



MARMARA UNIVERSITY
EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF EU POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

GLOBALIZATION AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: EXAMINATION
OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN THE LIGHT OF THEORIES
OF GLOBALIZATION

Master Thesis

YAHYA ALAMESE

Istanbul, 2016



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ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
EC	European Community
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECB	European Central Bank
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EMU	European Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organizations
MERCOSUR	Union of South American Nations
NAFTA	North Atlantic Free Trade Area
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TCC	Transnational Capitalist Class
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization
WW1	First World War
WW2	Second World War

ABSTRACT

The world has experienced huge, rapid and complex transformation, which is called globalization, since 1940s. The European integration process has emerged and progressed during the same period with globalization as well. The relationship between globalization and the European integration is significant to understand the two processes together with today's and tomorrow's world.

Globalization, notably economic globalization, is usually perceived as an exogenous accelerator for the European integration. Although this argument is true to a certain extent, it does not comprise all parts of the reality. The globalization process has social, political, cultural, technological and environmental dimensions and they have affected the European integration as well. On the other hand, the European integration has also certain impacts on the globalization process. Furthermore, European Union claims that European social model provides an alternative form of globalization rather than neoliberal globalization. Consequently, the relationship between the globalization process and European integration process is more complex than it seems and explanations that are more comprehensive are needed in this area.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the relationship between the European integration and globalization in the light of globalization theories to provide an alternative perspective to understand the European integration.

ÖZET

Dünya 1940lardan beri küreselleşme olarak adlandırılan büyük, hızlı ve karmaşık bir dönüşüm yaşamaktadır. Avrupa bütünleşmesi da küreselleşme ile aynı zaman diliminde ortaya çıkmış ve gelişmiştir. Küreselleşme ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi arasındaki ilişki her iki süreci ve bugünün ve geleceğin dünyasını anlamak için çok önemlidir.

Avrupa bütünleşmesi açısından küreselleşme özellikle de ekonomik küreselleşme genellikle dışsal bir hızlandırıcı olarak anlaşılmaktadır. Bu görüş bazı açılardan doğru olmakla birlikte gerçeğin tamamını yansıtmamaktadır. Küreselleşme süreci sosyal, politik, kültürel, teknolojik ve çevresel boyutları içermekte ve bu boyutlar da Avrupa bütünleşmesini etkilemektedir. Diğer yandan, Avrupa bütünleşmesi da küreselleşme üzerinde çeşitli etkilerde bulunmaktadır. İlave olarak, Avrupa Birliği Avrupa sosyal modelinin neoliberal küreselleşmeye bir alternatif sunduğunu iddia etmektedir. Sonuçta küreselleşme ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi arasındaki ilişki görüldüğünden daha karmaşıktır ve bu alanda daha kapsamlı açıklamalara ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır.

Bu tezin amacı küreselleşme ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi arasındaki ilişkiyi küreselleşme teorileri ışığında inceleyerek Avrupa bütünleşmesini anlamak için alternatif bir perspektif sunmaktır.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The world has dramatically changed in the recent decades. Rapid developments in communication and transportation technologies have turned the world into a smaller place. People and countries have come close to each other. They easily communicate with each other through communication networks. We no longer live in a world confined by time and distance as was in the past. Many events, which occur in different parts of the world like economic crises in the United States (US), Ebola outbreak in Africa or invention of iPod can easily affect our daily lives.

Movements of production factors, notably capital, have increasingly transformed the world into a single market. A globally integrated finance and production system has been founded. Nowadays, huge amount of capital easily circulates all over the world with the help of new technologies and it can affect local economies. Transnational corporations (TNCs) make investments in many countries and states try to convince them to choose their countries. Even individuals join this process. Investment of a Japan housewife in US stock market is not a strange event in today's world.

Moreover, many new, non-state actors such as the United Nations, the European Union, Greenpeace and Amnesty International have emerged in the global political area. Mutual dependence between states has progressively increased in many fields. Transnational organizations and movements have eroded the classical notion of state sovereignty. A tendency of global governance for global solutions has emerged in the international area.

In addition to that, cultural images, attitudes, forms, ideas produced in certain countries have flown across the borders through transnational media and they have affected entire world. However, the intensification of "consciousness of the world as whole" has led to a kind of world society in which certain values such as rule of law, democracy, freedom of speech and human rights, have rapidly spread to the distant parts of the world.

The world has undergone transformation especially after 1950s. Scholars call this transformation as globalization. Comprehending the globalization process is necessary for the people living in this changing world. This comprehension of globalization would provide us better understanding of today's world. For that reason, the globalization process has attracted

the attentions of many scholars and they have developed certain theories to explain the globalization concept.

On the other hand, along with globalization process, the European integration process has simultaneously started and progressed during the same period with globalization. It is interesting that the EU integration accelerated in 1980s and 1990s, the same period during which the globalization process has also speeded up. In this period, the European Economic Community (EEC) turned into the European Union (EU). A single market was established under the pressure of economic globalization. Supranational institutions such as the Commission and the European Parliament (EP) gained strength after the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty. The EU profoundly transformed the economic, political and social structure in Europe like globalization in the world. The relationship between globalization and the European integration has two different dimensions.

At first, globalization was one of the exogenous factors pushing the European integration. In particular, economic globalization put a competitive pressure on the European countries. They responded to this pressure by accelerating the European integration and forming a European-wide single market. The competitive pressure from the United States, Japan and newly developing countries was used as a justification for more European integration in 1980s. What is more, technological developments in communication and transportation, which support the globalization process, also facilitated the European wide interaction and forming a European community.

On the other side, the EU contributed to the globalization process in certain ways, since many aspects of globalization have already emerged in the European integration before the globalization. To exemplify, the EU was a new kind of political actor that had supranational character and it was different from the traditional state. The idea of the European integration was based on the interdependence notion as globalization. The EU formed a single market in which factors of production freely circulate. The consciousness of Europe as a whole arose in the European integration. A European community in which common values shared by member states has emerged in the EU. Regionalism in the EU was similar to regionalism trend in the global world.

In sum, the relationship between globalization and the EU integration is very significant to apprehend both the global world and the EU integration. Therefore, this thesis

focuses on the relationship between globalization and the European integration. This thesis benefits from the globalization theories to understand globalization and its relationship with the European integration. The main question of the thesis is “What is the relationship between globalization and the European Union in the light of the globalization theories?”

The thesis consists of four main parts. In the first part, the globalization concept will be explained. After focusing on definitions of globalization and overviewing historical background, the globalization process will be examined in a different method. The driving forces of globalization, the current structure of globalization and the outcomes of globalization will be expressed in order. Certainly, the thesis benefits from different theories. Nevertheless, a different and specific way of explanation (driving forces – structure – outcomes) will be developed.

In the second part, the European integration process will be described from beginning in order to make comparisons between globalization and the European integration in the following chapters. The important features of the European integration, which are related to the globalization process, will be underlined.

In the third part, the globalization theories will be stated in detail and globalization phenomenon will be discussed in depth. What is more, the implication of each theory on the European integration will be analysed as well. In fact, most of the globalization theories do not directly aim at the European integration. Just some of them touch it as an example. However, in this thesis, it will be argued that the globalization theories have capacity to explain the European integration process along with the globalization process, because of the strong relationship between the two processes.

In the final part of the thesis, an overall evaluation will be made. The following question will be answered in this part. “According to the globalization theories in what aspects globalization affects the European integration, and to what extent the European integration contributes to the globalization process? Finally, predictions will be made on the future of globalization, European integration and their relationship as well.

2. GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is one of the most important processes that has shaped the world since the 1970s. For that reason, analysing globalization is crucial to comprehend our world. Globalization is a sophisticated concept, which has economic, social, political, cultural, environmental and technological dimensions. Certain opposite trends work in globalization at the same time. To grasp the globalization process definition, history and structure of globalization will be examined in this chapter.

2.1. Definitions of Globalization

Scholars have developed different definitions to explain the globalization process. Each definition reflects various approaches to globalization. To perceive these numerous interpretations, accessible diverse descriptions of related scholars and international institutions will be mentioned in this part, and then common points of definitions will be inferred to capture the essence of the concept.

Roland Robertson was one of the early users of the term globalization. He defined globalization in 1983 as "the understanding of the world and the increased perception of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1983a) and in 1992 as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole, concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole" (Robertson, 1992). Secondly, Sociologists Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King who firstly used globalization as a book title explain the concept as "all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society" (Albrow and King, 1990).

Moreover, in his book *The Consequences of Modernity*, Anthony Giddens uses the following definition: "the intensification of social relations throughout the world, linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are formed as a result of events that occur many miles away and vice versa (Giddens, 1991). David Held in his paper titled *Global Transformations* says, "although in a simplistic sense globalization refers to a rapid global interconnection, deep and on large scale, such definition but requires now a more complex research" (Held, 1999). David Held and Anthony McGrew, with David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton together define globalization as "a process (or set of processes) that embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions,

generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and power. (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999). They also used this definition “...the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual.” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999). According to McGrew, globalization is “higher intensity in economic cultural and political connection on a global scale, breaking down the differences between domestic and external distinctions” (McGrew, 2008).

In addition, George Ritzer states globalization as “transplanetary process(es) involving increasing liquidity and growing multi-directional flows as well as the structures they encounter and create. (Ritzer, 2010). Robert Keohane similarly expresses globalization as “a trend of increasing transnational flows and increasingly thick networks of interdependence” (Keohane, 2002). Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier define globalization as “increased flows of goods, services, capital, people and information across borders.” Jan Aart Scholte also describes globalization as “ensemble of developments that make the world a single place, changing the meaning and importance of distance and national identity in world affairs.” (Scholte, 1996). According to John W. Meyer globalization is “universalization of modern values, practices and institutions, growth of supranational institutional networks” He also defines globalization as “world polity” and “world society” (Meyer, 1980).

Furthermore, Thomas Friedman specifies globalization in his book, *Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*, as “The inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before-in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before” (Friedman, 1999). Robert Cox points out “the characteristics of the globalization include the internationalizing of production, the new international division of labour, new migratory movements from South to North, the new competitive environment that accelerates these processes, and the internationalizing of the state.” (Cox, 1994). Immanuel Wallerstein indicates that, “globalization is geographically based and hierarchically organized capitalist world-system” (Wallerstein, 1974).

Finally, in addition to the scholars, international institutions also make certain definitions of globalization. For instance, International Monetary Fund (IMF) identifies four basic aspects of globalization: “trade and transactions, capital movements and investment, migration and movement of people and the spreading of knowledge” (IMF, 2000).

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) regards globalization as “...understood as the phenomenon by which markets and production in different countries are becoming increasingly interdependent due to the dynamics of trade in goods and services and the flows of capital and technology” (OECD, 2002).

2.2.Common Points of the Definitions

All the definitions mentioned above explain certain aspects of globalization, but what these definitions tell us? When attention is paid to different definitions, some common aspects of globalization come to the fore. Since “what is globalization” will be discussed in depth in the next chapters, just certain points will be specified at this point so that important features of globalization can be grasped. The common points of the definitions are:

- I. A worldwide integration, interconnection, interdependence and networks among different societies, states, individuals from different parts of the World.
- II. An integrated, transnational production and financial system and hierarchical division of labour mainly based on MNCs and organized by world capitalism.
- III. Movements, mobility, liquidity and flows of capital, information, ideas, images, values, practices, goods and people through networks
- IV. Intensive worldwide human interaction that surpasses time and space constraints and links distant localities.
- V. Transnational, transboundary and worldwide mobility and interaction.
- VI. Technological developments especially in transportation and communication technology, which provide farther, faster, deeper and cheaper global flows..
- VII. Universalization of modernity. Penetration of western values, practices, institutions all over the world.
- VIII. A global consciousness, which produces a kind of world society that is mainly based on transnational NGOs and world polity, to deal with global problems like global warming and human right violations.
- IX. A global governance tendency, which include new international, supranational, global institutions, actors, practices and rules.
- X. A huge transformation, which more or less affects all parts of the world and makes the world a single place.

2.3. History of Globalization

Although the term of globalization was used in 1980s and globalization as a process mainly started after the second phase of the 20th century and speeded up after 1970s, it has a long historical background. Certain significant events in the human history contributed to long-time globalization process. 15th century and 19th century were significant turning points in the globalization history.

The initial globalization began when human beings moved out of Africa. They spread and settled all around the world from Asia to America along fifty thousand years. (Chanda, 2007). In the period of city-states, trade connected cities to each other. Invention of ship by around 3000 BC, facilitated trade among different parts of the world, specifically, in the Mediterranean zone. In the 12th century, banks of Italian city-states were very active in economic globalization. In the 4th and 7th centuries, the world witnessed globalization of religions e.g. Christianity and Islam (Ritzer, 2010). After city states, emergence of empires such as Persian, Macedonian, Roman and Mongolian empires and their far-ranging conquests enhanced human interaction and integration in the world.

Since the 15th century, capitalism has arisen as an economic system in Europe. Over the past 500 years, it has encompassed the entire world and produced a capitalist world-economy. European colonialism and state-backed mercantilist trade have played significant role in the diffusion of capitalist model to the other parts of the world. (Wallerstein, 1974). During the age of discovery from 15th to 18th century, many lands, even continents, previously unknown for Europeans were discovered by explorers and far parts of the world were connected to Europe. Furthermore, with colonialism and industrial revolution in the 19th century, European values, ideas, practices spread to many parts of the world. The domination of western culture started to produce a homogenous world culture.

Modernization was another important factor in the history of globalization. Modernization means appearance of modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less, worldwide in terms of influence (Giddens, 1991). Modern western values and institutions like republic, nationalism, democracy, election, human rights and rule of law have penetrated to many parts of the world and dominated political area.

In the twentieth century, certain technological inventions in communication and transportation had a profound effect on globalization. To exemplify, invention of airplanes, intermodal shipping containers, radio and television, phone, computers and internet, launching of satellites, founding of the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT). Moreover, people started to perceive world as a whole. Olympics started in 1896 and Nobel awards began in 1901. Even wars transformed into world wars. Efforts of finding global solutions for global problems increased. International economic and political institutions arose. To illustrate, League of Nations, United Nations, IMF, World Bank, General Agreement on Tariff and Trade, World Trade Organization (WTO) were founded as parts of the global governance system.

2.4. Globalization in Today's World

As mentioned above, globalization has a long history. Increasing human interaction in the history created a more integrated and interconnected global world. However, globalization in modern times, which emerged in the second part of the 20th century, has certain different characteristics. “Globalization, in this sense, has been going on for centuries. But globalization today is genuinely different both in scale and in nature” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999). In this part, these specific structures of today's globalization will be elaborated

In this thesis, the globalization process will be explained in three parts. In the first part, driving forces behind the globalization process such as economic and social factors will be explained. Then specific structure of globalization, namely networks structure, liquidity and flows, transformation of time-space and farther, faster, deeper, cheaper features will be analysed. Finally, particular outcomes of globalization such as integrated finance and production system, transnational communities, global multi-level governance, economic regionalism and rise of identity politics will be expressed.

2.5. Driving Forces Behind Globalization

Certain developments have shaped the specific structure of today's globalization. For instance, the transformation of capitalist economy is one of the significant factor for the globalization process. The driving forces, which have led globalization, can be mentioned as economic, social, political, cultural, environmental and technological factors.

2.5.1. Economic Factors of Globalization

Economic reasons, notably global capitalism, is usually considered as the main driving force behind globalization. Capitalism, as an economic system has been emerged in Europe since the 15th century. Capitalism aims at “endless accumulation of wealth” (Wallerstein, 1998, p.10). In capitalism, economic activities are determined by the market principles. Labour-based feudal economic and social structure have transformed into capital-based production for the market. Ideas of Adam Smith such as “laissez-faire” and “invisible hand” stated in his famous book *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776 designated the ideological framework of capitalism in the United Kingdom (UK) and Europe.

After the second part of the nineteenth century, the factory-based industrial revolution started in England. It resulted in mass production and accumulation of capital. Export of huge capital together with this new production system established a basis for global capitalism and affected the entire world. In addition to industrial revolution, colonization of Africa, Asia and America by Europe led to a globally interconnected trade and economic system.

In 1930s, due to the bankruptcy of Wall Street market, the United States and Europe experienced “the Great Depression”. Since the invisible hand of market could not produce any solution, idea of state intervention to market in order to regulate the economy stated by John Maynard Keynes dominated the Western economies (Heywood, 2013)

In fact, the real economic globalization arose after the Second World War. The world economy based on fixed exchange system experienced a long-term growth in the interconnected Bretton Wood system including international economic governance institutions e.g. IMF and World Bank. This development increased the capitalist production capacity and paved way to consumerism ideology in the welfare states.

The period of 1970s was a real turning point for capitalism as well as globalization. The stagnation began in 1970s, the Bretton Woods system collapsed in 1973. This crisis metamorphosed the logic and strategy of capital. Since national framework could not solve economic crises, capital adopted a global strategy, which perceived the world as a big market to reach a new form of accumulation. In this new global strategy, Keynesianism was replaced by neoliberalism, monetarist policies, deregulation, supply side approach and a new capital-labour relationship based on de-unionization. International capital changed into transnational capital. Capitalist economy used new technologies like computer and internet to become

global. World economy in which nation states linked to each other via trade became a global economy in which production process, and financial system became globally integrated (Robinson, 2010, Heywood, 2013).

1980s were marked by the victory of neoliberalism over other economic models such as socialism, social capitalism and state capitalism. Neoliberalism represented by the Reaganism in the United States and Thatcherism in the UK became a hegemonic ideology in the world. Financial capital in the form of foreign investment, TNCs, free market and privatization ideas penetrated far parts of the World along with the globalization. IMF and the World Bank adopted this ideology as “Washington Consensus” and imposed it to the underdeveloped and developing world through “Structural Adjustment Programs”. Classical capitalism transformed into turbo capitalism by the 1990s, no region remained outside the global capitalist economic system. (Robinson, 2010).

Capitalist economy became one of the main driving forces behind the recent globalization process. These economic developments created a worldwide-integrated finance and production system in the globalization process. Structure of this system will be examined in the outcomes of globalization part.

2.5.2. Social Factors of Globalization

Social developments are as important as the economic determinants for the globalization process. Social interaction among distant societies has increased. Social interaction has also intensified. Technological innovations have contributed to this process. Many worldwide social networks and voluntary organizations have emerged. Migration has gained a global character. These developments have created mutual interdependence among societies.

Migration is a good example for the social factors. In the 19th century, approximately 80 million people crossed the oceans in order to get a new homeland. Migration from underdeveloped and developing countries, (the South) to developed countries (the North), marked the migration process in 20th century. Both push factors like unemployment in the home country and pull factors like better living conditions in the host country affect the migration processes. Migrants constitute diaspora communities in their new countries and they have social, economic and cultural ties with their home countries. They usually send

remittances that affect economic conditions in their home countries. Turkish workers in Germany constitutes an example of this situation (Castles, 2004)

In today's world, new transportation and communication technologies have increased the human interaction more and more. These new technologies have liberated humankind from the constraints of time and space. Rising intensive interactions have created many connection networks among people in the world.

A global consciousness has emerged to find solutions to global problems like human rights violations, environmental problems, economic, social and gender inequalities. Many transnational social networks e.g. feminist movements, green movements, anti-war movements emerged in 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, cross-border Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) founded to deal with the global problems such as Amnesty International (1961), Human Rights Watch (1978), Greenpeace (1971) and Doctors without Borders (1971) exemplify cross-border NGOs.

These social factors have increased the transnational interaction among different societies. They have constituted many transnational communities and a kind of global society. In the outcomes of globalization part, the results of social factors will be analysed.

2.5.3. Cultural Factors of Globalization

Cultural variables are other significant reasons behind the globalization process. Worldwide flows of cultural elements such as values, ideas, styles and images through global media, flows of people across the world and invention of mass communication technologies have affected the globalization process.

Spread of ideas is one aspect of cultural globalization. Four big religions of the world, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Judaism have spread to many parts of the world over the last two millennia and have contributed to the globalization process. In the 20th century modern values, ideas and practices have penetrated to the entire world from the West. While Giddens calls this process as "universalization of modernity", Meyer names it as "expansion of world culture" (Robertson, 138, p.138).

Moreover, invention of new mass communication devices such as printing press, radio, telegram, telephone, television, satellites, computers, internet and smart phones have created a new global media which distribute and impose similar ideas, images and cultures to

all over the world. This situation has led to homogenization of cultures, which George Ritzer calls “McDonaldization”. French communists highlighted the same reality in the 1950s by using another concept of “coca-colonization”. (Ritzer, 1993). People buy, eat, drink, watch and dress the same things in this world.

Nevertheless, despite the homogenization pressure, local cultures have tried to keep their cultural differences and to prevent the flows of homogenous culture. Cultural clashes and polarization have created new kinds of cultural combinations. This mixed structure comprises global and local cultural elements and it is called as hybridization (Nederveen Pieterse, 2004). Since global culture has mainly originated from the western countries notably from the United States, it sometimes called as cultural imperialism or Americanization as well.

In sum, cultural impacts have shaped globalization in certain ways. They have created cultural homogeneity among different societies and global cultural practices. On the other hand, global cultural effects have also formed hybrid cultural forms when they met local cultures and they have caused cultural heterogeneity as well.

2.5.4. Political Factors of Globalization

Many political factors have pushed the globalization process in the recent decades. In the traditional nation-state system, which was founded after the Westphalia Peace in 1648 states are the main actors. They have sovereignty over their territories. There is no other authority over or beside the nation state within the borders of the country. The world political system is based on the interaction of equal states. However, certain political developments, which have occurred in the world since 1940s, transformed the structure of the political system. (Heywood, 2013).

To begin with, supranational and international institutions have been constructed as new political actors over and beside the nation states. Liberal institutionalist idea and “collective security” concept have affected the formation of those new institutions. After the Second World War, the United Nations (UN) was established beside and partly over the states. The UN has provided a global basis for interaction of states. Other supranational and international institutions such as World Trade Organization (WTO), IMF, the World Bank, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and many regional organizations like the EU, the North Atlantic Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)

were founded as well. What is more, the other new transnational political actors have arisen e.g. TNCs and NGOs. TNCs, for instance, have role in making economic decisions along with states.

On the other hand, a localization process in states has also accelerated since 1960s. As Robertson points out, localization is not an antithesis of globalization (Robertson 1992). Instead, it is a part of globalization. When globalization process penetrates in to the local, cultural, ethnic and local politics rise as a response to globalization. Micro nationalism is an example of this trend. Because of rising local politics, central authorities have to delegate their certain authorities to the regional or local entities. In addition, states as public authorities delegate their certain responsibilities to the private sector through privatization, private-public partnership and public-private contracts.

Furthermore, the emergence of the United States as a hegemonic power can be identified as one of the sources of globalization. Due to its dominant economic, industrial, military, political, diplomatic, cultural and ideological powers, globalization has spread to far parts of the world. For that reason, globalization has easily aligned with the idea of Americanization. The United States plays a role in today's globalization process similar to the United Kingdom's role in 19th century trade globalization. Relatedly, the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War have removed almost all sorts of barriers that existed before in front of human interaction and capitalism. Communist and socialist countries have also become the parts of globally integrated production and finance networks. They, one by one, have transformed into liberal market economies (Ritzer, 2010).

Because of these political developments mentioned above, nation states have transformed and lost their power to some extent. The new actors have filled this power gap. The classical international system based just on states has been transformed and a new global multi-level governance system has appeared as an outcome of political globalization.

2.5.5. Environmental Factors of Globalization

Environment is a transnational factor in essence. It is not possible to restrain the effects of natural factors. Environmental problems have forced states to think and act in a global manner. Moreover, environmental problems have created transnational green movements and green parties in many countries, especially in the developed ones. They have brought environment issue in to the national and international agenda.

As an example, global warming became an important issue in global agenda in 1990s. Scientists invented the fact that our planet is warming more and more due to the greenhouse gases produced by human activities. In 1998, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was established to research global warming. In 1992, The UN Conference on Environment and Development, also known as the Earth Summit, was held in Rio de Janeiro, and after that in 1997 Kyoto Protocol was signed by most of the countries in order to limit the impacts of greenhouse effect. In Paris summit, 195 countries signed the agreement, aiming to reduce greenhouses gases in 2015.

In addition, public health risks mainly infectious diseases have an impact on globalization process. Since 1973, thirty infectious diseases, which were unknown before, such as SARS, HIV/AIDS and Ebola, have arisen and spread to many continents. HIV/AIDS caused death of at least 20 million people all over the world between 1980 and 2010. (Nye and Welch, 20) Global threats have surely increased global considerations and these considerations have led to global common actions like updating of International Health Regulations in 2007

Transnational environmental problems have increased a global level consciousness among people all over the world and this consciousness has fed the globalization process. The unlimited use of natural sources especially after the industrial revolution has dramatically affected the world ecology. Degradation of environment, extinction of certain types of animals and plants, environmental pollutions, depletion of natural resources and global warming have indicated that humanity faces global problems related to the environment and global solutions should be found. Environmental factors have increased the global consciousness.

2.5.6. Technological Factors of Globalization

Technological inventions mainly in communication and transportation sectors have accelerated globalization both in the past and today. In transportation, invention of steam engine, steam ships, train in the 19th century and invention of fuel-injection engines, cars, notably airplanes in the 20th century had great effects on globalization process. In communication, many new developments have connected people and countries with each other even across continents and oceans. The phone was invented in 19th century and the first transatlantic telephone cable was placed in 1956. The first satellites were launched in 1962,

after that the first transatlantic television broadcasts started. The first personal computers were produced in 1975. The modern internet was founded in 1988. The mobile phones, smart phones and social media became widespread in 2000s.

Information revolution is significantly important for globalization since information technologies are transnational by nature. Information technologies have dramatically increased human interaction. They have also ensured rapid flows of finance capital, and penetration of economic globalization. Besides, they have led to decentralization of information. With the help of information technologies many new kinds of mutually interconnected worldwide networks, which are called as globalization by Joseph S. Nye, have been formed. Internet has provided a communication opportunity for many people. Smart phones have been used to organize the revolutions in Ukraine, Georgia and Arab Spring to draw attention of the world to these revolutions. The internationalization of technology is another dimension of globalization. International cooperation in science, technology and innovation has increased. Flows of human capital has contributed to this process through increased international mobility and rising number of foreign researchers in countries.

Technological developments especially in communication and transportation field have deeply affected the globalization process. They have facilitated the penetration of capitalist global economy to all over the world. They have also contributed to the increase in global human interaction. Technological developments have supported different dimensions of globalization.

2.6. Structure of Globalization

Factors mentioned above are the main drivers for globalization in today's world. Some factors have long backgrounds, but they have created new effects on the globalization process. States, for instance, are old actors, but this time they have a different impact on globalization. They have formed international and supranational institutions and increased political globalization. Capitalism is another old factor, which has been influencing the globalization process since 15th century. However, in the 20th century capitalism has formed some new structures like TNCs and globally integrated finance and production system. On the other side, some new factors can be observed as well. To exemplify, global warming is a new agent, which has produced global level consciousness in today's globalization process. Information

technologies such as computer, internet and smart phones are other new elements accelerating globalization.

All these new and old players have pushed the globalization process and they have produced a different kind of globalization structure. This new globalization structure has certain special features that did not exist before. What are the differences of modern age globalization? What kind of a distinctive structure of globalization has emerged because of those driving forces? The exclusive aspects of today's globalization will be clarified in this section.

2.6.1. The Global Networks

First, "network structure" is the main characteristic of globalization in our day. Instead of "billiard ball" image of realism, globalization is marked by the "network" image. Manuel Castells calls this new society as "global network society" which is based on information and communication technologies and information network. In this society, the nature of the interaction among people has transformed into a society wherein people communicate with each other mainly via internet in place of face-to-face communication. (Castells, 2005). He emphasizes the technological networks e.g. digital communication networks. He also specifies networks formed by the new digital technology like banking system networks, World Wide Web and social media networks.

Information and communication networks are critical for globalization. Yet, all kinds of networks have significant roles in globalization. Those networks include natural gas and oil distribution networks, highway and airplane networks, networks of TNCs, networks of NGOs, networks of intergovernmental organizations, migration and diaspora networks, electricity and water distribution networks, networks of occupational organizations, media and news networks, intelligence networks, religious networks, terrorist networks, crime networks, military networks and so on.

In such a world, societies and individuals are parts of more than one transborder networks. Global networks have become routine parts of our daily lives. People eat globally produced foods, watch global news on television, connect to internet, check their e-mail, twitter, facebook, whatsapp messages, buy globally produced goods by using their credit cards, use globally distributed oil when driving their globally produced cars and so forth.

States, societies, groups, companies and individuals, on the one side, try to be active in the networks and on the other side they try to create their own networks.

Most of the networks are open structures allow to enter in and go out as Castells points out, "Networks are open structures that evolve by adding or removing nodes according to the changing requirements" (Castells, 2005). Nodes are crucial in the network system. They direct the movements in the networks. To illustrate, global cities like London, New York, Tokyo are nodes and they play important roles in capitalist finance and production system (Sassen, 1991). In Turkey, for example, you have to make transfer in the Ataturk Airport to go to New York from the Anatolian cities.

All of these networks are cross-border networks and most of them are worldwide networks. Networks connect distant parts of the planet. Human interaction intensified through those networks. However, these links and networks also create interdependence among the users of networks at the same time. These networks are not equally distributed in the world. Hence, globalization imply interdependence networks rather than universalism because of the uneven distribution of the networks (Nye and Welch, 2009).

Many scholars underline these facts in their globalization definitions. For instance, Antony Giddens describes globalization as "the intensification of social relations throughout the world, linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are formed as a result of events that occur many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1991). In addition, Robertson defines globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole, concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole" (Robertson, 1992). David Held also emphasizes the interconnection point in his definition; "in a simplistic sense globalization refers to a rapid global interconnection, deep and on large scale," (Held, 1999).

The main feature of today's globalization is the global networks. Many kinds of complex networks connect different parts of the world and create a globally integrated meta-network system. Those networks create unequal interdependence among the users of networks. Networks are open to expansion and nodes play a crucial role in network structure. Many things flow through those networks from one part of the world to the others.

2.6.2. Liquidity and Flows

The second significant feature of globalization is liquidity and fluidity. Capital, information, messages, goods, foods, objects, oils, drugs, images, ideas, values, practices and immigrants flow through the links and networks mentioned above. In the past, things remained largely in the same place. Foods were largely produced and consumed in the same locality to a large extent. People used to be born and die in the same place and their social relationships were restricted to their nearby. There was not a tourism phenomenon in the past. However in today's world, finance capital rapidly flows from one market to another and one country to another. Television, radio, telephone waves flow from one continent to another. As Karl Marx said, "everything solid melts into air", solid things have increasingly transformed into liquid shape and they began to flow all over the world (Ritzer, 2011).

Therefore, scholars who study globalization emphasize this flow reality. The definition of Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier as "increased flows of goods, services, capital, people and information across borders" (Jacoby and Meunier, 2013) indicates this fact. Robert Keohane draws attention to the same point. He expresses globalization as "a trend of increasing transnational flows and increasingly thick networks of interdependence" (Keohane, 2002). Arjun Appadurai also states globalization as "global cultural flows, flows of people, technologies, capital, information and images" (Appadurai, 1990). Finally, George Ritzer emphasizes "increasing liquidity and growing multi-directional flows" in his globalization definition (Ritzer, 2011).

Moreover, globalization definitions of international organizations also highlight the "flows", notably the financial flows. As mentioned before IMF describe globalization as "...reflecting technological advances that made it easier and quicker to complete international transactions—both trade and financial flows" (IMF, 2000) and OECD regards globalization as "...understood as the phenomenon by which markets and production in different countries are becoming increasingly interdependent due to the dynamics of trade in goods and services and the flows of capital and technology" (OECD, 2002).

The relationship between the flows and the structure is important. The links, networks, paths and routes are structures. The structure may decelerate, impede, block or expedite the flows. The fiber optic cables, for instance, accelerate the flow of data. States in that sense are the most important barriers in front of the global flows. Borders, gates, guards, passport

controls, customs agents are devices of states. Other important barriers are structural inequalities based on social class, ethnicity, race, gender and region of the world. To exemplify, to participate in the internet flows one need at least a device and basic level information (Ritzer, 2011)

Another significant issue is those who benefit from the flows. In his theory of “Transnational Capitalist Class” (TCC), Leslie Sklair argues that TCC is a group of people that, manages the globalized circuits. They benefit from global flows. They consist of owners and controllers of TNCs, globalizing bureaucrats and politicians, globalizing professionals and consumerist elites. They share similar life-styles and use the competitiveness discourse and consumerist rhetoric (Sklair, 2000).

Lastly, Zygmunt Bauman points out that being light rather than being heavy is crucial to participate in the flow. As an example, “The original Gutenberg Bible was usually in two volumes, ran to close to 1.400 pages...difficult, because of its sheer weight and bulk, to transport. ...By 2007, that bible had become weightless since it could be downloaded using the kindle system (Ritzer, 2011). In another example, solid gold form of money has turned into today’s liquid electronic money form. Technological developments made things lighter even weightless. These lighter and weightless stuffs easily flow in thousands of networks of cable and satellite televisions, iTunes, twitter, facebook and so on.

Flows is one of the most important aspects of globalization structure. Increased flows of goods, services, capital and people across borders mark the globalization process. Things tend to be more liquid when compared to past and they flow globally. Flows of information and capital are good examples of this trend. Lighter things are more suitable for flows, thus, solid things have been transforming into liquid forms.

2.6.3. “Farther, Faster, Deeper and Cheaper”

Today’s globalization is more rapid, intensive, complex and on large scale. Human interaction has been taking place among different societies since the beginning of humanity. This interaction has intensified in certain geographies and in certain periods. In the East Mediterranean area, human interaction among different societies has intensified since the old ages. Silk Road route is another area where intense relationship takes place among distant localities. During the Roman Empire interaction among different countries increased due to the Roman road system and Pax-Romana. In the 19th century, globalization speeded up again

because of the industrial revolution and overseas trade systems of European countries, notably the UK. It can be said that although globalization process has fluctuated in certain episodes, it has an upward progress.

The speed and intensity of globalization have considerably increased today. For instance, international trade has been the key channel for economic integration across borders. What is new in our day is its scale and complexity. Globalization has penetrated to almost all over the world. Interaction and interdependency have dramatically intensified. Interaction has taken place faster and cheaper. Large amounts of money can be transferred even to the far parts of the world in minutes and with a very low cost. States, societies, groups and individuals have much more transnational relationship at present time. Thomas Friedman states it as,

The inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world.

(Friedman, 1999)

McGrew and his colleagues also expressed the same reality as “...the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999)

Nowadays, globalization is more influential than it was in terms of speed and intensity. It has also reached almost the entire world. Globalization has fundamentally affected economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of life. It provides cheaper communication, production and transportation options as well.

2.6.4. Transformation of Time and Space

Human interaction has succeeded in surpassing time and space limits. Modern technology notably the information technology has contributed humanity to achieve this goal. To exemplify, millions of people from different continents can watch a world cup match at the same time and they can feel the same sentiments. Time and distance limits no longer hinder humankind in many areas. David Harvey calls it as “time-space compression” and he argues, “globalization represents a new burst of time-space compression produced by the very

dynamics of capitalist development” (Robinson, 2007). Anthony Giddens names it as “time-space distancing” and he defines it as “the process whereby remote interaction has become an increasingly significant feature of human life” (Giddens, 1991).

Transformation of time and space is a significant feature of today’s globalization. Overcoming time and space boundaries has made the world a small place, a global village as Marshall McLuhan proposed. This compression of world has allowed for more intensified interaction among far parts of the world. Compression of time and space has accelerated the speed of globalization.

2.7.Outcomes of Globalization

20th century globalization process has created certain results, which determine the specific character of globalization process. The driving forces of modern age globalization, and the exclusive structure of globalization have commonly produced certain outcomes of globalization. These consequences of the globalization process will be examined in this part.

2.7.1. Emergence of Integrated Finance and Production System

The global capitalism and its exclusive forms of neoliberalism has formed a new globally integrated finance and production system in the second part of 20th century. TNCs, such as Coca Cola, McDonalds, Microsoft, Apple, Ford, Toyota and Samsung, as a new phenomenon, played a crucial role in this process. They established their own global production systems, which include many different countries. They have their own multinational networks and they are able to make intra-firm trade. For instance, in the McDonalds’ system, cheese of New Zealand is transported to the restaurants in the South America, meat is sent from Uruguay to Malaysia and from Australia to Japan, package materials are distributed from Malaysia to all Asia and American potatoes are sent to Hong Kong and Japan (Davis, 2005).

This globally integrated production system is based on global level division of labour networks in the form of outsourcing and subcontracting mechanisms. Saskia Sassen explains this situation as “decentralization of production simultaneous to the centralization of command and control of the global production system” (Sassen, 1991). This structure will be explained in the globalization theories part in detail.

Moreover, flows of transnational capital have eroded the boundaries of nation state and integrated economic markets. Big banks, finance and insurance companies, such as JP Morgan Chase, Citigroup, Bank of America, HSBC, Morgan Stanley, Aviva, have formed worldwide finance systems, which integrate many stock markets. Emergence of an integrated finance and production system is a key feature to understand globalization in particular economic globalization. Economic globalization theories put emphasis on this structure and its special features of outsourcing and subcontracting mechanisms.

2.7.2. Emergence of Transnational Communities and Global Civil Society

Increasing social, economic, political and cultural links and ties among different parts of the world have profoundly changed the conventional structures of societies. Contradictory trends have simultaneously played their own special roles in this process. Political Scientist James Roseneau points out those two contradictory processes that have proceeded simultaneously due to globalization. On the one hand, integration to the transnational big communities, on the other hand fragmentation to smaller communities. He calls this trend “fragmegration” (Roseneau, 2003). Traditional community structure has eroded because of individualization or atomization processes. However, the new transnational communities, institutions and social identities have arisen at the same time across the borders of nation states. In addition, a big worldwide society called global civil society or world society has emerged because of global interaction and increasing global consciousness.

With the industrial revolution, peasants, who had lived in the same land and worked for the feudal lords for centuries have transformed into workers living in cities. They also gained the ability of choosing their works. This transformation created its exclusive social, economic, political and cultural structures like Fordist production system, labour intensive sectors as coal and steel, blue-collar workers, unionization, fraternity, socialist ideologies and so on.

Similar to this trend since 1960s a new transformation has been taking place because of information revolution. This new process includes loose post-Fordist production, computer based production, increase in service sector, post-industrial society, white-collar workers and individualism (Heywood, 2013). The individualism trend has dissolved conventional ties of individuals and they have become free to form new kinds of transnational groups and communities. Transnational communities can be formed on ethnicity, music, sport, youth,

religion or other basis. Green movement, for instance, has created new transnational worldwide community. Transborder Al Qaeda and jihadist community is another example of such groups. Scientology movement and Gulen Movement can exemplify transnational religious communities. Fans of sport clubs can form transnational networks and groups among them.

In case of migration, many new diaspora communities arise in countries. Their activities link their society of origin and society of settlement. Stéphane Dufoix explains it as “migration increases the connection among different societies and shrinking the world. It creates trans-state community networks, which some scholars called this phenomenon as “diasporaziation” (Dufoix, 2007). For instance, there are many Chinese diaspora communities in different countries which have close relationships with China.

It can be said that one of the significant consequences of globalization is the emergence of transnational society or world society (Buzan, 2004). World culture including universalization of modern values and growth of supranational institutional networks has created a world society (Meyer, 1980). Globalization has weakened the borders and carried social interaction beyond national borders. Transnational communities have emerged in globalized world. Increasing consciousness about global issues has created many global NGOs and global civil society. World Social Forum in Rio de Janeiro marked the emergence of civil society as a third power along with the states and trans-national corporations in 1992.

2.7.3. Transformation of State and the Global Multi-Level Governance

The political developments mentioned in the section of political driving forces of globalization, such as transformation of nation states due to internal and external pressures, emergence of new international, supranational and local actors beside the nation-state and development of global civil society together with global consciousness have paved the way for a tendency to global multi-level governance system.

States are still main actors in the global politics but they have to share their powers with the new supranational and local powers. Kenichi Ohmae declared the disappearance of nation state because of economic globalization (Ohmae, 1995). Yet, other developments like global terrorism and need of global rules for damaging effects of free flowing of global capital have led the revival of state to some extent. Furthermore, states also have gained new capacities thanks to the globalization forces even though they have lost power in certain areas.

Hence, “the transformation of state” has more explanatory power in the globalization process rather than the “disappearance of state”. Nation state has adapted to globalization like the other actors. Nevertheless, in this process, the balance of political decision-making has shifted from states level to global level. The classical notion of “state sovereignty” has eroded and replaced by some new notions like “pooled sovereignty” (Rosamond, 2002).

The realist theory claims that international anarchy defines the international system. There is no higher authority over the states (Heywood, 2013, p.165). Yet political developments since 1940s show that states can collaborate through international organizations and international law. Rising number of international institutions and regional organizations exemplifies this reality. Furthermore, other new actors such as NGOs and TNCs are inclined to transnational cooperation. Global governance is based on collaboration and solving problems with cooperation. In other words, global governance can be defined as, “cooperation in the anarchy” (Oye, 1986).

Global governance signifies implementation of global policies without central government. In that sense, it is different from the world government. It is a multi-centric system. Global governance system is still based on mainly intergovernmental cooperation although many new actors have participated in the decision-making process. Moreover, global governance takes place at many levels from local to regional, national, international and supranational. Those levels are integrated with each other and they work simultaneously. For that reason, global governance points out a multi-level system. The EU is the most appropriate example of this integrated multi-level governance system. (Heywood, 2013, p.166).

Some scholars argue that this new global governance system reflects the hegemonic power of the US, especially in economic and political areas. To a certain extent, it can be true, but saying global governance is equal to American hegemony is a reductionist approach. The US can dominate international institutions for its economic and political aims. However, there are other evidences showing that the US cannot totally control the global decision making processes. For instance, the US sometimes cannot obtain the decisions from the UN to legitimize its actions. The US has not signed the Kyoto Protocol since it could not control the preparation process.

Globalization has not destroyed the nation state but it has transformed the state. Certain new actors such as international institutions, TNCs and NGOs have emerged together with the states. These developments have created global governance system in the anarchical international environment.

2.7.4. Economic Regionalism

Regionalism has increased in globalization process. Many free trade blocks have been founded in recent decades. In the past, regional cooperation and integrations was mainly based on military and political alliances. Yet, in the globalization process, basically, economic integrations like NAFTA, ASEAN, MERCOSUR, ECOWACS and APEC were founded. After 1980s, regional organizations have dramatically increased. Between the 1990 and 1994 thirty-three regional trade agreement were notified to GATT (Heywood, 2013).

Regionalism has two different dimensions. On the one side, states have perceived regional blocs as lightning rod against the negative effects of globalization. Spread of rapid flows of finance capital and integrated-transnational markets and production system in 1980s and 1990s threatened the existence of nation state as an autonomous economic actor. In such an environment, states preferred transnational regional economic organizations to compete with the negative effects of notably economic globalizations. In this sense, regionalism was a defensive tool for individual states to deal with globalization.

On the other side, states have joined regional economic organizations to participate in the globalized trade system and to able to reach big markets. Regional trade blocs have formed a globally integrated free trade system under the umbrella of WTO. Regionalism has simultaneously progressed together with the economic liberalization. This is an evidence for the competitive approaches of states.

2.7.5. Rise of Identity Politics and Revival of Nationalism

While globalization process has been diffusing into different societies and cultures, it has produced its counter effects at the same time. Identity and culture politics have risen in societies instead of ideologies under the exposure of globalization. In cultural dimension, globalization means worldwide flows of cultural elements such as values, ideas, life-styles and images through intensification of human interaction and global media. Liberalism, in that sense, is the main political idea created by the western civilization. It has spread to the other

parts of the world. Liberalism has strengthened the role of individual and weakened the conventional ties in societies. This development has created looser types of social relationship. German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies used “Gemeinschaft” and “Gesellschaft” notions to explain this new kind of relationship. According to him, community type interaction (Gemeinschaft) is usually seen in traditional societies is replaced by society type interaction in modern industrial societies (Heywood, 2013). In addition to this loosening of social ties, conventional forms of certain values such as religion and ethics have relatively lost their power under the pressure of enlightenment, secularism, liberalism and feminism.

Because of diffusion of globalization, some new counter ideologies have risen in societies. These counter ideologies have ranged from conservatism to ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism. Although, there have been many differences among them, they have perceived liberalistic and individualistic society as a deterioration of social values and dissolution of society. They have positioned themselves against individualism and liberalism. Thus, they have opposed globalization because it has helped spreading of these ideas (Nye and Welch, 2009).

What is more, flows of western culture via globalization has led to homogenous global culture. This sameness effect of globalization, which was defined as “coca-colonization” and “McDonaldization” has been perceived as a threat to local cultures by counter movements of globalization. Globalization has also produced certain hybrid cultural structures when it interacts with the local cultures but counter ideologies have opposed the hybrid structures as well. They regard hybrid cultures as destruction of the purity of their local cultures.

Hence, those who think that their culture is under the threat of globalization have tightly embraced their identities, values and cultures. They have used their identity and culture as fortresses against the invasion of globalism. In such an environment, identity and culture have replaced ideology as a basis of political movements. Iran case and jihadist movements have exemplified rising religious fundamentalism. Micro nationalism has been illustrated by the collapse of Yugoslavia and rising far-right parties in Europe. Samuel Huntington’s “Clash of Civilisations” thesis has emphasized the role of culture in political struggles rather than ideologies. Furthermore, socialism and communism were opponent ideologies, allowing those who are not content with the current world system to express their dissatisfaction. Yet after the relative decline of socialism and collapse of communism, culture, nation and religion have filled the gap and they have become the new conveyors of opponent

movements in the world. Finally, revival of nationalism represents another dimension of anti-globalization politics. Relative weakening of nation state, uniform world culture, hybridization, immigration and multiculturalism processes produced by globalization have resulted in new nationalism wave. However, this time nationalism has emerged in the form of ethnic and cultural nationalism that is different from the conventional nationalism. In addition to that, nationalism has been used as a tool for economic development by some states like China, Singapur, and South Korea (Heywood, 2013).

In this globalization chapter, the globalization process examined in detail. Definition and history of globalization, driving forces behind globalization, special structure and outcomes of today's globalization explained. In the next chapter the European integration process will be examined to make comparision between the two processes.

3. THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

The aim of this thesis is grasping the relationship between globalization and the European integration process. Although a few scholars mention the military aspects of globalization via referring to Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and defense alliances like NATO, globalization is perceived mainly as an economic, social, cultural and political process. For that reason, certain aspects of the European integration, which are not directly related with the globalization process such as defense and security, will not be dealt with in this section. Instead, only relevant dimensions of the European integration will be highlighted. To comprehend the special structure of the EU, first, the history of the European integration will be overviewed briefly.

3.1. Historical Review of the European Integration

The EU firstly emerged as European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in specific historical conditions of 1950s. European states had dominated world politics before 1950s, yet they lost their central role in world politics after WW2. Two rival states in the center of Europe, France and Germany, fought three times after the German unification in 1870. The Great Britain also joined two wars against Germany. After these three wars, in particular after the Second World War, France, Britain and Germany lost their power and new two powers, the US and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), emerged as superpowers in the world. Europe was destroyed in the WW2 and needed reconstruction. It was not possible for single European states to overcome the reconstruction problem on their own. Therefore, they needed a common solution and their solution was the European integration. Before the EU, there had been some attempts to form a political integration as a federal Europe, but all those attempts had failed and a less assertive ECSC initiative became successful in the European integration.

The role of the United States was critical at that time. The US needed an integrated, strong Europe against the Soviet threat in the Cold War period. For that reason, the US strongly pushed European countries for the integration. The pressure of the US was critical to overcome reserves of France on the role of Germany at that time (Dinan, 2004).

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established among six countries, (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherland and Luxembourg) in 1952. Those states, for the first time, accepted a supranational authority (High Authority) over state

sovereignty in certain areas. The ECSC became successful economically and it succeeded to overcome the Ruhr problem and long-term Franco-German enmity. The founding fathers of the ECSC notably Jean Monnet believed that beginning with economic integration in a small area (coal and steel) would result in integration in other areas through spillover effect. Indeed, integration in coal and steel sector led to other integration projects.

In 1957, the Rome Treaty was signed and European Economic Communities (EEC) and Euroatom were formed. Member states accepted gradual establishment of customs union in 13 years and through three stages. They also agreed on common agriculture policy (CAP) in principle and on common commercial, competition and transport policies. Most importantly, the aim of European integration was defined as “ever closer union” in the treaty

European integration slowed down in 1960s and 1970s. New French president Charles De Gaulle played an important role in this period. He was against further supranational advancements. He was in favour of an intergovernmental integration. He expressed his view as “Europe of states”. De Gaulle vetoed the membership of the UK in 1963 and struggled with the Commission president Walter Hallstein. He withdrew French representation from the Council of Ministers as a response to Hallstein’s efforts to allow the EEC to have its own financial resources apart from the member states. This “empty-chair crisis” was solved with the Luxemburg Compromise, yet De Gaulle gained a national veto power in the EEC.

In 1968, the customs union was completed. The Hague Summit in 1969 was significant for the history of the European integration. Three critical decisions were made in the summit: completion, enlargement and deepening. Completion meant the EEC would have its own resources, enlargement meant accession of the United Kingdom and deepening meant establishing Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). However, 1970s was a real recession for the European integration. The collapse of Bretton Woods System, fluctuation of currencies and oil crises deeply affected the European Community (EC), which was formed in 1967 in place of the EEC. As mentioned before, 1970s was important for the history of globalization, since at that time capitalism pushed national borders to establish a worldwide economic market to overcome its crisis. Enlargement came true in 1970s. The UK, Denmark and Ireland joined to the EC in 1973.

In 1980s, European integration gained momentum. The EC accepted Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986. In 1987, the EC took an important step to constitute

European-wide single market. The EC was under pressure of competition that came notably from the US and Japan economies. The EEC was growing more slowly than Japan and the newly industrialised countries (NICs) of the Pacific Rim (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore) (Dedman, 2010, p. 114). With the influential leadership of Commission president Jacques Delors, Single European Act was signed in 1986 and Single Market Program was launched in order to remove the barriers in front of free trade until 1992. This was a liberal economic approach and it was justified by the global competition produced by globalization. In that period, neoliberal policies such as free trade, small state and privatization were so popular. Ronald Reagan in the US and Margret Thatcher in the UK were the prominent advocates of neoliberal policies. When globalization speeded up in 1980s and 1990s European integration deepened simultaneously. On the other hand, the EC adopted a cohesion approach and implemented social policies to try to balance liberal economic program (Dinan, 2004). It can be said that, this approach provided a basis for subsequent social globalization claims of the European Union. The contradiction between liberal and social policies was represented by the personality of Thatcher and Delors in the EU.

At the end of the 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s, a very important development dramatically affected both the European integration and globalization process, namely the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of Cold War. This incident paved the way to unification of Europe, which had been divided by the Berlin Wall. Central and Eastern European Countries headed towards the EC and its liberal economic model.

Enlargement increased the deepening efforts. In 1992, with signing of the Maastricht Treaty, the European Union and European single market were founded. The single market provided four freedoms: free movements of goods, services, people and capital. It formed European-wide intensive transnational interaction and an integrated production system. For an integrated finance system, an agenda was launched to reach EMU. For participating in the EMU, a set of criteria has been determined concerning the inflation rate, public finances, interest rates and exchange rate stability. In 1998, European Central Bank was founded. In 2002, the European currency, Euro, was started to circulate. A three-pillar system was formed and the EU was accepted as an authority over states in the first pillar, which comprised the economic area. Yet, the other two pillars, common foreign and security and justice and home affairs, remained intergovernmental. Eventually, the European integration process resulted in an economically integrated Europe.

The efforts for adding a social chapter to the Maastricht Treaty failed. Instead, social issues were attached to the treaty as a protocol and a Cohesion Fund was founded. Furthermore, the treaty established policies about consumer protection. Another significant point was the efforts for creating a European identity. European citizenship, European anthem, European flag, Euro as a name of currency, were symbolic steps taken to support European identity. Moreover, power of the European Parliament (EP), was enhanced to fill the democratic deficit which is defined as “Democratic deficit is a term used by people who argue that the EU institutions and their decision-making procedures suffer from a lack of democracy and seem inaccessible to the ordinary citizen due to their complexity” (Eur-lex.europa.eu, 2016)

Subsidiarity, which was brought by the treaty, is another significant concept that allows us to make comparison with the globalization process. It means, “The Community shall only take action where objectives can best be attained by action at Community rather than at national level. The Union shall take decisions as close as possible to the citizen” (Eur-lex.europa, 2016). In 1995, the Schengen Agreement, which was signed in 1985, was entered into force. Seven member countries abolished passport controls on their borders. In time, many other member states have joined the passport-free Schengen area.

Enlargement continued; Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995, ten Central and Eastern European countries in 2004, Romania and Bulgaria in 2007, Croatia in 2013 joined the EU. Amsterdam Treaty (1996) and Nice Treaty (2000) were signed in this period to adapt the EU’s institutional structure to all these enlargements. In 2004, 25 EU countries signed a treaty to establish the European Constitution, but France and Netherlands voted “No” in referenda. However, almost the same issues were accepted with the Lisbon Treaty in 2007. With the Lisbon Treaty, the pillar structure was abolished and the third pillar was transferred to the first pillar. The EU Presidency and High Representative for Foreign Affairs posts were constituted. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union came into effect in 2009. The EP increased its power in this period. Co-decision procedure became the main legislative method under the name of Ordinary Legislative Procedure.

The European Union which started as a humble project in the special historical context of the Europe in 1950s has become an important actor in today’s world. The integration journey, which started with six countries, has reached 28 countries. The European integration

has progressed in time despite various obstacles and the EU has appeared as a union, especially in economic area.

3.2.Important Features of the European Integration in terms of Globalization

After the historical review of the European integration process, the basic characteristics of the EU integration will be expressed in this section. European integration covers many fields and it has many different dimensions. However, evaluation made in this part, will not include all aspects of the integration, but it will cover certain relevant features that may allow us to make comparison between the European integration and the globalization process.

3.2.1. Economic Integration

The European integration is mainly based on the idea of economic integration. Although political union was the final aim in the minds of the founding fathers, starting point was economy in the integration. Since other integration efforts in high politic issues such as defense and foreign policy failed at that time, economy as an issue of low politic became the basis for the European integration.

The integration began in coal and steel sectors. Along with the integration process, economy has become the engine of the integration. The member states have usually set middle term economic aims and then they have tried to achieve them. Economic goals have provided motivations for the integration. At first, customs union in 1960s, then single market in 1980s and EMU in 1990s played this role. While the integration has been going on in its own route, other fields such as Euratom, foreign and security policy, justice and home affairs have come to the integration agenda. The process has resulted in an economically integrated Europe. The main features of this Europe are a single market comprising free flows of capital, labour, services and goods; economic and monetary union including central bank and single currency; transnational interconnected production and finance system and supranational institutions.

Economic integration, has followed the liberal path in Europe. The aim has been the abolition of barriers before free trade among member states. On the other side, while the EU has been removing economic barriers in Europe, it has put new barriers before the free trade with the outside world. The European standards have turned into technical barriers for the

third countries. In particular, developing countries have been affected from those technical barriers. Even the US reproached for these barriers.

3.2.2. Regional Integration

The European integration, as can be easily noticed from its name, is a regional integration. All of the member states are European countries. The aim of the integration is forming a European continent-wide regional bloc. Except a few countries, most of the European states are either members of the EU or head towards the EU.

In today's world, there is a trend of regional blocs. Establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967, NAFTA in 1994, the Union of South American Nations (MERCOSUR) in 1991, are examples of this trend. Most of the regional organizations are free trade blocs. Why are regional blocs popular? Why do states prefer them? What is the relationship between regionalism and globalization? This is an important debate among scholars. The EU provides an important case study to find answers these questions.

The EU represents a special case among all regional integration models. The EU started as an economic integration as well. Yet, it has proceeded further and transformed into a political union beside economic integration. Furthermore, the EU has established supranational institutions like EP and ECJ. In this sense, the EU is the sole model in which states and supranational institutions live together in the same structure. What is more, the EU is the oldest regional integration among the others. In that sense, the EU example is important to comprehend regionalism trend and its relation with the globalization process.

3.2.3. The European Identity

The European integration process is a construction process of single Europe and a European identity at the same time. In the beginning, the ECSC was a humble organization and had a relatively low public profile (Dinan, 2004). However, when the integration progressed, notably after the foundation of the EU, construction efforts of European identity also increased. Certain symbolic steps were taken to indicate intention of forming a European identity. For instance, European flag and European anthem were launched in 1985; European citizenship was adopted with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The EP started to elected directly and it began to represent European citizens.

In addition, the European identity was associated with certain values such as peace, democracy, rule of law, freedoms and human rights. Ian Manners argue that it is possible to identify five “core” norms” special to the EU.

It is possible to identify five “core” norms within this vast body of Union laws and policies which comprise the *acquis communautaire* and *acquis politique*. The first of these is the centrality of peace found in key symbolic declarations such as that by Robert Schuman in 1950, as well as the preambles to the European Coal and Steel Treaty in 1951 and the Treaty establishing the European Communities (TEC) of 1957. The second is the idea of liberty found in the preambles of the TEC and the Treaty on European Union (TEU) of 1991, and in Article 6 of the TEU that sets out four foundational principles of the Union. The third, fourth and fifth norms are democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, all of which are expressed in the preamble and founding principles of the TEU.

(Manners, 2002, p.32)

Moreover, the EU defined Copenhagen criteria for accession to the EU. These criteria reflect the values to which the EU attributes itself.

The accession criteria, or Copenhagen criteria (after the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993 which defined them), are the essential condition. All candidate countries must satisfy these criteria to become a member state. These are:

- Political criteria: stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities;
- Economic criteria: a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competition and market forces;
- Administrative and institutional capacity to effectively implement the *acquis* and ability to take on the obligations of membership.

(ec.europa.eu. 2016)

3.2.4. Multi-Level Governance

Multi-level governance is another important characteristic of the EU. Marks defines multi-level governance as,

A system of continuous negotiation among nested governments at several territorial tiers—supranational, national, regional, and local—as the result of a broad process of institutional creation and decisional reallocation that has pulled some previously centralized functions of the state up to the supranational level and some down to the local/regional level”.

(Marks, 1993, p.392)

Hooghe and Marks also define the notion as “sharp departures from the model of the all-powerful central state, in contrast, involves dispersion of authority” (Hooghe and Marks, 2001, p.16). In realist theory, states are the sole and unitary actors in international politics. They explain international politics by using “the billiard balls” model. However, in the EU

politics works in a different way. Collective decision making in the EU institutions has marked the EU level politics. “The sovereignty of individual states is diluted in the European arena by collective decision-making and by supranational institutions. In addition, European states are losing their grip on the mediation of domestic interest representation in international relations” (Marks at all, 1996, p.341)

The EU political process can be defined as multi-centric. Politics takes place in local, regional, national, transnational and supranational levels at the same time. In the EU, together with the national states, certain supranational institutions such as the EP, the Commission, the European Court of Justice and European Central Bank and subnational actors as regions officially participate in the decision-making processes. Subsidiarity principle guaranties the participation of local actors in the EU politics. The member states’ authorities are reallocated to upwards, downwards, and sideways in the EU.

New forms of governance and the re-allocation of authority have gained the attention of a large and growing number of scholars in economics, political science, sociology, international relations, and public policy and administration. On the one hand, decision-making has spilled beyond core representative institutions. Public/private networks of diverse kinds have multiplied at every level from the smallest to the largest scale. On the other hand, formal authority has been dispersed from central states both up to supranational institutions and down to subnational governments. ...The last two decades have also seen the creation of a large number of transnational regimes, some of which, including above all the European Union, exercise real supranational authority.

(Hooghe and Marks, 2001, p.1)

3.2.5. Transnational Europe

The European integration has been transnational since the beginning. European elites accused nationalism for the world wars. Especially, German nationalism was perceived as the main cause of the world wars. For that reason, they wanted to overcome nationalism. In that sense, the European integration can be considered as efforts for surpassing nationalism in Europe. The member states have developed their own way mainly based on cooperation rather than nationalism and the EU has emerged as a transnational institution.

As Ernst Haas explains in his Neofunctionalism theory, while the integration has been progressing a new transnational elite has emerged particularly in the European institutions. They have been faithful to the European idea rather than to their nations. This elite has played a crucial role in the European integration (Rosamond, 2000). Since they have shaped the EU policies in Brussels, this process has been called as “Brusselization”. They have usually

proceeded before the European societies in the integration path. However, “Brusselization” has produced a gap between the elite and the societies. This gap is one of the important reasons for “the democratic deficit” problem in the EU. This gap, on the other hand, has created opposite movements. In recent decades, the EU has witnessed nationalist, anti EU movements in Europe. Far-right parties, which have nationalist views like Front National in France, have risen in the political arena. Moreover, sub-national micro nationalism has also increased in the EU countries. Scottish independence referendum in 2014 and independence movement in Catalonia are examples of this micro nationalism trend in Europe. These developments are also similar to anti-globalist movements in the world.

Transnational Europe is significant in the context of migration as well. Migration is a debated subject in Europe. Rising far-right parties in European countries have argued that immigrants deteriorate their national identities. Consequently, transnational structure of the European integration is another crosscutting issue with the globalization process and it should be dealt with in the context of rising nationalism and migration.

In sum, the route of the European integration has crossed with the globalization process and they have interacted with each other. The European integration has many crosscutting issues with globalization. These common issues can be evaluated as examples to comprehend the globalization process. In addition, it is possible to make comparison between globalization and the European integration. Globalization theories provide us an important theoretical tool in order to understand the globalization and the interaction between globalization and the European integration.

4. THEORIES OF GLOBALIZATION AND THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

In this part, the globalization theories that try to explain the globalization process will be introduced, after that this thesis will focus on what globalization theories say about the European integration. In fact, a couple of globalization theories directly refer to the European integration, most of them just focus on globalization. However, globalization theories have many implications about the European integration. The relationship between the globalization process and the European integration process will be analysed by focusing on these implications. A bilateral approach will be used to illustrate the relationship. On the one side, the impacts of globalization on the European integration and, on the other side, effects of the European integration on the globalization process will be explained.

Since globalization has profoundly changed the world, it has attracted the attentions of many scholars. The development of globalization theories mostly started with the 1980s during which globalization process accelerated. Before the 1980s, Marshall McLuhan used the term globalization term as “global village” in his book *War and Peace in the Global Village* in 1968. In 1974, Immanuel Wallerstein developed the world system theory, which was the first theory explaining globalization. Then other scholars have developed their theories.

Indeed, before the theories, there are three basic approaches to globalization: hyperglobalist, septic and transformationalist. Hyperglobalists argue that globalization is mainly an economic process based on integration of markets through technological progress and international institutions which substitute the weakening nation states. TNCs are the main carriers of this process. Globalization is an irrepressible and legitimate process according to them.

Sceptics, on the other hand, strongly resist globalization and view globalization as an oppression of powerful actors. They criticize globalization on several counts. In their view, globalization is a project rather than a process. Globalization is not a new process according to them. States are still the main actors in the economic sphere. They create regional economic blocs. Septic ideas are mostly based on neo-Marxian critics.

Lastly, transformationalist approach perceives globalization as fundamental changes produced by socio-economic dynamics. The advocates of the approach argue that nation states are not the same as before and they will not disappear at the end of the globalization process. Instead, nation states are transforming. The classical notion of sovereignty is changing with the emergence of supranational institutions and transnational new actors like TNCs and NGOs

The globalization theories usually adopt one of these approaches mentioned above. Besides the approaches, globalization theories are also classified in certain ways. For instance, William I. Robinson classifies globalization theories as:

1. World-System Theory
2. Theories of Global Capitalism
3. The Network Society
4. Theories of Space, Place and Globalization
5. Theories of Transnationality and Transnationalism
6. Modernity, Postmodernity and Globalization
7. Theories of Global Culture.

(Robinson, 2007)

George Ritzer, on the other hand, classifies globalization theories as:

1. Imperialism
2. Colonialism
3. Development
4. Americanization
5. Neo-Liberalism
6. Neo-Marxian Theories

(Ritzer, 2011)

of Ritzer's classification consists mainly of economic and political theories and it does not include any social or cultural globalization theories. In that sense, the categorization of Robinson is broader than Ritzer's grouping. It includes economic, social and cultural theories. However, Robinson's categorization does not have any political globalization theory. Moreover, in his categorization, "Theories of Global Capitalism" does not contain "a neoliberalism dimension". For that reason, in this thesis, a different classification will be used. This classification will be based on the economic, social, political and cultural

categories. Since the most debated feature of globalization is economy, first, the economic theories will be examined.

4.1.Economic Globalization Theories and the European Integration

These kind of globalization theories consider economy as the main factor behind the globalization process. According to them, economic changes, for instance, TNCs or using computers and information technology in finance or production transform the world's economic system and lead globalization. Nevertheless, most of the economic theories view globalization as a negative development. Neo-Marxian theories consider globalization typically as an economic metamorphosis, but they perceive it as exploitation at the same time and they criticize globalization. Economic globalization theories will start with the global capitalism and neoliberalism then continue with the critical theories.

4.1.1. Neoliberalism / Global Capitalism Theory

Neoliberalism adopts a hyperglobalist approach to globalization and perceives it as a positive development. According to neoliberals, globalization provide an efficient economic model based on global division of labour. Market economy is the most effective model in the world. Free trade on global scale brings wealth to all parties. Moreover, economies of scale contribute to the economic efficiency. Thus, national borders should not be barriers before economic activities.

4.1.1.1.Emergence of Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic system which emerged in the 15th century in Europe. Feudal economic model was replaced by the capitalist economic model in this century. While there was a serf-based, local and closed economy in feudalism, in capitalism lands accumulated in the hands of a few landlords and production began to be made for a broad, competitive, national market. In the mercantilist era, market accrossed national borders and expanded to new overseas regions together with the age of discovery and colonialism. State-backed big companies, like the British East India Company, dominated transnational trade. Industrial revolution changed the old style production system and founded factory system of manufacturing mainly based on steam power and division of labour. This new system led to a more rapid and cheap production. European products notably textile dominated the entire world and paved the way to the 19th century globalization.

In this historical process, new changes in production system transformed the market structure and each change expanded the limits of the market from local to national and from national to global level. The main motivation in the capitalist economy was the accumulation of the wealth and “expansion of market” was the main method for capital accumulation (Oran, 1998). In capitalist economy, “private property” is the key feature. People produce goods to get profit by selling them in the market. Notions of “profit maximization” and “laissez-faire” economy illustrate the main characteristics of capitalism. The functioning of market in capitalist economy is based on the principle of “competition”. Supply and demand factors determine the price in the market. “The invisible hand” of Adam Smith regulates market and states do not interfere the working of economy. In capitalist economy, peasants turned into workers in factories. Wage-labour is the major form of production.” Capitalism defends “free trade” among nations. David Ricardo argue that free trade provides comparative advantage to all parties of the free trade. (wto.org, 2016)

Nevertheless, the pure form of classical capitalism has been transformed because of counter effects like socialism, and primarily three type of capitalism have arisen in different countries: classical liberal capitalism, social capitalism and state capitalism. The classical capitalism has been already explained above. This kind of capitalism is largely implemented in Anglo-Saxon world, particularly, in the UK and the US. Liberal capitalism has played a crucial role for the UK and the US in acquiring their hegemonic positions in the world. Liberal capitalism is usually criticized for resulting in inequalities in society (Nye and Welch, 2009).

Social capitalism tries to combine the merits of capitalism and social needs. It defends the idea of “social market”. It put emphasis on the long-term investment rather than short-term profits. Trade unions participate in the economic decision-making processes. Vocational training of labour is perceived as an investment. Socialist movements have played important roles in developing social capitalism. It is largely practiced in Europe, especially, in Germany and Scandinavian countries. Social capitalism has contributed to the recovery of Germany after the Second World War. They claim that, social state puts more tax burden on the economy and it is not appropriate for the competitive global market.

In state capitalism, state instead of market has a central role in making economic decisions. It has influence mostly on the East Asian economies. Japan, after the Second World War, China and today’s Russia are good examples of this kind of capitalism. The state

capitalism is sometimes called as collective capitalism, because it puts emphasis on the long-term relationship among economic actors, teamwork, collective identity building and relatively low inequality policies. In Japan, for example, workers have long-term contracts with the firms and they identify themselves with the companies. State capitalism has played an important role in rise of Japan, China and the tiger economies of the East Asia. Although state capitalism is successful in building big infrastructure constructions, it is regarded unsuccessful in adapting the rapidly changing global economy. Moreover, it is claimed that, lack of political freedoms prevents the long-term economic development (Heywood, 2013, p.121).

4.1.1.2. Emergence of Neoliberalism

Although there are other kinds of capitalisms, the liberal capitalism has dominated the world economy. In 1930s, liberal economic model underwent a crisis, known as the great depression that started in the US and affected the world economy. John Maynard Keynes turned the way of liberal capitalism by his ideas. There was a high rate of unemployment at that time and free market could not produce any solution to it. Keynes argued that, only increase in aggregate demand could boost the economy and produce employment. For that reason, states had to intervene in the economy, to create more demand in times of economic crisis by using their monetary and fiscal policies to increase their spending. Saying that “states should spend more money in times of crisis” was an interesting idea at that time but it worked. Capitalist economies overcame economic recession with the state intervention. After the Second World War, “the Bretton Woods System” was founded on the Keynesian ideas and it continued as a dominant approach until 1970s. This system was mainly based on the “fixed exchange system” and “global economic institutions” like IMF and the World Bank.

By the end of 1960s, Keynesian policies were no longer working even before the Arab-Israeli War and the OPEC oil embargo in 1973. (Harvey, 2005). As mentioned before, 1970s was turning point for capitalism and globalization. Two important development in 1970s determined the future of capitalism and globalization. One was the emergence of neoliberalism and the other was the new computer technology. The thirty-year development continuing since 1945 stopped and an economic stagnation began in 1970s. The Bretton Woods system collapsed and exchange rate began to fluctuate in an instable environment. Neoliberalism arose as a response to these problems. Neoliberal solution was limiting the state regulations on economy and giving the control to the market forces. Neoliberalism

contributed to overcoming the economic crisis in 1970s and led to a new thirty-year economic development period in the US economy in 1980s and 1990s. (Heywood, 2013)

Economist Milton Friedman played a key role in development of neoliberal ideas. He criticized the Keynesian approach and advocated traditional liberal ideas. He and his friend Friedrich von Hayek created “Mont Pelerin Society” to defend liberal ideas (Harvey, 2005). They argued that the “taxation and spending” policies of Keynesian approach were the causes of the economic stagflation. According to them, excessive state regulation had a bad influence on functioning economy and caused stagnation; moreover, they stated that, growth of the money supply because of the government spending led to high inflation. Combination of both factors resulted in stagflation which means stagnation plus inflation. In other words, according to them Keynesian policies were the primary reason for stagflation. They updated classical liberal capitalism and developed an influential neoliberal economic philosophy.

Friedman profoundly affected the formation and implementation of neoliberalism in two ways. Firstly, he was the professor at University of Chicago Department of Economics. University of Chicago became the center of neoliberal approach and many students from different countries who were known as “Chicago boys”, graduated from the university. They turned back to their countries and implemented neoliberal prescriptions as bureaucrats, politicians or consultants. To exemplify, Marxist Salvador Allende was taken down by military coup sponsored by the US in Chile. After that, many Chicago boys returned to Chile and implemented neoliberal policies including privatization of industry, deregulation of economy, reduction in social welfare programs (Ritzer, 2011). They aimed at transforming the economy totally and they used a shock therapy which Naomi Klein calls “the shock doctrine” (Klein, 2007). The Chilean experiment demonstrated that capital accumulation was high. The ruling elites of Chile and foreign investors did extremely well under forced privatization (Harvey, 2005). This program then spread to the other South American countries. Furthermore, Friedman was an influential writer in the Newsweek Magazine and was an advisor to President Reagan. He played a significant role in shaping the economy policy of Reagan administration.

Ronald Reagan in the US and Margret Thatcher in the UK were the prominent leaders of neoliberal policies, and for that reason, neoliberalism was called as “Reaganism” and “Thatcherism” at the same time. Under the leadership of hegemonic US power, neoliberalism became the orthodoxy in the world economy. In addition to that, global economic governance

institutions IMF and the World Bank adopted neoliberal principles, which were called “Washington consensus”, and they imposed these principles on developing countries under the name of “structural adjustment”. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, former communist and socialist countries also got on the neoliberalism train. By 1990s, no region remained outside the global capitalist economic system. The globalization process, which started in 1940s, speeded up after 1970s and turned into a “turbo capitalism” in 1980s and 1990s (Heywood, 2013).

Main features of neoliberalism were shaped in 1970s and 1980s. Neoliberalism was an updated version of 19th century classical capitalism. For that reason, it remained faithful to the values of classical capitalism such as private property, free market, laissez-faire economy, competition and free trade. On the other hand, it added certain new dimensions to the classical theory. At first, neoliberalism wanted to destruct the old Keynesian system to build its economic structure. David Harvey in his book *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* explains it as,

The process of neoliberalization has however, entailed much “creative destruction”, not only of prior institutional frameworks and power (even challenging traditional forms of state sovereignty) but also division of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachment to the land and habits of the heart.

(Harvey, 2005)

Privatization was an important tool to realize this creative destruction. Neoliberal policies opened new sectors and profit making mechanism to business. Big state institutions notably in the sectors of transportation and telecommunication, were sold to private business. Even education and health sectors were privatized. Privatization was justified by increase in accountability and cost effectiveness arguments.

Withdrawal of state is another key concept in neo-liberalism. State should not intervene in economic activities since it does not have an economic logic and it is biased to powerful elites in the state structure. According to neoliberalism, the role of state is to protect the market structure and open of non-market sectors to free market. Baskin Oran calls this logic as “gendarme role” protecting the investment of capitalist class (baskinoran.com, 2016). Hence, state regulations, which were formed for establishing “regulated capitalism” in the Keynesian era, are abolished under the name of “deregulation. In neoliberal global economy, international institutions like IMF, WTO and World Bank regulate the global finance and trade instead of states (Ritzer, 2011).

What is more, the first aim of the economic policies is low rate of inflation in Neo-liberal approach. Monetarist policy does not aim unemployment anymore. It just tries to manage money supply to control the inflation rates due to neoliberalist belief that low taxes stimulate the economy by encouraging people to earn more and ultimately to invest and spend more money, regressive taxation policies implemented and tax cuts (especially for the wealthy) have been made (Ritzer, 2011).

Finally, neoliberal policies included cuts in social and welfare policies so they were not acceptable for the large groups. Therefore, politicians were not popular in neo-liberal democracies. Technocracy was more appropriate for neoliberal policies so there was a tendency for the technocrats rather than politicians in neoliberal economies.

4.1.1.3. Neoliberalism and Globalization

Neoliberalism has been usually perceived as an engine of globalization since its emergence. Expansion of neoliberal ideas and practices all over the world, whether voluntarily or forcibly, has integrated most of the economies in a global economic network. Neoliberalism has produced a new kind of integrated world economy and a new hierarchical structure based on worldwide division of labour among countries even regions. As Sassen states “decentralized production system” and “centralized control and command system” have determined the world economic structure. In the neoliberal economic logic, subcontracting and outsourcing have become the basic mechanisms in economic activity to decrease the cost of production. (Robinson, 2010, p.134). These mechanisms have produced global production and service chains. Robinson cited that Scholte explains it in this way, “Subcontracting and outsourcing, along with a host of other new economic arrangements have resulted in the creation of vast transnational production chains and complex webs of vertical and horizontal integration patterns across the globe” (Robinson, 2010).

In this new economic structure, capital has gained a great rapidity and flexibility. It has flowed among markets and connected them to each other. Integrated exchange markets have better exemplified this connectivity. Finance institutions, banks, insurance companies and hedge funds have operated at global level and they have extended global economic logic to every part of the world. Scholte summarizes that neoliberalism has promoted the growth of “trans planetary connectivity”, in other words globalization, in at least four major ways.

First, on the production side, transworld sourcing has allowed enterprises to collect inputs and site facilities wherever on earth the costs are lowest, thereby enhancing profits. Second, on the consumption side, global relations have brought opportunities to sell larger volumes to larger populations, thus increasing both aggregate revenues and per-unit earnings—with greater economies of scale. Third, in terms of accounting, global-scale activity has permitted enterprises to set prices and site costs—including tax liabilities—across the world in ways that raise profits. Fourth, supraterritorial spaces have opened up new sectors like digital information, telecommunications and electronic finance where major additional surplus accumulation can be achieved.

(Scholte, 2000)

Moreover, neoliberal perception of limited state has declined the role of nation state and empowered international economic institutions. They have set the rules of global economy, for instance, WTO has determined the free trade rules. They have imposed “structural adjustment programs” on the underdeveloped and developing countries. These practices have paved the way for further globalization. Ritzer by quoting from Harvey’ explanation relates neoliberalism to globalization in various ways.

First, the scope of neo liberalism is global in the sense that it has become an economic and political system that characterizes a wide range of societies throughout the world. However, nations have both common paths to neo liberalism as well as basic differences that relate to their different histories and character. Second, neoliberalism is an idea system that has flowed around the world. Third, Harvey sees various international organizations, especially the IMF, WTO, and World Bank, as dominated by neoliberal ideas and as imposing them, in the form of various demands for restructuring, on a number of societies throughout the world. These organizations are, of course, dominated by the US which is indirectly, as well as directly and overtly (e.g. in Iraq, Afghanistan), exporting neo liberalism throughout the globe.

(Ritzer, 2011)

According to neoliberals, neoliberalism has provided the best way for economic development. Neoliberalism has become the dominant capitalist model because of its merits. Neoliberals argue that, expansion of neoliberalism has represented both the victory of liberal economy over communist and socialist economic model and the victory of Anglo-Saxon model over the models of social capitalism and state capitalism. Fukuyama’s “End of History” thesis has exemplified this perception in the best way. In summary, according to neoliberals, globalization has arisen a result of neoliberal economic model and it has been good for humanity.

4.1.1.4. Neoliberalism and the European Integration

The relationship between neoliberal globalization and the European Integration has two dimension: the impact of globalization on the European integration and the impact of the

integration on globalization. On the first side, globalization has impelled the EU for more integration. Yet, on the second side two opposite ideas clashes to explain the effects of the European integration on globalization. Some argue that the EU has slowed down globalization in Europe by functioning as a protective mechanism against globalization. The others argue that the EU has accelerated globalization by acting as an agent of globalization in Europe. In this part of the thesis, firstly the effects of globalization on the EU, and then the effects of the European integration on the globalization process will be examined.

4.1.1.4.1. The Impacts of Globalization on the EU

The globalization process, as an external factor, has pushed the European states for further integration. The EU's official documents have presented globalization as a justification for further integration. For instance, the opening paragraph of the Presidential Conclusions of the Lisbon Special European Council of March 2000 stated: "The European Union is confronted with a quantum shift resulting from globalization and the challenges of a new knowledge-driven economy. These challenges are affecting every aspect of people's lives and require a radical transformation of the European economy" (Lisbon Presidential Conclusions, 2000). Moreover, the member states have proceeded in the integration route to deal with the negative effects of globalization such as competition pressure and weakening of the nation state. The globalization process has affected certain EU policies as well.

In the first place, globalization has eroded the classical state sovereignty in two ways. From above international economic governance organizations and TNCs, from below neoliberalist idea of limited government, privatization policies and free market practices have diminished the state sovereignty. In such an environment, the EU member states have also lost power because of the global market economy. Therefore, the member states have tried to keep up by coming together. They have endeavoured to regain their power at regional level, which they had lost against market forces at the state level. The European states have developed the method of "pooled sovereignty" so that the member states can protect themselves by developing a governance capacity in Europe. Pooling the monetary sovereignty in EMU is an example of developing European-level governance capacity over economic globalization (Rosamond, 2002). In other words, negative effects of globalization on the nation states have pushed the member states to the European integration. Alan Milward in his book titled *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* express that the real motivation of the European countries for European integration was rebuilding their countries as nation-states.

He states that European integration is not an alternative to the nation-state, but the guarantor of their produced new legitimacy through the idea of united Europe. According to him “The reinvigorated nation-state had to choose the surrender of a degree of national sovereignty to sustain its reassertion” and “The states will make further surrenders of sovereignty if, but only if, they have to in the attempt to survive. Appealing though the idea of a united Europe is, the strength of the European Community does not lie in that abstract appeal.”(Milward, 2000)

In the second place, the European states have deeply felt the competition pressure of neoliberal globalization. They did not want to fall back vis a vis the US, Japan and other emerging economic powers like tiger economies in the global competition. The EU member states have wanted to protect themselves from the competition pressure of globalization. For that reason, they have accelerated the European integration. They have dealt with the economic rivals by forming a European wide economic actor and European wide single market.

In the third place, globalization has affected the directions of the EU policies. For instance, the EU has established European Monetary Union. At the beginning of the EMU, there were two different approaches: Economists and Monetarists. While economists said the monetary union should be formed after the political union, the monetarist argued that, firstly monetary union should be constructed. At last, the monetarist approach gained the debate and the EMU was launched. This is an evidence that neoliberal globalization has affected the European integration policies. Because neoliberalism argues that states should implement monetary policy and they should focus on the just low inflation rates instead of full employment. The EU monetary policy aimed at the same goal. The ECB is another example for the impacts of globalization on the EU policies. The ECB focused on the controlling money supply and low inflation rates. European Stability and Growth Pact and use of the Euro has reflected the same logic. Besides, after the Maastricht Treaty the EU determined “Euro convergence criteria” for the member states that wanted to adopt the Euro as currency. The criteria have been based on inflation rates, interest rates, government debts and government deficit. The convergence criteria have also reflected the neoliberal approach since it has focused on, for instance, inflation rate rather than unemployment rates. It can be said that the EU has implemented neoliberal monetary policies, which in turn, has accelerated neoliberal globalization in Europe.

Christoph Hermann summarizes this approach as “European integration process was used to adopt mainstream neoliberal policies and thereby circumvent and erode those state traditions. He also concludes that,

While Europeans may think that Europe is exceptional, the policies delivered by the European Union in no way depart from the neoliberal mainstream. As shown in this paper, major policy issues, such as the Single Market Strategy, European competition policy, Economic and Monetary Integration, and even the European Employment Strategy, have enhanced “free” trade and “free” capital mobility, monetary restraint and budgetary austerity, the flexibilization of labour markets, and the erosion of employment security. In some areas, including monetary and fiscal policies, Euro-zone member states have gone further in following the neoliberal agenda than even neoliberal frontrunners like the United States and United Kingdom. Contrary to the rhetoric of the European Social Model.

(Hermann, 2006, p.85)

4.1.1.4.2. The Impacts of the EU on Globalization

The EU has also certain impacts on the globalization process. There are two opposite approaches in this field. On the first side, some argue that the European integration slows down the globalization process and mitigates the globalization effects as a counter movement. The EU works a kind of umbrella that protects the member states from the negative impacts of globalization. Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier express it as “globalization minus effect” (Jacoby and Meunier, 2013). The EU has played a protective role for European states against globalization. On the second side, others argue that the European integration speeds up the globalization process. According to them, the European integration is actually another form of globalization. Brussels imposes neoliberal policies on the member states, the candidate states, neighbour states and trade partners of the EU. Neoliberalism has penetrated into the European countries through the EU. In that sense, the EU has been an agent of globalization forces and capitalism. “The EU often has been vilified as a Trojan Horse that helps bring globalization into the heart of Europe” (Jacoby and Meunier, 2013). Jacoby and Meunier call it “globalization plus” effect. One may find enough evidence for both arguments in the field. For that reason, Manuel Castells calls the EU-globalization relationship as “paradoxical” relationship. Ben Rosamond also calls it as “ambivalent” relationship. (Rosamond, 2005, p.1)

On the one hand, the EU slows down globalization in Europe. The EU has provided a European-level governance capacity and a regulatory power to the member states to manage globalization against the deregulation policies and laissez-faire logic of neoliberalism. Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier adopt the term “managed globalization” to explain this approach.

In their argument, managed globalization is not purely a rhetorical device, instead it is accompanied by real policy substance. It has been “a primary driver of many major policies undertaken by the EU in the past decade” (Jacoby and Meunier, 2013).

Moreover, this view argues that neoliberalism could not penetrate in Europe as far as the other regions like South America due to the EU. The EU has insulated the member states from the effects of neoliberal globalization. Based on the study of Levi Faur they state that:

Yet Levi-Faur finds that Europeanization does not lead to liberalization in his comparison of the old 14 of the old EU -15 member states with 16 Latin American countries. He also finds that liberalization also happened in areas – like privatization- that are clearly outside EU jurisdiction.

(Jacoby and Meunier, 2010)

In addition, the EU has tamed the neoliberal globalization by adding a social dimension to it. Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union became legally binding in 2009. The European Committee of Social Rights has been formed to monitor the compliance of the member States to the Charter. It should be remembered that even in 1980s in which neoliberalism peaked, the EU integration did not totally proceed in Thatcher’s neoliberal way (Dinan, 2004). The EU itself also claim that the EU has the “European social model” instead of pure neoliberalism. The EU asserts that the “European Social Model “represents a commitment to combine competitiveness and cohesion rather than American style neoliberal globalization (Rosamond, 2002). Furthermore, European citizens perceive the EU as a protector from globalization. “The eyes of most of European citizens the EU owes its legitimacy partly being able to protect them from the negative side effects of globalization” (Jacoby and Meunier,). Meunier also states in another article that, in France “73 percent of people seeing European integration as a means of fight against ill effects of globalization” (Meunier, 2000).

The EU has provided a kind of balanced market economy in the form of “competitive social market economy” The EU treaties have many social provisions that aim at mitigating neoliberal effects. Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union Article 3 expresses that,

The Union shall establish an internal market. It shall work for the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress, and a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment. It shall promote scientific and technological advance. It shall combat social exclusion and discrimination, and shall promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of

the rights of the child. It shall promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States.

(TEU, Article 3)

On the other hand, the EU has speeded up globalization. In the beginning, the European integration were inward looking. The member states were just interested in more integration. They did not have any global actions. Yet, as the integration has progressed, many new countries participated in the EU. The EU has turned into a global economic actor and has begun to affect the globalization process in certain ways. The EU has led globalization in Europe by abolishing national borders before the mobility of capital and transnational production. The EU has also supported the neoliberal idea of free trade. Founding the EMU is another impact of neoliberal globalization on the European integration. The EU treaties include many provisions, which represent neoliberal principles. EU has accelerated globalization in certain ways.

First of all, the EU has deactivated national borders in Europe. Globalization usually characterized by the breakdown of national borders, mobility of capital and transnational production. The EU has also abolished borders in the single market before factors of production and in the Schengen area before the people. In that sense, Globalization and Europeanization are cumulative forces. For that reason, EU founded a highly globalized region according to some researches.

The Swiss Institute for Business Cycle research maintains an annual index comprised of 24 social, economic, and political variables gathered for 122 countries for over 30 years. Europe shows by far the highest absolute levels of globalization in all three areas, and indeed of the world's 15 "most globalized countries" in the period 2001-2007, the first 14 are European and 13 are the EU members. Since 2000 the Foreign Policy / AT Kearney Index tracks economic, technological, and political integration through 12 indices. The 2007 data has non-European locations (Singapore and Hong Kong) in the first two locations, but still has 11 EU states in the top of their aggregate index.

(Jacoby and Meunier, 2010)

Secondly, the EU has always supported the idea free trade and competition. Free trade is one of the main principles of the neoliberal globalization. The EU has led the free trade in Europe. It supports the free trade in the world as well. The EU has many free trade agreements with the third parties. The EU has been very active in designing the rules of global trade. Moreover, the EU has played a significant role in shaping global economic institutions in particular GATT and WTO. What is more, the EU treaties have many

provisions which are based on neoliberal principles such as free market and competition. For instance, “The Member States and the Union shall act in accordance with the principle of an open market economy with free competition, favouring an efficient allocation of resources, and in compliance with the principles set out in (TFEU, Article 120) and “The ESCB shall act in accordance with the principle of an open market economy with free competition,” (TFEU, Article 127). Thus, the European integration became an agent of globalization in the European continent by supporting the free trade and competition ideas of neoliberal globalization.

Thirdly, the EU has also accelerated the globalization process indirectly, while the member states have preferred more integration to protect themselves from globalization. Because they have formed the same structure of globalization at the European level such as a European wide integrated finance and production network, supranational economic governance institutions, increased interdependency, farther and deeper integration. Paradoxically, the EU has produced the European level of globalization, while it has been increasing the integration to manage globalization. This paradox can be conceptualized as “globalization dilemma” like the security dilemma. In security dilemma, one state produces or buys new weapons for security reason, but the rival state takes it as an offensive action and it also gets more weapons. As a result, the security of former state weakens. Similarly, more integration in Europe to mitigate the effects of globalization results in more globalization in the world since it increases transnational interaction and interdependency.

Fourthly, the EU determines the rules and standards of globalization. “The most liberal rules in international finance are those of the EU, and the US is irrelevant to their construction” (Abdelal, 2007). The EU has developed many standards in different areas. Standardization is a key factor in the European integration. They have ranged from chemicals to food, from finance to goods. At the same time, the EU has imposed its regulatory standards on the other economies including the member states, candidate states, trade partners and neighbour countries. Many argue that, the EU is the world’s largest regulatory power in the sectors of financial services, food, industrial chemicals, and telecommunications. Therefore, the EU contributed to development of a regulated globalization. (Jacoby and Meunier, 2013).

Fifthly, The EU provides a model for regional globalization. As Peter Katzenstein explains like “world of regions”, globalization develops hand in hand with the regionalism (Katzenstein, 2005). Being the oldest and most successful regional integration, the EU has

served as a model for regional globalization. Fioretos calls this “representational power. “The EU exercises influence on global economic governance by exemplifying a model of how diverse market economies can coexist in a liberal economic order, while respecting and promoting the principles of social progress, sustainability, transparency and subsidiarity” (Fioretos, 2009).

Overall, globalization has been used as an exogenous referent to support for further integration and deeper European economic integration (Rosamond, 2002). Yet, it is not the end of the story. In addition to that, the EU plays both the role of barrier or filter for globalization and the role of facilitator even accelerator of globalization (Jacoby and Meunier,2013).

It can be concluded that the EU is both receiver and creator of globalization. The two approaches explain two sides of the same reality. In fact, the EU tries to adapt itself to globalization. Adaptation includes two aspects; changing itself to adapt a new condition but at the same time it means changing the conditions as well. In other words, two efforts of making “Europe fit for globalization” and efforts of making “globalization fit for Europe” (Jacoby and Meunier,2013).

4.1.2. World System Theory

According to this theory, the world system is a capitalist world economy within which there is geographically dispersed division of labour. Although this system originated around the 16th century in Europe, it consolidated its position in the 19th century and reached a global level in the 20th century. In this section, the emergence of the theory, its basic features and its implications about the European integration will be handled respectively.

4.1.2.1. Emergence of World System Theory

Immanuel Wallerstein developed the world system theory in the specific environment of 1970s. He constructed his theory on the Dependency Theory that had emerged as a response to Development Project.

After the WW2, many ex-colony countries became independent, but economically they were in backward position. Between 1940s and 1970s the development project was implemented in those countries. The developed countries presented themselves as models for the less developed countries. According to this project, development follows the same path

for all nations. Thus, if less developed countries simply followed the same route pursued by the developed countries, they would develop as well. The development project was mainly based on import-substitution method. According to this idea “southern countries” had to develop their own industries instead of focusing on producing for export and relying on imports from other countries, especially the North” (Ritzer, 2011, p.33). The US and other developed nations encouraged those nations for the implementation of the development project because they benefited from the project. They made foreign investments to those countries and got profits from their investments. What is more, developed countries also offered foreign aid in terms of finance and commodities. Yet, they manipulated their aids for their benefits and in the long-run their aids created dependency of southern countries on developed countries. For example, the US sent its excess wheat to developing countries. “While such aid was certainly helpful in the short run, in the longer run it often adversely affected the ability of some countries to grow and produce their own food (e.g. wheat) and therefore led to greater food dependency in some less developed countries” (Ritzer, 2011, p.33).

For this reason, dependency theory was developed from a Marxian perspective to criticize the development project. It was built in Latin America by Raul Prebisch, Hans Singer, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and supported by the American Marxists like Paul A. Baran and Andre Gunder Frank. The Cuban Revolution inspired the emergence of the development project. According to Wallerstein, “the growing number of scholars in social sciences who come from the non-western world” played a significant role in the construction of the development project. They argue that this kind of relationship was in fact another form of colonization. The development project did not lead to a real development of the newly independent states, instead they declined and their dependency on developed countries increased. The development theory claimed that underdevelopment was not a normal situation, rather it was a “system” which was built by the developed countries. “The underdevelopment is a product of the capitalist system and of the relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries within that system” (Frank, 1969). The “core-periphery” term was developed by the UN Economic Commissions for Latin America (ECLA) which was established in 1948. It was a key concept to understand the development theory, which was an essential contribution of the Third World scholars.

Immanuel Wallerstein founded his world system theory upon the development theory approach. He refined these ideas and called it as world system. He was also inspired from the French historiographer Fernand Braudel. Braudel criticized the “event dominated” history approach and focused on historical structures, structural time, the *longue durée*, and the cyclical process within the structure. His unit of analysis was the “world economy” rather than individual states. Moreover, the rising hegemony of the US and the revolution of the 1968 also provided a suitable atmosphere for the construction of the world system theory.

According to Wallerstein, the modern world system arose in the 16th century in Europe when the feudalism had crisis. New technological innovations, rise of market institutions, production for the market and long distance trade marked the emergence of world system at that time. “The crisis of feudalism created strong motivation to seek new markets and resources; technology gave Europeans a solid base for exploration” (Wallerstein, 1974b, p.39). The military power of Europe and development in the means of transportation enabled Europe to found economic ties with other parts of the world. This unequal relationship between Europe and non-Europe created core-periphery structure between them. This world system spread to over the world during the next five centuries.

In the beginning, “Northwest Europe constituted the core, Mediterranean Europe the semiperiphery, and Eastern Europe and the Western hemisphere (and parts of Asia) were the periphery” (Wallerstein, 1974a, p.401). Yet, in time new states like the US and Japan joined the core. By the end of the twentieth century, the core included industrialized countries, including Japan; the semiperiphery comprised many long-independent states outside the West; periphery included poor and recently independent colonies

4.1.2.2. Basic Features of World System

The capitalist world system gives priority to “the endless accumulation of capital”. It means that there is a structural mechanism that eliminates those who have other motivations. “The imperative of the endless accumulation of capital had generated a need for constant technological change, a constant expansion of frontiers; geographical, psychological, intellectual, scientific.” (Wallerstein, 2004, p.2). Technological change is not a driving force in the world system, instead it is an outcome of capitalist world system. The aim of world system is “accumulation of private capital, through exploitation in production and sale for

profit in market. It is “a system that operates on the primacy of the endless accumulation of capital via the eventual commodification of everything” (Wallerstein, 1998, p.10).

The world system is simply a capitalist world economy and it is mainly based on the idea of geographical division of labour between the core and the periphery. It comprises existing mini systems, world empires and world economies. It establishes transnational market and production networks and a single worldwide structure (Wallerstein, 1974b, p15). The basic feature of the capitalist world system is a hierarchical division of labour among geographic regions. William I. Robinson explains it, as “A key structure of the capitalist world-system is the division of the world into three great regions, or geographically based and hierarchically organized tiers” (Robinson, 2007, p.129) (1974a, p.401). Robinson also states the core, the periphery and the semiperiphery as below,

The first is the core, or the powerful and developed centers of the system, originally comprised of Western Europe and later expanded to include North America and Japan. The second is the periphery, those regions that have been forcibly subordinated to the core through colonialism or other means, and in the formative years of the capitalist world-system would include Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Third is the semi-periphery, comprised of those states and regions that were previously in the core and are moving down in this hierarchy, or those that were previously in the periphery and are moving up.

(Robinson, 2007, p.129)

The periphery provides raw materials and low-skill labour and periphery has labour intensive production. “Peripheral areas focus on low-skill, labour-intensive production and extraction of raw materials; they have weak states” (Wallerstein, 1974a, p.401). On the other side, the core has high-skill capital-intensive production. The core-periphery means the degree of profitability based on its production processes. The “core states concentrate on higher-skill, capital-intensive production; they are militarily strong; they appropriate much of the surplus of the whole world-economy (Wallerstein, 1974a, p.401). Lastly, the semiperiphery locates between them. The system generates semiperiphery between the core and the periphery. It serves as a buffer and moderates the inequality between the core and the periphery. The semiperiphery states try to advance to the core and they do not want to drop to the periphery. The system needs semiperipheral areas because "they partially deflect the political pressures which groups primarily located in peripheral areas might otherwise direct against core-states" (Wallerstein, 1974b: 349-50)

Another important aspect of the world system is its relationship with states. The capitalist world economy has no single political center. Nation states are not the center of the

system. The capitalist world economy prefers multiplicity of states. If the states are too strong they may prevent the endless accumulation of capital of the economic producers. “Capitalists need a large market but they also need a multiplicity of states, so that they can gain the advantages of working with states” (Wallerstein, 1998, p.24). Instead, there are struggles among core powers for the hegemony. Netherlands in the 18th century and the UK in the 19th century were the hegemons. In the 20th century, the US took the hegemonic status. Power shifts occurs due to the increase in productivity. Robinson illustrates it, as “Another key feature of this world-system is the centrality and immanence of the inter-state system and inter-state rivalry to the maintenance and reproduction of the world-system” (Robinson, 2007, p.129).

Wallerstein argues that states serve the interests of economically powerful classes, they maintain the hierarchical structure of the world system and protect the overall capitalist world economy. Moreover, core-periphery relationship is supported by the political differences between the core and the periphery. Core states usually have democratic states, effective state mechanisms and developed welfare levels. However, the periphery states generally have authoritarian regimes, weak and ineffective state mechanisms and low-level welfare (Heywood, 2013, p.438)

Wallerstein claims that although a worldwide market exists in a capitalist world economy, it is not a free market, since a totally free market prevents the endless accumulation of capital. A totally free market is a myth and it does not fit the reality. In a free market prices decrease because of competition among producers. Capitalists need partially free markets instead of free markets. For that reason, they want monopolies. “What sellers always prefer is a monopoly...of course perfect monopolies are extremely difficult to create, and rare, but quasi monopolies are not” (Wallerstein, 1998, p.26). The capitalist system uses many methods to create quasi-monopolies. While core states produce core-like products, which are highly monopolized, the periphery produces peripheral products which are highly competitive. The semiperipheral states produce the both. Protectionist measures of states on imports or exports, tax benefits and state subsidies are the examples of forming quasi-monopolies. What is more, patents create quasi-monopolies for a certain time, since inventions provides to firms less competitive markets. Over time, other producers enter the market so the quasi-monopoly ends but it provides the firms enough time for capital accumulation. Then the capital prefers another new quasi-monopoly.

World system theory states that there are always cyclical periods of expansion and stagnation, generally continuing for 50-60 years, in the world economy. Innovations and new leading products like cars, computers and mobile phones dominate the economy, lead to expansion of economy and a period of accumulation. However, after periods of expansion, profit rates decrease because of new producers, overproduction and competition. It leads to recession and stagnation. Then again a new innovation and new leading products change the cycle. Yet, the structure remains the same. Therefore, the capitalist world economy proceeds in the waves of increasing and declining growth rates.

Finally, Wallerstein explains that liberalism has become the official ideology of the world system. "The ideology of liberalism has been the global geoculture since the mid-nineteenth century" (1998, p. 47). It strengthens the inner coherence of the ruling class. It creates myths, therefore, ruling class feels that "their own well-being is wrapped up in the survival of the system" (1974a, s.404). Socialism was the alternative ideology and antisystemic force during the last two centuries. Socialism has lost its power, but liberalism has lost its power as well. "The true meaning of the collapse of the Communisms is the final collapse of liberalism as hegemonic ideology. Without some belief in its promise, there can be no durable legitimacy to the capitalist world-system" (Wallerstein, 1995, p.242).

4.1.2.3. World System Theory and Globalization

According to the world system theory, "globalization is geographically based and hierarchically organized capitalist world-system" (Wallerstein, 1974b). Developments in the world economy related to globalization seen after 1945 is just typical cycles of the capitalist world economy. Globalization is not a new phenomenon. It has existed for 500 years. Wallerstein does not even accept the globalization term and he called it as a discourse.

The 1990s have been deluged with a discourse about globalization. We are told by virtually everyone that we are now living, and for the first time, in an era of globalization. We are told that globalization has changed everything: the sovereignty of states has declined; everyone's ability to resist the rules of the market has disappeared; our possibility of cultural autonomy has been virtually annulled; and the stability of all our identities has come into serious question. This state of presumed globalization has been celebrated by some and bemoaned by others. This discourse is in fact a gigantic misreading of current reality – a deception imposed upon us by powerful groups and an even worse one that we have imposed upon ourselves, often despairingly. It is a discourse that leads us to ignore the real issues before us, and to misunderstand the historical crisis within which we find ourselves. We do indeed stand at a

moment of transformation. But this is not that of an already established, newly globalized world with clear rules.

(Wallerstein, 2000, p. 252)

The world system comprised entire world and reached its limits in the 20th century. "The modern world-system became geographically global only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and it has only been in the second half of the twentieth century that the inner corners and more remote regions of the globe have all been effectively integrated" (Wallerstein, 1998, p. 9). The US emerged as a new hegemonic power in the core but its economic and political power has started to decline since 1970s. Some formerly peripheral states have improved their economic power.

However, Wallerstein defines the end of the 20th century as a "moment of transition" in the world system. The ideology of liberalism lost its moral supremacy after the revolution of 1968. A forthcoming new economic decline would not be solved by exploiting new markets as it was in the past. Thus, a struggle in the core would be inevitable. Lack of hegemonic power and dominant ideology will break the world system. "The world system has entered into a terminal crisis and will give way to some new, as of undetermined historical system by the year 2050" (Wallerstein, 2000, p. 265)

On the other hand, globalization was implemented as a project instead of the development project. Because of the failure of the development project due to open great inequalities between the developed and less developed countries, a new project, globalization, replaced the development project. "In its place, the globalization project at least sounded more equitable since it was inherently multilateral and multi-directional while development was unilateral and unidirectional" (Ritzer, 2011). Furthermore, many UN institutions, which were created during the development project, still continue their functions. The world system theory also claimed that globalization project would fail like the development project.

Globalization represents global level inequalities and poverty. The core states impose unequal relationship on the periphery in a capitalist system. Surplus value is transferred from the periphery to the core. The underdevelopment and dependency situation of the periphery are structural. In order to eradicate the regional inequalities, the capitalist world system should be removed (Heywood, 2013, p.438)

4.1.2.4. World System Theory and the European Integration

There is not a clear explanation in the world system theory about the relationship between globalization and the European integration. Nevertheless, certain conclusions can be inferred from the theory about the relationship between globalization and the European integration.

According to the world system theory, Europe, especially the northwestern Europe, has been the core region since the emergence of the capitalist world economy. The capitalist world economy emerged firstly in Europe and then consolidated its power in the 19th century again in Europe. The two hegemon states, Netherlands and the UK, were the European states. Europe colonized other parts of the world and developed a dependency relationship which was based on exploitation. Europe exploited rest of the world. In that sense, Europe was a driving force behind the globalization process, in other words capitalist world economy according to the world system theory. The European powers struggled among themselves to become the hegemon in the core. Thus, there was no need for European integration in the past. Struggle rather than integration marked the situation in the core Europe.

However, the emergence of other core powers namely, the US and Japan, changed the situation. After two world wars, Europe lost its power and stayed in a backward position vis a vis the new core powers. The European integration was used by the European states as a method of regaining their economic and political power against the new core powers. Wallerstein perceives the European integration as result of its struggle with the other core powers notably the US. He states that “In 1990s, Western Europe made the essential step forward in its unification with the creation of the euro and thus achieved the financial underpinning necessary to pull away from its close political links to the USA.” Moreover, he also claims that the EU will eventually become a military power, since it is necessary for the struggle in the core. “This will no doubt lead in the coming decade to the creation of a real European army and, thereby, a military disjunction from the USA” (Wallerstein, 2000, p. 259)

The US, in the beginning supported the European integration because of political reasons. It needed an integrated and powerful Europe against the Soviet Union. The US also wanted to create demand for its production. Marshall Plan exemplified this approach. Reconstructed Europe would be able to buy more goods from the US. Yet, when Europe

regained its power, the US considered the EU as a rival in the core, though officially it supported the European integration. Wallerstein argues that;

But the biggest blow to the USA, the hardest to absorb, was the economic recovery and then flourishing of Western Europe and Japan. By the 1960s, the productivity gap between these countries and the USA had been more or less eliminated. The Western European countries and Japan recovered control over their national markets and began to compete effectively with US products in the markets of third countries. They even began to be competitive within the US home market. The automaticity of US economic advantage had thus largely disappeared by the late 1960s. The increase in world production resulting from the recovery and expansion of West European/Japanese production led to a glut on the world market and a sharp decline in the profitability of many of the principal industrial sectors, such as steel, automobiles and electronics. The consequent downturn in the world economy was marked by two major events: the necessity for the USA to go off the gold standard and the world revolution of 1968.

(Wallerstein, 2000, p. 254)

In sum, it has not been globalization we have experienced after 1940s, but rather a capitalist world economy which has been lasting for 500 years and its cycles. Northwest Europe was the creator of the capitalist world economy and it was located at the core of the system. The struggle among the core power for hegemony forced the European states to integrate in order to regain their power against the new core powers.

4.1.3. The Theory of Transnational Capitalist Class

The transnational capitalist class (TCC) is one of the important building blocks of modern globalization together with the transnational corporations and consumerism ideology. TCC is a hegemonic fraction that shapes the direction of globalization. They are “transnationally oriented elites” which have replaced older “nationally-oriented elites”. TCC comprises businessmen, politicians, bureaucrats and professionals. Yet, they have certain common characteristics and similar life styles. They form a kind of web relation among themselves and follow their interests. They have benefited from globalization so they push for further globalization by using the discourse of competitiveness and consumerism ideology. Leslie Sklair has developed TCC theory and some other scholars have contributed to it.

4.1.3.1. Emergence of Transnational Capitalist Class

TCC represents a new phase in the development of world capitalism. As mentioned before, after the WW2 former colonial countries gained their independence. They adopted national corporate capitalism as a strategy for economic development. Developmentalist capitalism was very common between 1940s and 1970s. Its logic was based on the nation

state. Developmentalist capitalism gave big roles to the nation state and public sector. Its strategy was the import substitution model. Developmentalist capitalism used anti-colonial, populist, corporatist discourses and mass mobilization, national-liberation movement methods. This capitalism produced its economic and political structures. It created its own elites as well. They were state-centered elites and fitted with the developmentalist capitalism.

Yet, in 1970s, a world capitalist crisis arose. The crisis could not be solved within the old Keynesian framework. The world capitalism overcame its crisis by passing a new epoch, neoliberalism, in the capitalist evaluation. The capitalist system abandoned the nationalist logic and adopted a transnational logic. World economy, in which nation-states are linked to each other via trade and financial flows, transformed into a global economy, in which the production process itself becomes globally integrated. (Robinson 2003, 2004). Subcontracting and outsourcing became the main features of this new decentralized capitalism. International capital turned into the transnational capital as well. The neoliberal capitalism also created new kind of transnationally-oriented elites which are more appropriate for neoliberalism. “During the 1980s and 1990s capitalists and elites around the world became fractionated along new lines: nationally-oriented and transnationally-oriented” (Robinson, 2010, p.2). Ritzer points out how TCC is transnational as follows:

The transnational capitalist class may not be capitalist in a traditional sense, but it is transnational in various ways. First, its “members” tend to share global (as well as local) interests. Second, they seek to exert various types of control across nations. That is, they exert economic control in the workplace, political control in both domestic and international politics, and culture-ideological control in everyday life across international borders. Third, they tend to share a global rather than a local perspective on a wide range of issues. Fourth, they come from many different countries, but increasingly they see themselves as citizens of the world and not just of their place of birth. Finally, wherever they may be at any given time, they share similar lifestyles, especially in terms of the goods and services they consume.

(Ritzer, 2011, p.46)

There was a tension between two kinds of elites. These new elites had “transnational conception of globalization” instead of “international or state-centrist conception”. They adopted “export-promotion strategies” rather than “import substitution model”. Power shifted from nationally-oriented elites to transnationally-oriented elites. The new elite perceived themselves as citizens of the world together with their countries of birth.

The TCC is a new class including several social groups. “The transnational capitalist class can be analytically divided into four main fractions: (i) owners and controllers of TNCs

and their local affiliates; (ii) globalizing bureaucrats and politicians; (iii) globalizing professionals; (iv) consumerist elites (merchants and media)” (Sklair, 2000, p.2). They see their own interests in the globalized capitalist system. TCC has a similar life style. They have similar university educations, exclusive clubs and restaurants. They have expensive segregated resorts with armed guards and electronic surveillance. “TCC and each of its fractions are not always entirely united on every issue. Nevertheless, together, leading personnel in these groups constitute a global power elite, dominant class or inner circle” (2000, p.2). They may have partnerships in different sectors or in different continents. They come together in international meetings like the World Economic Forum.

The TCC uses the discourse of “national competitiveness” and “sustainable development” to increase globalization. “The TCC seeks to exert economic control in the workplace, political control in domestic, international and global politics, and culture-ideology control in every-day life through specific forms of global competitive and consumerist rhetoric and practice” (Sklair, 2000, p.3). Moreover, the globalized professionals create benchmarking systems in the form of “world best practice” or total quality management to measure competitiveness and globalized politicians create conditions to make them as norms. Creation of benchmarking and best practice give rise to global competition and they serve as a strategy for globalized companies against the local firms. “Globalizing capitalist class uses the discourse of national and international competitiveness to impose more intensive discipline on the workforce and in some cases to impose unnecessarily high standards that drive smaller competitors out of the market” (2000, p.3).

Sustainable development is also used as a discourse by the TCC. Since there are concerns about the environmental problems like global warming and pollution, TCC manipulates those concerns. The big business wants to play a leading role and they join many global environmental movements in 1990s. Green movement’s aim is not sustaining production but conserving of environment by reducing production and consumption totally. However, big businesses use “sustainable development” concept instead of “conservation of environment”. “The capture of the discourse of sustainable development from the environmental movement by the transnational capitalist class has made it even more difficult to mount a radical critique of capitalist consumerism than would otherwise have been the case” (Sklair, 2000, p.3).

Creating enough demand for capitalist production to fuel capitalist growth is a very old problem. For that reason, TCC utilizes the ideology of consumerism. They use the consumerist culture to feed the demands for the capitalist system of production. TCC exerts ideological control over people by using many means like television, magazines, advertising, and cinema to create global desire for consumption. The middle class and professionals are important for consumption of new products. Robinson emphasizes that:

At the same time, restructuring involves the rise of new middle and professional strata who may have the opportunity to participate in global consumption patterns, frequent modern shopping malls, communicate through cell phones, visit internet cafes, and so on. These strata may form a social base for neoliberal regimes and become incorporated into the global capitalist bloc.

(Robinson, 2010, p.10)

TCC got power in their countries as politicians, bureaucrats or advisors and they implement neoliberal policies in 1980s and 1990s. Trans-nationally oriented capitalist classes and bureaucratic elites captured high policy making posts in many countries and they advanced their project of capitalist globalization. “The TCC played a key role in imposing the neoliberal model on the old Third World and therefore in reinforcing a new capital-labour relation” (Robinson, 2010, p.10). They try to attract foreign investments and they provide some advantages, “sweeteners”, including direct or indirect subsidies for the transnational capital.

In addition, Robinson has added a new concept, transnational state (TNS), to the theory of TCC. He argues that,

This TNS is a loose network comprised of supranational political and economic institutions together with national state apparatuses that have been penetrated and transformed by transnational forces. National states as components of a larger TNS structure now tend to serve the interests of global over national accumulation processes. The supranational organizations are staffed by transnational functionaries who find their counterparts in transnational functionaries who staff transformed national states. These ‘transnational state cadres’ act as midwives of capitalist globalization.

(Robinson, 2007, p.131)

Finally, Sklair does not only criticize the capitalist globalization, but he also offers an alternative way for globalization. He is interested in human rights movements and argues that those movements contain the seeds of alternatives of neoliberal globalization. He predicts that human rights movements will gain momentum in the 21st century and they will provide alternative globalization models, for instance socialist globalization (Ritzer, 2011, p.46).

4.1.3.2.Theory of Transnational Capitalist Class and the European Integration

How the theory of TCC provide explanations for the European integration? The concept of transnational elite can be adapted to the European integration. Neofunctionalism theory explains how transnational elites in Europe have played a crucial role in the European integration. Elites of the member states have socialized in the European institutions. They have reached a common understanding on the integration issues. They have also developed common perspectives on the integration problems while they were negotiating in the EU institutions. These people have constituted the European transnational elite. They have formed the skeleton of the European integration and they have become one of the driving forces of the integration. Their common perception has facilitated solving the problems among member states. The European supranational institutions have created their own technocrats as well. Their loyalty has shifted from member states to the EU.

What is more, there is a similar TCC in the EU. European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT) comprises of the leading big business groups in Europe. It was founded in 1983 to push the European integration. It has played an important role in the integration since its establishment. ERT lobbies for closer integration and competitiveness of European economy. They explains their mission as,

ERT Members firmly believe that Europe's prosperity depends on the competitiveness of the European economy, which in turn requires a sound, stable and well-managed political environment. Europe today faces serious challenges:

- the competitive pressures of the global economy;
- closer integration of the European economy through the completion of a Single Market and the building of a durable monetary union;
- the need to boost economic growth, coupled with the need for a more coherent approach to all aspects of external relations, both economic and political

ERT focuses on issues that have impact on the competitiveness, growth and employment prospects of the European economy.

(European Roundtable of Industrialists, 2016)

European Roundtable of Industrialists is similar to TCC. It uses the same competitiveness argument as TCC. Besides, big businesses in Europe also participate in the environmental agenda like TCC.

Globally, big business response was orchestrated by the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), which had been promoting an environmental agenda since the first UN environment

conference in Stockholm in 1972. The ICC had members in more than 100 countries, though it was most active in Europe.

(Sklair, 2000, p.3)

In addition, Robinson's concept of transnational state is again similar to the structure of the EU. As Robinson points out, supranational organizations and transnational state cadres play crucial role in the European integration. Due to the EU's transnational structure, supranational institutions and their staff are similar to the concept of transnational state. This notion can be used to explain the transnational structure of the EU.

Finally, the EU also utilizes a benchmarking system by developing European standards. These benchmarks provide advantages to the EU in global competition because benchmarking can serve as technical barriers in trade. As a result, it can be said that the theory of TCC has capacity to explain the contribution of the European elites to the European integration.

4.1.4. Theory of Empire

In this final part of the economic global theories, the theory of Empire will be explained. Although the name of theory refers to a political form, "Empire" in this theory is basically an economic term which explains the new form of capitalist dominance. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri developed this theory of Empire in 2000.

4.1.4.1. Basic Features of Empire Theory

The theory claims that globalization is better understood as a complex network of global political, economic, cultural process. "Empire" exercises a new kind of more decentred control that is not based on any specific nation state. Empire is a decentred, deterritorializing apparatus of rule. Empire does not have geographic or territorial boundaries. It is different from the old kind nation-state centered "imperialism". Hardt and Negri propose an empire of global capitalism. Their theory combines the ideas of Marx and Foucault (Robinson, 2007, p.131). They claim that, in the past, European type imperialism was based on nation-state sovereignty e.g. British, French or Portuguese empires. However, this kind of sovereignty has disappeared in the global era. Instead, a decentered empire has emerged as a universal order surpassing the limits and boundaries.

Throughout the contemporary transformations, political controls, state functions, and regulatory mechanisms have continued to rule the realm of economic and social production and exchange. Our basic hypothesis is that sovereignty has taken a new form, composed of a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule. This new global form of sovereignty is what we call Empire.

(Hardt and Negri, 2000. p. xii)

According to Hardt and Negri, the US has had a special role in construction of Empire. The US has also had a privileged position in Empire. This situation emerged from the history and the sovereignty structure of the US, because the US system and constitution have provided a new understanding. They have formed a political system which is based on the ordinary people instead of kings or emperors.

Power is not something that lords over us but something that we make. The American Declaration of Independence celebrates this new idea of power in the clearest terms. The emancipation of humanity from every transcendent power is grounded on the multitude's power to construct its own political institutions and constitute society...U.S. constitutional project is constructed on the model of rearticulating an open space and reinventing incessantly diverse and singular relations in networks across an unbounded terrain. The contemporary idea of Empire is born through the global expansion of the internal U.S. constitutional project. It is in fact through the extension of internal constitutional processes that we enter into a constituent process of Empire.

(Hardt and Negri, 2000. p.182)

Secondly, the idea of sovereignty in today's Empire is different from the European kind of sovereignty of old empires in Europe. According to them, the US belief of sovereignty is based on the idea of productivity. They express this view as,

The first characteristic of the U.S. notion of sovereignty is that it poses an idea of the immanence of power in opposition to the transcendent character of modern European sovereignty. This idea of immanence is based on an idea of productivity. If it were not, the principle would be impotent: in immanence alone, nothing allows society to become political. The multitude that constitutes society is productive. U.S. sovereignty does not consist, then, in the regulation of the multitude but arises, rather, as the result of the productive synergies of the multitude. The humanist revolution of the Renaissance and the subsequent experiences of sectarian Protestantism all developed this idea of productivity.

(Hardt and Negri, 2000. p.164)

Although the empire is shaped in the special conditions of the US, it is not just an American imperialism. There is no certain agent in the center of Empire. "States do not, and indeed no nation-state can today, form the center of an imperialist project. Imperialism is over. No nation will be world leader in the way modern European nations were" (Hardt and Negri, 2000. p.xiv). Robinson states the same reality as follows: "Faceless power structure is

everywhere yet centered nowhere” In the Empire, power is dispersed throughout the world. It is a decentered global dominance. Furthermore, Ritzer points out that “Empire governs the world with a single logic of rule, but there is no single power at the heart of Empire. Instead of a single source of command, power is dispersed throughout society and the globe” (Ritzer, 2011, p.47).

The global Empire is not just based on force, but it exercises a new juridical power. Empire controls the formation of norms, ethical truths and it constitutes order in this way. It determines “what is right” and “what is wrong”. Moreover, Empire wants to control everything, the whole life even the brains and bodies of people. “It seeks control of the basics of the social world (thought, action, interaction, groups), and goes even further in an effort to control people’s brains and their bodies. In a way, Empire is more ambitious than imperialism in that it seeks to control the entirety of life” (Ritzer, 2011, p.47). Empire may intervene every part of the world in the name of the humanity to solve problems and impose peace. More importantly, it can make “just wars” for civilization like intervention in Yugoslavia, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Hardt and Negri see globalization as a new phenomenon, which represents the contemporary capitalist production and global relations. They criticize neoliberal capitalist imperialism and post-modern Empire. However, they also indicate that globalization includes a utopian potential for universal freedom and equality. They state that a Counter-Empire is possible because of globalization. According to them, globalization leads to deterritorialization. Thus, deterritorialization of social revolution is possible in today’s world. The Counter-Empire can become global and oppositional groups can counterbalance Empire. They also argue that the time of proletariat is over. Instead of proletariat, “multitude” may succeed in this counterbalance tasks. Since multitude sustains Empire, they have capacity to change system as well. They explain it as,

The multitude is that collection of people throughout the world that sustains Empire in various ways, including, but not restricted to, its labour (it is the real productive force in Empire). Among other ways, it also sustains Empire by buying into the culture- ideology of consumerism and, more importantly, in actually consuming a variety of its offerings. Like capitalism and its relationship to the proletariat, Empire is a parasite on the multitude and its creativity and productivity. Like Marx’s proletariat (which all but disappears in this theory), the multitude is a force for creativity in Empire. Also like the proletariat, the multitude is capable of overthrowing Empire through the autonomous creation of a counter- Empire.

(Ritzer, 2011, p.47)

4.1.4.2. Empire Theory and the European Integration

The Theory of Empire totally focuses on the globalized Empire and its power structure. According to this theory, Empire does not have any geographical features. Therefore, the theory does not include specific ideas about the European integration. It just gives a special attention to the US to explain the emergence of the Empire and the privileged role of the US. Europe in their understandings represents an old form of dominance since its hegemony is mainly based on certain nations such as Netherlands in the 18th century and Britain in the 19th century. For that reason, it seems that the theory does not have explanatory power in the case of the European integration, even though it brings a new perspective to the area of globalization theories.

4.2. Political Theories and the European Integration

Although there are many economic, social and cultural globalization theories, interestingly there is not enough political theories for globalization. Only Americanization theory can be considered as a pure political theory. One possible reason can be that globalization is mostly perceived as an economic or social process that proceeds despite the nation-state. Transnational characteristic of globalization is clear. Many say that power of the state is diminishing. For that reason, scholars may not choose state as unit of analysis. Moreover, economic theories include political area as well, since they are in fact interested in the political economy. Therefore, in this section only Americanization Theory will be examined as a political globalization theory. Nevertheless, the globalization ideas of two mainstream international theories, realism and liberalism will be analysed to better cover the political field.

4.2.1. Americanization Theory

Among the scholars, only George Ritzer mentions Americanization as a globalization theory. Yet, he does not define it as a political theory. He gives both political and mostly economic examples. Furthermore, there is no single theory explaining globalization as Americanization. However, many ordinary people see the US in front of the globalization scene. This approach is more clear in anti-globalist, anti-Americanist movements. They tend to see American state behind all events related to globalization. That is why Americanization should be examined as political globalization theory or at least as an approach to globalization.

Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State, said “globalization is really another name for the dominant role of the United States, (Kissinger, 1999). Ritzer defines Americanization as “import by non - Americans of that which is closely associated with America / Americans” (Ritzer, 2011, p.35).

Americanization is usually perceived as an economic process. In the past, it was related to the expansion of American industry like American cars. However, nowadays it is mostly associated with the consumerism ideology. Exportation of American products and temples of consumerism like fast- food restaurants and shopping malls are the source of worries. In other words, General Motors is no longer considered as a threat but Coca-Cola, McDonald’s, Wal-Mart, and Visa have replaced them. Many scholars refer to this development by using different concepts such as “Coca-Colonization” (Kuisel, 1993), “McDonaldization” (Ritzer, 2008), “Disneyization” (Bryman, 2004), “Wal-Martization” and “Starbuckization” (Ritzer, 2008) (Ritzer, 2011, p.36). They think that the US imposes its practices all over the world.

On the other hand, other scholars state that globalization is not equal to Americanization. Joseph Nye argues that since globalization means mutual interdependency, even big states are bound to interdependency networks. Thus, contrary to conventional wisdom, globalization is not Americanization. In addition, Ritzer states that the relationship between Americanization and globalization is not straightforward. On the one side, the US drives globalization in many ways e.g. Washington consensus and cultural exports. On the other side, the US is also affected from globalization in many aspects like human rights ideas or globalized terrorist networks. Finally, Appadurai illustrates that “Most often, the homogenization argument subspecies into either an argument about Americanization, or an argument about 'commoditization', and very often the two arguments are closely linked”. However, he adds,

Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization, as Japanization may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, Russianization for the people of Soviet Armenia and the Baltic Republics. Such a list of alternative fears to Americanization could be greatly expanded, but it is not a shapeless inventory: for polities of smaller scale, there is always a fear of cultural absorption by polities of larger scale, especially those that are nearby. One man's imagined community (Anderson, 1983) is another man's political prison.

(Appadurai, 1990, p. 295)

On the other side, anti-Americanism is another important part to understand the perceptions of Americanization. Anti-Americanism has different forms like ethnic nationalism, Marxism and religious radicalism. The most important one is the religious fundamentalism. Radical Islamic groups and jihadists perceive the US as source of many problems from corrupted politicians to moral decay. Radical Islamic groups and jihadists are also globalized in the form of network structure. They fight against the US and its alliances in many parts of the world. The US intervention to Iraq and Afghanistan has increased the radical opposition to the US

Benjamin Barber, in his book *Jihad versus McWorld* in 1996, argues that Jihad is backlash against McWorld thus Jihad is at war with McWorld. He defines Jihad as the tendency toward parochial and tribal conflict and McWorld as the simultaneous drive toward global homogeneity. Parochialism objects to cosmopolitanism and commercialism. He states that Jihad fragments the world through tribalism but McWorld collects the world through economic connections. “Jihad and McWorld operate with equal strength in opposite directions, the one driven by parochial hatreds, the other by universalizing markets; the one recreating ancient subnational and ethnic borders from within, the other making national borders porous from without” (Barber, 1997, p.3). Jihad approach is not confined to the Muslim world. Campaign of the Christian Right for returning to family values is another form of the Jihad approach. Jihad can be in the form of parochialism, provincialism or religious radicalism. Furthermore, Barber remarks that both McWorld and Jihad undermine the global democracy. Privatization, consumerism, and the centrality of the market deteriorate our understandings of citizenship. Jihad, on the other hand, pursue; dogmatism, nihilism and bloody politics. Barber proposes a global democracy as a solution against Jihad and McWorld.

4.2.1.1.Americanization Theory and the European Integration

Americanization approach sees the US behind all important developments. Similarly, it views America as a basic factor behind the European integration in a negative or positive way. Effects of the US on the European integration can be examined in two opposite ways. The US may be regarded as supporter of the European integration or as a rival of the EU which motivates the member states for more integration.

To start with, at the beginning the US was the main supporter of the European integration. The US wanted to overcome the “German question” and build a strong Europe against the Soviet Union. The US played a facilitator role especially for convincing France to cooperate with Germany. “Marshall Plan and related US initiatives had a profound effect on European integration” (Dinan, 2004, p. 28). Moreover, the security guarantee of the US and NATO provided a favorable environment for the economic integration of Europe. “By guaranteeing the security of states in Western Europe and thus dampening the potentially destabilizing impact of differential economic growth and interdependence among EC states on the European order, American hegemony facilitated cooperation” (Mearsheimer, 1990). Nevertheless, although these opinions are true, it should be kept in mind that European integration continued and even accelerated after the Cold War in 1990s. This fact indicates that the European integration has also dynamics other than the US factor.

Another argument in this area could be that the EU wanted to be an autonomous actor in world politics, therefore, it speeded up the integration. This argument could be more valid in the fields of political integration, defense and foreign relations. Integration efforts in these areas started in 1960s. French president De Gaulle made efforts to constitute more autonomous Europe vis a vis the US. Especially, after the end of Cold War the EU took certain steps in this route. Furthermore, Common Foreign and Security Policy (1992) and European Security and Defence Policy (1999) were established together with the Council Presidency and High Representative posts. These policies can be interpreted as efforts of becoming an international actor apart from the US.

Finally, the cultural theories deal with the fear of American consumerism and concepts of like “Coca-Colonization” and “McDonaldization”. These issues and their relation to the European integration will be examined in depth in the part of cultural globalization theories.

4.2.2. Realist and Liberal View of Globalization

Realists adopt a septic approach vis a vis globalization. Globalization is not a new development according to them. They believe that world was more globalized at the end of the 19th century than it was at the end of 20th century. Globalization is just intensification of the existing economic interaction. “They concede that enormous explosion of short term speculative capital transfers since the collapse of Bretton Woods systems” (Burchill, 2005, s.71).

Moreover, rise of economic interdependency increases the risk of conflict rather than cooperation since it increases mutual vulnerability. States and globalization are not counter forces. On the contrary, states create globalization. Free trade, global financial markets and transnational production are formed mainly for the interests of the US and the western countries. Globalization represents the structure of international system.

States keep their main actor status. They do not lose their power. Realists cite considerable power retained by the state despite the globalization process, including monopoly control of weapons of war and legitimate use of them, and the sole right to tax its citizens (2005, s.82). Free market can smoothly work only if states establish a legal and political order. Economic crisis and terrorist attacks indicate the need for states. Moreover, international institutions like the UN, IMF and WTO are formed by states (Heywood, 2013, p. 40)

On the other hand, liberals have a more positive view on globalization issue. “Liberals point out the increasing irrelevance of national borders for the conducting and organizing economic activity. They focus on the growth of free trade, the capacity of transnational corporations (TNCs) and the liberation of capital from national and territorial constraints” (Burchill, 2005, s.71). Globalization is an inevitable process because of technological innovations and market efficiency.

In addition, they believe that globalization is a new era and it represents the victory of global free market against the irrational state borders. Fukuyama even declares the “end of history”. Markets enable the efficient use of resources and they bring advantages to societies. Increasing productivity due to competition provides benefits for those who participate in economic globalization. They believe that free trade ensures mutual benefits for all parts of the trade because of comparative advantage.

Politically, globalization leads to distribution of power and global governance due to international institutions and emergence of civil society. Mutual interdependency paves way to international cooperation and multilateralism that are better than international anarchy and power centric international system. Free trade and interdependency decrease the risk of war (Heywood, 2013, p. 40). “The state capacity to direct to national economy has been deliberately and significantly undercut by the globalization of relations of production and exchange” (Burchill, 2005, s.78).

4.2.2.1. Realist View of Globalization and The European Integration

To begin with, Realism explains international politics with the anarchy-hierarchy dichotomy. However, the EU represents a new form of politics in international politics; voluntary integration. For that reason, realism and its new form of neorealism fail to explain the European integration and the EU.

Realist express that states are the main actors and they shape the international institutions in line with their interests. Whereas, in the EU, the supranational institutions like the European Commission, the European Court of Justice and European Central Bank play an independent role in the European integration process. What is more, the EU is an autonomous actor together with the member states. The EU has its own resources and its supranational institutions have direct relationship with the European citizens, European regions and the member states. Besides, the EU plays its own role in the international area.

The EU, however, is an important actor, one that has broken the monopoly of the state in the management and governance of world affairs. The EU is the second largest party at trade negotiations, is the biggest donor at foreign aid conferences, and has acquired observer status in international organizations including a seat at the G8 conference, proving that it is more than just an arena for European politics, but also a player in its own right.

(Collard-Wexler, 2006, p.412)

Secondly, while realism argues that cooperation is extremely difficult among states because of the anarchic international environment and self-help approaches of states, the member states succeed to cooperate in the EU framework. “The project of European integration has seen some of the most extensive inter-state cooperation in the contemporary world. While neorealists argue that cooperation is difficult to establish and hard to sustain, broadly speaking, the EU has thrived and expanded over the last 50 years” (Collard-Wexler 2006, p.402). Moreover, integration occurs not only in “low politics” area of socioeconomic realm, but also in “high politics area of defense and foreign policy on the contrary of realist claim. Lastly, the EU has brought a semi-hierarchical order and it has overcome international anarchy at least in its region. “It also constitutes a fundamental systemic change, mitigating the effects of anarchy” (Collard-Wexler, 2006, p.411).

Thirdly, neorealism claims that in anarchy states prefer “balancing” rather than “bandwagoning” (Waltz, 1979, p.99). However, European states prefer bandwagoning rather than balancing of each other due to different reasons. They think that cooperation is a better

way to achieve security. In addition, weak states gain a “voice opportunity” within the EU. (Collard-Wexler 2006, p.411).

Saying that realism is totally irrelevant for explaining the EU is not true. Realism can still explain the intergovernmental dimension of the European integration. Surely, the member states pursue their own national interests and they negotiate with each other to realize those interests. Nevertheless, the EU continues to represent a problem for realist theory in many ways,

Indeed, the depth and breadth of inter-state integration, the central role played by the institutions of the EU in promoting and sustaining cooperation, the asymmetric payoffs of cooperation, the bandwagoning behavior of states within the EU and Eastern Europe, and the pacifying effects of functional interdependence all question neorealist predictions about state behavior. At a systemic level, anarchy in Western Europe has been mitigated by such institutions as the European Central Bank, the European Court of Justice, and the European Commission, and the use of qualified majority voting. The EU area has thus become an unusual hybrid between anarchy and hierarchy, with functional differentiation between actors at the national and supranational level. Equally troubling for neorealism, the EU has broken the monopoly of the state in the management of international affairs.

(Collard-Wexler, 2006, p.427)

4.2.2.2.Liberal View of Globalization and The European Integration

Liberalism has more theoretical capacity than Realism to explain the European integration. Firstly, although liberals accept the importance of the state and the anarchical condition of international system, they say that international cooperation is possible among states and they put emphasis on the role of international institutions to realize cooperation. “Liberals believe that cooperation between states can and should be organized and formalized through institutions” (Burchill, 2005, s.59). Similarly, in the EU the member states cooperate with each other. The EU institutions like Council of Ministers, the European Council and the Commission provide a useful basis for the cooperation. Besides, the EU plays a crucial role in the European integration as liberals claim that international law has capacity to strengthen international cooperation.

Moreover, liberalism emphasizes the role of free trade to soften the relationship between states. According to them, free trade creates interdependency among states and it pacifies the international relations, decreases the risk of war and increases the possibility of cooperation. “The “disease” of war could be successfully treated with the twin medicines of democracy and free trade” (Burchill, 2005, s.59). Likewise, European states overcome the risk

of third war in Europe after the two world wars by creating a common market and free flows of means of production. European integration has softened the relationship between two former enemies, France and Germany.

Furthermore, liberals underline the irrelevance of borders and cross border market structure. The EU has removed the economic, political and technical barriers in front of the economic interaction. It has also removed the border controls in Schengen area and allowed people to interact freely. The Schengen Area, the Custom Union and the Common Market represent a borderless Europe. What is more, The EU provides mutual benefits to member states due to the efficiency and productivity of common free market and removing tariff and non-tariff barriers, like liberals have proposed before.

On the other side, liberalism may not explain the actions of member states against the global market and the social dimension of the European integration. The European integration is an effort to protect member countries from negative effects of globalization. Since globalization damage the state capacity to direct the national economy, the member states have come together and formed a new kind of “pooled sovereignty” to regain their power over market forces. The EU also implements social policies to deal with the adverse effects of global market structure and embraces the notion of social globalization.

4.3. Social Theories and the European Integration

Social globalization theories focus on the social dimension of the globalization rather than its economic aspects. Those theories were mostly developed by sociologists such as Anthony Giddens and Manual Castells. They study globalization in terms of human interaction. Some of them illustrate the intensification of human interaction, while the others explain how the human interaction overcomes time or space constraints. This section will start with the network society theory.

4.3.1. Network Society Theory

Although some other scholars also mentioned the rise of networks, Manual Castells developed the network society theory as a comprehensive globalization theory. He perceives globalization as a network society. He explains his ideas in his trilogy of *The Information Age* notably in the first book of *The Rise of Network Society*. He emphasizes the network structure

of human interaction in his books. However, Castells also explains economic and political dimensions of the globalization. He argues that the network structure is also valid in economic and political spheres in the form of “network economy” and “network state”

4.3.1.1. Basic Features of Network Society

“The network society, in the simplest terms, is a social structure based on networks operated by information and communication technologies based in microelectronics and digital computer networks that generate, process, and distribute information on the basis of the knowledge accumulated in the nodes of the networks” (Castells, 2005, p.7). Network society has a structure like cobweb. Formation of network society started with 1970s. “Our world has been in a process of structural transformation for over two decades”...that took shape in the 1970s and diffused unevenly around the world” (Castells, 2005, p.3). At the end of the 20th century, economic, social and technological transformations created network society as a new form. Networks could be information networks for knowledge, global financial flow networks of capital, stock exchange markets, television systems or mobile phones.

In network society, nodes of networks are crucial. “A network is a set of interconnected nodes. A node is the point at which a curve intersects itself. What a node is, concretely speaking depends on the kind of concrete networks of which we speak” (Castells, 2010, p.501). Networks spread by adding new nodes. Network society connects different parts of the world and nodes control the flows in the networks. There are many networks in the network society system and each of them has its own nodes. Moreover, “networks are open structures that evolve by adding or removing nodes according to the changing requirements” (Castells, 2005, p.7). For that reason, network based social systems are highly dynamic structures. If nodes of different networks overlap in certain places, these places have more power in controlling networks. Global cities such as New York, London and Tokyo are examples of such multimodal places.

Technological developments have important roles in Castells’ explanations. He argues that communication technologies, especially the digital information technologies such as computers and internet, have dramatically transformed the human interaction and economy. He states that, “This process is multidimensional, but it is associated with the emergence of a new technological paradigm, based on information and communication technologies” (2005,

p.7). These technologies have created a new information age. Robinson defines the network society as “technological approach to globalization”. (Robinson, 2007). Castells underlines the significant role of information technology in the globalization process. Nevertheless, Castells is aware of the fact that technology is not a sole actor that shapes the human being. On the contrary, human being determines the technology and uses it for his/her needs. Technology is necessary for him but it is not sufficient to form a new kind of social organization in other words the network society. Castells expresses that,

Our world has been in a process of structural transformation for over two decades. This process is multidimensional, but it is associated with the emergence of a new technological paradigm, based in information and communication technologies, that took shape in the 1970s and diffused unevenly around the world. We know that technology does not determine society: it is society. Society shapes technology according to the needs, values, and interests of people who use the technology.

(Castells, 2005, p.3)

According to Castells, technology is also significant in terms of culture because technology set the framework of human interaction and then form of interaction determines the human culture. Robinson states that, “This interaction takes place along multiple points in a global network, fundamentally changing the character of communications. In turn, ‘communication decisively shapes culture because we do not see reality as it “is” but as our languages are” (Robinson, 2007, p.133). In the end, human culture shapes the economic, social and political spheres of societies. For instance, the network structure of the modern information technology such as World Wide Web and social media determines our communication styles. Moreover, the information technology has a key position in the network economy. The capitalist economy benefits from the technological advances notably from the information revolution and creates an information economy. “The other was capitalist retooling using the power of this technology and ushering in a new system of ‘information capitalism’, what Castells and others have alternatively referred to as the ‘new economy’ (Robinson, 2007, p.132).

Communication technology and new communication systems have significant roles in the network society. The communication systems have become more digitized, and more interactive. “Digital communication networks are the backbone of the network society” (Castells, 2005, p.4). Since communication technologies have intensified and diversified in the recent decades, the traditional mass media system has transformed into fragmented multimedia system. Wireless communication, interactive computer and video games and mobile phones have become widespread in many countries. Moreover, new forms of mass

communication have emerged including, twitter, facebook, youtube and so on. These communication means have become popular especially among young users. Castells calls this new phenomenon as “self-directed mass communication”.

Castells states that form of social interaction has changed in the network society. The new media has transformed the character of social interaction. Modern social interaction is mostly illustrated as isolated people, in particular younger people, in front of computers or smart phones. Castells, on the contrary, argues that the network society is a “hypersocial society” rather than an isolated society.

Yet, what we observe is not the fading away of face to-face interaction or the increasing isolation of people in front of their computers. We know, from studies in different societies, that in most instances Internet users are more social, have more friends and contacts, and are more socially and politically active than non-users. Moreover, the more they use the Internet, the more they also engage in face-to-face interaction in all domains of their lives. ...The network society is a hypersocial society, not a society of isolation.

(Castells, 2005, p.11)

Social interaction takes places among multiple global networks. Various modes of communication are integrated with each other at global level. According to Castells, new communication systems are more suitable for individuals.

However, there is a major change in sociability, not a consequence of Internet or new communication technologies, but a change that is fully supported by the logic embedded in the communication networks. This is the emergence of networked individualism, as social structure and historical evolution induce the emergence of individualism as the dominant culture of our societies, and the new communication technologies perfectly fit into the mode of building sociability along self-selected communication networks, on or off depending on the needs and moods of each individual. So, the network society is a society of networked individuals.

(Castells, 2005, p.12)

Castells argues that the network logic has also determined the economic activities and has created a network economy. The network economy is mainly based on production, distribution and management networks. For instance, big TNCs create their networks in a decentralized way. Many production companies from different parts of the world become the parts of production networks of TNCs in the forms of subcontractors and providers. In global cities, local companies, which provide their expertness in certain areas such as law and tax, also join the economic networks of big companies. According to Robinson,

This new economy is: (1) informational, knowledge-based; (2) global, in that production is organized on a global scale; and (3) networked, in that productivity is generated through global

networks of interaction. Castells' definition of the global economy is an 'economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time, or to choose time, on a planetary scale', and involving global financial markets, the globalization of trade, the spread of international production networks, and the selective globalization of science and technology. A key institution of this new economy is the 'networked enterprise', which Castells sees as the vanguard of a more general form of social organization, the network society itself.

(Robinson, 2007, p.132)

However, Castells indicates that the network society does not mean end of capitalism. On the contrary, network structure supplies a suitable environment for the capitalist economy. It provides innovations, flexibility, adaptability and decentralized concentration for capitalist economy. The important features of network society such as technology and information also provide capitalism with more profit opportunities. Capitalist economy adapts itself to the network structure. Castells calls this as "networked capitalism". For instance, modern banking system of capitalist economy has a network structure and finance capital utilizes this network structure. Capital can easily be invested transnationally through globally interconnected complex financial system by using electronic transactions all over the world. Castells illustrates this in the way below,

However, this evolution toward networking forms of management and production does not imply the demise of capitalism. The network society, in its various institutional expressions, is, for the time being, a capitalist society. Furthermore, for the first time in history, the capitalist mode of production shapes social relationships over the entire planet. But this brand of capitalism is profoundly different from its historical predecessors. It has two fundamental distinctive features: it is global, and it is structured to a large extent around a network of financial flows.

(Castells, 2010, p.502)

Castells specifies that in the network society labour has gained new specialities because of economic and social transformations. Labour has gained more skills and higher educational level. "Transformation of labour, with the growth of highly educated, autonomous labour that is able to innovate and adapt to a constantly changing global and local economy" (Castells, 2005, p.8). However, labour remains local comparing to global capital. Labour "loses its collective identity, becomes increasingly individualized in its capacities, in its working conditions, and in its interests and projects (Castells, 2010, p.506). Labour has gained the ability of autonomous working. Workers more easily become parts of economic networks in the new society. Castells conceptualizes this situation as "self-programmable labour". Furthermore, feminization of labour because of urbanization and increasing service sector is another significant development in the globalized network society. "We have evolved from "the organization man" to the "flexible woman" (Castells, 2005, p.9). Lastly, in

the global world people have increasingly migrated to societies where they have job opportunities. Immigrants have also formed their own transnational networks. Migration has led to multiethnicity and multiculturalism in societies. Castells explains it as,

In fact, immigration is increasing, in spite of the rise of unemployment and heightened border controls, because the uneven development of an interdependent world and the networks of connectivity between societies (including the Internet) offer greater possibilities for the expansion of "transnationalism from below" in the terminology of some analysts of the new immigration.

(Castells, 2010, p. xxiii)

Castells argues that there has been a transition from traditional nation state to the network state. In the network state, power means controlling the networks. Since flows are important in the network systems such as financial flow in the financial networks and information flow in communication networks, controlling flows in the network is crucial. For that reason, "switching the network" is the main source of power. "Thus, the switchers are power-holders. Since networks are multiple, the inter-operating codes and switches between networks become the fundamental sources in shaping, guiding, and misguiding societies" (Castells, 2010, p.501). Moreover, in the network society, politics takes place around political leaders, since media in particular television is based on images and a person is the simplest image for the media. In the network state, there is a decentralization process and governance takes place in network of political institutions.

Furthermore, to connect the global and the local, nation-states have asserted or fostered a process of decentralization that reaches out to regional and local governments, and even to NGOs, often associated to political management. Thus, the actual system of governance in our world is not centered around the nation-state, although nation states are not disappearing by any means. Governance is operated in a network of political institutions that shares sovereignty in various degrees and reconfigures itself in a variable geopolitical geometry. This is what I have conceptualized as the network state. It is not the result of technological change, but the response to the structural contradiction between a global system and a national state.

(Castells, 2005, p.15)

The theory of network society perceives globalization and network society as the same issue. "So, what we call globalization is another way to refer to the network society" (Castells, 2005, p.5). Economic, social and technological networks connect the entire world in the form of meta-network. Local and global are connected in this structure. "Networks have become predominant organizational form of every domain of human activity. Globalization has intensified and diversified." (Castells, 2010, p.xiiv). Although globalization has diffused all over the world, it has not comprised all people yet because people need at least certain

infrastructures and devices such as internet and computers to join the network systems “Global networks included some people while excluding others, so inducing a geography of social, economic and technological inequality” (Castells, 1996, p. xviii).

4.3.1.2. Network Society Theory and the European Integration

Contrary to many other globalization theories, the network society theory has some explanation about the European integration. Castells many times gives the EU example to explain his theory. It seems that for Castells the EU is a model of the new network society. What is more, the theory of network society has capacity to explain the European integration to a certain extent.

To begin with, the EU is a network of nation states according to the definition of the theory. Castells’ following explanation of network state is valid for the EU politics as well “to connect the global and the local, nation-states have asserted or fostered a process of decentralization that reaches out to regional and local governments, and even to NGOs, often associated to political management” (Castells, 2005, p.15). The network system provides an appropriate way of integration for the European integration. Because in that system nation states do not have to abandon their national sovereignty and its indicators like flag or national anthems. Indeed, Castells himself highlights the EU as most significant examples of the network structure of nation state. He expresses that

...since global governance of some sort is a functional need, nation-states are finding ways to co-manage the global processes that affect most of the issues related to their governing practice. To do so, they increasingly share sovereignty while still proudly branding their flags. They form networks of nation-states, the most integrated and significant of which is the European Union.

(Castells, 2005, p.15)

Sharing sovereignty in the EU while keeping national states is the way of member states to manage negative effects of globalization. This system allows member states to come together by overcoming their national considerations. The EU has a decentralized power structure like the network state. The supranational institutions, the member states, regional and local authorities share the diversified power in the EU structure. This power sharing is guaranteed with the treaties. Power sharing is best exemplified with the subsidiarity principle. The name of network state or power sharing in the EU jargon is “competence sharing”. EU’s official web site defines competence sharing as,

These competences are defined in Articles 2-6 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU). There are 4 types of competences:

- exclusive (Article 3 TFEU) only the EU can act in these areas e.g. customs union & trade policy;
- shared between the EU and EU countries (Article 4 TFEU). EU countries can act only if the EU has chosen not to, e.g. cohesion policy, energy & environment. EU countries may ask the Commission to repeal an adopted legislative act in one of the shared areas so as to better ensure compliance with the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality (Declaration No 18 annexed to the Treaty of Lisbon);
- EU sets up arrangements within which EU countries must coordinate policy (Article 5 TFEU) e.g. economic policy;
- EU can support, coordinate or supplement EU countries' actions (Article 6 TFEU) e.g. culture & tourism.

(Eur-lex.europa.eu, 2016)

The power sharing and network structure can be seen in the distribution of the EU institutions. Although many EU institutions are placed in Brussels, other EU institutions are distributed to other cities such as ECJ in Luxembourg, EP in Strasbourg and Brussels, ECB in Frankfurt. Moreover, special EU agencies are also distributed to the different EU countries, such as European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC) in Stockholm European Environment Agency (EEA) in Copenhagen, European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) in Parma, European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) in Lisbon, European Medicines Agency (EMA) in London, European Police Office (EUROPOL) in Hague. This structure is similar to the network structure and its nodes. Furthermore, Castells sees the Council of Ministers and the European Commissioners as network structures. He states that,

A network is a set of interconnected nodes. A node is the point at which a curve intersects itself. What a node is, concretely speaking, depends on the kind of concrete networks of which we speak. They are stock exchange markets, and their ancillary advanced services centers, in the network of global financial flows. They are national councils of ministers and European Commissioners in the political network that governs the European Union.

(Castells, 2010, p.501)

Besides, emphasis on the “open structure” of the network society and its “node” concept provide an explanatory tool for the EU enlargement process. The EU enlargements is an open structure rather than being a closed system. The enlargement has reached from 6 to 28 member states in nearly sixty years. The new countries have continuously connecting to a EU by forming new nodes, like connecting a network structure. To exemplify, when the UK has joined the EU, it has formed an Anglo-Saxon node connected countries which have close relationship with the UK to the EU.

As mentioned above, the theory of network society perceives no contradiction between the network society and capitalism. Even network society provides certain opportunities and capitalism utilizes these advantages. It seems that this explanation fits the EU reality. Similarly, the EU is a network of states, but this structure is compatible with the capitalist economic model. The EU, before anything else, is a common free market. It provides economy of scale which are necessary for the capitalist production in Europe. Moreover, the EU realizes the importance of technology and its role in the network economy. The EU wants to adapt itself to network economy. Castells, for example, gives the example of Lisbon Agenda, but he says that the EU should do more,

To introduce technology per se does not ensure productivity, innovation, or greater human development. Thus, when in 2000 the European Union approved a strategy known as the Lisbon Agenda to catch up with the United States in economic competitiveness, while strengthening the European social model, much of the emphasis was placed on technological upgrading and enhancement of research capabilities. The European technological infrastructure improved considerably, but effects on productivity, on learning, on creativity, and on entrepreneurialism, were very limited

(Castells, 2005, p.16)

In conclusion, it can be said that the network structure of globalization has facilitated the EU integration, since it has provided a decentralized way of power sharing method. The Member states have been able to proceed in the integration way without giving up their nation states. Moreover, network structure has ensured a suitable way for the EU enlargement. The new member states have been incorporated to the EU like a new node in the network. Finally, globalization means network society according to the network society theory. According to this logic, the EU is one of the most globalized region, since it is the most integrated network of states in the world. Therefore, the EU creates globalization by forming network structures as well.

4.3.2. Theories of Time and Space

In fact, there is no single theory of time and space to explain the globalization process. Instead, scholars put emphasis on the transformation of time and space perceptions, since it is significant to understand globalization phenomenon and its difference from the past. Scholars such as Anthony Giddens, David Harvey, Saskia Sassen, Manuel Castells, and Roland Robertson indicate that time and space understandings of human being have dramatically changed under the pressure of globalization. Particularly, technological developments have

allowed humanity to overcome time and space limits. Scholars call this reality differently. Giddens, for instance, names as “time-space distancing, while Robertson calls it “time-space compression”. Castells also explains it as “transformation of time and space”. In this part, time and space perceptions in globalization process will be explained.

4.3.2.1. Transformation of Time and Space

Human interaction achieved to surpass the constraints of time and space to large extent in the 20th century. Advancements in transportation and communication accelerated this process. Especially in 1980s and 1990s, internet and computer technologies abolished the limits of time and place before the new internet communication. “Electronic space” has emerged as a new form of space. People are easily reaching distant localities and communicated instantly. Therefore, in the beginning of the 1990s, possibly under the impact of new communication technologies scholars developed the time-space concept to explain this transformation.

Giddens argues that in pre-modern societies people were calculating the time, but time was connected with the space. Local place and the daily life structure determined by time. He illustrates this situation as,

All pre-modern cultures possessed modes of the calculation of time. The calendar, for example, was as distinctive a feature of agrarian states as the invention of writing. But the time reckoning which formed the basis of day-to-day life, certainly for the majority of the population, always linked time with place-and was usually imprecise and variable. No one could tell the time of day without reference to other socio-spatial markers: "when" was almost universally either connected with "where" or identified by regular natural occurrences.

(Giddens,1990, p.17)

However, in modern societies time and space are separated from each other. Human interaction overcomes the limits and distances by reorganizing them. Local incidents may affect the distant parts of the world or local can be affected from the developments which occur in other parts of the planet. Giddens strongly emphasizes the notion of time-space distancing. In his globalization definition this concept has a central role. He gives example of writing to explain this reality. “Writing expands the level of time-space distancing and creates a perspective of past, present, and future in which the reflexive appropriation of knowledge can be set off from designated tradition (Giddens, 1991, p.37). Harvey indicates the idea of Giddens as “Giddens argues that, in a general way, the concept of globalization is

best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distancing” (Harvey, 1995, p.2) Robinson also explains it in this way,

For Anthony Giddens, the conceptual essence of globalization is ‘time-space distancing’. Echoing a common denominator in much, if not all, globalization theories, Giddens defines time-space distancing as ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’ – social relations are ‘lifted out’ from local contexts of interaction and restructured across time and space.

(Robinson, 2007, p.134)

Moreover, Harvey states that modern capitalism creates a new wave of time-space compression. He states that, “We have been experiencing, these last two decades, an intense phase of time-space compression that has had a disorienting and disruptive impact upon political-economic practices, the balance of class power, as well as upon cultural and social life. (Harvey, 1991, p.17). He argues that, capitalism undergoes a cyclical crisis due to its nature and each time it overcomes its cyclical crisis by reorganizing time and space relationship. For instance, in 1970s when capitalist economy underwent a world economic crisis and accumulation of capital was in danger, capitalism compressed the space of production and constituted new form of worldwide market. It also altered the time with the help of communication technologies and created more compressed time in which finance capital could easily circulate in minutes without having obstacles. Robinson explains Harvey’s’ approach in this way,

David Harvey, in his now-classic 1990 study *The Condition of Postmodernity*, argues that globalization represents a new burst of ‘time-space compression’ produced by the very dynamics of capitalist development. While Harvey’s concept is similar to that of Giddens, the former’s involves a normative critique of the global capitalist order and its restructuring whereas the latter would seem to be almost celebratory. What Harvey means by time-space compression is the process whereby time is reorganized in such a way as to reduce the constraints of space, and vice-versa.

(Robinson, 2007, p.134)

Similarly, Robertson defines the same phenomenon as “compression of the world as whole”, and “shrinking of the world” (Robertson, 1992).

Sassen brings a new approach to restructuring of space in the globalization process. She proposes that a new spatial order is based on a network of global cities and led by New York, London and Tokyo is emerging under globalization. These global cities are central for the global economy since they provide specialized services for TNCs. Two simultaneous but contradictory processes work in global economy. Capitalist production system increasingly

spreads to the entire world, Yet, control system of this decentralized economy progressively becomes centralized. Economic activities concentrate more and more on global city regions and free zones. “This global economy has involved the global decentralization of production simultaneous to the centralization of command and control of the global production system within global cities.” (Robinson, 2007, p.134). Global cities are control centers of the globally dispersed production system. They are the command controls of the global economy. According to Robinson Sassen defines four key functions of the global cities,

(1) they are highly concentrated command posts in the organization of the world economy; (2) they are key locations for finances and for specialized service firms providing ‘producer services’, which are professional and corporate services inputs for the leading global firms such as finances, insurance, real estate, accounting, advertising, engineering and architectural design; (3) they are sites for the production and innovation of these producer services and also headquarters for producer-service firms; (4) they are markets for the products and innovations produced and in these cities. Sassen documents how New York, London and Tokyo as the quintessential global cities have restructured from manufacturing centers to producer service centres, and how producer service activities become ‘networked’ across global cities.

(Robinson, 2007, p.134)

Global cities are the headquarters of big TNCs. In global cities, expert firms provide highly specialized services such as accounting, finance, insurance, telecommunication, advertising and public relations, for TNCs, since they widely use the outsourcing method. For that reason, global cities have “growing number of high level professionals” and “highly specialized and networked service sector”. These global cities are parts of global economic network. They are more responsive to global demands rather than broader hinterland and national economies. Sassen names it as “denationalization of urban space” Global cities mostly concentrate on developed world and global North. Nevertheless, global cities are important for the transnational labour and transnational communities. (Sassen, 2005). Sassen summarizes her ideas as follows:

The concept of the global city brings a strong emphasis on the networked economy because of the nature of the industries that tend to be located there: finance and specialized services, the new multimedia sectors, and telecommunications services. These industries are characterized by cross-border networks and specialized divisions of functions among cities rather than international competition per se. In the case of global finance and the leading specialized services catering to global firms and markets—law, accounting, credit rating, telecommunications—it is clear that we are dealing with a cross-border system, one that is embedded in a series of cities, each possibly part of a different country. It is a de-facto global system.

(Sassen, 1996)

Global cities transform the space in some respects. Firstly, “they create a space economy that extends beyond the regulatory capacity of a single state” (Sassen, 1996, p.4). Secondly, “Global cities utilizes a new space, “electronic space”. Growing number of economic activities taking place in electronic space. “Electronic space overrides all existing territorial jurisdiction” (1996, p.2). Moreover, offshoring creates a space economy that goes beyond the regulatory umbrella of the state (1996, p.3).

4.3.2.2. Time-Space Theories and the European Integration

Since theories on the transformation of time and space do not comprise the other dimensions of globalization, it is not realistic to expect comprehensive explanations from these theories for the globalization and the European integration. Nevertheless, it is possible to evaluate time–space theories to find their implications on the European integration. Such an effort may provide us with different perspectives and enable us to perceive the European integration from varied viewpoints.

From this perspective, the EU integration, in fact, is a project of reorganizing the space. Traditional Westphalian nation state has its own territory that has defined borders. Space is an important symbol for state sovereignty. However, classical space or country perception has changed in the EU. Firstly, space perception has expanded from national borders to European borders. European citizens may comprehend whole Europe as their own spaces. At least a dual perception is valid in Europe. Many people feel that they belong to European space together with the national space. Secondly, because of common market in the EU, a European wide market and economy of scale have been founded in Europe. Producers consider the whole European market when they make their economic decisions. They have to take the EU law and decision of EU institutions into consideration as well. Thirdly, in Schengen Area borders have been abolished and a European space has really established in Europe.

Overall, time-space explanations of globalization scholars fit the European integration structure. The EU especially reorganizes space like in the globalization process to form a European wide new space. In this sense, the EU contributes to globalization by overcoming traditional time-space limits through reforming them.

4.3.3. Theories of Transnationalism

Transnational interaction among people and formation of transnational communities are significant in the globalization process. Rise of new transnational communities cannot be explained in the context of nation states. Globalization creates intensified interaction and multiple ties such as social, economic, political and cultural among distant communities across the borders of nation states. Globalization forms transnational social space and facilitates spreads of transnational practices. Communication and transportation technologies have significant roles in formation of transnational communities. Migrant communities are the most important transnational community, yet other new types of transnational communities have emerged during the globalization process.

4.3.3.1. Transnational Communities

Migrant communities exemplify transnational communities in a better way. Alejandro Portes quotes the transnationalism definition of a group of social anthropologists interested in migration as follows: “We define “transnationalism” as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994: 6 (as cited in Portes, 2003, p. 4)). Ulrich Beck emphasizes the transnational social connections such as transnational business relationships, relatives and friends in different countries and inter-marriage between national groups (Beck, 1997).

Although migration is an old reality, it has some new characteristic specific to the globalized world. “Transnational ties among recent immigrants are more intense than those of their historical counterparts due to the speed and relatively inexpensive character of travel and communications and that the impact of these ties is increased by the global and national context in which they occur” (Levitt, 2001). “Second, communications and transportation technologies were such as to make it prohibitive for turn-of-the-century immigrants to make a living out of bridging the cultural gap between countries of origin and destination or lead simultaneous lives in both” (Portes, 1997, p.17). In globalization process, traditional migration has changed into transnational migration and transnational communities have emerged in this period. Stephen Castles explains the importance of globalization for migration as follows,

Globalization generates the cultural capital and technical means needed for migration. Globalization essentially means flows across borders: flows of capital, commodities, ideas and people. States welcome the first two types, but are suspicious of the others. The mobility of people is regulated and differentiated. Developed countries compete to attract highly trained managers and specialists, such as Indian IT professionals, or African and Asian medical personnel for the British National Health Service. The demand for unskilled workers in agricultural, construction, industry and services is also high, but many states fail to recognize this, so that workers have to move through illegal channels. Globalization also creates strong cultural pressures for mobility. Global media project idealized images of First World life-styles into the poorest villages. Electronic communications facilitate the dissemination of knowledge of migration routes and work opportunities. Long-distance travel has become cheaper and more accessible.

(Castles, 2004, p.211)

According to Castles, attitudes of host countries to migrants have changed. Multiculturalism has become more widespread than assimilation policies. “Until the 1960s, most migrants were treated either as permanent settlers, who were to be assimilated, or as temporary sojourners, who were to be kept separate from the host population through special legal regimes.” However, after 1970s, multiculturalism has arisen as a new approach along with the assimilation and temporary sojourners policies (Castles, 2004, p.211). Another important point in migration is feminization of migration. Urbanization in global North has generated a growing demand for low-wage domestic work like care-giving work in developed countries. This demand has led to a flow of women labour from poor countries to relatedly developed countries. “Studies of transnationalism have emphasized the gendered nature of transnational communities, changing gender patterns in transnational migration, and the impact of globalization and transnationalism on the family” (Robinson, 2007, p.136).

Globalization has a crucial role in migration and creation of transnational communities. On the other hand, transnational communities also strengthen globalization and contribute to shaping it. Transnational links, activities and spaces have effect on globalization. Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof even view transnational communities as “the most significant form of community in the future”. Although migration is the main type of transnational communities, the concept of transnationalism has proceeded beyond immigration issue.

Transnational social spaces can extend into other spaces, including spaces of transnational sexuality, musical and youth subcultures, journalism, as well as a multitude of other identities, ranging from those based on gender to those based on race, religion or ethnicity. They also

involve communities constructed by members of professional and non-governmental associations.

(Kennedy and Roudometof, 2002)

4.3.3.2. Theories of Transnationalism and the European Integration

According to the explanations of transnationalism theory, the EU is a transnational community. Robinson defines transnationalism as follows,

“transnationality refers to the rise of new communities and the formation of new social identities and relations that cannot be defined through the traditional reference point of nation-states. Transnationalism closely associated, denotes a range of social, cultural and political practices and states brought about by the sheer increase in social connectivity across borders.”

(Robinson, 2007, p.136)

Robinson’s definition is also similar to EU structure. The EU has formed a new European community and a new European social identity across the national borders of European states. Using the names of “European Economic Community” and “European Communities” indicates this “community” reality. The EU has produced transnational social connectivity among member states. The supranational EU institutions also show the transnational characteristics of the EU. Moreover, free flows of labour in the common market and borderless Schengen area have created new transnational groups and communities in Europe since they have facilitated free movements and settlements of people in different European countries.

Transnational structure of the European integration is a crosscutting issue with the globalization process. The EU can be evaluated as the oldest and most integrated transnational community in the globalized world. In that sense, the EU is a driving force for the globalization process. The EU contributes to the increase of transnational communities, and thus, globalization by both producing an important transnational community and being an example for other transnational communities.

As mentioned in the European integration part, migration has created transnational immigrant communities in Europe. Many core member states such as Germany, France and the UK have transnational migrant communities mainly from their ex-colonies. The migratory pressure has increased in Europe since the 1990s. Today, multiculturalism discussion in

Europe vis a vis migrant communities is another similarity with the globalization. This discussion has capacity to affect multiculturalism discussions in global world.

In general, social globalization theories focus on the social interaction among different societies. They try to explain the structure of social integration. The network society theory puts emphasis on the network structure of the interaction. It argues that network structure dominates the social, economic and political spheres of globalization. Theories interested in the transition of time and space in globalization process argue that contrary to the past there are a “time-space compression” and “time-space distancing” in today’s world. Finally, some other scholars indicate that new kinds of transnational communities have emerged in globalized world out of the traditional nation state framework.

4.4. Cultural Theories and the European Integration

Cultural globalization theories deal with the cultural impacts of globalization. Discussion turns around two main subjects; emergence of world polity and homogenization effect of globalization. Related to world polity, scholars state that penetration of world culture or modernity into the entire world has created a world polity. With relation to homogenization, some scholars emphasize that globalization has created a uniform world culture and deteriorated cultural diversity. However, other scholars underline the heterogenization effect of globalization and claim that globalization has also created hybrid structures when it has interacted local cultures.

4.4.1. Universalization of Modernity/World Culture Theory

Meyer and Giddens are prominent scholars in this area. They perceive globalization as spread of universal or rational values, which have western orientation. Meyer claims that world culture as a universally applicable model has expanded all over the world and it has created a world society. Giddens, on the other hand, defines these universal values as modernity and he defines globalization as universalization of modernity.

4.4.1.1. Universalization of World Culture

To begin with, Meyer perceives globalization as “penetration of universalized culture” and defines it as follows, “Globalization is the growth and enactment of world culture. Since at least the middle of the nineteenth century, a rationalized world institutional and cultural

order has crystallized that consists of universally applicable models that shape states, organizations, and individual identities” (Meyer et al., 1997). He argues that, globalization has created a world polity system. (Meyer, 1980, 111-2). Boli and Thomas also define this system as “the system is constituted by a set of rules, also called frames or models. Actors in the system are "entities constructed and motivated by enveloping frames" (Boli and Thomas 1997: 172).

Meyer’s explanation on history of world culture is similar to Wallerstein’s view on history of world system. Meyer argues that world culture developed in Europe. It was based on enlightened universalism in science and philosophy, rational structure of Medieval Christendom and Westphalian state system. Then it was elaborated in 19th century and created universally valid ideas and structures such as individual rights, freedom and equality. After WW2, the world culture spread to the entire world through numerous international organizations. By the end of the 20th century, the world culture created a world society. It has not been European culture anymore, instead it turned into a global heritage.

Meyer’s world polity model takes the sovereign nation states as key actors. States represent the rational features of world culture. “In world culture the nation states defined a fundamental and strongly legitimated unit of action. Because world culture is highly rationalized and universalistic, nation-states form as rationalized actors” (Meyer et al., 1997, p.153). Nation states claim that they have all the features of rational actorhood such as sovereign authority, self-determination, social justice, protection of individual rights and law based-control systems. Nation states together with the international governmental organizations like UN are the main actors in expansion of world culture and formation of world society. However, the world society, which has been created by the world culture, is a stateless world society, no single authority can control the world culture. It has spread everywhere, because it has provided an effective, rational model for all societies. For instance, democracy has expanded to many parts of world because it represents the rational, efficient and beneficial method for political governance.

In Meyer’s view, the other important actors are International Non-governmental organizations (INGOs). They have significant roles in spreading the world culture. Because “international nongovernmental organizations represent, carry out, and elaborate global principles. They are "built on world-cultural principles of universalism, individualism, rational voluntary authority, progress, and world citizenship" (Boli and Thomas 1997, p.187).

INGO's are important driving forces for globalization. "In mobilizing around and elaborating world-cultural principles, INGOs lobby, criticize, and convince states to act on those principles" (Boli and Thomas, p.187).

According to Meyer, the world culture exerts pressure toward isomorphism. "Institutionalization of world models leads to structural similarity, thus, nation states adopt similar constitutional forms, public educational systems, policies on women's right and the environment, etc." (Meyer et al., 1997, p.153). The world culture creates the same structures in different societies since it provides a universally applicable model. "Institutionalization of world models leads to structural similarity. Thus, nation-states adopt similar constitutional forms, public educational systems, policies on women's rights and the environment, etc." (Meyer et al., 1997, p.153). Meyer gives the newly discovered island society example. He asks that if a new society, which has not any connection to modern world, is discovered in a remote island what will happen. He claims that this society begins to adapt our rational institutions. It will adapt our school system, our political institutions and our economic institutions like banking and insurance systems.

Meyer argues that changes take place because of conflicts within the world culture. "The dynamism that is generated by the rampant inconsistencies and conflicts within world culture itself, ... contradictions inherent in widely varied cultural goods: equality versus liberty, progress versus justice," (Meyer et al., 1997, p.172). Different ways to resolve those tensions lead to different variants of world-cultural models.

4.4.1.2. Universalization of Modernity

Giddens, on the other hand, perceives globalization as universalization of modernity. He emphasizes the spread of modern values and institutions across the globe. To exemplify, nation state, capitalist mode of production, industrialization and urbanization have become way of life almost in the entire world. Robertson explains Giddens' approach in this way,

For Giddens, who advances a similar construct, this universalization of modernity is central to the very concept of globalization. This process involves the universalization of the nation-state as the political form, the universalization of the capitalist system of commodity production, a Foucaultian surveillance by the modern state, and the centralization of control of the means of violence within an industrialized military order. Here Giddens views globalization, defined earlier as 'time-space distanciation', as the outcome of the completion of modernization – he

terms it 'late modernity' – on the basis of the nation-state as the universal political form organized along the four axes of capitalism, industrialism, surveillance and military power.

(Robertson, 138, p.138)

Yet, what is modernity? Giddens also defines modernity as “mode of life”. He says that "modernity refers to modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence” (Giddens, 1991, p.1). He underlines the decline of feudalism and agrarian mode of production to explain emergence of modernity like other scholars. According to him production for the market and commodification of material goods and labour are the main aspects of modern life. Giddens identifies three important features that differentiate modern social institutions from the traditional social orders.

One is the sheer *pace of change* which the era of modernity sets into motion. Traditional civilizations may have been considerably more dynamic than other pre-modern systems, but the rapidity of change in conditions of modernity is extreme. If this is perhaps most obvious in respect of technology, it also pervades all other spheres. A second discontinuity is the *scope of change*. As different areas of the globe are drawn into interconnection with one another, waves of social transformation crash across virtually the whole of the earth's surface. A third feature concerns the intrinsic *nature of modern institutions*. Some modern social forms are simply not found in prior historical periods-such as the political system of the nation-state, the wholesale dependence of production upon inanimate power sources, or the thoroughgoing commodification of products and wage labour.

(Giddens, 1991, p.6)

Development of modern social institutions and their worldwide expansion are key notions to understand Giddens' globalization approach. Although modernity has some negative aspects, Giddens considers it mainly positive development. He argues that modernity provides many opportunities for humanity compared to traditional systems. It allows human being to establish worldwide intensive social relations and it connects distant places. For that reason, he emphasizes the nature of social relations in his globalization definition. He defines globalization as “the intensification of social relations throughout the world, linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are formed as a result of events that occur many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens, 1991).

Giddens does not consider globalization as a new phase in the history. He views globalization as “late modernity” instead of post-modernity. “Rather than entering a period of post-modernity, we are moving into one in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalized and universalised than before” (Giddens, 1991, p.3).

On the contrary, Martin Albrow defines globalization as transition from modern society to post-modern society in his book of *Global Age*. He claims that “modern age” is replaced by the “global age”. While in the modern age nation state was the main actor, in global age globe has become the main source of authority. (Albrow, 1996). Robinson summarizes Albrow’s opinion as follows,

In Albrow’s Weberian construct, the quintessence of the modern age was the nation-state, which was the primary source of authority, the centralized means of violence, and of identity among individuals, and hence the locus of social action. However, the contradictions of the modern age have resulted in the decentering of the nation-state, so that under globalization both individuals and institutional actors such as corporations relate directly to the globe, rendering the nation-state largely redundant. As the nation-state is replaced by the globe, the logic of the modern age becomes replaced by a new logic in which the globe becomes the primary source of identity and arena for social action.

(Robinson, 2007, p.139)

4.4.1.3. Universalization of Modernity / World Culture Theory and the European Integration

According to these theories, the EU can be seen as an engine of globalization in two ways. Firstly, Europe is the place where modernity or world culture has emerged. In that sense, the European integration and its special form, the EU, is also part of the modernization and world culture processes. Secondly, the EU has substantially contributed to spreading of modern values.

To begin with, as mentioned above, Meyer views globalization as expansion of rational world culture. The EU can be evaluated as the next phase after the nation state stage in evaluation of world culture because the EU has developed a rational integration model to overcome modern problems. To exemplify, the European integration has brought peace to Europe after two devastating wars. It has managed to overcome long-term enmity between France and Germany. It has proposed regional integration, region wide common market and borderless Europe solutions vis a vis globalization. Therefore, the EU can be considered as a “more rational model” for today’s world. Furthermore, the EU can be perceived as the rational model for political participation. Many different actors from local to supranational and from state to civil society have right to participate decision-making processes in the EU. Lastly, the EU provides a rational solution for nation-states to compete with the destructive effects of capitalist globalization. A group of integrated states becomes more successful to regain the state control over economic forces.

Besides, the EU makes significant contributions to expansion of modernity. According to Giddens' criteria of the pace of change, scope of change and nature of social institutions the EU represents a great transformation in Europe. The EU champions the modern values and institutions such as human rights, rule of law, democracy and free market. As mentioned above, Copenhagen accession criteria clearly show these values. The EU pushes the candidate and member states to obey Copenhagen criteria. The EU transmits modern values through trade partnership and neighbourhood policy (ENP) as well.

Moreover, Giddens also defines globalization as "intensification of social relation throughout the world". In that sense, the European integration can be defined as "intensification of social relation throughout the Europe". The EU has the most intensive social relations among its member states. From this point of view, The EU is the most globalized region in the world and it is a strong engine for globalization.

4.4.2. Theories of Global Culture

Certain globalization theories focus on the existence of global culture and its effects. Some scholars argue that a global culture has emerged because of globalization and it has created "a single world". Marshall McLuhan's famous term 'the global village' explains this approach. They are interested in the global flow of ideas, beliefs, ideologies, values and cultural practices and highlight the role of mass media.

4.4.2.1. Global Culture

Firstly, Robertson, who is one of the prominent scholars in globalization area, draws attention to cultural dimension of globalization by defining globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole". He also adds that "it covers the acceleration in concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole" (Robertson, 1992, p.8). According to Robertson, the world has become a smaller place and now people takes humanity as a reference point rather than local or national communities. This perception has increased in the globalization process. However, global consciousness does not mean global consensus. Globalized world is an integrated but also diverse place at the same time.

Robertson argues that globalization proceeds together with modernization rather than being its consequence. Globalization started with the idea of national communities in Europe

in the 15th century. Between 1870 and 1920 contemporary world society appeared in the “take off” period of globalization. He defines period between 1920s and 1950s as “struggle for hegemony” phase and period after 1960s as “uncertainty”.

Robertson states that in globalization process, actors have dynamic relationship with each other. Globalization creates a single arena in which each actor relatively affects the others. Actors have mutual interaction and they imitate others in this same cultural environment. Thus, this is an ongoing and open-ended process. Culture continuously changes and source of change can be anywhere. Moreover, globalization provokes resistance and its interaction with this reaction creates other changes as well.

Glocalization is a key concept for Robertson. He even claims that globalization can be understood as glocalization. “Thus we should realize that in arguing that the current form of globalization involves what is best described as glocalization” (Robertson, 1995, p. 40). Glocalization means “adaptatiton to local conditions”. He explains the origin of the concept in this way.

According to The Oxford Dictionary of New Words (1991: 134) the term 'glocal' and the process noun 'glocalization' are 'formed by telescoping global and local to make a blend'. Also according to the Dictionary that idea has been 'modelled on Japanese dochakuka (deriving from dochaku "living on one's own land"), originally the agricultural principle of adapting one's farming techniques to local conditions, but also adopted in Japanese business for global localization, a global outlook adapted to local conditions'

(Robertson, 1995, p. 28)

According to him, there is a relationship between local and global. The global and the local penetrate into each other. In the first place, the global spreads everywhere and penetrates into the local. However, while global is penetrating into the local it does not keep its pure form. It has to change because of the local’s counter effect. In other words, global adapts to the local conditions. On the other side, local spreads around the world in the globalization process and it becomes global. Indeed, the two processes are interdependent and complementary.

Some scholars emphasize the “homogenization effect” of globalization. They argue that substantial flow of dominant cultural practices through mass media destroys cultural divergence and creates a uniform global culture. Ritzer uses McDonalidization concept to explain homogenization effect of globalization. However, it does not mean the dominance of McDonald’s restaurants. He means that economic activity has been increasingly becoming standardized, predictable and homogenized by using the similar line system of McDonald’s

restaurants. He defines McDonaldization as “Process by which the principles of the fast - food restaurant is coming to dominate more of the world” (Ritzer, 2011, p.167). Ritzer says that even hospitals and universities are being organized according to McDonald’s logic. He states four features of McDonald’s system; efficiency, predictability, calculability and replacement of human with non-human technology (Ritzer, 2003, p.34).

On the other hand, other scholars illustrate that globalization is a complex process and it comprises counter trends at the same time. Therefore, globalization includes “heterogenization effect” along with the “homogenization effect”. Jan Nederveen Pieterse explains this heterogenization effect as “hybridization”. He says that,

The most common interpretation of globalization are the ideas that the world is becoming more uniform and standardized, though a technological, commercial, and cultural synchronization emanating from the West, and that globalization tied up with modernity. These perspectives are interrelated, if only in that they are both variations on an underlying theme of globalization as Westernization. The former is critical in intent while the latter is ambiguous. My argument takes issue with both these interpretations as narrow assessments of globalization and instead argues for viewing globalization as a process of hybridization which gives rise to global *mélange*.

(Nederveen Pieterse, 1993, p.3)

According to Nederveen Pieterse, globalization interacts with the local and new hybrid forms emerged. For instance, when fast food culture of McDonalds meets the traditional local cultures, new fast food restaurants of local foods appear. Robinson summarizes these three concepts, homogenization, heterogenization and hybridization as follows,

Homogenization theories see a global cultural convergence and would tend to highlight the rise of world beat, world cuisines, world tourism, uniform consumption patterns and cosmopolitanism. Heterogeneity approaches see continued cultural difference and highlight local cultural autonomy, cultural resistance to homogenization, cultural clashes and polarization, and distinct subjective experiences of globalization. Here we could also highlight the insights of post-colonial theories. Hybridization stresses new and constantly evolving cultural forms and identities produced by manifold transnational processes and the fusion of distinct cultural processes.

(Robinson, 2007, p.140)

Arjun Appadurai considers the homogenization and heterogenization as central issues in globalization. “The Central problem with today’s global interactions are the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization” (Appadurai, 1990, p.295). He argues that cultural globalization follows a heterogenous path rather than homogenous way, “people, machinery, money, images, and ideas now follow increasingly non-isomorphic paths”. (Appadurai, 1990, p.301). He also states that

The globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization (armaments, advertising techniques, language hegemonies, clothing styles and the like) which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, free enterprise, fundamentalism, etc. in which the state plays an increasingly delicate role.

(Appadurai, 1990, p.307)

Appadurai has brought the “the global flow” idea in the globalization studies. He defines five kinds of global flows. “I propose that an elementary framework for exploring such disjunctures is to look at the relationship between five dimensions of global cultural flow which can be termed: (a) ethnoscaples; (b) mediascaples; (c) technoscaples; (d) finanscaples; and (e) ideoscaples” (Appadurai, 1990, p.296). Robinson summarizes these 5 flows as follows.

Ethnoscaples are produced by the flows of people (immigrants, tourists, refugees, guest workers, etc.). Technoscaples are produced from the flows of technologies, machinery and plant flows produced by TNCs and government agencies. Finanscaples are produced by the rapid flows of capital, money in currency markets and stock exchanges. Mediascaples are produced by the flow of information and are repertoires of images, flows produced and distributed by newspapers, magazines, television and film. Finally, ideoscaples involve the distribution of political ideas and values linked to flows of images associated with state or counter-state movements, ideologies of freedom, welfare, right, and so on. These different flows, in Appadurai’s view, create genuinely transnational cultural spaces and practices not linked to any national society and may be novel or syncretic; hence a disjuncture between culture and the economy and culture and politics.

(Robinson, 2007, p.141)

4.4.2.2.Theories of Global Culture and the European Integration

Europe plays an engine role in cultural globalization area. It can be said that the EU is more active in formation of global culture when compared to formation of economic globalization. The EU has formed a single Europe that is based on mutual interaction. The EU institutions and local regions have intensive connections as well. The EU allows the flows of goods, capital and people in the European common market. The EU has also Europeanization effect on member states and other countries.

First of all, global culture theory states that globalization has created a single world and a global culture. It defines globalization as “the compression of world” and “a global consciousness” Similarly, the European integration process has created “a single Europe” and a European culture based on certain values and practices such as peace, democracy, rule of law, freedoms and human rights. As mentioned before, official EU documents like treaties and EU summits emphasize these values and practices. To exemplify, Treaty on European Union (TEU) starts with this statement “Confirming their attachment to principles of liberty,

democracy and respects for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law” (TEU, 1992). The EU has achieved the “compression of the Europe” as well. Today’s Europe is smaller than the one in the past. The “European village” statement is more valid than the “global village”. A “European consciousness” has been created and has become pervasive in Europe. EU citizenship, EU identity, EU flag, European national, anthem and EU currency, EU passport, EU driving license, EU emergence health card can be evaluated as the signs of European consciousness. Moreover, Robertson emphasizes that actors have a dynamic relationship and mutual interaction, thus, they affect each other in global culture. Likewise, there is no dominant actor in the formation of European culture. Actors determine the European culture through mutual interaction.

Secondly, Appadurai defines globalization as flows of ethnoscaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, mediascaples and ideascaples. The EU has facilitated many kinds of flows in the EU area through the EU practices like the common market, the Schengen area and the European citizenship. In addition to that, the EU has Europeanization effect on European states similar to homogenization impact of globalization on the world. The EU spread over its practices over other countries.

Finally, the glocalization concept of Robertson can be a useful tool to explain the Europeanization process in the EU. Globalization adapts itself to local conditions and local becomes global in the globalization process. Likewise, impacts of the EU change and transform when they penetrate into member states. “Directives” is a good example to notice that the same logic is working in the EU. The EU’ official website defines directive in this way,

A "directive" is a legislative act that sets out a goal that all EU countries must achieve. However, it is up to the individual countries to devise their own laws on how to reach these goals. One example is the EU consumer rights directive, which strengthens rights for consumers across the EU, for example by eliminating hidden charges and costs on the internet, and extending the period under which consumers can withdraw from a sales contract.

(Euro-Lex, 2016)

In this chapter, the globalization theories and what globalization theories say about the European integration explained in detail. The relationship between the globalization process and the European integration process analysed by focusing on implications of globalization theories on the European integration. In the next chapter an overall evaluation will be made to better see the big picture.

OVERALL EVALUATION OF GLOBALIZATION THEORIES

In the previous chapter, economic, social, political and cultural globalization theories were examined. Their historical background, basic views and ideas of related scholars were expressed. More importantly, the relationship between the globalization process and the European integration process was analyzed in the light of these globalization theories. In this part, results of this examination will be summarized to comprehend the big picture. The explanations and implications of theories about globalization and the European integration relationship will be mentioned.

5.1. Economic Globalization Theories

Globalization process and the European integration have a “complex relationship”. On the one hand, globalization has affected the European integration, on the other hand the European integration has also affected the globalization process. There are two different approaches about the impacts of the European integration. One view argues that the EU protects member states from globalization. The other view argues that the EU increases globalization in Europe. For that reason, Castells calls it “paradoxical relationship” and Rosamond defines it as “ambivalent relationship”.

Firstly, the globalization process has accelerated the European integration since the member states had to choose the integration route to deal with the negative effects of globalization like competitive pressure and weakening of the nation state. The globalization process has affected EU policies like EMU as well. What is more, the European integration has a bilateral impact on the globalization process. On the one side, the EU is a protective institution from globalization. The member states push the European integration since they have wanted to protect themselves from negative effects of globalization via the EU. It can be called as “globalization minus effect”. The EU has adapted “managed globalization” approach. It tries to coordinate their responses to globalization and seeks to define the rules of globalization. In that sense the EU plays both the role of barrier and filter for globalization. On the other side, the EU is an engine of globalization. The EU accelerates even doubles globalization in Europe in the form of “globalization plus effect”. The EU also indirectly accelerates the globalization process, because it constitutes a kind of “European level globalization”. This can be called as “globalization dilemma of Europe”. In conclusion, two

different processes work simultaneously, since the EU wants to adapt to globalization. Adaptation have two dimensions changing itself for the new condition “Europe fit for globalization” and changing the conditions “globalization fit for Europe”.

Secondly, according to Wallerstein the European integration can be evaluated as the result of struggle among the core powers in the world system. Europe was the core region in the beginning of the capitalist world economy. In the past, European states as core powers struggled with each other to become hegemon in the core. Thus, there was no need for European integration. Struggle instead of integration was the case in Europe. However, decline of European powers and emergence of other core powers namely, the US and Japan have changed the situation. European states have preferred the integration. They have chosen the integration as a method of regaining their economic and political power against the new core powers.

Thirdly, according to Sklair transnational capitalist class has an important role in the globalization process. Although they live in different countries, they share similar ideas and life styles. They accelerate economic globalization by using “competitiveness” argument. European Roundtable of Industrialist, which comprises leading big business groups in Europe, has played the same role in Europe. They have lobbied for the closer integration and they used competitiveness argument since their establishment. Furthermore, transnational elites in Europe have played similar role in the European integration like TCC’s role in globalization. They have socialized in the European institutions and developed common perspectives on the integration issues. Their loyalty has shifted from member states to the EU. They have become one of the driving forces of the European integration. Their common perception has facilitated solving the problems among member states. Finally, Robertson considers the supranational organizations as transnational states. Their ‘transnational state cadres’ act as midwives of globalization. Similarly, the EU is a transnational state from the point of view of Robertson because supranational organizations and transnational state cadres have played crucial roles in the European integration.

5.2.Political Globalization Theories

Firstly, Americanization approach sees the US behind all important developments. Similarly, it views the US as a basic factor behind the European integration in a negative or positive way. The US can be regarded as supporter of the European integration. In that sense,

the US was the main driving force behind the European integration. The US wanted to overcome the “German question” and build a strong Europe against the Soviet Union. The US played a facilitator role in the integration. On the other hand, another argument claims that the EU wants to be an autonomous actor in world politics. Therefore, it has preferred more integration. In terms of EU, the US can be considered as a rival who motivates member states for more integration.

In the second place, although realism can explain the intergovernmental dimension of the European integration, it has many difficulties explaining the European integration. Firstly, realists express that states are the main actors and they manipulate international institutions according to their interests. However, in the EU, the supranational institutions have played independent roles in the European integration process. Moreover, the EU is a autonomous actor along with the member states. Secondly, realists argue that cooperation is difficult among states due to the anarchical international environment and self-help approaches of states. However, member states have cooperated with each other and they have formed a semi-hierarchical order to overcome international anarchy. Thirdly, neorealists argue that states prefer “balance” rather than “bandwagon” in international anarchy. Nevertheless, the European states prefer bandwagoning rather than balance in the EU, because they think that cooperation is a better way to achieve security and it gives to weak states “voice opportunity” within the EU.

Liberalism has theoretically more capacity to explain the European integration compared to realism. To begin with, liberals argue that international cooperation is possible among states and they emphasize the role of international institutions in cooperation. Similarly, in the EU member states cooperate. The EU institutions and the EU law provide a useful basis for the cooperation. Furthermore, according to liberalism, free trade creates interdependency among states and it pacifies the international relations. Likewise, European common market and free flows of goods contribute to overcome the war risk in Europe. Finally, liberals underline the irrelevance of borders and cross border market. The Schengen Area, the Custom Union and the Common Market represent a borderless Europe.

5.3.Social Globalization Theories

To begin with, according to Castells there is a transition from traditional nation state to the network state. Decentralization is the main feature of this transition and governance takes

place in network of political institutions. The EU produces globalization in terms of Castell's view, since the EU forms a network state. The network system provides an appropriate way for the European integration. Because in that system nation states do not have to abandon their national sovereignty. Castells himself gives the EU as an example of the network state. Europe can be considered as one of the most globalized regions, since the EU is the most integrated state network in the world. Furthermore, a network is made of interconnected nodes. These nodes are the points at which curves intersect themselves. Networks are open structures and they can expand through addition of new nodes. The EU enlargements are also open structures similar to network system. The new members have continuously connected to the EU by forming new nodes. Furthermore, the network structure of globalization has facilitated the EU integration, since it has provided a decentralized way of power sharing which is called as "competence sharing" in the EU.

Secondly, Giddens states that in modern/global societies the time and the space are separated from each other. Human interaction overcomes the limits of time and space. In that sense, the EU reorganizes the space. Traditional nation state has its defined borders. However, classical space/country perception has changed with the EU. Because space perception has expanded from national borders to European borders, European economic space has expanded to entire Europe due to common market and Schengen area. What is more, transnationalism theory emphasizes the emergence of transnational communities in the globalization process. The EU is a transnational community across national borders. In fact, the EU is the oldest and most integrated transnational community in the globalized world. In that sense, the EU has been a driving force of the globalization process. It has contributed to the increase of transnational communities by both producing an important transnational community and being an example for other transnational communities.

5.4.Cultural Globalization Theories

Firstly, Meyer views globalization as expansion of rational world culture. In that sense, the EU represents the next phase of rational world culture after the nation state stage. The EU provides a rational solution for states to compete with the destructive effects of capitalist globalization, since the integration allows the member states to regain their power, which was lost at the state level against market forces, at regional level. Therefore, the EU contributes to the spreading of globalization since it helps the expansion of rational world

culture. The EU is also a rational model for political participation. Many different actors from local to supranational and from state to civil society have right to participate in the decision-making processes in the EU. Moreover, according to Giddens' analysis the EU makes significant contributions to the expansion of globalization. Because The EU advocates modern values and institutions, it transmits these modern values through accession criteria, trade partnership and ENP. The EU can be evaluated as the most globalized region in the world and as an engine for globalization. Giddens defines globalization as "intensification of social relation throughout the world". In that sense, the European integration can be defined as "intensification of social relation throughout the Europe".

Secondly, Robertson's global culture theory states that globalization has created a single world and a global culture. It defines globalization as "the compression of world" and "a global consciousness" Similarly, the European integration process has created "a single Europe" and a European culture. The EU has achieved the "compression of the Europe" and a "European village". A "European consciousness" has been created and has become pervasive in Europe. What is more, Appadurai defines globalization as flows of ethnoscaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, mediascaples and ideascaples. The EU has facilitated these kinds of flows in the EU. Finally, according to Robertson, globalization adapts itself to local conditions and local becomes global in the globalization process. Likewise, impacts of the EU penetrate into member states as Europeanization. Besides, local and regional levels reach the European level through the EU institutions.

6. FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN THE GLOBAL WORLD

The globalization and the European integration are similar processes in terms of structure and time period. They have connection between them and they mutually interact each other. They have common structures such as intensive social and cultural interaction, emergence of transnational communities, network structure and flows, integrated finance and economic systems, transformation of state and multi-level governance and economic regionalism. Both processes mainly took place in the second half of the 20th century and they have accelerated since 1980s. Therefore, it is predictable that they will affect each other in the future like in the past. In this section, the questions are: how will globalization progress in the future? how will alternative globalizations affect the future of European integration? and how will the European integration affect these possible globalization alternatives?

Possible futures of the processes of globalization and the European integration and their possible interactions in the future will be examined in this part. There are basically two approaches to the future of globalization, negative and positive.

6.1. Negative Approaches to Globalization

First of all, negative view claims that many ongoing negative trends will put an end to globalization era like WW1 and the Great Depression did for globalization in the earlier 19th century globalization. In such a world, protectionism can be the rule in economic sphere. This view mentions possible factors that may end up today's globalization such as accelerated crises in capitalist world economy; dissolving of states like Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia; wars due to population growth and scarcity of fresh water, food and energy supplies; using nuclear weapons because of collapse of nuclear powers and environmental disasters due to global warming or climate change. Bryan Turner calls this situation as "Mad Max" scenario (Turner, 2007).

The end of globalization scenario may negatively or positively affect the European integration. On the one hand, the EU is based on the idea of trade liberalization. (Ritzer, 2011, 293). In such a world in which trade protectionism dominates the world economy, the EU economy, thus, EU's capacity of providing prosperity to member states will be negatively

influenced from this atmosphere. Moreover, economic crises may lead to debates among member states on burden sharing. On the other hand, in case of disasters whether environmental or political the European states may push the European integration to form closer union for solidarity.

Secondly, anti-globalist movements may limit the neoliberal globalization or may produce an alternative globalization. Globalization has produced its opponents and enemies because of the neoliberal globalization and world capitalism. Protests at World Trade Organization meetings, in particular in the Seattle action in 1999 and the formation of the World Social Forum in 2001 as a reaction against the World Economic Forum, exemplify these anti-globalist movements. They argue that capitalist globalization has produced worldwide economic and social inequalities. They demand an alternative globalization rather than neoliberal one. Their slogan is “Another world is possible” (Teivainen, 2007). Ritzer argues that anti globalist movements are not totally against the globalization but they are against neoliberal “globalization from above” approach because these movements are also global in terms of scope and actions.

Resistance groups themselves are often global in scope and their orientations and actions make them very much a part of globalization. For another thing, the movement is not, as we have seen, opposed to all aspects of globalization; to all globalizations. It is opposed to some varieties of globalization (e.g. neo - liberal economic globalization) and not to others (e.g. the global spread of human rights in the political realm). As a result, it is better to think of these resistance movements as part of globalization from below (or alter-globalization), and as such they stand in opposition to globalization from above.

(Ritzer, 2011, p.302)

Although the EU tries to adapt to neoliberal globalization, it also wants to prevent its social model to deal with the adverse effects of global market structure. The EU advocates social globalization. Therefore, global demand of alternative social globalization instead of neoliberal one may impact the European integration positively. Alternative social globalization allows the EU to protect its model and even shape the globalization process as an example of social globalization model. However, “globalization from below” approach has potential to contradict the European model integration and globalization, since the European integration is mainly based on “globalization from above” approach.

Thirdly, Samuel Huntington draws attentions to cultural clashes in his theory of *Clash of Civilizations*. According to him, culture has replaced ideologies in the global world. He defines factors that cause increasing role of culture and clash of civilizations. He predicts that

civilizations, as the broadest levels of culture, would have clashes in the future. He especially emphasizes West-Islam and West-Confucianism clashes. According to Huntington, although the West continues to be dominant, its domination will decline. As a solution, he proposes cultural purity and continuity rather than multiculturalism for Western civilizations.

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

(Huntington, 1993, p.22)

According to clash of civilizations theory Europe is in the western civilization. In case of clashes between the west and Islam or China, it can be expected that European identity and European values will come to the forefront in the European integration. Common enemies generally unite the states. In such an atmosphere, the European integration may proceed in the deepening route around the cultural values. Yet, impacts of economic, environmental and technological dimensions of globalization will diminish in such a case, thus their possible positive effects on the European integration will decrease as well.

Finally, identity politics such as religious radicalism and ethnic nationalism may slow down the globalization process. Religious fundamentalism, in particular political Islam, perceives globalization as deterioration of social values and dissolution of society and they struggle with the globalization and the West as the main force behind globalization. In addition, ethnic nationalism perceives globalization as a threat to their local cultures. Ethnic nationalism views their identities and cultures as shelters against the impacts of globalization. Nationalism has become the official ideology of many newly independent states in the form of anti-imperialism after WW2. Thus, similar waves of nationalism and religious fundamentalism can be possible obstacles in front of globalization.

Rise of nationalism will damage the globalization process and the European integration process. Globalization has transnational character and it creates interdependency among nation states. The EU project is based on the principle of transferring some parts of national sovereignty to the European institutions. Nationalist movements do not accept such a transfer and dominant roles of European institutions. Far right nationalist parties in the member states are already against the Brussels' role over the member states.

6.2. Positive Approaches to Globalization

Optimist view predicts that globalization will increase in the future. To begin with, Ohmae foresees a global world without borders. He argues that transnational flows of goods, capital, technology, ideas and people would weaken the nation states and create an integrated world economy together with increased interdependency. In the end, interdependency will produce a universal understanding and world peace. (Heywood, 2013, p.602). However, it seems that this approach exaggerates the transformation of state. Globalization also strengthens the nation state in some ways. For example, global terrorism and destructive impact of finance capital increase the need for states (Heywood, 2013, p.602).

The EU is possibly the most prepared organization to such a borderless world. It has already abolished the borders in the Schengen area and in the single market. In that sense, the EU has already affected this kind of globalization, since it has initiated a region without borders and provided an example of borderless world structure.

In the second place, Francis Fukuyama in his *End of History* argues that evolution of ideologies has reached the last point and liberal democracy has emerged as a last form of political governance after the collapse of communism (Nye and Welch, 2009, p.428). According to him, the future world would become a world of democracies and possibility of great wars would diminish in the future.

The twentieth century saw the developed world descend into a paroxysm of ideological violence, as liberalism contended first with the remnants of absolutism, then bolshevism and fascism, and finally an updated Marxism that threatened to lead to the ultimate apocalypse of nuclear war. But the century that began full of self confidence in the ultimate triumph of Western liberal democracy seems at its close to be returning full circle to where it started: not to an "end of ideology" or a convergence between capitalism and socialism, as earlier predicted, but to an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism. The triumph of the West, of the Western idea, is evident first of all in the total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to Western liberalism.

(Fukuyama, 1989, p,1)

Nevertheless, the increase in the number of authoritarian states such as China and Russia and success of their state capitalism model has led to suspicions about the end of history theory.

Liberal democracy has emerged in Europe and spread over the world. The EU has also been established on the principals of liberal democracy. As mentioned before, democracy is one of the basic values in the EU. All the member states are liberal democracies in the EU and

democracy is one of the accession criteria as well. Therefore, the EU has contributed to the world of democracies model and cultural globalization. The victory of liberal democratic model in the globalization process will strengthen the EU's role in globalization

In the third place, another view argues that globalization will create an international society. This means an integrated society of states that cooperate in the international area. According to this approach, international society creates peace islands in the anarchical environment. This approach is based on "the rights of war" idea of Hugo Grotius and ideas of modern time scholars such as Hedley Bull and Terry Nardin. (Heywood, 2013, p.602) Interventions of Iraq, Somali, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor exemplify the international society and its actions. Bull defines international society as follows,

A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions.

(Bull, 2002)

The EU has already created an international society in the anarchical international arena. Similar to Bull's definition, since the member states have been aware of their common interests and common values, they have formed a society of states sharing common institutions and common rules. The EU's supranational institutions and law have brought an order over the nation states in European region. As an international society, the EU will become founder and important player of the world society in the future, if globalization creates an international society. The EU may be an engine of such a globalization with its structure and experience.

In the fourth place, David Held argues that globalization will result in a worldwide universal democracy. Nevertheless, it is not a world government. Instead, it is a multi-level post-sovereign governance system in which supranational, national and subnational actors have relations with each other. According to him, just a state level democracy is not enough, humanity needs a global democracy, because globalization has weakened the nation state. He draws attention to global level democratic gap and lack of transparency in international institutions. He proposes a universal parliament to eliminate global democratic gap. Nation states should partially transfer their sovereignty to the regional and international institutions. Held at all explain their ideas as,

Globalization has disrupted the neat correspondence between national territory, sovereignty, political space, and the democratic political community. It allows power to flow across, around, and over territorial boundaries. And so the challenge of globalization today is ultimately political. Just as the Industrial Revolution created new types of class politics, globalization demands that we re-form our existing territorially defined democratic institutions and practices so that politics can continue to address human aspirations and needs. This means rethinking politics. We need to take our established ideas about political equality, social justice, and liberty and refashion these into a coherent political project robust enough for a world where power is exercised on a transnational scale and where risks are shared by peoples across the world.

(Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999)

Similar evaluation with international society can be made for the universal democracy approach. In such an environment, the EU will become founder and an active member of global democracy, since it will be the most experienced actor in international democracy. Other democratic states have just state level democracy. Moreover, the EU has supranational, national and subnational democratic experiences. The EU is also aware of the problems of international democracy like democratic gap and their solutions like efforts for a strong European Parliament.

In the fifth place, according to another view, globalization will result in world federalism. Federalism proposes a world government for anarchical international environment. This view gives the example of American federal government of 13 American colonies. However, world government is not a popular option for most of the people. Furthermore, the end of nation states does not guarantee the end of war. Most of the wars have taken place in states rather than between states in recent years (Nye and Welch, 2009, p,420)

If globalization evolves into world federalism, it can be said that such a global system will not fit the EU structure. Because the EU does not have a federal state experience. The European countries tried to form a European federalism, but they failed. In world federalism, nation states must give up most of their sovereignty and the EU experience shows that this is a difficult process and takes time. However, one may argue that the member states are already familiar with transferring national sovereignty to EU institutions so they would be ready for the world federalism.

In the sixth place, functionalism may be another alternative globalization perspective in the future. Functionalism argues that states can cooperate in certain areas and they can prevent war by forming transnational cooperation. Functionalism is an effective theory and it

creates most of the cooperation in today's world. For instance, specialist UN agencies such as World Health Organizations and Food and Agriculture Organization are based on functionalism idea. Functionalism is attractive for many states because it creates limited interdependency and states are reluctant to join full interdependency relations. (Nye and Welch, 2009. p.421)

Indeed, functionalism is the playground of the EU. The EU was constituted on neo-functional logic. The founding fathers, notably Jean Monnet, believed that functional integration in one area would lead integration in another area. This logic has worked and the integration has comprised many areas. Therefore, the EU may be the most prepared actor and a driving force for the functionalist global cooperation in the future.

Finally, regionalism may be an option for globalization in the future. Globalization may result in more integrated regional blocs. Regionalism increase in recent years especially in the form of trade blocks. As mentioned before, states prefer regional blocs for protection from the negative effects of globalization or for reaching big markets and participate in the globalization process. Those trade blocks may turn into regional unions like the EU. For instance, the EU member states have chosen interdependency instead of independence since they believe that benefit of integration is more than the cost of integration.

The European integration is mainly a regional integration. All of the member states are European countries. The European integration has formed a European wide regional bloc. The EU has a great experience in regional integration according to other regional blocks. In that sense, the EU would become an important actor in such a world of regions.

Overall, if the globalization process is interrupted because of rising nationalism or disasters, the European integration may be affected negatively. It seems that nationalism is the most important danger for globalization and for the European integration. Clash of civilizations or environmental disaster options may increase the inner consistency of the EU. On the other hand, if globalization increases in the future, the EU will be a founder, an engine or an important actor of globalization in most of the possible scenarios such as end of history, universal democracy, international society, world of regions, functionalist cooperation and world without borders except world federalism scenario.

7. CONCLUSION

Globalization is a multi-dimensional concept. Therefore, it is important to adopt a holistic approach to cover all its aspects in order to understand globalization completely. For instance, although there are many different definitions of globalization and each of them emphasizes its certain significant features, it is possible to reach to a common understanding for globalization by combining important points of different definitions. To exemplify, Castells emphasizes the “network” structure of globalization, Ritzer and Appadurai highlight the “flows” and Held underlines “interconnection” in their definitions. A holistic approach can combine these points by this way: “In the globalization process many things such as capital and information flows through networks which interconnect distant societies”.

Although globalization speeded up in the second part of the 20th century, in fact, it has a long history. 15th century and 19th century were turning points in the globalization history. In the 15th century, a new system emerged in Europe after feudalism stage. New technological innovations, rise of market institutions, production for the broad, competitive market, commodification of material goods and labour and long distance trade were the main features of this new system. Scholars call this development in different ways. For instance, Wallerstein calls it as “world system”, Giddens calls it “modernization” and some other scholars call it as “capitalism”. This system began to spread across national borders. In the 19th century together with industrial revolution, colonization and free trade, this system expanded all over the world. Together with the economic production model, ideas, ideologies, values, social and cultural practices also spread across the borders. Yet, the two world wars and the Great Depression between them decelerated the globalization process.

In the second part of the 20th century, certain economic, social, cultural, political, environmental and technological factors created a great transformation, named globalization, in the world. In 1970s capitalist economy transformed into global economy in the form of neoliberalism to overcome its crises. TNCs formed worldwide finance production systems. Mutual interaction and interdependency among societies increased because of many networks, increased migration and emergence of global civil society composed of many transnational NGOs. After the WW2, political dimension of globalization was added by formation of UN and international organizations. The nation state also transformed under the pressure of market forces. Collapse of the communism advanced the penetration of

globalization to the new areas. Worldwide flows of cultural elements such as values, ideas, styles and images through global media, lead to the existence of global culture and increased global consciousness. Technological innovations especially in communication and transportation sectors increased human interaction and made the world a single place. Computer technology and internet made great contribution to the globalization process. Environmental problems forced states to think and act in a global manner.

In 1980s and 1990s, the new structure of globalization was crystallized and a new globalization wave invaded the entire world. Firstly, network structure became the main characteristic of globalization. Many kinds of networks from financial ones to technological ones covered the world and created mutual interdependency among distant societies. Secondly, many different things like capital, information, goods, people, images, ideas and practices became liquid and flowed through the networks. Thirdly, Globalization became more rapid, intensive, complex and on large scale. Technological developments especially in transportation and communication provided farther, faster, deeper and cheaper global flows. Finally, human interaction succeeded to surpass the time and space limits. Remote interaction become an important feature of human life.

The driving forces and its exclusive structure of globalization have commonly produced certain outcomes special to today's globalization process. To begin with, a globally integrated production system based on global level division of labour has arisen. This system is based on outsourcing and subcontracting mechanisms. Command and control of global production have simultaneously centralized while global production system has decentralized. Furthermore, new transnational communities, institutions and social identities have been constituted across the borders of nation states due to increasing social, economic, political and cultural links and ties among different parts of the world. A big world society has also emerged because of global interaction and increasing global consciousness. Moreover, together with the transformation of nation states because of inside and outside pressures, new international, supranational and local actors have emerged beside the nation state and a global multi-level governance system has started to arise. States have formed many regional blocs to regain their power vis a vis market forces and to participate the globalization process through regional blocs. However, the globalization process has also produced its counter effects and opponents at the same time. Anti-globalist movements have arisen. Identity politics has increased in the world under the exposure of globalization.

Along with the globalization process, the European integration process has emerged and progressed during the same period. The European integration process is similar to the globalization process. It can be viewed as European level globalization. Therefore, the European integration has certain common characteristics with the globalization process. In the first place, the European integration is mainly an economic integration like globalization, although it has many other dimensions such as political cooperation, defense policy and foreign policy. In the second place, it is a regional integration. All of the member states are European countries. The aim of the integration is forming a continent-wide regional bloc. In the third place, the European integration process has a cultural dimension as well. The EC and the EU pursue policies to create a single Europe and a European identity. In the fourth place, the EU is based on the principles of dispersion of authority and collective decision-making. Power is shared among actors at different levels and these actors make decisions collectively. Therefore, European wide multi-level governance is similar to global level power dispersion. Finally, the European integration has a transnational character since the beginning and member states have founded a transnational community in Europe.

Globalization theories are important tools for analyzing the globalization process and the relationship between globalization and the European integration. Although only some of these directly refer to the European integration, they have many implications about the European integration. In addition, it is possible to infer certain conclusions about impacts of the European integration on the globalization process by determining crossing points between the two processes. Globalization theories can be categorized in four main parts, economic, social, political and cultural globalization theories. Economic globalization theories, neoliberalism, global capitalism, world system, transnational capitalist class and empire perceive globalization mainly as an economic process. They see capitalist world economy as the main driving force behind the globalization. Political globalization theories emphasize the role of the US and international institutions like UN and WTO in the globalization process. Social globalization theories such as the network society, time-space and transnationalism underline the network structure of modern societies and intensive human interaction that overcomes time and space limits and produces transnational communities. Lastly, cultural globalization theories such as universalization of modernity, world culture and global culture focus on the expansion of dominant values and cultural practices in the form of modernization, world culture or global culture.

Although there are many particular globalization theories, studies that examine, classify and compare globalization theories are relatively limited. More studies should be done in this area. Moreover, unfortunately globalization theories slightly touch on the European integration issue. However, the European integration has an explanatory power for globalization as an example of region wide globalization. There should be more studies in this area. Finally, very few studies analyse the globalization and the European integration relationship. Most of them focus on how the EU deals with globalization effects. Yet, scholars have hardly studied on impacts of the EU on the globalization process. More studies should be done in this field as well.

Examination of the European integration in the light of globalization theories indicates that the relationship between globalization and the European integration is a two-way relationship. Impacts of globalization on the European integration are not just limited to economic impacts. Globalization has also social, political and cultural effects on the European integration. On the other hand, the European integration has effects on the globalization process as well. It can even be said that these effects are more than they seem. Especially in social and cultural area, the globalization process and the European integration process have many common features. It can be expected that this mutual interaction between them will continue increasingly in the future.

It can be concluded that since there are many common characteristics between globalization and the European integration processes, globalization theories can be used to explain the European integration along with the globalization process. This approach provides a different perspective to European studies. In terms of globalization, the European integration represents continuous and dynamic experience. Examination of the European integration can provide many clues for the future of globalization.

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