

**ANALYTICS OF GOVERNMENT, THEORIES OF STATE**  
**Governmentality and the Foucauldian Challenge to International Political Economy**

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Only recently has the study of governmentality achieved significant momentum in the realm of political science. This thrust has given rise to questions on the potential contributions of governmentality to politics – specifically: what does the concept of governmentality bring to studies of political economy and state power? While there are several methods of studying the state and exploring state power, it is also only recently that international political economy (IPE) has mushroomed into a widespread interdisciplinary analytical framework. Accordingly, this article examines the influence of the governmentality approach on theories of international political economy, and makes three arguments. First, dominant discourses of international political economy have largely remained immune to the growing influence of governmentality. Second, critical theory has assimilated some components of the governmentality approach, resulting in improved frameworks of analysis. Third, though the continued existence of the governmentality approach to politics is dependent on its ability to analyze international political economy independently from theoretically rigid frameworks, governmentality can provide further insight into ideas of power and notions of state.

In exploring these hypotheses, this paper is presented in four parts: (1) a brief account of the governmentality approach to questions of politics and power; (2) an identification and analysis of dominant perspectives on the nature of state power through the lens of governmentality; (3) how theories of critical international political economy are adopting and incorporating key components of the governmentality approach; and (4) the significance of this process for both international political economy and governmentality. This final section draws attention to communication networks and the informational economy, as well as some of the other objects, spaces and practices that a closer IPE-governmentality engagement might consider. More specifically, the final section will examine the Internet and the intersections between political economy, state power and governmentality embodied within.

### **The Art of Government**

Foucauldian perspectives on ideas of governance differ significantly from those found in dominant discourse. Following Dean (1999) and Brass (2000), it is thus instructive to briefly examine the ideas of government, governmentality and the analytics of government prior to delving into analyses of the notion of state power. Government is the “conduct of conduct,” and entails “any attempt to shape with some degree of deliberation aspects of our behaviour according to particular sets of norms and for a variety of ends” (Dean, 1999: 10). While defined in further detail by Dean,<sup>1</sup> we can also say that government involves attempts to deliberate on and direct human conduct. Defined in such a way, government is therefore open to ideas of self-government, or instances where the governor and the governed are two aspects of a single actor. In other words, “government encompasses not only how we exercise authority over others, or how we govern abstract entities such as states and populations, but how we govern ourselves” (Dean, 1999: 12).

Governmentality is about how we think about conducting conduct – the various mentalities of government, which “emphasizes the way in which the thought involved in practices of government is collective, ... relatively taken for granted,” and not subject to questioning by its practitioners (Dean, 1999: 16). Governmentality is not exclusively a theoretical exercise. Rather, it is concerned with analysing the exercise of thought and the ways in which thought operates through regimes of practices to produce “truth.” Governmentality is a form and relation of power that studies regimes of practices and regimes of government, the ways in which we are governed and through which we govern ourselves. While governmentality is linked to sovereign power and disciplinary power, it is focused on the population as its object. Governmentality differs from and expands upon

sovereign and disciplinary power in its treatment of subjects as “members of a population, as resources to be fostered, to be used and to be optimized” (Dean, 1999: 20).<sup>2</sup>

The analytics of particular regimes of practices seeks to identify how that regime came into being, the multiple sources of the elements that constitute it, and how it is transformed into institutional practice (Dean, 1999: 21). In revisiting the idea of “truth” and Foucault’s concept of power/knowledge, it can be seen that while government occurs based on various truths, such as human nature,<sup>3</sup> the ways in which government occurs also produce certain types of truths. Thus, in the analytics of particular regimes of practice, those regimes are dependent on forms of knowledge which are subject to transformation. Governmentality is Foucault’s reformulation of power/knowledge and an analytics of a particular regime includes not only forms of knowledge, but also challenges to those forms of knowledge. This is exemplified in Foucault’s treatment of sanity through an analysis of madness.<sup>4</sup>

The central concern of governmentality is to ask questions about *how* we govern and *how* we are governed. This is contrasted with theories of state, which focus on the “epistemic realism”<sup>5</sup> of questions regarding who holds power, the legitimacy of the state and state power, and the relationship of the sovereign to its subjects. Such is the critique of dominant international political economy discourse.

### **Theories of State and the Governmentality Critique**

The dominant discourses surrounding studies of state power and international politics reflect a rationalist ontology and consequently adopt four key attributes linked to that approach. First, rationalism assumes a state-centric position, perceiving the global environment as anarchical (for example, see Waltz, 1959). Second, political agents are perceived as atomistic, unitary actors. Third, rationalist theory is positivist, relying on the distinction between subject and object, while also regarding actor preferences as fixed. This facilitates the theorization of world affairs, as all matters concerning international relations can be perceived through a binary lens. Political actors enter relations with pre-defined interests, where intersubjective and social capacities are regarded as given. Fourth, actor identities and interests are exogenous (Wendt, 1992: 392), or external to their social interaction, thus facilitating the ability to predict and determine actor behavior.

The governmentality approach challenges the dominant discourse by posing questions on the origins of the state and the process by which the concept of systemic anarchy is exercised in international relations. While there seems to be a causal relationship between the concept of anarchy and the creation of the state, governmentality instead suggests that both systemic anarchy and the state are mutually necessary for the other’s continued existence. While we govern others and ourselves according to the truth of an anarchical international system, the way in which we govern and conduct ourselves through state formation, reinforces the truth of anarchy.

Neo-utilitarianism (Ruggie, 1998), as the mainstream, rationalist framework of international political economy, is a synthesis of two sub-fields: neorealism and neoliberalism. Each individual theory makes assumptions about the fundamental nature of the international system while regarding intersubjective relations as unproblematic and given. The primary element of neorealism is security through centralized power, emphasizing the role of the state in an environment of systemic anarchy. Concerned with relative gains, or shifts in power, realist theory assumes, without accounting for, the existence of the state. The fundamental component of neoliberalism is the paradox of competitiveness through cooperation (antagonism in an interdependent system), emphasizing institutions in the global market economy. Through the availability and accessibility of information, institutional behavior, and therefore systemic organization, can be altered (Katzenstein et al., 1998: 662). Concerned only with absolute gains, the

neoliberal theory assumes, but does not account for, the nature of the market, which is, in this case, the capitalist mode of production. Prevalent within neo-utilitarian discourses of international political economy is the obsession with the sovereign state. Images of the state present the state as a unified, atomistic actor on both the international and domestic stage. Foucault argues that excessive value has been accorded to the image of the state in our political culture. The image of the state varies from being the means to salvation to the epitome of repression, but Foucault suggests that “the state possesses neither this unity nor this functionality, and we should recognize that the state is but a ‘composite reality’ and a ‘mythicized abstraction’.” He further suggests that it “is not so much the *étatisation* of society, but the ‘governmentalization’ of the state” that is of greater consequence (Foucault 1991a: 103; Dean, 1999: 26).

Underlying discourses of theories of state and discourses of governmentality is the notion of power. Within dominant discourse, power is perceived as the ability to compel another to fulfil our will, and can be expressed physically, in terms of material resources, or immaterially, in terms of the ability to influence and persuade. From the neorealist perspective, it is relative power that should be of concern, while the neoliberal position contends that absolute power is of more significance. Foucault, in contrast, argues that power is not something to be in possession of. Rather, power exists exclusively in and through relations (Foucault, 1980: 98; Foucault, 1990: 94-96). Canada itself does not possess power, but may exercise power only when it convenes with another state or political actor. Relations of power can be identified and analysed only through a regime of practice in which power is imbued. Additionally, power can be better analysed through an initial consideration of resistance against different forms of power. While Foucault would no doubt argue that power does not emanate solely from the state, the notion of “analyzing power relations through the antagonism of strategies” (Foucault, 2000; 329) is significant for studies of state power because it also demands the recognition of challenges to the exercise of state power.

Through notions of sovereignty and domination, theories of state concern themselves with who holds and exercises power. As a result, questions of how we govern and how we are governed are reduced to the problem of legitimacy of state power. Governmentality, by contrast, assumes that “discourses on government are an integral part of the workings of government rather than simply a means of its legitimation, that government is accomplished through multiple actors and agencies rather than a centralized set of state apparatuses” (Dean, 1999: 26), therefore rejecting a narrow focus on sovereignty and domination.

### **Critical Theory and the Emergence of Governmentality**

Critical theory adds a third dimension, *social science*, to the underlying concepts of politics and economics in the dominant discourses of international political economy. As an attempt to escape the “culture of orthodoxy” (Murphy & Tooze, 1991: 14) and positivist thought that separates object and subject (Murphy & Tooze, 1991: 6; Keat & Urry, 1982), critical theory recognizes and attempts to understand the influence of not only material matters, but ideological, sociological and structural concerns as well. As such, the remainder of this paper will examine the relationship between critical international political economy and governmentality in an attempt to ascertain the influence of governmentality in the realm of international politics.

There are several streams of critical theory (as a general term<sup>6</sup>) that use a variety of methods for understanding, interpreting and analyzing international political economy – some of which are relatively recent developments, and others that have their origins in the pre-IPE era. Critical theory itself can be subdivided into two main categories. The first and most established category is Marxism. While Karl Marx was always concerned with

interdependence, elevated levels of globalization initiated new interpretations of his theory. World systems theory, pioneered by Lenin (1989) and further developed by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974; 1979), attempted to apply Marxism to the international sphere, the former introducing concepts of core and periphery, and the latter extending Leninism with the semi-periphery conception. These approaches are problematic upon considering governmentality's disdain for the reification of the state, as they suffer from the epistemic realism previously described, therefore limiting their effectiveness in examining relations of power.

Of more interest is the work of Antonio Gramsci, who made significant contributions posthumously to theories of international political economy, most notably through the writings of Robert Cox who, while broadly considered a neo-Marxian, could more specifically be characterized along neo-Gramscian lines (a sub-stream of neo-Marxism).<sup>7</sup> Cox reintroduced Gramscian conceptions of ideological hegemony, civil society (and the corresponding organic intellectuals), the historic bloc, and counter-hegemonic struggle to the domain of international politics, bringing into question the notion of state power and suggesting a post-Westphalian future. While the neo-Gramscian school concerns itself with regimes of practices and regimes of government, they are generally limited to analyses of states and challenges to state power (Cox, 1981; Cox, 1983). As such, the Marxian and neo-Marxian modes of political thought are still dominated by notions of the state.

The second category of critical theory in international political economy is reflectivism. While reflectivism can be divided into several sub-streams, such as normative theory, feminism, and historical sociology, this paper focuses on the constructivist school and its relation to governmentality. While Nicholas Onuf was the first theorist to define the term "constructivism" in 1989 (Onuf, 1989: 35), during the 1980's research in constructivist international relations theory was already underway.<sup>8</sup> When dominant theories struggled to explain the end of the Cold War, a renewed interest emerged in the field of critical theory, and with it came one of the stream's most influential works, authored by Alexander Wendt – *Anarchy is What States Make of It*. In his article, Wendt argues that the concept of systemic anarchy is a product of interactions between states. Following the idea of sovereignty, Wendt argues that the state itself creates conditions of anarchy based on statist concepts of self and Other. By placing the Self within the territorial boundaries of the state, and the Other externally, an anarchical system is inevitable. In his expanded work (Wendt, 1999), Wendt examines the nature of the state and challenges the neo-utilitarian assumption of a naturally occurring "self-help" system. However, Wendt's constructivism is nonetheless state-centric, though statist in an international sense through propositions for collective identity formation (Wendt, 1994).

Critical theory differs from mainstream IPE theory in that it places an importance on intersubjective meaning. Both neo-Gramscian theory and constructivism consider sources of identity, ideology, and interest, as well as methods for their legitimation. Neo-Gramscian theory concerns conflict between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideologies in the concept of the historical dialectic (Cox, 1995), while Wendt's constructivism proposes that identity and interests are formed through interaction, thus questioning the 'truth' of systemic anarchy (Wendt, 1992; Wendt, 1999). While both Cox and Wendt see intersubjective meaning as constantly evolving, the primary actors in their theories differ. For Cox, class, and to a certain extent ideology, is central, while for Wendt, the state is the principal entity. However, in contrast to the rationalist perspective, Wendt seeks to understand the nature and creation of the state, rather than presuppose it. His state-centric position facilitates the development of both theories, as Wendt is often perceived as a link between rationalism and reflectivism (Smith, 2001: 242), providing a means for discourse between mainstream and critical international relations theory. However, these critical approaches, while closer to governmentality than neo-utilitarianism, are far from Foucauldian. Despite posing a challenge to dominant discourses on international political economy, neo-Gramscian theory and constructivism overvalue analyses of the legitimacy of

power, sovereignty and the particular relationship between the state and the subject, whether through the lens of class or identity.

### **Rethinking (Critical) International Political Economy**

Although globalization is nothing new,<sup>9</sup> its re-emergence is significant to studies of governmentality and international political economy. Under the heading of “governance without government,” numerous authors have depicted a new multilayered, transnational regulatory apparatus in which social ordering is no longer nationally bounded (for example, see Sassen, 1996; Strange, 1996; Walters, 2004). Instead, governmentality has been separated into several distinct functions, operating at global, regional, and local levels or any combination thereof. Some authors use the term “globalized governmentality” (Fraser, 2003: 167; Walters & Larner, 2004) to describe this particular approach, seeking to reinterpret the international system as a “multi-levelled structure of governmentality ... in which the national state is but one level among others” (Fraser, 2003: 167).

Of particular interest in an age of renewed globalization are communication networks and what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri call “postmodernization,” an expression signifying the transition from an industrial society to a service and information-based society.<sup>10</sup> Two inter-related themes are of concern to this paper: the informatization of production, and the governmentality of postmodernization. The informatization of production concerns the increasing ubiquity of computer and information technologies in an “informational economy” (Castells, 2000), and has brought about new manifestations of labour (though pre-informatization forms of labour may still exist simultaneously). Processes of production have mutated from the manufacture of physical goods to the creation of services, cultural products, knowledge or communications – the latter being what Hardt & Negri call “immaterial labour” (2000: 290-291). The consequence of this change is not only an enlargement of the immaterial labour sector, but also a transformation of labouring practices towards the model of information and communication technologies. While labouring practices seek to integrate communications and information technologies to improve production processes, the labouring practices are themselves changed. Accompanying this transformation is the shift from the assembly line to network production, which entails a structural change in the system of communication between the production and consumption of commodities. Within the informational economy, “the network itself is both a site of production and circulation” (Hardt & Negri, 2000: 298). This centralization of control during a period of decentralization of productive processes and sites, results in a “virtual panopticon” in which centralized management uses monitoring technologies to govern-at-a-distance (Rose & Miller, 1992), thereby placing labour in a precarious position.

In addition to the new forms of labour developing out of the informatization of production, postmodernization “marks a new mode of becoming human” (Hardt & Negri, 2000: 289). That is to say, whereas workers in the Taylorist/Fordist era learned to act like machines, postmodernization entails governmentalization in producing particular subjects who think increasingly like computers. This is significant for the concept of the flexible worker<sup>11</sup> – who, like the artificial intelligence of a computer, can modify, expand and perfect its operation based on its interaction with its user and environment (Hardt & Negri, 2000). As such, the new subject of governmentality in postmodernization is the self-governing, adaptable, actively responsible agent, obligated to enhance their quality of life through their own decisions. Much like for the subject of neoliberal governmentality, in which economic rationality is extended to individual conduct (Brown, 2003), moral responsibility is equated with rational action, regardless of context. In sum, postmodernization as governmentality encompasses both repression, in the virtual panopticon of networks of production, as well as self-regulation, in the flexibilization of labour and the political subject.

## Network Society? Internet as Governmentality

The Internet is an instructive example of the interplay between political economy, state power and governmentality. The Internet first emerged in the United States during the late 1950s in response to the Soviet launch of the Sputnik I satellite. Growing out of the convergence of computer and communication technologies during World War II (Mosco, 2000), the Internet was initially conceived as the Advanced Research Projects Network (ARPANET) within the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). The purpose of ARPANET was to act as a network linking defensive radar systems, and later also became a network for connecting scientists and researchers. It was only in the late 1980s that the World Wide Web, a graphical user interface for the Internet, was born. While cyberspace has become one of the central settings for the conduct of individual human life (Shields, 2000), where economic transactions and socio-political relations take place on a regular basis, an investigation into the history of the Internet indicates that it was initially conceived as a military project for the purposes of security, surveillance and national defence. This brief account on origins dispels some of the myths that the Internet began in a garage, put together by amateurs playing with computer parts. Rather, it came out of the desire to “bring together military researchers and their industrial partners who were responsible for the major arms build-up in the West” (Mosco, 2000, pp. 58).

In re-evaluating some of the dominant discourses surrounding the Internet, this section seeks to “eventualize” the project – to examine not simply intentions, but to investigate practices and the ways in which strategies play out (Foucault, 1991, pp. 76-78). The Internet is not so much an instance of governance without government (though it is this as well) as it is an example of the ways in which modern forms of power occur less through the formal structures of the national state, and more through a complex network of both localized and globalized power relations. In effect, micro-level practices are coupled with large scale exercises of political power, therefore allowing political authorities to govern-at-a-distance (Herbert-Cheshire & Lawrence, 2002). Accordingly, state power can be limited while still achieving the same results. Generally, there are four perspectives on the

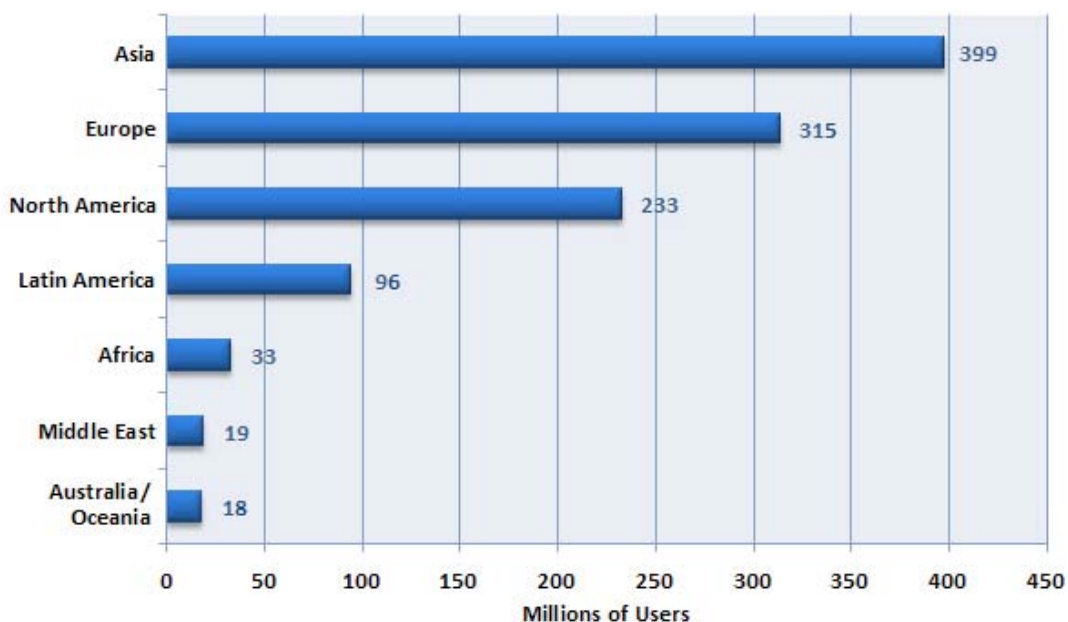


Figure 1.0: Internet Users by World Region (*Internet World Stats, 2007*)

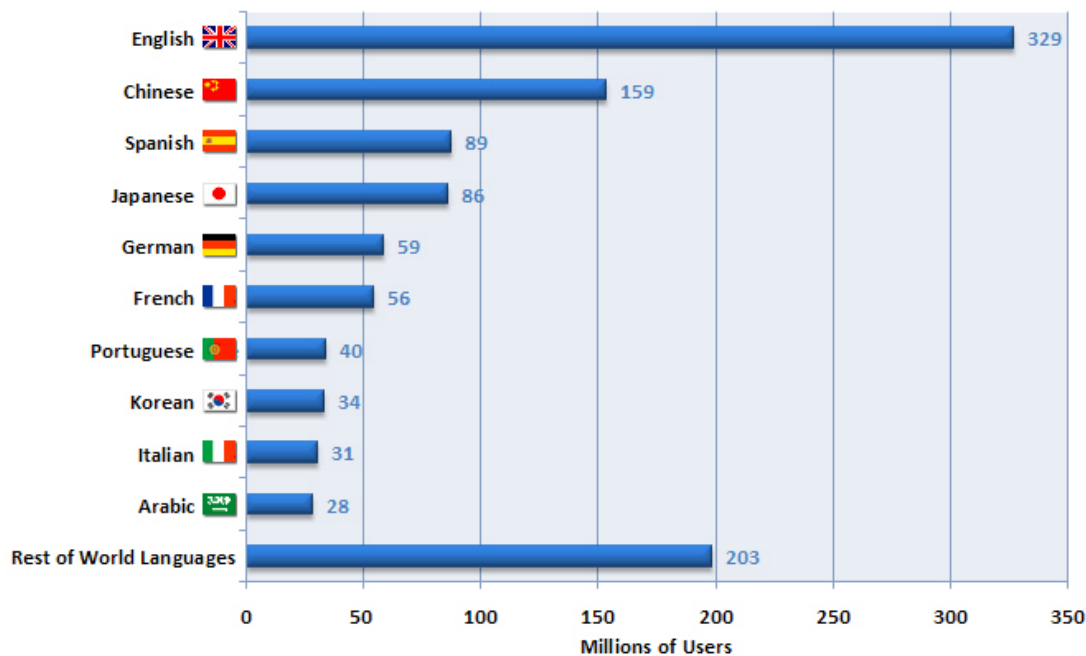


Figure 1.1: Internet Top 10 Languages (*Internet World Stats, 2007*)

signification of the Internet, though the perspectives sometimes overlap. The first common misperception is that the Internet is everywhere – that it is decentralized and therefore different than more traditional forms of communication such as the telephone and television. To the contrary, all data transferred over the Internet, from emails to web pages, passes through “root servers” which control all Internet traffic. There are currently thirteen root servers, with ten in the continental United States, and one in each of Amsterdam, Stockholm and Tokyo. Additionally, access to the Internet can only be achieved through the “domain name system” (DNS) of addresses, which act as doors to websites. The management of this system is under the control of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), which reports directly to the US government. While there have been recent attempts to decentralize control of the domain name system, the US Department of Commerce reasserted its power over ICANN in mid-2006, and will maintain its role as “ultimate supervisor” until 2011 (BBC, 2006).

A second misconception, related to the first, is that socio-political and economic relations on the Internet are uncontrollable and anonymous. In addition to the centralization of control indicated above, governance is also increasingly achieved through code. As authors such as Lawrence Lessig (2000) argue, standardization processes and computer code, the underlying language of the Internet, act to restrict and limit the kinds of operations that can be performed and the ways in which we manage data and transfer knowledge. In short, code is law. Anonymity on the Internet is also a falsehood. Because of both the centralization of control, in the number and location of the root servers, and the decentralization of governance, in the ubiquity of underlying code, the Internet acts in the networks of production as a virtual panopticon – as “the gaze without eyes” (Koskela, 2000). This modern (or post-modern!) form of surveillance is not designed to eavesdrop on



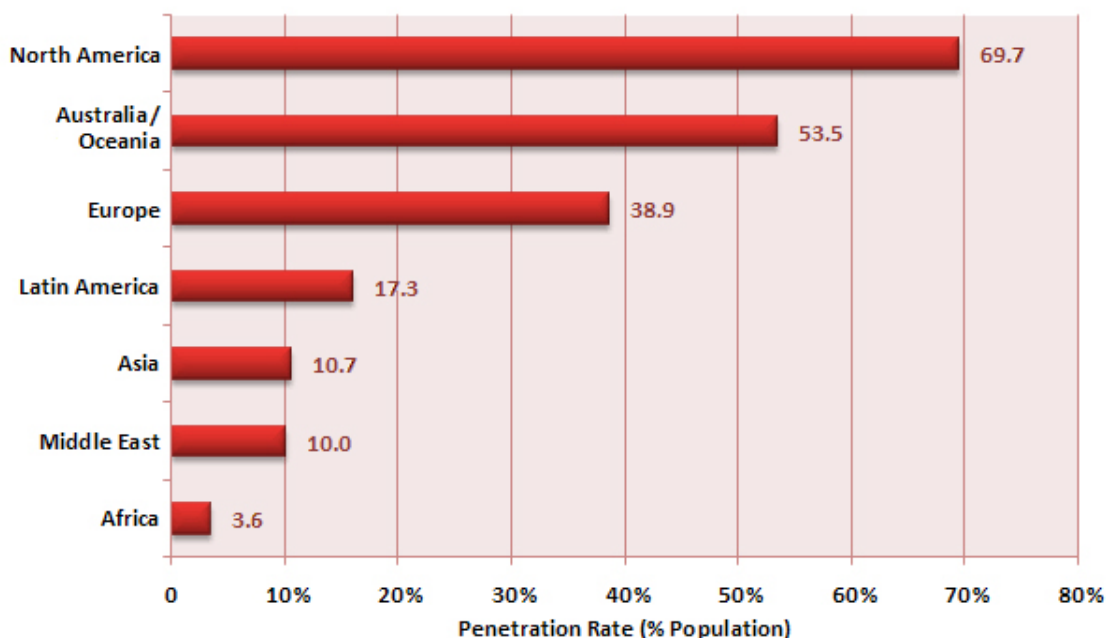


Figure 1.2: Internet Penetration by World Region (*Internet World Stats, 2007*)

specific individuals. Instead, the surveillance system works on the basis of automated analysis. Messages and conversations are filtered through a computer system which detects keywords and phrases (Todd & Bloch, 2003, pp. 46) – a method of processing information known as “data-mining.”

Third, the Internet is commonly identified as a public good that is global in scope and cross-cultural in reach. This perspective of public good is problematic in that the root servers are owned and operated by private corporations such as VeriSign and Cogent Communications, and military operators such as the US Department of Defense Network Information Center and the US Army Research Lab (Root-Servers.org, 2007). The Internet is also neither global in scope, nor cross-cultural in reach. While statistics fluctuate on a regular basis, and will be subject to further change as Chinese uptake of the Internet increases, the general consensus is that about 35-40 percent of all users are English speaking, while 85 percent of all content is in the English language (Figure 1.1; Global Reach, 2004; Internet World Stats, 2007). While English as the *lingua franca* of the Internet may be a result of the project’s American origins, the consequences on global cultural diversity are such that users are greatly restricted in terms of the amount and type of information they can acquire and publish in their own language. This is related to a fourth misperception, that Internet accessibility is universal due to the global penetration of communication technologies. An examination of existing statistics on Internet users demonstrates that accessibility is generally limited to particular classes in primarily industrialized regions. For example, North America has the highest level of Internet penetration at 69.7 percent of the population resulting in 233 million users. In contrast, Asia has among the lowest in Internet penetration at 10.7 percent resulting, however, in 399 million users (Figure 1.0 and 1.2).

As such, the Internet is a form of governmentality that governs-at-a-distance, working to produce a particular kind of space with a particular type of subject: the able-

bodied, English-speaking, computer-literate, middle/upper-class individual. This process of normalization characteristic of governmentalization consists of a new mode of regulation, and a new geography. The new mode of social regulation consists of repression through the virtual panopticon and self-governance through flexibilization. The new geography is not unlike traditional geographies, in that both virtual and traditional forms of travel are dependent upon the identification of landmarks and ideas of what can be found where. Just as the Empire State Building in New York plays an important role as a geographical landmark, examples of essential virtual landmarks are the “back” button on the web browser and the navigation menu on a website. The differentiation of traditional space from virtual space is located in the latter’s production of new types of spatial geographies, examples of which are found in online communities and virtual worlds such as Second Life. In directing studies away from a primary focus on the state, governmentality is part of a broader theoretical project of rescaling, where agents traditionally understood and recognized as the central actors are being challenged.

### **Over the King’s Head: Consequences for IPE and Governmentality**

Governmentality as a distinct approach to analysing international political economy has largely been ignored within both the dominant and critical discourses. Instead, critical approaches have appropriated key concepts from the governmentality perspective. While various perspectives of critical theory and the Third Debate<sup>12</sup> have brought aspects of governmentality closer to international political economy, “we have not yet cut off the head of the King” (Foucault, 1990: 88-89), and the obsession with the state and sovereignty continues to dominate academic discourse. While the assimilation of governmentality’s components may enhance existing theoretical approaches, a derivative of this process may be a watered-down translation of governmentality. Governmentality may be incompatible with international political economy. The former directs us to examine the different and particular contexts in which governing is called into question, the latter concerns a sometimes global theory of the state or of power relations. However, as theory and practice become increasingly recognized as inseparable (just as power and knowledge have), it is more likely that the governmentality approach has yet to be sufficiently adopted. As this study illustrates, the areas of political economy, state power and governmentality are not so distinct from each other. Through analyses of the informational economy and other objects, spaces and practices, new insights can be uncovered in the art of government and international political economy.

### **Notes**

1. Dean expands on the idea of the “conduct of conduct,” defining it as government being any more or less calculated and rational activity, under-taken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (Dean, 1999: 11).

2. In contrast to the authority over and regulation of subjects of sovereign power and disciplinary power, respectively. Governmentality includes, inter alia, sovereign and disciplinary power, and is closely related to biopolitics, consisting of a change to governance by means of the technologies to sustain life, rather than through technologies to carry out death (Foucault, 1990).

3. Foucault argues that human nature is socially constructed, a product of the society in which it is situated (Chomsky & Foucault, 2006). For a more recent analysis of human nature, see Pinker (2002).
4. For Foucault, madness is located in a particular cultural space within society. The characteristics and shape of this space, and its effects on one who is mad, are dependent on society itself. An understanding of sanity and reason can only be uncovered with an understanding of insanity and unreason. Both are necessary, just as governmentality requires not only forms of knowledge, but resistances to that knowledge (Foucault, 1988).
5. Where the world contains objects, the existence of which is independent of ideas or belief about them. E.g. both Realism and Marxism maintain that there are material causes to which events and actions can be reduced (Campbell, 1992).
6. Critical theory here is meant in broad terms – rather than Critical Theory, associated with the Frankfurt School. Additionally, this more particularistic branch was also concerned with topics central to governmentality that pre-dated Foucault. See, for example, Herbert Marcuse (1991); Horkheimer's work on Authority in "Studies of Authority and the Family" (1936). I am indebted to Matthew Lymburner for his insight on this topic.
7. Although Robert Cox has indicated that he would not consider himself part of any particular "school" or stream of critical international relations theory (Germain & Kenny, 1988; 4).
8. These streams included: the modernist stream associated with John Ruggie and Friedrich Kratochwil, the postmodernist stream associated with Richard Ashley and Robert Walker, and the feminist stream associated with Spike Peterson and Ann Tickner (as outlined in Wendt, 1999: 3-4).
9. According to some authors, globalisation is nothing new. It has been in existence, in some form or another, since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Keohane & Nye, 2000), and possibly even since the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Tilly, 1992); more recently Jan Aart Scholte has identified five distinct definitions of globalization (2000); additionally Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson argue that globalization is a "necessary myth" (1999).
10. Where modernization involved the passage from a paradigm of agriculture and the extraction of raw materials to a paradigm of industry and the manufacture of durable goods (Hardt & Negri, 2000: 280); Alvin and Heidi Toffler called this era the "Information Age" (1980).
11. For a more expansive examination of this concept, see Sears (1999); Sennett (1998); and Ong (1999). Flexibilization is a process of "self-constitution that correlates with, arises from, and resembles a mode of social organization" (Fraser, 2003: 169).
12. The Third Debate is one of ontology, whereas the First Debate was one of epistemology and the Second Debate was one of methodology (Lapid, 1989).

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