilization and the Seed of the Future* (Middletown, CA: Arrow Point Press, 1993), 1.

9. Ronald Regan quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*, May 24, 1990, A14. The emphasis is mine.

10. The exception occurs when a Third World country such as China trades currency (i.e., the dollar) in ways that is detrimental to US interests. In 2005, the US government asked China to no longer key Chinese currency to the dollar.

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13. Anshuman Prasad, ed, *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 4.

14. Prasad, *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis*, 7.

15. Prasad, *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis*, 5.

16. Prasad, *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis*, 6.

17. Prasad, *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis*, 166.

18. Esther Priyadharshini cites Bergson's theory in A. Prasad, *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis*, 187.

19. Priyadharshini in A. Prasad, *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis*, 187.

20. M. Griffith, "Globalization and its Critics: An Examination of the 'Anti-Globalization Movement,'" 2003 <<http://www.cafod.org.uk/policy/globalisationandcritics200301.pdf>>.

21. Gregory G. Dess and G.T. Lumpkin, *Strategic Management: Creating Competitive Advantages* (Boston: McGraw-Hill/Irwin, 2003), 22.

22. Dess and Lumpkin, *Strategic Management: Creating Competitive Advantages*, 39.

23. Poore is the "olde" spelling of poor.

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26. "Fake letters, fake numbers and other facts," *Indymedia* <<http://sandiego.indymedia.org/en/2003/10/101429.shtml>> (accessed May 12, 2005).

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29. Tom Linzey is president of the Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund and Dan Braumen is a Santa Fe attorney. For more information see www.celdf.org.

30. See the legislation introduced in the 210th Legislature of the State of New Jersey: Assembly No. 3823 <<http://rachel.org/library/getfile.cfm?ID=323>> and Assembly No. 3824 <<http://rachel.org/library/getfile.cfm?ID=324>>, both introduced June 19, 2003 (accessed May 12, 2005).

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