

GERHARD PREYER, MATHIAS BÖS

INTRODUCTION:
BORDERLINES IN TIME OF GLOBALIZATION

Scholars of different schools have extensively analyzed world-systems under the fashionable heading “globalization”. Our collected new research pushes the argument one-step further. Globalization is not a homogenization of all social life on earth. It is a heterogeneous process that connects the global and the local on different levels. Furthermore, globalization is more often used as a catchall argument to pursue political goals than for sound scientific analysis. Eager followers of the concept of globalization largely overestimate its dynamics and its opponents forcefully deconstruct the concept under different perspectives. Yet, we also recognize, that globalization is a social process that leads to new forms of differentiation and thereby to an evolution of functional imperatives for all differentiated social systems, not only for the economic system, but also for the political system, for ethnic and religious communities as well as for households and families. Differentiation means distinction. Distinctions emerge on both sides: inside and outside. Analyzing the processes to bridge inside and outside, we find a set of mechanisms of selection, which produce new zones of social change but also new borderlines and new frontiers.

The world-system perspective emerged in the 1970’s as a critique of the premises and practices of nineteenth century social science. One of its primary concerns was a re-conceptualization of the unit of analysis in studies of long-term, large-scale social change. This re-conceptualization took the form of a single and singular spatio-temporal unit, the Modern World-System, which emerges in Europe and parts of the Americas at the beginning of the long sixteenth century. In retrospect globalization is not at all a new phenomenon. In the development of the system of modern societies globalization is nothing that emerged from nowhere but something eagerly formed by nation states. Thus Roland Robertson, among others, argues that “globalization” is a condition of modernization. But it would be wrong to assume that the classic theory of modernization has now only another case of application. To understand contemporary developments we need new concepts, strategies of research, and explanations. This volume starts out with the concepts of *border* and *membership* to describe structural features that emerge in a global world-system. Border structures and memberships define identities traditionally associated with the nation state. Looking on different spheres of

social life we found different types of globalization that have different temporal characteristics, like large cyclical oscillations or long-term upward trends. As world-systems expand they incorporate new territories and new peoples. The processes of incorporation create new frontiers or boundaries. These frontiers or boundary zones are the locus of resistance to incorporation, ethnogenesis, ethnic transformation, and ethnocide. In a globalized world shifting borders indicate social change and new possibilities.

The word *border* has most of all a territorial connotation, often referring “to a line that separates one country, state, province etc. from another” (1996) these state lines are repeatedly established by frontiers, which move the edge of a territory or form its limits or margins. One of the few classical masters of sociological thought who tried to define the concept of borders was Georg Simmel: “The border is not a spatial fact with sociological effects, but a sociological fact, that is spatially shaped” (Simmel 1983 [1908], 467 [translation by the authors]).¹ According to Simmel borders are social meaning structures that are expressed in reference to a territory. In order to analyze borders he uses the metaphor of the line. First there is the idea of the line that finds its territorially expression in separating the plane in two parts. Human beings like mathematical points either belong to one or the other side of the line or to the line itself. The prototype of the borderline is the border of the nation state. “A society, because its space of existence is framed by conscious borders, is through that as well characterized as internally connected and vice versa: the interacting units, the functional relation of elements to each other gain there spatial expression in the framing borderline. There might be nothing else which expresses the strength of the cohesion of a state ... like that sociological centripetality which rises to the sensory-experienced picture of a stable framing borderline” (Simmel 1983 [1908], 495 [translation by the authors]).² In his chapter on social borders he argues that the assumed congruency of social borders with the border of the nation state is an exception. For Simmel the concept of border is important because it relates individuals and groups to each other (Simmel 1983 [1908], 467). These relations are expressed in *memberships*. Membership controls how an individual takes part in a social group. Hence membership controls which kinds of communications or actions are expected from the individual, with this control function membership regulates the relation between groups as well. Simmel carefully talks about memberships, in plural, for Simmel modernity is characterized by many overlapping social borders generating multiple sets of memberships, which in turn form the stable network of society. With the development of system theory a new metaphor of the border emerges, the border as a membrane (Luhmann 1997, 75). Like the membrane the border does not separate but connect the system with its environment. It is exactly the permeability of the border that enables the system to survive. So one of the basic performances of every system is the structuration of border crossings. The border process sustains the continuity of the system. This continuing process results often in the assumption that borders are stable and fixed, but in order to fulfill their function

they have to be flexible and constantly changing. This structural feature of borderlines has again important implication for the concept of membership. Codes of membership are never fixed they are constantly changing as well, and most of all new members can be incorporated or old members excluded. Border structures are dynamic processes of connection and separation, be it the line or the membrane there is always a three-way logic of borders: borders include, exclude and connect at the same time. They characterize what it means to belong to the we-group and to belong to the they-group and, at least implicitly, the border defines what both groups have in common.

Our research project has explored how the central features of globalization the de- and re-production of borderlines and memberships can be fruitfully employed on a theoretical and empirical level. The triumph or disaster of the buzzword globalization is closely linked to the changes we faced in the world over the last decade. From the perspective of social theories in western industrialized countries – and nothing more we wish to address here – trembling borders characterized the last decade and the emergence of new border structures at all levels of social live. The notion of globalization bares the promise to capture these processes of de-bordernization and re-borderization. The concept of border restructures our perception in order to overcome the sheer lag of useable categories to explain today's social world. The perspective of borders can be used to analyze seemingly paradoxical social processes: in a global system inclusions and exclusions, universalizations and particularizations are mutually enhancing each other, such as in economic strategies of companies like world wide mergers and particularization of interests in local communities take place together. But there is no global as such or in singular. There are many, partly connected world-systems. The global can serve as a multiple point of reference to processes that are totally different in origins, dynamics and outcomes. It is exactly the complex system of global world-systems, which has to be taken in to account in theorizing the emergent processes of particularization, fragmentation, hybridization and exclusion. World-systems form a set of border structures, partly overlapping, partly referencing to each other, but always relating the universal and the particular as well as the in and the out. Borders separate in and out, but by doing so they structure the contact and control the influence of different social systems on each other. Networks perform these mechanisms of selection. Globalization is used as a metaphor to describe the complex sets of interrelated networks within an emerging global social structure. In a time of globalization the development of networks as an increasingly important part of a new social structure means different conditions of membership as well, leading to forms of segregation and social conflicts without simple or consensual solutions. Furthermore borders do not only define in and out; they structure as well the "in between". Living "on the margin" can be a stable status as well. More often than not we find situations were memberships are not clearly defined. These aspects of borders and membership are

epitomized in the metaphor of “the stranger”, the immigrant, who is inside the borders but does not really belong.

It is an essential feature of social systems that they have borderlines and a code of membership. These lines of discrimination has to be produced, reproduced, and stabilized otherwise the collectivity disappears. In a time of globalization a sociology of borderlines has to emphasize the de-construction and re-construction of borderlines within global settings. Our collected studies put together bits and pieces that are useful to come to terms with these bordenization processes.

In this volume we approach world-systems from three different perspectives. The first part sets the stage in exploring the main ideas and problems in theorizing globalization processes and their relation to borderlines. The next part reconsiders the concept of borders under the dichotomy of membership / non-membership reflected in different forms of memberships as re- (or de-) bordenization processes. And the third and last part examines borderlines in the interaction of local and global processes.

In the first part “Reconceptualizations of the Global: Borderlines in the World-System” we collect useful aspects of theorizing global processes in social sciences by introducing the concept of borders. A brief account of European history reveals, collective identity is produced by the social construction of boundaries. These boundaries divide and separate the real manifold processes of interaction and social relationships. On a global level different cultural programs of modernity were shaped by the continuous interaction between the cultural premises and repertoires of societies. Moreover, all societies continuously develop new interpretations of different dimensions of modernity – and all of them have developed different cultural agendas. *Shmuel N. Eisenstadt* employs the concept of borderlines to reconstruct the production of collective identities in European history. He argues that in discourses of identities and solidarities, the symbolic level cannot be separated from the level of social structure in structuring the allocation of entitlements and life chances. In this view modernity is a highly heterogeneous project driven by the different premises and repertoires of societies. *Christopher Chase Dunn* chooses another road to re-conceptualize the global as a multi-layered and heterogeneous process of bordenization. Different types of globalization have different temporal characteristics. Some show long-term upward trends while others display large cyclical oscillations. The factors that explain the emergence of discourses of globalization are examined and analyzed in terms of the contradictory interests of powerful and less-powerful groups. The different trajectories of “types of globalization” let to different discourses of globalization. These discourses mirror the lags between different kinds of globalization that led to severe structural tensions within the world-system. *Thomas D. Hall* explores the potential analytical usefulness of the notion of borders within the concept of world-systems theory. “Frontier formation” within the processes of incorporation of territories and alien peoples is discussed in the light of rich examples from Europe and North America. It turns out that the

image of the border, as a straight line on the map can be misleading. The process of incorporation is enacted within large frontiers or boundary zones, which are the locus of the transformation of ethnic identities, ethnogenesis and ethnocide. The theoretical discussion is illustrated with examples drawn from the interaction of European societies with the indigenous peoples of North America. This part ends with an account of the historical genesis of world-system theory and its contemporary challenges by *Richard E. Lee*. He reconstructs, how the choice in the unit of analysis improved the capacity of world-system theory to describe the long trajectories of social change. Within these processes he makes out new chances of reflexive control of processes even on a global level.

Starting from the notion of bordenization the second part "Defining Borderlines in the World-System: The Emergence of New Memberships" gives insights on how membership in different social entities could be theorized and related to empirical processes. One of the basic conditions of social systems is their "codes of membership" and the way that code is programmed. The operation of codes of membership draws the borderline between social systems and their environments. In this sense these codes of membership are constitutional for the social domain. *Gerhard Preyer* explores the evolution of membership as a basic feature of every collectivity, and distinguishes the conditions of membership on the levels of differentiated social systems, formal organizations, and elementary systems of interaction. The conditions of membership within a global setting change the structuration of solidarity and bordenization processes needed to relate the local and the global by media of electronic communication. In a global world-system social change shows new features: it is a system in which globalization and new particularization are not contrary but a result of social change. For comparative studies in the theory of social evolution the differentiation of typical codes of membership of segmentary, stratificary and functional differentiation is *one* indication of the complexity of societal systems. In modern societies the partial variability of membership and processes of inclusion are essential features. The restructuring of these "features" is *one* of the basic requirements in contemporary social development of solidarity and bordenization in different communities. The emergence of a global world-system, today, leads to new conditions of membership and role sets on the basis of social implementation of new media. *Barrie Axford* undertakes a close examination on what membership means in a globalized world. The notion of network, exemplified in transnational networks, is used to describe the dialectical relationships between bordenization and globalization. *Axford* examines the role of transnational networks of actors in the de-territorialization of social relationships in a globalized world. He adopts a modified structuralist perspective on the ways in which actors both reproduce and transform the conditions for action. Considering the applicability of the "network metaphor" to understand some of the dynamics of globalization, leads to a critique of the activities of transnational networks and of their "thickness" or "thinness" as con-



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