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Global, National and Local Perspectives
Introduction

One of the central ideas current in the literature about globalization is that a 'third culture', a global culture, is encompassing the world at the international level (Featherstone 1990)[1]. First of all this refers to the Americanization of the world, characterized by the mass consumption of products delivered by multinational corporations such as McDonald's; in short, the existing Coca Cola culture familiar to all of us.

This 'third culture' is not grounded simply on the contacts between states that formed the basis of the world system in the colonial period. It holds its own unique place and generates its own dynamics in the world at a supra-state level. That is why the focus of sociological theory has shifted from state formation and inter-state relationships to processes at the transnational level. In fact, the globalization approach deals with scale enlargement processes – not from rural to urban areas as was the case in the 1950s and 1960s, or from city and region to the state and international level as in the 'linkages' approach of the 1970s and 1980s (Nas et al. 1989), but from local and state to the world.

The definitions of globalization most frequently encountered in the literature are those of Robertson, who sees it as 'the compression of the world into a single place' and 'the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' (Robertson 1992:6, 8). He argues that globalization refers to the 'global human condition'. Habibul Haque Khondker (1994) points out that an array of things have become available at the global level, and that these processes are affecting the entire world in spatial and relational terms. It is also said that the world is becoming a 'global village', but the concept of 'global town' does more justice to the diversity which is considered essential to globalization.

In order to pin down the globalization approach, it is necessary to ascertain how it is related to other important sociological approaches and to determine exactly to which historical process it refers.

[1] A Dutch version of the first part of this article was written with Margriet Veenma, to whom I am grateful for her cooperation.

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Globalization as a reaction to existing concepts

Globalization can best be understood as a reaction to and an elaboration of two main sociological approaches: the world systems and the modernization approaches. Some scholars place the concept in a much wider context of sociological concepts and schools, but this deflects attention from the main contributions that have been made to the globalization approach.

As a matter of course, globalization builds on the centre-periphery theory, the *dependencia* approach and the world systems school, as it also focuses on the world as a whole. Yet the advocates of globalization do not find these theories very satisfying because they put too much emphasis on the state and the relations between states without enough recognition accorded to the transnational aspect of the world system. Rightly or wrongly, these theories are also criticized for underestimating the aspect of culture, when in fact a new culture is being generated at world level (see the discussion between Wallerstein 1990a, 1990b and Boyne 1990). Moreover, modernization is often perceived as an ideal to be striven for, which is generally not appreciated by the advocates of globalization, who have an eye for the less desirable effects of these processes. Another aspect that is not greatly appreciated in the globalization approach is the relative simplicity of the modernization theory, which often uses opposition to explain social transformation, as if societies change from homogenous to heterogeneous, for example, from traditional to modern, and from integrated to disintegrated. Refuting this simplification, the advocates of the globalization approach stress that modernization is a very complex process that can involve a reversion to traditional values, the strengthening of integration, a stress on the search for identity and so on. So it is not a question of either traditional or modern, but of both traditional and modern; integrated as well as disintegrated.

These ideas about globalization constitute an interesting contribution to theory formation and to a perspective that allows for a wide range of questions for further empirical research.

The concept of localization has to be considered in relation to globalization, as globalization is often inseparable from its antithesis. This leads to new ideas about important concepts in modernization theory such as cosmopolitanism. Because of the attention paid to localization, it has become clear that cosmopolitan persons, though they undeniably have a very wide orientation, also possess strong roots in the local community where they may even play a leading role. So cosmopolitanism in no way excludes local connections and solidarity and may even be grounded in local relationships (Hannerz 1990).

Turning to the 'convergence-divergence' hypothesis, the globalization approach takes an and-and stand. While it cannot be denied that the process of globalization brings about the convergence of values as well as the utilization of goods, this does not preclude the emergence of new values

or the distinctive stressing of values so that divergence takes place. This is why globalization theory contains concepts meant to explain divergence, such as cultural hybridization (Nederveen Pieterse 1993) and creolization, which mirror the phenomenon of interference in Creole languages (Hannerz 1987).

Habibul Haque Khondker (1994) perceptively formulates the essence of globalization by speaking of macro-localization and micro-globalization. The feminist movement is an example of macro-localization, and the social movement that binds tribal groups at the international level is an example of micro-globalization.

The conclusion is that the concept of globalization offers interesting perspectives for research because of its focus on complex and contradictory phenomena at distinct levels in the world system.

Globalization as an historical process

Political, religious, cultural, ideological and economic developments are not restricted to the state and even transcend the inter-state level into the global level. This process of globalization as it is taking place at the moment does not automatically lead to worldwide homogeneity (Featherstone 1990). Hannerz stresses the idea that one type of diversity is substituted by another. The new diversity is different in nature; its emphasis is more on interrelationships and less on autonomy (Hannerz 1987).

The process of globalization often coincides with the strengthening or even the construction of local and regional identities (Van Binsbergen 1994). Different groups fear losing their own identity and being swallowed up in a larger entity. This leads to the accentuation of one's own identity and even to the invention of new distinguishing symbols. The very persons who are alienated from their culture claim the right to maintain it (Vermeulen 1994).

The work of Friedman (1990) focuses on consumption and production patterns as forms of identity expression. As an example he takes the position of the Ainu in Japan. According to the Japanese government, this group is disadvantaged because of its social and not its cultural background. The official Japanese ideology insists that the position of the Ainu can only be improved when they are completely integrated into society and adapt themselves to modern life. In its reaction to this, the Ainu movement is determined to recreate traditional Ainu culture. To underline their identity they produce traditional products for tourists. They organize food festivals, rituals, handicraft courses and sell Ainu products. By espousing these activities they try to show that they possess their own identity. In fact we see a process of the 'invention of tradition'.

This random example reveals that processes of globalization and localization are directly related. The localization process is strengthened by

global processes, and vice versa. The local is not necessarily the passive, dominated receiver of worldwide influences, but is busy selecting, reorganizing and reprocessing them in a creative way (Van Binsbergen 1994). Hannerz points out that receptiveness to foreign cultural influences does not constitute a reduction in the local and national culture. This openness guarantees access to technological and symbolic resources which favour the development of new ideas and of a particular people's own culture (Hannerz 1987).

Taking this one step further, we might ask how global and local contacts and relationships are made and maintained. This refers to the global flows of people, goods, ideas and information. Appadurai (1990) clearly describes how these streams move at the global level and what influence they exert. He distinguishes five dimensions of global flows: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes.

Ethnoscapes refer to people: tourists, exiles, immigrants and foreign labourers. They are an essential phenomenon in world society and influence the policies of and between states.

The concept of mediascapes first points to all the modern, electronic means of reproducing and diffusing information, such as the newspaper, radio, personal computer and TV. Second, it refers to the images of the world that are created by the media. The media blur the borderlines between reality and fiction so that people can evolve ideas and fantasies about areas and peoples they have never visited.

The third flow is called technoscapes. Technology is dispersing rapidly throughout the world in the form of machines and factories produced by multinationals, national corporations and governmental institutions.

Appadurai's fourth flow is related to finances: finanscapes. This should call to mind money markets, financial speculation and the related flows of goods that are interconnected all over the world, especially through multinational corporations.

Finally, Appadurai specifies the concept of ideoscapes. This consists of a chain of ideas based on generally western concepts, such as freedom, development, civil and human rights, sovereignty and democracy. Nowadays these ideas are considered to imply generally accepted conditions needed for a normal life.

The relationships between these various dimensions are difficult to predict at the global level, since every dimension is subject to its own intrinsic limitations and also works to restrict the freedom of movement of other dimensions. The upshot is that the processes of globalization are partial, are not synchronized and are subject to counterreactions. They are rooted in particular groups and institutions and are concentrated at certain locations. These groups, institutions and places, as well as the ideas and goods that connect them, are important starting points for globalization research.

Global, local and national in Indonesia

The articles in this special issue are intended as an initial exploration of the processes of globalization and localization in the Indonesian setting. Inevitably, we find that the national level still plays a crucial role alongside the international level as the prime focus in the region and cannot be excluded from the analysis. The articles cover economic factors (Lindblad), socio-cultural factors (in this case religious; Van Dijk), gender (Niehof), ethnic (Schefold) and tribal factors (Persoon), and physical surroundings, namely the natural environment (Colombijn) and architecture (Nas). They show how the globalization-localization debate is received when placed in the framework of current scholarly discourse on Indonesia.

Some authors claim that economic developments are the motor of globalization, which is generated by the restructuring of the global economy. These developments are then transferred to other domains, particularly the political and cultural arenas (Sjolander 1996). This probably underestimates the role of ideas in development, even the role of globalization constituting a discourse that shapes the present-day world. But irrespective of the accuracy of this notion, the first contribution in this special issue, written by Thomas Lindblad, deals with Indonesian economic development. Lindblad shows that the international position of Indonesia has changed throughout history, passing through various stages. In the pre-colonial period its orientation was mainly towards Asia, particularly India and China. The colonial period saw the building up of the relationship with the Netherlands and Europe. In the modern period, first under Sukarno, cutting loose from Europe was to be achieved by fostering autarchy, but during the New Order stress has been laid on integration within the region.

To assess the present and possible future developments, Lindblad presents empirical data on Indonesia's internal economic restructuring and external economic relations. For a number of decades the country was characterized by rapid economic growth and strong agricultural performance. Shifts have taken place from import substitution to export orientation, as well as from oil and agricultural production to manufacturing. Indonesia is no longer a poor country, and globalization is exemplified by technologically advanced production and international cooperation in aeroplane construction and the motor car industry.

Indonesian economic development is primarily embedded in the region, which is shown in its bias towards the countries of East and Southeast Asia such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Seen in the context of globalization, the hierarchical nature of this process becomes paramount. Economic globalization appears to be no equalizer, notwithstanding the progress involved.

Kees van Dijk sees the present-day process of globalization as one of the many periods of foreign influence that Indonesia has undergone. Global-

ization is not new at all, and the diffusion of Islam in particular might be considered a form of globalization representing a new hegemony. He deals with the globalization discourse in the context of the discussion on syncretism. Animist, Hindu and Moslem influences have all been incorporated in such a way that the special Javanese and Indonesian identity has been maintained and new levels of cultural stability have been realized. Van Dijk presents some examples of the incorporation of foreign influence, the Istiqlal festival in Jakarta in particular. He concludes that local Indonesian culture is fairly resilient and that given this long history of syncretism any fear of loss of identity is unjustified.

Anke Niehof uses the notion of globalization to analyse the life course of Indonesian women, which she divides into several categories: girls, adolescents, marriage, *ibu*-hood and elderly women. She describes important changes in the lives of modern women compared with earlier generations, reporting a decline in child mortality, a rise in educational opportunities for young girls, a lessening of social dependence for adolescents as well as more scope for the development of their talents, a rising age of marriage for women and more opportunities to earn their own income. These changes have been induced by general economic developments, but more especially by the spread of indigenous gender ideologies stressing the interdependence, inequality and complementarity of the sexes in contrast to global feminist theories emphasizing women's autonomy and the egalitarianism of the sexes. These changes have led to contained emancipation, as Niehof puts it, resulting in new sub-cultures for young women and new cultural categories of youth and adolescence under global pressure. When these women marry it will be easier for them to control their own fertility, and when they grow old they will have fewer children to take care of them.

Reimar Schefold takes ethnic diversity as his starting point. He provides the historical background for the country's multi-ethnic composition, describing the problems this has posed for nation-building and the ways it has been tackled by the colonial government and the governments of the Old and the New Order. It is illuminating to see how ethnicity under colonial rule played almost no role as long as the minority groups were kept under control. With the eclipse of the colonial order ethnicity became important, expressed in regional liberation movements, for example. The unity guaranteed by external pressure was breaking down – a phenomenon that parallels the reaction to the fall of the socialist regimes in eastern Europe and Russia. During the Old Order period national values were stressed to foster unity, using such tools as the school system and the use of one common language. The New Order domesticated ethnic group cultures by selecting special local cultural elements that could be incorporated into the national domain.

The stress on common values and joint achievements, the incorporation

of local cultural expressions at the national level, and the expression of national identity and values at the global level all show the intricate relationships that exist between the national, the local and the global. It has been cogently demonstrated that the process of globalization need not be detrimental to the state. It may in fact be used to support it when global values are incorporated and national achievements communicated.

Gerard Persoon also deals with ethnicity, but more specifically in relation to indigenous peoples. His article is an example of the globalization of the local in the field of ideoscapes. Persoon discusses views about indigenous peoples at the global level, where their rights to self-determination are stressed; at the national level, where they are perceived as isolated groups that must be incorporated into the mainstream; and at the local level where the lives of these peoples are affected by official policies, international and national projects, and unplanned changes including world tourism. He analyses reactions to the international discourse at the national level, and to the international and the national discourses at the local level. The process of Indonesianization is crucial to understanding the mutual relations between the processes of globalization, nation-building and localization in the discourse about indigenous peoples.

The contribution of Freek Colombijn has much in common with those of Schefold and Persoon. It is also set within the domain of ideoscapes, namely on the notions of environmental problems and sustainable development. Colombijn, after presenting an overview of the environmental problems in Indonesia, systematically discusses the actors and actions in this field at the international, national and local levels, focusing on the role of NGOs. He shows that the environmental problems, which are caused mainly by processes of urbanization, industrialization and deforestation, derive at least in part from global trends. However, local actors may also be lined up alongside international actors for apportioning the blame. Indonesia is even exporting several kinds of waste, which means that it is contributing to environmental problems elsewhere and cannot be portrayed simply as a victim of global trends or as a victim as such. In his analysis, Colombijn distinguishes two important vested interest groups in addition to the victims of pollution: those who profit from environmental pollution by causing it, and those who profit from it by fighting it. This may help to contribute to a realistic view of new vested interest groups in the environmental arena and to a better understanding of environmental politics and defence.

The last contribution, by Peter Nas, also focuses on the environment, in this case the man-made physical surroundings, namely the house. Nas presents a survey of traditional habitation styles in Indonesia and analyses the basic principles on which they are based. He also describes major changes in the course of history triggered by Hindu, Islamic,

Chinese, western colonial and present-day global influences. He points the finger at the western ethnocentric bias in globalization theory, which ignores the earlier forms of its Asian variety and exaggerates the totality of its own range, failing to recognize its predominantly regional scope. He doubts the new, recent character of globalization, pointing (as does Van Dijk) to foreign influences and their incorporation into different historical periods, all this notwithstanding the influence of new present-day global mass media.

Conclusion

This special issue is basically dedicated to Indonesianists' perception of the concepts of globalization and localization. It shows how these concepts have been received in terms of existing discourses on the region, and leads to three important observations: the syncretist way that Indonesian culture adopts foreign influences; the predominance of the state at the national level; and the regional and diverse nature of the answers to globalization.

In the first place, the concept of globalization refers to relevant social reality – such as movies from India, Hong Kong and the West, foreign restaurants, internet and so on – which cannot and should not be denied. The negative reactions often caused by global influences – from the criticism of the use of English words in advertisements to the taste of fast food – are also affirmed.

Secondly, notwithstanding the stream of publications describing a new type of global, informational, or network society (see Harvey 1990; Castells 1996), the concept of globalization meets with a certain scepticism within the circle of Indonesianists as represented in this special issue. Although it is acknowledged that the compression of time and space, to borrow the words of D. Harvey (1990), has acquired very special characteristics because of the explosion of modern electronic and mass communication techniques, these developments are evaluated in the context of the current body of knowledge about Indonesian history and about the foreign influences to which Indonesia has been subjected and their adoption in the course of time. This evaluation places globalization within a series of foreign impacts. Such a compression of time and space has occurred at various times in history, for example when the Archipelago was discovered by westerners, after the introduction of the steamship, and again after the Second World War. Even further in the past, Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, Chinese and European influences have all been abundant, so that today's so-called global impact – rightly or wrongly – is not considered a particularly new phenomenon. The earlier influences were also often 'global' in nature, though not all of western origin as globalization is supposed to be; they were not just state-to-state influences but were part of a much more general international, even transnational process. Present-day

analysis puts the reception of foreign influences within the context of the syncretism of Indonesian culture, which incorporates them in a dynamic way without losing its own core and identity. In fact, present socio-cultural conditions are created by this fundamentally Indonesian mixture of the cultural fabric.

Thirdly, the analysis of several concepts in the domain of the ideoscapes, such as class, gender, ethnicity, tribal group and environmental problems, shows the syncretist character of Indonesian cultures. Global influences are not to be denied, but it is clear that notions and views are reshaped at the national and local levels, so that new meanings are attached to the concepts being examined. The localization of the global and the globalization of the local are – as is indicated in the theory – part of the process in Indonesia, but the national domain appears to be predominant in the reshaping of meanings. So globalization does not lead to neglect of the state and national levels. The state must be regarded as an important actor in globalization; it does not necessarily need to lose any power by fostering this process, and in fact its position may even be strengthened.

Fourthly, when all the historical waves of foreign influences are taken into consideration, the magnitude and universality of the globalization process today may be called into question. Globalization trends are not as strong as they seem; Indonesian economic development is directed mainly towards the region of Southeast and East Asia, where conditions are often more congenial, which is particularly pertinent to the structure of the states in the region. With this in mind, globalization is probably better understood as a specific Indonesian variant of regionalization, but a regionalization with a dominant role taken by the national state in the context of a hierarchical social system. The evidence clearly points to the idea that globalization must be considered a diversified process and should be stripped of its connotation of homogeneity.

At the end of this introduction, it is important to point out that the articles in this special issue were completed in early 1997. The spectacular events that took place in Indonesia during the second half of 1997, such as the currency crisis and the bush fires, are therefore not covered. With respect to the currency situation, it is still too early to predict the full impact of the sharp depreciation of the Indonesian rupiah and the subsequent rescue operation organized by the International Monetary Fund to safeguard Indonesia's economic development. Suffice it to say, at this stage a downward revision of the rate of economic growth targeted for 1998 appears likely.

Concerning the environment, old problems have not gone away and new issues have come to the foreground. A mega-project to convert around 1.5 million hectares of peat swamp forest in Central Kalimantan into rice

fields and plantations is taking shape. A large area of the acidic deep peat cannot be brought under cultivation, and the considerable hydrological consequences of the entire project are largely being ignored. A plan to build Indonesia's largest pulp mill in South Sumatra is being developed, despite protests from the local community and NGOs. Another El Niño year with big forest fires, many started by plantation companies, attracted international media coverage in 1997 (*Down to Earth* 35, November 1997). These new events should not divert attention from the structural causes of environmental degradation; these have remained the same.

The failure of the UN Conference of June 1997 to evaluate the Rio de Janeiro 'Earth Summit' held five years earlier revealed that the global platform of environmental protection may be weakening at the state level. Meanwhile, environmental NGOs have discovered the full potential of e-mail to coordinate local, national and international campaigning activities. However, the Indonesian government is working on internet restrictions in order to check this global communication network (*Down to Earth* 31 November 1996). Foreign academics have also discovered the importance of NGOs, the linkages and the constraints between international, national and local groups (Van Dongen 1997; Eldridge 1995:132-51, 195-211; Eccleston and Potter 1996). Their views tend to agree with those of Colombijn, expressed in this volume.

Finally, it is important to point out that the articles in this special issue represent very different genres. Some authors comment directly and straightforwardly on the central theme of globalization and localization, while others prefer to present their insights on this theme more implicitly and indirectly, sometimes even using 'the genre of the puzzle' as a challenge to the esteemed reader.

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