
1. Introducing geographies of globalization: genealogies of the concept, existing views on globalization inside and outside geography

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Globalization is more often than not associated with remote places and large-scale perspectives while it is pervasive of our most personal and mundane activities. As we take our breakfast we might be conscious of the importance of globalization when we read the daily news, but we might easily overlook that the cutlery, microwave or smart phone we use as well as what we eat and drink are shaped by globalization and have shaped it. Christian Grataloup – a French geographer specializing in the *géohistoire* of globalization (Grataloup, 2009, 2010, 2017) – has looked in his book *Le monde dans nos tasses* (Grataloup, 2017) behind the seemingly self-evident façade of our breakfast. As the geographer David Harvey notes, we can ‘consume our meal without the slightest knowledge of the intricate geography of production and the myriad of social relationships embedded in the system that puts it upon our table’ (Harvey, 1990: 422–423). Grataloup, however, has shown how this everyday experience is the product of particular paths of globalization – according to the sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990: 64) ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant realities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’. In particular he reminds us in his analysis of the world in our breakfast, that this specific meal is a rather recent phenomenon. It emerged in Europe in the seventeenth century, replacing a meal that was quite similar to the other meals of the day – which it still is nowadays among groups less affected by globalization around the world. Indeed the new fashion spread from the urban bourgeoisie in Amsterdam and London to the European aristocracy, then to popular classes in Europe and beyond Europe among urbanites and well-to-do classes. The drinks associated with breakfast – tea, coffee and chocolate – and the sugar used by many to sweeten them, were originally very expensive and demonstrated economic prosperity and social distinction. Nowadays, they are not only travelling great distances to arrive on our breakfast tables, their very production is a quintessential component in the history of globalization of the past centuries.

The control of the production and trade of these by now common breakfast staples was one of the main drivers of the early-modern European expeditions across the world seas. With this urge to control came claims on territories and sea routes, the founding of colonies, the establishment of plantations in these colonies, the transplantation of crops (Crosby, 2003, 2015), and the movement of enslaved and forced labour across continents. Contemporary areas of production are now often far removed from those of origin: we tend to associate cacao more with the current main producers Ivory Coast

and Ghana than with Mexico, its region of origin. The same can be said with regard to coffee: it is Brazil, Colombia and Vietnam rather than Ethiopia that now springs to mind. Sugar cane is more linked to Brazil than to India, its country of origin. In addition, while China has remained the main producer of tea, former British colonies – where tea was introduced by the British (India, Kenya, Sri Lanka) in the nineteenth century – are the next most important producers. With his unpacking of the typical contemporary breakfast, Grataloup thus has chosen a strategic window to explain globalization to a general public. It reveals the many temporal and spatial scales of globalization, its material and ideational dimensions, as well as its economic, political, cultural and social facets which usually remain unobserved.

There are many ways to look at processes of globalization, reflecting their manifold expressions and multi-dimensional character of globalization. Social scientists from various disciplinary backgrounds have looked at globalization through their own particular lenses, using various conceptual tools and methodologies. This has resulted in a wide range of accounts with each covering a particular, inevitably highly selective, part of these nearly all-encompassing and interrelated processes of globalization. Like the parable from Jainism in which the blind men touch different parts of the elephant each experiencing/conceptualizing a different thing, scholars of globalization have difficulties in grasping the larger picture it represents. The essays in this volume are no exception, but the coverage is so extensive that at least some of the broader contours of this, well, global phenomenon come into view.

Although an inherently spatial phenomenon, one could argue that the *geography* in globalization is frequently underplayed – sometimes to the amazement of geographers (cf. Yeung, 2002 and Sheppard, 2016 regarding the need for a geographical analysis of economic globalization to counteract accounts by economists). In this *Handbook on the Geographies of Globalization*, the emphasis is explicitly on how these processes are articulated in space and, in turn, how space shapes these processes. The spatial dimension of globalization is, hence, in each of the following 32 chapters, the guiding and structuring perspective. We thus approach globalization as a phenomenon that cannot be grasped without a proper understanding of its spatial dynamics, while highlighting the diversity of geographical approaches to processes of globalization.

The first overarching aim of this *Handbook*, then, is to highlight the myriad of ways in which a great variety of cross-border flows of people, goods, services, capital, information, pollution and cultures have (re)shaped concrete places across the globe and how these places, in turn, shape those flows. The second aim is to position globalization in a broader historical perspective and indicate long-term continuities and ruptures in the development of cross-border linkages. Third, we want to present a variety of geographical perspectives on how to grasp these processes of globalization.

Before we briefly sketch some of these broader contours of globalization, we discuss the concept ‘globalization’ itself and take a look at its surprisingly rapid emergence in the 1990s in both academic and public debates. In the next section, we turn to the plurality of geographical expressions of and geographical approaches to globalization, hence the plural in the title of this *Handbook*. After that we introduce the contents of this volume.

GENEALOGIES OF A CONTESTED CONCEPT

Globalization, then, refers to many different things. The concept is contested and contestable. This is often the case with key concepts in the social sciences and especially when they refer to large-scale developments in combination with being widely used in public debates. The concept of globalization is, however, unique regarding the speed at which it has emerged and became a buzz word, not only in academia but also in everyday language (James and Steger, 2014). At the same time, it is notable that despite its short history, no one can be named as inventor of the term, in the way the parent of a neologism can be identified (such as the concept geopolitics can be traced back to the Swedish political scientists Rudolf Kjellèn), moreover very little has been written about the origin and the development of the concept.

Paul James and Manfred Steger (2014) have written ‘A genealogy of “globalization”’ which has been published as an introduction to *Globalization: The Career of a Concept*, a special issue of the academic journal *Globalizations* (established in 2004 and dedicated to opening the widest possible space for discussion of alternatives to narrow understandings of global processes and conditions) – and it is very much the exception. The special issue further consists of interviews with ‘crucial contributors to the rise of this keyword’ and other key figures in the emerging field of Global Studies: George Modelski, Roland Robertson, Saskia Sassen, Joseph Stiglitz, Arjun Appadurai, David Held, Jan Aart Scholte, Jonathan Friedman, Nayan Chanda, Mark Juergensmeyer, James Mittelman and Barry Gills. Strikingly, only Robertson explicitly remembered his first encounter with the term. Most, however, recalled that they started using it in the early 1990s, in the period after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War.

According to Sandu Cuterela (2012: 137), the *Oxford English Dictionary* states that ‘[o]ne of the earliest uses of the term “globalization”, as known, was in 1930 – in a publication entitled *Towards New Education* – to designate an overview of the human experience in education’. This, however, remained an isolated occurrence. In textbooks and articles we sometimes find a sketchy genealogy of the term globalization, but these histories are typically highly contingent on the disciplinary, linguistic and national backgrounds. In its obituary of Theodore Levitt in 2006 (Feder, 2006), the *New York Times* first endorsed then retracted the common misperception among economists that this American economist had coined the term globalization in an article entitled ‘Globalization of Markets’ published in *The Harvard Business Review* in 1983 (Levitt, 1983). French economists, by contrast, might refer to the French economist François Perroux and his article ‘L’économie planétaire’ (the planetary economy) published in *Tiers-Monde* in 1964 and in the second edition of *L’économie du XXe siècle* (Perroux, 1964, 1969). Sociologists, in their turn, may bring forward the Canadian communications theorist Marshall McLuhan who coined the notion of global village in his book *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (McLuhan, 1962) to describe the extension of the village mindset to the whole planet thanks to radio and the television, the rapidly spreading mass media in those days. Scholars of International Relations, on the other hand, might refer to George Modelski’s article on ‘Communism and the globalization of politics’ in *International Studies Quarterly* in 1968 (Modelski, 1968). James and Steger (2014) also found earlier unrelated occurrences of notions of globalization (as in the field of

education with the global reading method or the intriguing writing about the globalization of 'the US negro question' triggered by the experiences of African-American soldiers overseas during the Second World War).

The awareness of interconnectedness on a global scale evidently preceded the use of the term globalization. After the closure of the European 'Age of Discoveries', when much of the planet (except the almost inhospitable Antarctica) had been mapped, a sense of global history emerged (Mackinder, 1904; Heffernan, 1998). Expressions of global consciousness (James and Steger, 2014: 422) in the first half of the twentieth century can also be seen in the use of 'globe' in the title of newspapers as well as in the appearance of globes in the logos of film studios and related activities (e.g. the creation of the Golden Globe Awards in 1944). This global imaginary strengthened after the Second World War. It is, for example, addressed in the writings of Hannah Arendt (1958) in her analysis of the *Human Condition*, and in Marshall McLuhan's 'global village' (1962). The pictures of the Earth as the home of human kind ('Spaceship Earth') which became available in the late 1960s and the early 1970s with the exploration of space constituted a very visual representation of the global scale. The colour picture of the Earth as a blue marble taken by the crew from Apollo 17 in December 1972 even became an iconic image (see Cosgrove, 1994, 2001). Only quite recently has this been challenged by satellite pictures a few clicks away for every Internet user in the current age of Google Earth.

Notwithstanding these earlier understandings and representations of global interconnectedness, the widespread use of globalization to label far-flung, cross-border linkages only took off in the late 1980s. This sharp rise in the popularity of the concept holds for English, but also for other main languages. N grams produced from the collection of books digitalized by Google show that the term was hardly used before the mid-1980s. After that, in the second half of the 1980s, a slow increase occurred with a very sharp increase in the 1990s and a subsequent stabilization in the 2000s (NB: the collection ends in 2008). In other European languages, we can observe rather similar trends, but with earlier occurrences and, remarkably, even drops after the turn of the century: in German after 2001, and after 2002 in Spanish and French (this is also the case for *globalisation* and *mondialisation*). By contrast in simplified Chinese (i.e. books published in the People's Republic) the rise in the use accelerated strongly in the 2000s (see for counts and mappings of the use of the term globalization: Murray, 2006: 18; Lévy, 2008; Sidaway et al., 2016: 6; James and Steger, 2014: 419).

Interpretations of the concept globalization are (partly) contingent on the linguistic context. In France, for example, globalization is typically seen as a borrowing from English. In French, therefore, the terms 'globalisation' and 'mondialisation' are frequently used, sometimes as synonyms of globalization, sometimes with slightly different connotations, based on the etymology (the former referring to the shape of the Earth or to the three dimensional model representing it, the latter to the world in terms of human civilization). Moreover, the use of these terms in French also foregrounds more explicitly conflicting visions of globalization and often entails discussing the possibilities of alternative forms and projects of globalization. In the English language academic discussions, these tensions are usually underplayed.

The concept globalization is now widely used in many different societal, disciplinary, geographical and linguistic contexts. Unsurprisingly, many definitions abound but most,

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if not all of them share the reference to linkages between different regions across the globe. A concise and very influential summary of the conceptual connotations of globalization has been proposed by David Held and his co-authors at the Open University (Held et al., 2000). They emphasize four distinctive features of globalization as process:

1. The stretching of social relations over larger areas across the borders of the nation states (they thereby implicitly assume that the international system of modern territorial states is the 'natural' basis organization of human kind) including flows of people, capital, information, licit and illicit goods, germs, and pollution.
2. The intensification of interaction and interconnectedness through these flows.
3. The increasing interpenetration and locally increasing cultural diversity.
4. The building of a global infrastructure consisting of material and ideational, formal and informal arrangements which enable an intensification of flows within and between globalized networks. This ranges from the submarine fibre-optic cables and Internet Exchange Points to agreements and protocols regarding Internet routing, air travel, money transfers, human rights regimes or the rise of English as global language (i.e. language of global communication).

All kinds of combinations of these features figure prominently in many academic contributions to debates on globalization from various disciplinary backgrounds. What, then, characterizes geographies of globalization?

GEOGRAPHY AND GLOBALIZATION

Globalization obviously is about space. This *Handbook on the Geographies of Globalization* demonstrates that geographical perspectives can generate highly relevant and important views on the multifaceted processes of globalization. The *Handbook* also makes clear that there is not one dominant geographical perspective on globalization but, instead, a plurality of viewpoints anchored in different theoretical frameworks and using different research methodologies. Before we outline the main arguments of the ensuing chapters and show the many ways in which the relationship between globalization and geography are now being explored, we briefly sketch why geographers initially were not very much involved in debates on globalization.

Exploring spatial relationships evidently forms the core business of geographers. One would, then, expect that they would have taken the lead in studying globalization. The economic geographer Peter Dicken (1986) and the political geographer Peter Taylor (1985) were indeed in the vanguard and published influential books in the early phase of debates on globalization. Yet, one cannot say that geographers have dominated the early phases of globalization studies. On the contrary, geographers, with the exception of the sociologist/geographer Saskia Sassen, are markedly absent in the above-mentioned *Global Studies* list of key figures in globalization studies. The near-absence of an explicit geographic approach can be traced back to a combination of an initial isolation of the discipline of geography and a neglect of space by other social science disciplines.

For a long time, the relationship between geography and other social sciences such as economics, sociology, and political science was mainly asymmetrical. Until the 1950s, geography was very descriptive, quite similar to the discipline of history. It was focused on the unique qualities of places, not very much theoretically informed and without much ambition to see more general patterns (cf. Scott, 2000). Geographers, then, stood mainly with their backs towards other social sciences (Soja, 1989). Only in the second half of the twentieth century can we observe a strong drive to make the discipline more scientific and, hence, less descriptive and more theoretical. Doing so mainly by extensively borrowing concepts and theories from other social sciences – notably economics, sociology, political science and international relations – but this remained for a long time very much a one-way street.

Other social scientists were not very interested in space and when they were, they typically ignored the work of geographers. Neither economists like Weber, Christaller, Lösch and Myrdal nor for example the philosopher/sociologist Lefebvre, who each took space seriously, were significantly influenced by geographers. The relatively low status of geography among the ranks of social sciences was the result of the until recently firmly established subordination of space to time in social theory. Key figures of early modern social science – Marx, Weber, and Durkheim – paid little attention to space because they prioritized time and history over space and geography in their abstract theoretical work. If they paid any attention to space and geography at all, they tended to view these rather unproblematically as a stable context or site for historical action (Soja, 1989). A crucial consequence of this prioritizing of time and history over space and geography is that spatial differences are interpreted as different stages in a single temporal development. This is reflected in grand narratives of unilinear progress, modernization, the sequence of stages of production, the transition from industrial to post-industrial society, and in unilinear development paths of cities.

According to Doreen Massey (2005), this interpretation of spatial differences has led to an *a-spatial* view of globalization, in which globalization is seen as an all-embracing movement that spreads from the West to the ‘rest’ of the world (it is a Western narrative too). From this perspective of a-spatial globalization – which at a first glance seems a *contradictio in terminis* – national states, which have been typically seen as the crucial spatial units of analysis, are different because they have not yet become modernized and are still behind on the same path of development. This view has been dominant, particularly among mainstream economists who preach ‘best practices’ to attain high rates of economic growth, as well as in many policy circles (Raworth, 2017). States with low levels of GDP per capita, the essential yardstick in this view, were apparently not able to fully adapt to the logic of capitalism. They were seen as lacking in free markets with firms stifled by regulation, failing to display good governance and their key actors not being adequately entrepreneurial, rational, and self-interested. The Washington consensus supported by the World Bank and the IMF, which became the dominant development paradigm in the 1980s, for instance, proposed in essence one-size-fits-all neoliberal policies of deregulation, privatization and liberalization to move up on the one and only road to economic development (Baldwin, 2016; Raworth, 2017).

Space, however, has become ever more salient from the 1980s onwards when globalization gained momentum. This was not just in the sense of more cross-border

flows, it also meant 'the ascendance of other spatial units and scales' other than that of the nation state (Sassen, 2005: 28). Notably cross-border linkages between so-called global cities and global city-regions (Sassen, 2001; Scott, 2002; Hall and Pain, 2006) have gained in importance. Against this background, geographers have, predictably, highlighted the importance of space in understanding contemporary societal development at the local, national and global scale. Harvey (1985) and Soja (1989) have even argued that space should be included in social theory right from the start, to grasp both the drivers and the impacts of contemporary social change.

At the same time, a number of leading sociologists, political economists and political scientists – such as Giddens (1990), Urry (1985), Featherstone et al. (1995), Boyer and Rogers Hollingsworth (1997), Castells (1996/2011) and Jessop (2002, 2009) among others – began to take space and processes of spatial differentiation seriously. It seems, then, that the dividing line between geography and other social sciences has become less sharp and that time and history have become less prioritized over space and geography than before. Social dynamics are increasingly seen as not just a matter of time, but also as having an inherently spatial dimension. As a result, time and space, history and geography and have gained a more equal status than before, and the relation of geography to other social sciences has become less asymmetrical, which has led to more mutual interaction between the various disciplines and a greater plurality of approaches to globalization. Research on aspects of globalization has thus become, on the one hand, more fundamentally spatial, and, on the other, more multidisciplinary.

Research from various disciplinary backgrounds has meanwhile covered many aspects of current processes of globalization. It has, often following the lead of Held and his co-authors, looked at the increase, spread, and speed of global flows of all kinds of goods, services, capital, workers, tourists, refugees, messages, ideas, images, animal and plant species, and diseases. Studies have revealed that, although these flows in many cases run more or less parallel to each other, they tend to have their own geography and history. In addition, these flows display their own characteristic dynamic patterns. Some of them are flow specific, but there are also more general factors at work fostering global flows such as the overall growth of the world economy, declining costs of transport and communication, liberalization (including the opening up of China and the former Communist countries), increases in diaspora and expat populations in cities across the globe, and the growing importance of supranational organizations like the EU creating more level playing fields for trade.

Studies have also shown that the sharp acceleration in the size, coverage and speed of global flows since the 1980s has not led to the flat world predicted by Thomas Friedman (2005). Globalization, unmistakably, comprises homogenizing forces – witness the near-ubiquity of McDonald's, Apple or, more recently, the emergence of hipster spaces selling latte macchiato and vegan food in many cities. Spatial differentiation, however, can also be viewed as part and parcel of globalization. In more general terms, we can say that spatial differentiation is a precondition for the global space of flows. Geographers have stressed that the processes of spatial homogenization or deterritorialization are intimately intertwined with spatial differentiation or re-territorialization and uneven development at various scales (Smith, 1984; Brenner, 2004). New, complex and dynamic spatial divisions of labour have emerged thereby creating a mosaic of interlinked cities and regions with concentrations of different sets

of place-bound resources which are essential for global economic activities (Sassen, 2005). Financial services in New York, London, Tokyo, and Singapore; film production in Los Angeles and Mumbai; and fashion design in Paris and Milan are just a few examples of such concentrations of specific resources and assets. The space of global flows is thus inevitably linked to these *spatial-temporal fixes* in the form of the built environment, infrastructure, social, political and economic institutions, and culture (Harvey, 1985). For Marxist geographers like Neil Smith (1984), David Harvey (2005) and Eric Sheppard (2016), the concept of uneven development has an even deeper meaning than growing differences between national states, regions, and places. They argue that uneven spatial development is a precondition for the reproduction of globalizing capitalism and therefore also inherently about power struggles.

Reterritorialization and uneven development and the ever-changing geography of flows mutually influence each other. Globalization obviously impacts on the development of places. Some places suffer from declining exports and disinvestments due to increasing global competition – the fate of former industrial powerhouses as Detroit, Sheffield, Roubaix, and Essen are testimony to this. Places, however, do not only suffer from globalization, they may also succeed to strengthen their position in the global economy. In doing so, they simultaneously actively ‘produce’ globalization by creating and accumulating the assets and the linkages that are necessary for global flows of various kinds (Sassen, 2005). Cities, particularly global cities like London, New York, Hong Kong and Shanghai are the places in and through which globalization is, to a large extent, being produced. They are the ‘actors’ in globalization. Or, more precisely, actors within these cities are actively producing globalization. Firms, for example, that increase their exports to far-away markets, create complex, spatially dispersed value chains, or that expand by taking over firms located in other countries. Universities and museums that set up branch institutes in the Middle East or the Far East. Low-cost airlines in conjunction with local citizens which offer their homes on Airbnb and thus enable ever more tourists to visit other countries. These are all actors producing globalization.

‘Production’ of globalization may also be aimed at creating a unique quality of place. Just as private firms try to escape from exacerbated global competition by innovations or creating oligopolies and monopolies (Schumpeter, 1934), we can observe in many cities combinations of collective and private actors that seek to carve out a vantage point by creating place-bound assets that cannot easily be imitated elsewhere, such as specific modes of governance (e.g. low taxes), the revitalization of historical districts in order to attract more tourists, the establishment of large cultural amenities often in combination with buildings designed by ‘starchitects’ such as the Guggenheim in Bilbao or the new design museum in Shenzhen (Kloosterman, 2014), or huge infrastructure investments to strengthen the competitive position of the trade and distribution sectors.

A large body of research has thus shown that space is a crucial dimension when looking at globalization. Space, moreover, has to be unpacked into different spatial scales as nation states, regions, cities and urban neighbourhoods may all be involved differently in processes of globalization. In addition, many studies have emphasized the dialectic character of the relationship between specific places and processes of globalization: places (re)produce globalization and globalization, in its turn, shapes

places in many ways. These processes are anything but ‘blind’ or ‘natural’: they require actors, both private and collective, which in a myriad of ways interact with each other, are inserted in configurations of power, and are, typically, locally embedded.

GEOGRAPHIC LENSES: FOCUS AND WIDE-ANGLE

It is hard to find a place on earth nowadays which has not been touched by globalization one way or the other. Climate change is obviously indeed a truly global phenomenon, but as the contributions to this *Handbook* amply show, globalization in its many expressions affects numerous places in many, often unexpected ways. Its omnipresence as well as its (potential and actual) significant impact on the lives of people in all kinds of environments make globalization an important field of study for society at large, policymakers, and, evidently for academics. Its multifaceted character, far-flung and, typically less than transparent, linkages in combination with its complex causal dynamics, however, also make processes of globalization hard to grasp from a theoretical, conceptual and empirical point of view.

With this *Handbook*, we aim to present a pluralistic overview of geographic approaches to globalization. The plurality is reflected in the range of topics, the different analytical and methodological viewpoints. To be able to disentangle the myriad of processes of globalization in a meaningful way, the chapters in this *Handbook* look at particular aspects while stressing the interconnections – the scalar dimensions – of these processes offering both more focused, in-depth analyses as well as more wide-angle, broader pictures of the complex relationships between space and globalization. As mentioned above, many of these contributions depart from the widely accepted definition of Held et al. (2000), thereby emphasizing the dimensions of extension, intensity, volatility, interpenetration of cultures, and the construction of infrastructures (both tangible and intangible) to enable global flows. Geographic approaches to globalization, then, are firmly embedded in the broader field of social sciences allowing both for cross-disciplinary debates and collaborations.

Although the chapters represent a wide variety of topics and approaches, we can observe a few common elements, some of them shared with accounts of processes of globalization in other social sciences, but also some which are characteristic for applying a geographic lens. First, many chapters explicitly point to a rather recent acceleration of globalization. Different starting points are suggested – from the late 1970s to the early 1990s – different labels are used – for example, space of flows, second globalization, hyper globalization, second unbundling. This acceleration is usually linked to a combination of technological developments in transport and communication and changes in the regulatory framework exemplified by the opening up of China, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the drive towards trade liberalization. The capitalist drive towards accumulation is usually seen as the ultimate driver of these processes, but geopolitical motives (e.g. China) are also acknowledged.

Second, this acceleration in globalization covers, in principle, all the dimensions of the definition by Held et al. (2000): cross-border flows display a greater spatial reach; cover more people, goods, services, capital, pollution, culture and ideas; have become more intense and more volatile; lead to more interpenetration and hybridization, and

require an ever more elaborate infrastructure of, for instance, airports and digital communication networks.

Third, this new phase also entails the emergence of new global division of labour in the sense that what was once seen a 'world system' with selected Western countries as the core and most of Asia, Africa and Latin America as (semi-)periphery has now been replaced by a much more polycentric system with the rapid rise of notably China. The concomitant erosion of the hegemonic position of the United States will have consequences which transcend the economic and political realm by far as, for instance, already testified by the emergence of globally cultural industries outside the former core.

Fourth, though globalization is anything but a carefully planned comprehensive attempt to change the world, it is still a human force. Collective actors as TNCs, supranational institutions, national governments, NGOs and terrorist organizations, together with individual actors such as expats, migrants, refugees and tourists, may all be involved in accelerating processes of globalization. Complex configurations of different kinds of actors, prone to power struggles, interact in often unforeseen ways. Globalization is, hence, not a set of smooth processes, but subject to oblique or often open contestation. The outcomes of these man-made processes and complex struggles, therefore, can be rather different than intended by the actors involved. Emergent effects are, then, crucial elements of globalization. Given that globalization is man-made also implies that this, in principle, could be reversed. The period between the two world wars is a clear example of such a reversal after the globalization era of the end of the nineteenth century. The recent rise of both right- and left-wing populism might in a similar way trigger a race between nation states to shut their borders to global flows.

These key elements themselves are more or less shared by other social science accounts of globalization. Using a geographic lens, however, as the contributions to this *Handbook* amply reveal, stresses the salience of spatial scales. Processes of globalization are embedded and articulated at various scales in different ways. This holds for the key dimensions of extensity, intensity, volatility, hybridization, and the necessary infrastructure. Neighbourhoods, cities, regions, nation states and supranational regions may all be very differently affected by processes of globalization. These divergent spatial articulations are related to the inherent spatiality of a particular process – for example, the clustering of the film industry or the impact of climate change have rather different spatial footprints. But the spatial articulation is also related to the uniqueness of places: their path-dependent legacies of both in terms of the built environment and the less tangible sociocultural and institutional make-up at different scales (Kloosterman, 2010). A much more fine-grained map of globalization is thus offered with a more precise understanding of the emergence of socio-spatial cleavages from within cities to between countries, a wider range of actors from the local to the supranational, and, hopefully, providing a sounder base for policies aimed at a more equal and sustainable world.

MORE GEOGRAPHIES OF GLOBALIZATION

We can recognize many of the elements just mentioned in much more detail in the contributions to this *Handbook*. Each chapter is a stand-alone contribution opening up

a particular perspective on, or field of research on, geographies of globalization. Many of them contain concrete cases to illuminate how globalization can proceed and how it may affect places and people. They all have a list of references which are relevant to their particular approach. Together, we claim, they form a rich panorama of geographies of globalization, touching on a wide range of topics and referring to many different strands of literature, theories and related methodologies. The *Handbook* thus reflects not just the diversity of the processes of globalization itself, but also shows the plurality of contemporary approaches to grasp these processes and especially to understand their spatial articulations.

There are six sections. The first two sections offer general accounts: the first features a set of introductory chapters broadly contextualizing globalization, the second introduction of globalization in specific geographical fields. The next two sections present more specific chapters. Although they all deal with the relations between cross-border flows and places, they are grouped according to their main entry points: flows in Part III, places in Part IV. The fifth section turns to issues of governance of globalization and its politics, including resistance to it. The final section addresses specific challenges globalization poses for fieldwork and for teaching.

For *Part I – Introductory Chapters* we have invited contributors to position processes of globalization in broader temporal and spatial contexts, addressing globalization as a specific period or as a specific scale and a globalized as specific space (i.e. the borderless world). Chapter 2 provides a long-term, historical overview of globalization by Peer Vries that contextualizes the present phase of globalization in a longer process of economic globalization since Columbus ‘discovered’ America. In Chapter 3 Kevin R. Cox to some extent starts where Peer Vries stops, namely at the onset of what he calls the ‘second globalization’ which began sometime during the downturn in the 1970s. He discusses the global scale and delves into the relationship between globalization and spatial scales. In Chapter 4 James W. Scott questions the idea that globalization brings about a borderless world. He shows how borders are an essential component of regulatory spaces. Paradoxically, with globalization the study of borders has become more important as flows cross ever more formal and informal borders, each with different meanings and different actors and Critical Border Studies have been blossoming.

For *Part II – Globalized Geographical Perspectives* we have commissioned chapters that elaborate distinct geographical approaches to globalization. Each chapter introduces a specific geographical approach or field and discusses how they address globalization and how globalization has impacted that sub-discipline. In Chapter 5 Kees Terlouw presents world-systems analysis, the hugely influential contribution to the debates on globalization made by Immanuel Wallerstein with his notion of the world economy as a singular economy combined with a plurality of states and the three layers structure necessary to stabilize power relations (core, semi-periphery and periphery). The other chapters introduced four subfields of (human) geography: international development studies, economic geography, cultural geography and political geography. In Chapter 6, Joyeeta Gupta considers globalization in the light of international development studies and deals with the relationship between globalization, environment and development, which are increasingly seen as being intertwined as in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) promoted by the United Nations. In Chapter 7 Robert

C. Kloosterman and Pieter Terhorst highlight the distinct approach of economic geography to globalization that builds upon a layered ontology which acknowledges 'rich' places and 'rich' actors (in contradistinction to economic approaches to globalization). Next, Soyoon Choo and Elizabeth Currid-Halkett examine in Chapter 8 how cultural and media geographies deal with the globalization of culture and especially how the recent phase of globalization enabled by modern communication technology can be grasped. The approach of political geography is expounded in Chapter 9 by Sami Moisio, Juho Luukkonen and Andrew E.G. Jonas. They provide a thorough geographical analysis of how political entities as well as content of policies are related to processes of globalization.

The following two sections present a wide collection of thematic chapters. We have a cluster focusing on flows and another focusing on places. In *Part III – Geographies of Flows* each chapter deals with specific cross-border flows. The first set of chapters covers different aspects related to flows of people. In Chapter 10 Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary captures migration as a particular form of spatial mobility. In Chapter 11 Tatiana Fogelman looks at cross-border flows from a different angle by exploring how contemporary migration alters conceptions of citizenship in both sending and receiving countries. Brenda S.A. Yeoh, Shirlena Huang and Theodora Lam focus in Chapter 12 in another aspect of migration, that of transnational families and households. They show how the macro-level of migration flows is related to the micro-level of families in Asia. Dennis Arnold turns in Chapter 13 to labour geographies and shows how the evolving global division of labour is intertwined with global migration flows. Migrants tend to be overrepresented in the precariat and are thus part of the drive towards flexibilization. Finally people may also move across borders as tourists and Hong-gang Xu and Yue-fang Wu dissect how tourism is affected by globalization in Chapter 14.

Globalization is, evidently, also about other cross-border flows: the flows of information and knowledge, the flows of goods and services, the flows of capital. Languages are affected worldwide by migration, trade and other exchanges. In Chapter 15 Virginie Mamadouh examines how globalization has shaped new linguistic geographies and notably has boosted the role of English as *the* global language of communication (sometimes labeled Global English or Globish) but also the linguistic diversity in almost every locality while also challenging conventional ideas about languages and their relationship with territories. The most impressive flows boosted by globalization processes concern goods, investments, services, and bits of information. In Chapter 16 Jana M. Kleibert and Rory Horner provide a comprehensive framework for analyzing complex, spatially dispersed production chains, the global production networks. In Chapter 17 Elena dell'Agnese and Giacomo Pettenati focus on food. They describe the historical process which has led to a globalization of food stuffs resulting in a high rate of homogenization of the supply of food in many places in the world, but, at the same time, may contribute to localized *foodscapes* through hybridization with existing dishes and practices. In Chapter 18 David Bassens and Michiel Van Meeteren show how financial flows constitute a global financial system with its own particular geography and traceable spatial footprint while simultaneously fostering globalization by searching for profitable outlets across the world. In Chapter 19 Mark Rosenberg unpacks the complex relationship between health and globalization. This relationship is not just about germs crossing borders, but also about changes in the global environment

(e.g. climate change), the movement of people and the development of health care as a global industry. In Chapter 20 Paul C. Adams highlights the role of digital media in enabling flows of information and how these new forms of communication are becoming integrated into daily practices, not just in developed but also in developing countries. In Chapter 21, Robert C. Kloosterman and Rosa Koetsenruijter turn to cultural industries, and link the emergence of a polycentric geography of cultural nodes of production, increasingly encompassing Asian countries, to an erosion of the Western and in particular American cultural hegemony. Finally, in Chapter 22, Martin Müller and Christopher Gaffney position mega-events such as the Olympic Games firmly within a globalization perspective by emphasizing the key dimensions of extensity, intensity, and velocity. This chapter functions as a transition to the next section which is more centred on places as entry points (here the cities hosting such mega-events).

Part IV – Geographies of Places looks first and foremost at how global flows affect concrete territorial entities. The selected chapters foreground places at different scales. For Chapter 23 Simon Dalby discusses Gaia (i.e. the Earth) as a place and uses the concept of the Anthropocene to describe an age in which human activities have such a profound impact on the globe (i.e. influencing climate change) that this warrants the declaring of a new geological epoch. In Chapter 24 Soul Park analyzes how a global marketplace for security services has emerged while nation states are still crucial actors in the globalized security environment. In Chapter 25 Franz Tödting, Arne Isaksen and Michaela Trippel foreground subnational regions and economic clusters, and explain why the regional scale has become more important as globalization enhances the need for innovation in subnational economic clusters. As the capacities to innovate differ between regions, we can also observe divergent trajectories of regional development. This is also true for localities that are dealt with in the last two chapters of Part IV. Ben Derudder shows how a particular group of well-connected cities (the so-called world cities) are inserted in processes of globalization, both as drivers and as recipients (Chapter 26), while Markus Hesse and Evan McDonough centre their contribution on the impact of increasing flows of goods on port cities and their infrastructural facilities (Chapter 27).

Part V – Geographies of Governance aims at capturing how globalization is related to shifts in governance. The chapters in this section address specifically global governance challenges, such as human rights, macroregional integration, maritime trade and sea lanes, and global social justice. In Chapter 28 Barbara Oomen looks at the way in which the globalization of human rights has been conceptualized and how this has been institutionalized. In Chapter 29 Alun Jones turns to macroregional integration and examines a concrete example of supranational governance – the European Union – and its dual response to globalization, intensifying its internal market while protecting its external borders. In Chapter 30 Takashi Yamazaki explores how forms of supranational cooperation have been crucial to the governance and protection of maritime trade, a key component of both historical and contemporary globalization processes. His contribution foregrounds the case of the Indian Ocean as Japan's sea lane. Finally, in Chapter 31, Byron Miller examines how the uneven distribution of costs and benefits of

globalization is contested and what alternatives are envisioned. Responses include left- and right-wing anti-globalization movements seeking re-nationalization, but also alter-globalization initiatives which seek global engagement and exchange on a basis that protects and advances values of social, economic and environmental justice.

The final section of the book takes a slightly different tack. It is about doing geographies of globalization, and its challenge for geographers (or spatially sensitive social researchers), as researchers and as teachers. Indeed *Part VI – Researching and Teaching Geographies of Globalization*, covers more practical questions: how can we actually explore and teach the multifaceted, multi-scalar, interrelated transformations we call globalization from a geographical perspective? In Chapter 32 Valentina Mazzucato and Lauren Wagner discuss a research design typically associated with the empirical research of global flows: the multi-sited fieldwork. They assess the potential and the difficulties of doing multi-sited research – examining ‘global’ relationships by actually doing empirical fieldwork in geographically distant spaces which are linked through followable connections. Chapter 33 is devoted to teaching: Matthew Sparke emphasizes the need to highlight the layered character, the man-made nature, and the spatiotemporal dimensions of actually existing globalizations, stressing the plurality of the phenomenon. This chapter can be read as a conclusion, since it presents the main insights from the field of geographies of globalization and presents them to students.

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