Andreas Öjehag Pettersson

Establishing Conformity

A Study of Globalization Perspectives of Four Nordic Countries

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Supervisor:      Hans Lödén
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Abstract


By first arguing for the fact that globalization is a concept under contest within the social sciences this thesis develops a tool to classify perspectives of globalization. This tool is then applied to textual documents that represents the so called globalization councils (or initiatives) of Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Norway. Each document is then classified as falling within one of four perspectives of globalization; Liberalisms, Marxisms, Constructivisms and Post-colonialisms. By analyzing a number of documents tied to all four councils and initiatives the thesis is able to interpret what perspective of globalization that is dominant within each of them. Since all four nations examined aspire to use scientific methods to deal with the challenges of globalization they should reflect the diverse state of explanations present within the social scientific community. The thesis finds that this is not the case. While the Norwegian initiative establishes a platform where the concept of globalization could be said to be broadly debated and understood, the other three nations show an astonishing conformity around the perspective named Liberalisms.

In a concluding discussion the thesis argues that the results of the study cannot be fully explained by differences within the institutional arrangement among the councils and initiatives. Instead the thesis holds that the results can be explained by investigating how science is used in modern society to establish truths that are not necessarily the views of the scientific community. Using theories by Georg Henrik von Wright and Chantal Mouffe the essay concludes that the conformity could be understood as a part of a process that some social scientists call post-politics.

Key Words: Globalization, Political Philosophy, Textual Analysis and Nordic Politics
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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Some would call it the beginning of the end, others a temporary glitch in a system that is fundamentally flawless in itself. The so called financial crisis that has swept over the world is to the economic world what Hurricane Katrina is to storms. Resembling the gigantic and destructive forces of the disaster that in 2005 devastated the area of New Orleans, Louisiana, the financial crises leaves behind destruction, homeless people and general despair among humans. However, the analogy has a significant shortcoming. While natural disasters such as hurricanes, tsunamis or even fires are more or less confined within a particular geographical area, the financial crisis has spread over seas, through the major metropolitan areas of the world into remote forest regions, deserts and virtually all places inhabited by mankind – and it has done so very fast.

It is, in at least two ways, a striking example of what the world has come to know as globalization. First, it is indeed an example of one of the core characteristics of the phenomenon, namely the supranational behavior of business (Scholte, 2008:452). Unlike earlier periods of human history, the finance capital of the gigantic global firms not only crosses borders but actually transcends them, according to some scholars. While there are many takes on globalization, few would probably argue against the fact that the world today is intricately intertwined when it comes to the financial relations of, not only major corporations, but also the more local businesses down the street.

However, some do argue against this notion, and not only that, some scholars find that globalization is nothing but a buzz word, a miss reading of reality and basically a false interpretation of our contemporary society. As such the second exemplifying characteristic of the financial crisis is the debate around how it should be met and why it happened at all. As a concept, globalization too is very much debated in academic circles. Like some scholars have shown (Scholte, 2005; Held and McGrew, 2000a; 2007) the understanding of the concept differs vastly depending on what perspective one sets out from. There is a Liberalist perspective that stresses how globalization is normatively good and driven by natural market forces. Likewise there is a Marxist one which also points to market forces as a reason, however, here they are not at all seen as a good force in service of mankind. There is also a Constructivist response to both the Liberalist and Marxist tradition where globalization is regarded much more as a mental effect caused by ideas of human beings. Building on some parts Constructivism and some parts Marxism, the many perspectives grouped
under the common denominator of **Post-colonialism** also pay attention to ideas, but at the same time stresses the power relations between groups of humans. At least a few more such as **Feminism** and **Realism** have contributed to the debate in ways that has had profound impacts on how the phenomena known as globalization is viewed today. Naturally the perspectives differs in what they feel is an appropriate response to globalization, but they also disagree as to what features actually should be a part of the concept and not. Therefore proponents of a certain school of thought many times disagree with others even before the more normative issues are to be handled, and the fact is that as a phenomenon globalization is not easily explained.

To be sure social scientists around the world are engaged in a struggle that tries to come to an understanding of the subject that most people can agree upon. However, to this day it is probably more accurate to speak of a deeply contested concept. In short, there are various scientific responses to the question of **what globalization is** and there is at least as many answers to **how do we handle it to best benefit mankind**.

Realizing the debate on globalization within the social sciences, it is interesting to see how nations around the world are trying to relate to a reality which they perceive as more and more globalized. Indeed in times of a financial crisis such as the one currently in effect many state officials have spent long hours trying to understand how they are going to battle the negative effects of a global community. In some countries, such as the Nordic ones, globalization has become official state concern even before the crisis erupted. Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland all have established government councils to better prepare the nations for the future. They all have similar features in that they are said to be a broad response, contributing to the debate through an involvement of diverse interests such as trade unions, businesses, the state and the scientific community. Even though the particular nations have chosen somewhat different strategies in how to execute this, the councils can generally be said to strive towards official policy recommendations based on a number of reports ordered from experts within the different interests mentioned above. That is, the councils of all four Nordic countries are trying to establish a scientifically based recommendation as to how political steering through the future should be outlined. Such a task is indeed very hard, not the least from a perspective of the social sciences.

Since the social scientific community can be said to be very heterogeneous in its understanding of globalization, any “council” that wishes to base its recommendations for the future on science should reflect this diversity. If it does not there is reason to believe that the so called broadening of the debate and the claims of representation is in fact nothing but an attempt to establish a truth about globalization that does not exists among scholars. As previous studies have shown (Öjehag-
Pettersson, 2008) the Swedish council, for instance, is thoroughly dominated by a liberal globalization ideology, even though it has outspoken claims to deepening the discussion and reflecting the will of different interest groups. As a project it would better be classified as a political one than a scientific one, yet that is not what it makes itself out to be.

1.1.1 The globalization Councils

A couple of years in to the new millennium a rather interesting turn in the Nordic countries' understandings of the world has taken place. Probably influenced by each other, the leaders of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland all started to engage in questions of how to best meet the issues of the modern era which they thought were closely linked to the phenomenon known as globalization. In all four countries specifically appointed councils or initiatives were established to tackle not only the problems, but also to find ways of gaining advantages from a globalized world. This has been solved differently among the nations but they do, however, share a very similar goal and purpose. That is, to have a broad and open take on globalization and invite different parts of societal interest groups to make sure that the policy recommendations of the councils reflect concerns and understandings that go beyond party politics.

The two most similar designs could be said to be represented by Denmark and Sweden, with Sweden following the Danish lead. While the Danish council was established by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmusen and began its work in the spring of 2005, the Swedish council was created by the new government shortly after its victory in the election held in the fall of 2006. Lead by then Minister of Education Lars Leijonborg the council started working in the spring of 2007, nearly a year after the Danish council had issued its final report. It is fair to say that the two councils share a very similar goal of what they aim to do, something that is shown for instance in their very similar official declarations of their purposes:

The government wishes to engage broadly in the debate of globalization. That is also why the globalization council is broadly built. The council is composed by representation from unions, businesses, the education system, the research community and the government.
(The Danish globalization council website, 2009-04-18).

And in the case of Sweden:

The council is comprised of representatives from the government, union officials, the businesses, the public administration, media and the research community. The council should be coined by a commitment to Sweden that lies beyond the conflicting and short-

Translation by the author, original quote in Danish.
sighted orientation that sometimes is common in party politics and special interests. (The Swedish globalization council website, 2009-04-18).^2

This similarity is also reflected in the ways both Denmark and Sweden have set out to work with issues of globalization within the councils. The goal in both cases was set to be a policy report that reflected a number of official meetings, debates and underlying expert opinions on a number of problems connected to an increasingly global world.

In relation to the Swedish and the Danish councils the Finnish and the Norwegian ones are different in some respects. For starters, both of those councils operate as a unit within other official bodies of government and has therefore oriented themselves in other ways. What is here considered as the globalization council of Finland is actually a part of what the Finnish government calls its “economic council”. As a preparation of the Finnish presidency of the EU in the fall of 2006 it took special interest in the challenges of globalization and invited, much like in Sweden and Denmark, experts to write articles that addressed the problems Finland (and Europe as a whole) would face in the coming years ahead (Secretariat of the Economic Council, 2006a:5ff).

While the Finnish project is different from the Danish and the Swedish cases, the Norwegian one could be said to be even more so. What has been referred to here as the globalization council of Norway is actually an initiative called Refleks – norske interseser i en globalisert verden^3 launched by the foreign minister of Norway, Jonas Gahr Støre. It is a project pursued under the influence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Norway and is as such oriented towards foreign policy rather than domestic. Therefore the reports, meetings and debates associated with the Norwegian version of a globalization council are first and foremost treating issues of international concern for Norway. However, they also take a very broad approach to this goal acknowledging that:

The world is changing fast, the lines between foreign and domestic politics is getting blurred. Globalization, changing power relations and the emerging thoughts of a new and multi-cultural “us” forces us to rethink the formation of Norwegian foreign policy (Refleks web site, 2009-04-25).^4

At the same time Refleks invited a large number of scholars, politicians and spokesmen for different interests to write reports on many issues that, while still connected to foreign policy, extended far into issues that are of importance to domestic politics.

In sum then, the globalization councils of the Nordic countries take different forms and shapes. However, they hold similar motives and questions oriented towards how the respective nation is to

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^2 Translation by the author original quote in Swedish.

^3 Translates to Reflex – Norwegian Interests in a Globalized World.

^4 Translation by the author original quote in Norwegian.
handle the challenges of globalization. Therefore an analysis of how they reflect the social scientific community's understanding of what globalization is could be interesting for many reasons. All of them do not fit within the framework of this essay. However, the structurer is made so that it is possible to reflect on many of them in one way or another. A note should be taken on the notion of the term council. The Swedish and Danish ones will most commonly be referred to here as “councils”, while the Norwegian and Finnish ones will be referred to as “initiatives” reflecting the fact that while handling much the same issues their selected frame of work are a little bit different.

1.2 Problem orientation

The essay is trying to find what scientific perspectives of globalization that are present within the councils and initiatives of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. The essay also deals with questions and problems related to the mixture of politics and science. That is to say it questions the possibility for the social sciences to get involved with politics without getting political themselves. However, those particular issues connected to a debate of a meta character are a little outside the main orientation of the problem dealt with here.

Since most of the councils generally presents themselves as scientific projects in the sense that they wish to understand globalization better and provide a foundation for the respective countries to respond to its challenges, they should reflect the diversity of the social scientific community. By searching for different perspectives within central documents provided by the councils it is possible to assess to what extent they are a good representation of how globalization is actually understood by scholars. Especially since the spirit expressed by the Swedish council is present in all of the others too:

The Globalization Council is an arena for dialogue of issues concerning globalization. Its purpose is to deepen the knowledge and broaden the public discussion of the effects of globalization. [...] The council should be coined by a commitment to Sweden that lies beyond the conflicting and short-sighted orientation that sometimes is common in party politics and special interests (The Swedish Globalization Council, website, 2009).  

Such a statement makes room for a number of problems that could be investigated by scholars of the social sciences. One of the most obvious ones has already been mentioned, namely that if the councils are sincere in there aims to broaden the debate they should represent thoughts and ideas from many perspectives in their reports. Another area of interesting research could probably be found in the fact that if a result is found that shows diversities amongst countries it is highly

5 Translation by the author original quote in Swedish.
interesting to understand why it is so. Furthermore if all the nations show similarities in the way social scientific perspectives are represented in their reports this is just as, if not more, interesting.

### 1.2.1 Purpose

The purpose of this essay is to interpret what social scientific perspectives of globalization that are present in the globalization councils of the Nordic countries, and also if they reflect the heterogeneity of the social scientific community's understanding of the phenomenon. This is done by analyzing some of the most important documents provided by the councils. It follows from this that it is also possible to discuss the differences (or similarities) amongst the countries and this is also a purpose of the essay.

#### 1.2.1.1 Research questions

To fulfill its purpose the essay tries to answer the following questions:

1. What social scientific perspectives of globalization can be said to be present in the works of the globalization council/initiative in:
   - a) Sweden
   - b) Denmark
   - c) Finland
   - d) Norway

2. Are there:
   - a) … differences among the national councils regarding the presence of social scientific perspectives of globalization?
   - b) … similarities among the national councils regarding the presence of social scientific perspectives of globalization?
2. Theory

This study is based on the study of texts. In relation to any given text the concept of theory can be applied to somewhat different levels. First there is the notion of a **specific** theory to solve a problem. This is often linked to some form of hypothesis in the sense that the theory is used as a means to solve the particular problem at hand. It could be, for instance, to use the theory of relativity when trying to explain the phenomenon of gravity, or in more social scientific terms it could be the use of democratic peace theory in a work that is concerned with explaining the way nations interact with each other.

Secondly, the concept of theory in a text can be related to the underlying **theoretical approach** that can be said to form the framework for the basic understanding of the world that the author is trying to explain (Marsh & Stoker, 2002). Here theory is a way of approaching the reality that surrounds us as human beings and it is used to answer questions of what the world actually is and how we gain knowledge about it. Indeed the way a scholar thinks and relates to these basic questions very much also determines his or hers way of doing research and thus how he or she explains the world. It follows then that this particular notion of theory is very important to scientific research in general and therefore also to this essay in particular. However, that is not the same as saying that every essay, thesis, book or article that aspires to meet scientific standards needs a section that outlines the theoretical approach of the author, on the contrary. Many times this is a subtle part of the entire text that does not need to be an explicit part of the presentation. In this essay though, it seems natural to first account for this particular form of theory since it actually is a vital part of the method used and is present throughout the analysis.

2.1 The world around us

Within the context of philosophy, scholars have for literally thousands of years debated the issue of what the world actually is, and how we as humans relate to it. It is indeed a long line of thought with prominent names making their claims if one wishes to track this thinking backwards through the centuries. In the western world we would have to move from the Pre-Socratic philosophers through ancient Rome, into the middle ages, pass the renaissance and the enlightenment, further into the romantic era and end up somewhere in the modern times (or even the post-modern times). In short: these are questions of fundamental significance to humanity. Such a journey through the ages, however, interesting, would be far too long to take here. Instead a short introduction to the
field is presented here comprising of the most general positions as a form of introduction to themes that will continue to be present throughout the analysis of the different councils and initiatives.

2.1.1 Ontology and epistemology

When relating to the basic concepts of how the world is situated philosophers speak of **ontology**. In everyday situations we seldom reflect over if what we see around us is actually something real at all. Intuitively we take for granted that the things we can see, hear, smell, taste or feel are objects of a reality separated from us. If we were to somehow cease to exist in this very moment, many feel that there is no reason to think that the world would disappear with us. Indeed this is the standpoint of the philosophical school of **materialism** from which proponents argue that the world around us is real, and we can detect it with our senses (Bergström & Boréus, 2005:20ff).

The argument of the materialist is as mentioned quite straightforward and appeals to common sense; however, the problem can be much more complicated. The **idealist** traditions are in many aspects diametrically opposed to the materialist and holds that the objects of our surroundings become real only inside our brain (Bergström & Boréus, 2005:ibid). Consider an object such as a lamp standing on a desk. To a materialist this is a typical example of the world outside us. We can describe the lamp and say that it has a certain color, it feels hard when we touch it and it shines light if we push a button. The idealist might agree that the lamp is on the table but would ask how we know that our description of it is accurate. How do we know that my experience of its color is the same as yours? How do we know that when we say that something is hard we mean the same thing? The point is, the idealist would claim, that what we perceive as reality is created within our minds rather than on the outside and this has direct implications for how to understand the world.

The distinction between the different ontological positions becomes important in the study of society in many ways. Different explanations of what society is and how it functions many times rest on different ontological starting positions. That means that they are many times fundamentally contesting views of reality in a way that makes it hard to balance what on the face of it might seem as a good point of comparison. Instead, to understand the conflicting issues between theories of the society or between scholars it may be crucial to relate to the ontological foundation upon which they rest their claims.

The second area of importance for the theoretical perspectives concerns the problem of knowledge. If we assume that the world has specific ontological qualities then how do we gain understanding of it? Obviously the question of **epistemology** is closely related to ontology, but not always in easy
manners. Within the social sciences a reoccurring debate exists over whether the scientists can observe real, objective relations between different phenomena. If they can it would mean that it is possible to treat the society as just another object of nature like the focus of study for the physicists or chemists. From this, theories and generalizations can be formulated and a system of understanding could emerge that approach a set of laws like the ones used to describe the natural world. A scholar with a materialist understanding of the world would probably come to the conclusion that such a way of relating to the possibilities of knowledge is a reasonable claim, much more so at least, than someone with an ontological orientation towards idealism. The idealist that assumes that the world is a subjective creation within in our minds would probably have a much harder time accepting that the social scientist can get any way near the law like creations of the natural scientists (Marsh & Stoker, 2002:17f).

The different understandings of ontology and epistemology are in reality not easily separated, rather there are many different mixes of interpretations of the world and our knowledge of it. So for instance there are a large group of scientists that more or less share the same kind of views on ontology and epistemology in a way that together forms an approach usually called **positivism**. They believe that the world is a real place and that the natural and social sciences are in their basic claims very alike. They have developed powerful ways of formulating hypothesis and methods to answer questions about society like the physicists investigate the world of atomic particles (Marsh & Stoker, 2002:22ff). Opposing the positivists, other scholars adopt what could be called an **interpretist** approach. They generally find that the world does not exist without our knowledge about it, rather it is a social construction between humans. From this follows that the scholar who wants to understand the social order must be concerned with the interpretations of society and its agents to be able to say something useful (Marsh & Stoker, 2002:26ff).

At the intersection (if there is such a place) of both the understandings referenced above lies a third perspective, **realism** that shares aspects with both the positivist and the interpretist approach. The realist alternative views the world as a place that exists outside of the minds of human beings. That is; it shares the same ontological position as positivism and thus agrees that there are indeed many objects and phenomena of the world that are directly observable. Therefore they can be structured and investigated in ways so that causal relationships are possible to detect (Marsh & Stoker, 2002:30f).

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6 There are two different meanings to the concept of realism used in this essay. First the ontological position described here and later the theoretical school of international politics. To keep the meaning clear and separate realism as an ontological position is always written with a lower case r, while the school of international politics is written with a capital R.
At the same time the realist approach rejects many of the claims of positivism and shares much of its epistemological understandings with the interpretist tradition. Substantially this means that realists acknowledge that there are structures and phenomena in society that are not directly observable and therefore needs to be interpreted to give a more comprehensive explanation of social scientific phenomena, and indeed globalization is a good example (Marsh and Stoker, 2002:30ff).

2.2 Globalization Theory

As indicated the research concerning globalization is diverse. As a concept it encompasses virtually all of the social scientific disciplines and its scope has been, and continues to be, very broad. A large number of scholars contribute to the growing understanding of the phenomena that has had such a powerful influence that it is, according to some, possible to speak of it as a new era, such as modernity or the enlightenment has been in the centuries before contemporary times (Held and McGrew, 2000:1ff).

Within this vast array of theories and thoughts on globalization it exists a number of contesting perspectives that differs not only in their explanation of what globalization is, but also in their understandings of when it started, how it functions, why it exists and also whether it is good or bad. The debate on globalization therefore, many times involve sides that cannot agree on the most fundamental issues. That is not to say that the debate in itself is mundane or simple – on the contrary. The different perspectives, according to political scientist Jan Aart Scholte (2006), all stresses important considerations and findings to help deepen the understanding of globalization, however, some of them has come to be more influential than others. When trying to describe the theories of contemporary globalization research it is therefore probably imperative to relate to this diversity of explanations and perspective if one wants to achieve an understanding of the concept that is a little bit deeper than its everyday usage.

Political scientist David Held has over the years been engaged in the debate as such, but has also been committed to trying to understand the different perspectives of the debate (Held and McGrew, 2000a; 2007). Held's personal area of research has focused heavily on the possibilities of what he calls a cosmopolitan democracy. He is one of many scholars who acknowledges that globalization is an inevitable fact of modern times but at the same time a force that must be tamed and transformed from its current shape to benefit mankind. Arguing from a position that is considerably to the left on a political spectrum Held has become one of the most influential scholars to day and his thoughts and ideas are widely spread (Held and McGrew, 2007).
David Held is indeed an active part of the debate on globalization, however, he has also focused a lot on how the debate itself can be described and understood. By relating different globalization ideas to each other Held argues that many differences among social scientists can be traced back to different understandings of significant parts of the whole phenomena. He recognizes how a first and very fundamental divergence between scholars can be traced to their definitions of what globalization is. On the one hand there are the skeptics who are not at all convinced that globalization today is anymore intensive or important than earlier forms such as the one present in the belle époque. Indeed many skeptics treat contemporary globalization as a myth or misunderstanding of what is actually happening (Hirst and Thompson, 2000; Wallerstein, 2004). The defining characteristics of today are not global they claim, rather they are inter-national with the hyphen representing the fact that the world is still a place of nation states, albeit they may engage in relations that increasingly are amongst the states themselves rather than within them (Held and McGrew, 2000b:1ff).

On the other hand there are also the globalists who have much trouble seeing what the skeptics see as true about globalization. Instead they argue that what we live through today is actually a significant step in the social evolution of mankind. We are as humans increasingly taking part of a world that knows no boundaries of nations and in which capital, ideas, information and indeed humans too, travel with speed and in magnitude that only 50 years ago would have seemed impossible. Globalization is not only a phenomena that can be explained as some form of traditional interaction between nation states, on the contrary it is something that changes the fundamental order of our societies, globalists claim (Castells, 1996; Scholte, 2005, Held and McGrew; 2000a, 2007).

According to Held, this split between globalists and skeptics could be seen as running over at least six important focal points of the discussion where they take different stands and promote ideas that are in line with their overall view of globalization. The first one, which Held dubs as concepts, has already been mentioned as it represents the fact that the skeptics see the process as internationalization or maybe a form of regionalization while the globalists holds the notion of one world increasingly interconnected on a global scale as true. The second issue, power, relates to how both sides identify the principal power units in todays world. This translates into a globalist position that sees the nation state as a declining force, challenged by a sort of erosion stemming from the fact that globalization changes fundamental principals such as sovereignty, autonomy and legitimacy. The skeptic position on the other hand claims a world where nation states continues to

7 The belle époque refers to a time in (European) history located roughly in the late 19th century where the lives of the well to do was increasingly influenced by technical inventions and trade goods from around the world. To the noble classes at least it was a sort of a “golden age” in history. Its literal meaning from French would be “beautiful era”.
be the most important actor and where the relations between them would best be characterized as intergovernmentalism (Held and McGrew, 2000b:37).

Regarding the third focal point of the discussion, **culture**, the globalists generally argue that the modern world with all its technological advances will eventually (and rather fast) bring with it a global culture in which the fixed political identities of today will change into something more flexible and more in line with a global world where nation states will not be the (only) natural organization for political units. Skeptics dismiss this and point to the fact that nationalism still stands strong while at the same time national identity may become even more important since the world, even from their point of view, actually is “coming closer”. The human response to this may in fact be to care more about roots than potential involvement in far away lands, skeptics argue. Globalists and skeptics also differ when it comes to **economy** and **inequality**. The skeptics see before them a world where the economy forms into regional blocks of such a strong influence that it will lead to a new form of imperialism sprung from the mighty economic centers of North America, Europe and Japan or possibly South East Asia. There will be a clear split between the North and the South where the former reaps economical benefits on the latter's behalf. Many globalists also see a potential inequality growing out of globalization, but they claim it is generated out of the fact that the world is more and more coined by a global information capitalism, or hyper-capitalism. At the same time there are many globalists who find the solution to the world's problems within this same exact process in which they find that what we all need is not less capitalism, but more of it (Friedman, 2007).

A last issue that Held names **order**, is a point of debate where skeptics and globalists argue over what form of government or political organization that will be likely to emerge as an answer to the challenges of globalization. Naturally then skeptics do not find it particularly different from now since they generally argue that globalization is not the changing whirlwind that some of the globalists would claim. Therefore skeptics believe that we will continue to deal first and foremost with an international order coined by its most prominent player – the nation state. To regulate their relations it may be necessary to focus more on international governance, however, such attempts are far fetched according to many skeptics (especially those from the so called realist school of international relations). Therefore it is only sound to expect for political conflicts between and within nation states to continue to exist and to understand that these will also in the future sometimes be resolved by the use of force, that is through war. Globalists take a very different stand from where they see so called multi-level governance as a response to a new form of global civil society where politics increasingly must be global in nature. Some globalists (with David Held
taking the lead) speak of a form of cosmopolitanism (Held and Archibugi, 1995; Held, 2003; 2004; Delanty, 2007) that could form a basis of a new take on politics in general – one that is very much needed to make sure that globalization becomes beneficial and not the destructive force that it potentially can be they argue. This is necessary according to Held because such a system:

[...] argues that in the millennium ahead each citizen of a state will have to learn to become a 'cosmopolitan citizen' as well: that is, a person capable of mediating between national traditions, communities of fate [sic] and alternative styles of life. Citizenship in a democratic polity of the future is likely to involve a growing mediating roll: a roll which encompasses dialogue with the traditions and discourses of others with the aim of expanding the horizons of one's own framework of meaning and prejudice (Held and McGrew, 2000a:425).

The differences between the globalists and the skeptics in the globalization debate is one way to find a ground for sorting out the arguments of scholars within the social scientific field. However, it is just a start. It is possible, and indeed useful, to establish a more precise map over a terrain that is as diverse and heated as this. One such way is presented by Jan Aart Scholte (2005) who argues that theories of globalization could be seen as coming from a number of different perspectives of political orientations. Like David Held, Scholte too is very much an active part in the debate while also trying to paint the overall picture. He has developed what he calls an eclectic synthesis that takes parts of the contesting perspectives to form an approach that launches an attack on the kind of Neo-liberal understanding that he has found to be the dominant perspective of today. At the same time he has formulated a number of normative recommendations as to how things could be organized in a more just and secure world. Even though his own perspective is said to be eclectic it is at the same time a clear understanding of globalization that in classical politics would be labeled as social democratic or at least to the left of the middle. This is not a shortcoming in relation to the purpose developed here though. Indeed Scholte's work on globalization is a very influential one that not only presents an eclectic synthesis, it also relates to and understands a number of different perspectives of social scientific views on globalization. These perspectives are all common and represented by influential researchers that all contribute to the understanding of globalization and Scholte find that they are all important participants in a debate that is not likely to end very soon (Scholte, 2005:135ff).

According to Scholte there is one area of explanations and arguments that falls under what he labels Liberalisms another under Marxisms, and others under Realisms, Constructivisms, Feminisms and Post-modernisms. These ideal images are used to mark how scholars treat a number of significant issues that are relevant to globalization from premises that generally fits within the sets
of explanations that each of the perspectives or ideologies offer (Scholte, 2006).

The presentation of the globalization debate according to Held and Scholte represents two common ways of relating to the issue, however, they are certainly not the only ones. Naturally a number of scholars from within the debate itself could be argued to deserve a significant place in any text that tries to present a general layout of how the scientific community deals with globalization. While such an approach would be desirable both Held and Scholte are indeed taking part in the debate and at the same time they have written a number of texts that tries to cover the issue as a whole and from many angles. Furthermore their texts give detailed introductions to all of the above mentioned schools of thought in ways that covers the field quite extensively. They are therefore a fast, and at the same time deep, link to many original sources and as a frame of reference they fit very good for the purpose of the work presented here. Moreover the ideas of the different perspectives on globalization are developed further in the creation of the analytical tool used in this essays method, which makes for a mix of a general presentation first and a somewhat deeper understanding later. All together it is more than enough to uphold a theoretical framework to understand the issue at hand.

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8 The concept of “ideal image” will be used rather extensively throughout this essay and is for reasons of readability treated as synonymous with “ideal type”. While it probably could be argued that they denote different things, such a difference is regarded as analytically irrelevant for the purpose of this essay.
3. Method

The study is concerned with analyzing the official documents of the Nordic nations' different takes on globalization. The analysis is used to describe what dominating ideas and perspectives on globalization that could be said to be present within the texts. Thus the method chosen reflects this ambition to describe and interpret what the documents say about globalization rather than trying to explain them. The following chapter therefore presents the chosen scientific method and also brings forth the creation of an analytical tool that will be used to handle the documents that are being used as data.

3.1 Interpretation and textual analysis

On a general level it is assumed here, in line with Esaiasson et al. (2007:238) that qualitative text analysis helps to answer two types of scientific questions. The first one concerns such problems that are in need of systematization, as would be the case for instance with large volumes of texts covering a certain phenomena that would benefit from being classified, organized or generally made more accessible. By doing such a work the scholar may find conclusions about the material that where not possible to make before the organizing of the textual mass, and may also generate ideas for further studies. The second type of questions suitable for qualitative text analysis could be said to follow from the first, or at least take one step further. Here scholars are trying to critically analyze the material in such ways that the text may reveal more than what just a glance of it suggests. They could be said to look for the ideas behind the text and the motives of certain argumentations beyond what is presented in the actual written word (Esaiasson et al., 2007:238ff).

This essay approaches its problem through what could be labeled ideology analysis. The data that is available from the different nations all consist of policy documents presented in a way that covers the effects of globalization on their respective countries. These documents will be analyzed so that it is possible to discern dominating thoughts and ideas of globalization that serves as the conceptual starting point for the argumentation that is being used throughout the texts. This is done through the use of an analytical tool that is crafted from a set of ideal types of globalization based on the research of Scholte (2005) and Held (2000a, 2007).

The use of ideal types enables the qualitative study to also gain a form of variable control. From studying texts that are representative of a certain idea or ideology it is possible to extract some of the key points and core statements that together forms the nucleus of the perspective that is being
analyzed. By relating different ideal types to each other along continuous **dimensions** it is possible to ascertain if a given text is closer to one ideal type than others. After the creation of the images they are used as referent points to which the analysis of a text could be compared against. In this way the interpretation of the text is able to focus on some aspects of what is considered to be essential for any given expression of a particular ideology. For instance an ideal image of liberalism probably highlights how individual freedom, the right to private ownership and free trade are very crucial components of that ideology. If then a scholar where to use the same ideal image in a study that aims to classify a number of documents as liberal or not he or she would interpret the texts looking for expressions along such dimensions. If he or she finds expressions of individual freedom, the right to own property and free trade to be a prominent part of a document he would then – referring to the ideal image – conclude that it is a liberal text (Esaiasson et al., 2007:158ff).

A common use of ideal images (and the one adopted here) deals with many images at the same time to create a tool that is able to tell if a given text fits in any of the used categories, rather than just calling it liberal or not. When used like this a number of ideal types are created that all corresponds to a certain ideology or perspective and texts are analyzed along dimensions that makes it possible to put them more or less close to one of the images. At the same time it is often the case that the ideal types are thought of as stretched out over a continuum so that it is possible to relate them to each other. An interpretation of a document then would be possible to place closer to one ideal type than the other thus making the categorization rest more on a rationale that tries “only” to call it either one thing or the other, rather than having to specify the actual level of, for instance, liberal tendency within a text (Esaiasson et al., 2007:158ff).

To be sure ideal images are not only used by social scientists to describe ideas and ideologies. Starting with Max Weber's sociological work they have become a powerful and extensively used tool to describe and compare phenomena of different kinds (Esaiasson et al., 2007:158ff). As a method it is used here as a base of the analytical tool, but is at the same time developed to fit the needs of this particular investigation.

### 3.1.1 A note on ideas and ideologies

Indeed the notion of ideas could be said to be one of the most central concepts of scientific inquiry throughout human history. The studies of Plato in ancient Greece rests firmly on his understanding of the world as an imperfect image of the world of ideas. Ever since then philosophers and scientists have been debating the reality that surrounds us in ways that many times refer back to the use of ideas. Although the understanding of the concept has changed over the centuries it is still important
and widely spread within the social sciences today. Since ideas (and even more so ideologies) is a much debated over subject it is important to make a presentation of how it is being used in this work to avoid misconceptions and unnecessary confusion (Bergström and Boreús, 2005:149).

Ideas are generally thought of as some form of coherent concepts relating to particular phenomena differentiated from for instance attitudes by their relative continuity. Often ideas are thoughts about reality and the way it works as well as recommendations for how to act in and handle the same reality. They relate to both the social and the natural world so that we could say that humans generally have an idea of what globalization is or how gravitation works. However, it is also a common understanding that ideas differ amongst humans and that some of them are more powerful than others. Gravitation and globalization again serves as good examples as the first concept is a universally accepted law and held very firmly as “true” amongst most people, while the second is, as shown earlier, a very contested subject. Within the social sciences it has been common to treat sets of related ideas as ideologies which are thought of as even more coherent and marked by continuity in such a way that they form a system of ideas that serves as explanations of reality, or parts of it. Liberalism, Marxism, Conservatism and Feminism are all examples of common ideologies that all are extensively used throughout the world by humans to relate to questions of life, humanity, history, science, politics and so forth (Bergström and Boreús, 2005:149ff).

By treating systems of ideas as ideologies, social scientists have developed methods for studying the way texts (and indeed other things too) are created and what they say about the reality of which they speak. It has been common to speak of ideology critique as a way of approaching texts to uncover a latent meaning that may be found within the words and sentences that forms the manifest meaning. By using such an approach the scholar usually assumes that apart from the manifest understanding of a text there is also a latent part that is crucial to find in order to interpret the text correctly. However, ideology critique is not at all the only way to treat ideas and ideologies within the social sciences, rather there are, as mentioned, many different takes on how to use the concepts when doing research (Bergström and Boreús, 2005:155ff).

While there is no generally accepted classification of the study of ideas and ideologies in political science, one could make a crude differentiation based on how and why a given study is conducted. Hence some works concerning ideas and ideologies are interested mainly in how to analyze the ideas that are present within certain texts, debates or other forms of data. They aim to describe and categorize what they assume are different takes on reality within the data that is important to understand in order to make interpretations correctly. Other forms of scientific work on ideas and ideologies may be much closer to the concept of ideology critique and are as such often conducted
to discover something that for some reason is not manifested directly in the texts that are being studied (Bergström and Boréus, 2005:155ff).

The analysis performed in this essay places itself somewhere in between the examples above. First it tries to categorize and describe the documents presented by the globalization councils so that a dominating perspective may be distinguished. However, since the documents themselves do not speak of globalization in terms of ideas and ideologies, the result of such a classification is at the same time a way to uncover or reveal something that is not explicitly formulated within the texts.

Furthermore the word ideology is left out of this analysis on behalf of the word perspective. The analysis is looking for underlying ideas that forms the framework of certain scientific takes on globalization and thus they should be treated as such. Maybe it would be possible to speak of at least some of the perspectives used as ground for the ideal types as ideologies, however, for at least two reasons it is more satisfying not to use the concept of ideology in this particular work.

1. The notion of an ideology carries with it a vast number of connotations that stretches far beyond globalization as a scientific problem. Indeed most scholars probably approach their problems through means that they see fit from a scientific point of view rather than an ideology that helps them to explain everything around them. Therefore it is more fair to speak of different scientific perspectives that all claims the truth about the particular problem of globalization rather than the entire social world.

2. The documents used are indeed mostly presented as scientific publications and not official voices of certain political parties. To use the word ideology then would probably help confuse more than what it explains. To avoid misconception and to point out the fact that the material dealt with is not “just” ideological propaganda, the concept of perspective seems more appropriate.

In conclusion then; the method used here may be said to resemble an ideology analysis, however, with regards to the reasons above what is being sought after in the documents are not ideologies per se but rather perspectives that rests upon groups of ideas of globalization.

### 3.2 Creating the analytical tool

By analyzing a number of official documents from the so called globalization councils of the different Nordic countries it is the aim here to classify them. This is done by treating theories of globalization as ideal types of different perspectives. More precisely what is dealt with here is a
Marxist, a Liberalist, a Constructivist and a Post-colonial\textsuperscript{9} perspective of globalization that together form the basis of a tool that is used to interpret the documents and enables a classification of texts corresponding to four ideal images.

As put forward by for instance Scholte (2005:121ff) and Held (2007:12ff) the theories of globalization can be understood as arguing from different starting points or perspectives. These perspectives differ quite significantly from each other in both explanations of globalization as well as recommendations on how to handle its challenges. Scholte (2005) presents six different perspectives, but acknowledge that such a distinction could be made both more and less diverse. The contending theories of globalization all make their own claims to explanations of central themes such as what globalization is, how it functions and when it started. It is around some of those themes, or rather dimensions that the analytical tool is built.

Using the four contesting perspectives mentioned above it is possible to structure their positions on globalization along two dimensions, namely first their \textbf{ontological orientation} and second their \textbf{emphasis on power relations} as an important driving force of globalization. When combined the two dimensions form a matrix with the different ideal types oriented along both axes so that any analysis that succeeds in labeling a text along both dimensions will be able to tell what globalization perspective is the most dominant one.

The analytical tool presented below as Figure 3:1 is to be understood so that the different areas corresponding to a particular perspective actually covers a number of contesting views more or less close to the “extreme” ideal image. The names of the perspectives are therefore chosen to be presented in plural to reflect the fact that they within themselves hold shifting ideas and theories. As such the field of \textbf{Marxisms} for instance encompasses both more radical claims as well as revisionist (social democratic) thoughts. The tool is presented below to give a graphical representation before it is further explained.

\textsuperscript{9} The many post-“isms” are treated here under the same ideal image so that even though the label here is post-colonial it is true as Scholte notes that this broad perspective has also been pursued under the names of post-modernism as well as post-structuralism.
It is understood then that any text that is considered to portray a theory of globalization that is oriented towards materialistic explanations and little emphasis on power relations would in this essay be labeled a liberalist one as in cell A. Analogous a document that pays high attention to power relations and sees globalization as mainly driven by idealistic forces would be called Post-colonial (D). Those texts that emphasize high attention on power relation while at the same time stressing materialistic explanations are assumed to fit within the Marxisms represented in field B. Finally texts treated as falling in cell C, Constructivisms, are those that generally pay low attention to power relations and holds globalization as driven by a mostly idealist ontology.

This sort of representation is very useful to capture the main thoughts and ideas within a large number of texts and at the same time presents a way to classify them fairly fast and simple. Furthermore it is a way to build validity amongst the classifications since any given text can only be labeled along both dimensions as more or less oriented along the axis. That is, a text is either considered to be paying low or high attention to power relations. Thus the four categories become mutually excluding to interpretations of a given text.
A note on the use of the concept of power relations is probably needed. In the analytical tool this refers to power relations within states and between classes or ethnicities. It does not refer to the power among states on the political arena like what is common within international politics.

Naturally such an instrument also misses a great deal of the texts it tries to classify. No document is likely to in reality express a clear cut line between the categories, and it certainly will not differ in relations to other documents only along these two dimensions. It would probably be possible to choose different dimensions and through them create an analysis that also would categorize documents in a way that may be useful. However, in this case both dimensions fit very well to help separate some of the most prominent perspectives of globalization. Moreover even though there is no clearcut line in reality, the way the instrument utilizes the ideal images as representations of a plurality of orientations within the perspectives makes it possible to classify texts while at the same time not falling in a trap where the number of classifications to be made are to great.

In fact any scientific method is likely to run into problems related to how much it uses instruments and theories that simplifies the reality it tries to explain. On a general level most theories and methods aim to produce results that helps to explain or classify certain phenomena in a way that is as accurate as possible. However, this accuracy can, at least for the social sciences, very seldom come close to perfection simply because it will then become the reality it explains. A map of a terrain is useful only up until a certain point, before it becomes the terrain itself. It is argued here then that as an instrument the one presented above is well suited to meet the needs of the investigation. However, to help ground interpretations further the ideal images used are presented shortly below.

3.2.1 Ideal images of globalization

To make interpretations both more accessible to the reader and at the same time somewhat more accurate the four ideal images that makes up the analytical instrument are presented here. It is possible then to use them as “backup” when analyzing the texts so that if a document is hard to classify along the dimensions specified, or if it is expressing a situation that is making it hard to distinguish between two or more perspectives one can refer to the general ideal image for conclusions.

3.2.1.1 Liberalisms

Liberalist accounts of globalization usually find the concept's beginnings and reasons within a
technological advancement of the human species that they view as approaching, or indeed surpassing, a point where we are no longer confined to one particular area of the world. That is, we can now travel great distances with fantastic velocity and send messages with even more impressing speed (the speed of light!) to places all over the world in ways that literally makes the world a smaller place. This advancement, Liberalisms claim, is a natural extension of modernity through fundamental human desires for economic wealth and political liberty. It is a marked led expansion, since the market is the most rational way to organize not only economy but a broad range of human needs the liberals argue (Scholte, 2005:124ff). This is also expressed through the institutions that we create based on a rational assumption of the human nature. These institutions now help to drive, and also helped start, the globalization process even further (Scholte, 2005:124ff).

To be sure, the liberal view of globalization has become very dominant especially within economics and business, but is also very influential within the rest of the social sciences. Speaking in the terms of David Held (Held and McGrew, 2000b:3ff) Liberalist accounts of globalization all fall within the globalist school of thought and they generally all consider globalization to be a very good thing capable of freeing mankind and ending poverty (Scholte, 2005:124ff).

The globalization described by Liberalisms also pay little attention to power relations among human groups when explaining the phenomenon. They generally argue that since globalization is sprung out of a rational that is common to all mankind and since the market eventually will organize needs and desires according to the same rational, globalization is to the benefit of all men regardless of class or creed. The contemporary form of economic organization, capitalism, is the natural response to, and reason for, globalization as we have come to know it – and this is indeed something good Liberalists claim (Scholte, 2005:125f).

3.2.1.2 Marxisms

Like Liberalisms Marxist explanations of globalization generally draw extensively from materialistic advances such as the inventions of high speed travel, the informations technology and communications. However, this is an advancement that is driven by a very specific logic, the economic system of capitalism. This is a system Marxists claim, that exploits the working classes on behalf of the capitalists to an extent where the latter are becoming increasingly rich and the former only gets poorer. Globalization is, according to many Marxists, the extension of capitalism on a global scale. Since the capitalists always hunt for more profits the system will reach a point where the national markets are not big enough to generate the profit needed for companies to grow and therefore they seek new ways of capital accumulation abroad (Scholte, 2005:128f).
The Liberalist talks of political freedom and globalization as a force that will free mankind is dismissed by most Marxists as they argue that while the extended global capitalism may enrich some parts of the world it at the same time produces vast areas of terrible poverty and despair. Some Marxist proponents operates with a world system that holds within itself a core of prosperous nations and a periphery that is the home to the majority of the world’s population that is exploited on a global scale by the rich nations. There is a significant and obvious geographical component to this split between core and periphery since it is a fact, Marxists argue, that the core nations are almost exclusively located in the North while the peripheral nations are states on the southern hemisphere (Sholte, 128ff).

The ideas of proponents within what is here classified as Marxisms differs quite a lot, probably more so than what is the case within for instance Liberalisms. There are Marxist approaches to globalization that would be what David Held (2000b:3ff) calls skeptics who can argue that globalization is not only something bad, it is in fact wrong to even call the process global. At the same time there are more globalist forms of Marxisms that often takes a milder approach to dismissing globalization as only a way for the capitalist class to exploit the workers of the world. Instead many argue that globalization holds promising results if only treated (tamed) rightly. However, even though there are differences all perspectives labeled as Marxisms pay high attention to class (power) relations and indeed the foremost explanation principal is materialistic (Scholte, 2005:128ff).

3.2.1.3 Constructivisms

Constructivist ideas of globalization take a very different approach in relation to both Marxists and Liberalists when trying to explain the phenomenon. They generally use ontologically idealist ways of reasoning when trying to form a comprehensive response to the fundamental questions in contrast to the materialist way that is popular within both Liberalisms and Marxisms (Scholte, 2005:131).

This is first and foremost shown in the fact that they see globalization as something that is actually constructed in the minds of humans. When humans become aware of each other they possess the potency to imagine themselves as part of a world, rather than “just” a community. As such the forces that other perspectives see as drivers of globalization (technological advancements) are actually secondary to Constructivisms. The transplanetary connectivity that is increasing today is a result of people rethinking (or reconstructing) society and creating the tools to make the ideas a reality Constructivists would argue. Like Liberalisms, the ideal image of Constructivisms do not
pay any particular attention to power relations (Scholte, 2005).

### 3.2.1.4 Post-Colonialisms

In contrast to Constructivisms the perspectives of Post-Colonialisms pay high attention to power relations within what they perceive as a world coined by structural inequalities. They do however take an idealistic approach to their explanations of globalization as they generally argue that society is dominated by idealistic norms that plays a significant part in every human's life. These norms determine not only what is right and what is wrong, they determine the way we are allowed to think about the world in general. Thus, because the idealistic perspective sees the world as a creation within our minds, the norms actually shape the world itself (Scholte, 2005:132f).

The current norms are heavily influenced by a western understanding of rationalist knowledge that is believed to be the prime way (or indeed the only way) used to relate to the world. Together with the thoughts and ideals of capitalism, the rationalist knowledge ideal creates a world where the only valuable thoughts are western ones. Indeed many Post-colonial thinkers view globalization as a force that is establishing a form of Americanization of the world, where all other cultures become subordinate, or even exterminated (Scholte, 2005).

Like the Marxist perspective the Post-colonialisms pay high attention to the power relations among groups of humans. However these relations are not concentrated to the concept of class only, but rather class is just one of many significant ways in which different groups are exploited by others. Particularly the notion of ethnicity is something that is highlighted by Post-colonialisms as they believe that the capitalist and western ideals create a form of us-them dichotomy in which the Anglo-American ethnicity always gets treated as the norm. “The others” become the rest of the world, associated with everything that is wrong in the western world (Scholte, 2005:133f).
3.2.1.5 A graphical presentation of the ideal images

The four different perspectives can now be fully presented in a matrix that involves the analytical tool and a simple representation of the text above. It shows the perspectives lined up according to both dimensions, and at the same time plots some of the central ideas of all ideal images. Figure 3.2 is the graphical presentation shown below.

![Figure 3.2 – Globalization perspectives](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weak emphasis on power relations</th>
<th>Idealistic ontology</th>
<th>Strong emphasis on power relations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liberalisms (A)</strong></td>
<td>Materialistic ontology</td>
<td><strong>Marxisms (B)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Globalization is driven by materialist development and institutions of capitalism.</td>
<td>- Globalization is driven by capitalistic needs of surplus accumulation, often realized through material inventions that allows for greater earnings.</td>
<td>- To understand globalization one needs to realize the structural inequalities that arise from skewed power relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- It is the extension of modernity through the form of capitalism.</td>
<td>- Generally it is a good thing since it through the use of market mechanisms ensure all humans to benefit and allows them to reach their desires of freedom.</td>
<td>- Diverse perspective encompassing both globalists and skeptics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constructivisms (C)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Post-colonialisms (D)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The main causes behind globalization are not materialistic, rather material inventions has been created to answer a renewed mindset of humans.</td>
<td>- Globalization is the promotion of western ideals and a capitalist rational that spreads around the world.</td>
<td>- Such a rational creates conditions of the world in which “The other” cultures becomes eradicated or at best subordinated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- This mind set is a construction through dialogue and interactions among humans.</td>
<td>- It has made it possible for humans to think of themselves as inhabitants in a form of global society.</td>
<td>- The power relations among human groups are an important part to understanding globalization. This is not restricted to class only.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figure will be referred to through out the analysis so that the general thoughts and ideas of the different perspectives can be used in conjunction with the orientations along the axises to classify texts.
3.3 Applying the method

The method and the tool developed above will be used so that they help to bring forth a qualitative textual analysis of the documents central to the different globalization councils and initiatives. However, since the documents differ somewhat from nation to nation the method will have to be adapted to this change of the empiric material used. Therefore a short presentation is given here to clarify the steps taken in the next chapter and to avoid misconceptions.

The section covering Sweden is based on preceding research (Öjehag, 2008) that analyzed the first eight expert reports when they were the only ones released so far. In the case of Sweden the method is fitted to interpret some of the expert reports that makes up the bulk of the material used by the council to produce its upcoming policy report. Today the council is almost finished and has ordered (and published) 33 reports. Therefore further analysis is added to the preceding research to account for possible differences that may have become reality as time has passed.

The analysis itself is done by reading the documents while applying the two dimensions of the instrument to find expressions and arguments that seem to point the text as a whole in one direction or the other along the two axes. By using quotations the interpretations will be grounded in empirical evidence and used to present a general classification of each document.

In the case of Denmark a similar method is used, however since the Danish council is done with and has published its final policy report this will be used as empiric material of the analysis rather than expert reports. Another important document was initially released by the council to establish its view of globalization and how it challenges Denmark, and therefore that is also used in the classification of the Danish council.

The Finnish initiative ended in 2006 and formulated a policy that is presented in two general documents. They are both comprised of a number of articles and texts written by leading scholars of globalization (as considered by the Finnish Economic Council) where the first one is very much oriented towards the European Union in general rather than Finland in particular. The opposite is true for the second one where the concerns and strategies of Finland is the main issue of interest for all of the articles.

The Norwegian council is analyzed through the many articles it ordered from social scientists, politicians and other interests from within and outside Norway. The series, *Globale Norge – hva nå?* has been divided into nine different subject areas under which a number of articles are sorted. The analysis of the Norwegian council is done in similar ways as the other ones, however a more
sophisticated method of selecting the texts has been used. By interpreting random texts from all nine different themes it will be possible to classify the social scientific perspectives of globalization that are influential in the works of the Norwegian council.

### 3.3.1 Selection of Empiric Material

As indicated in the previous section the four councils in question are somewhat different and therefore approached in different ways. Thus the way in which the analytical material that is thought to be representative for the councils has been chosen must also differ. Indeed this is the case here where the selection ranges from studying the full “population” in one of the cases while at the same time two councils' perspectives of globalization has been found from studying a random number of texts. A third example of selection method is demonstrated in the analysis of the Swedish council where a strategic selection of texts has been made to complement already existing research.

#### 3.3.1.1 Case one – The Swedish Globalization Council

The council in Sweden has released 33 reports reflecting the thoughts and ideas of experts in many areas connected to Sweden and globalization. This study is not suited to take on all of them, but it still tries to classify the entire council's perspectives on globalization. Therefore a selection has to be made so that it is possible to speak of a general classification while still only using a limited number of texts (Esaiasson et al., 2007:175ff).

Given the fact that an already existing study (Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008) has classified the first eight reports issued by the council, the selection has been made to complement that one. To accomplish this a sort of strategic selection has been made to control for a possible spread of perspectives over time where every fifth report issued since the earlier study was made has been added to the analysis. This means that reports number 9, 14, 19, 24, 29 where supposed to be in the study, however since number 29 is unavailable both as electronic resource as well as through ordering, it has been left out of the analysis.

#### 3.3.1.2 Case two – The Danish Globalization Council

In this case the entire “population” of reports are considered to be the final report with the councils policy ideas for Denmark in the age of globalization plus the preceding debate piece that addresses issues of what globalization is and how it affects Denmark. Both of them are used in the analysis.

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10 The random sampling has been made using a generator in the computer program SPSS. The texts were coded into numbers and from those the correct amount according to what was needed were sampled.
3.1.1.3 Case three – The Finnish Initiative

The two reports produced by the Finnish initiative are both included in the analysis, however since both are more of anthologies holding a number of essays (indeed reports of their own) the entire population could be said to be comprised of $13 + 8 = 21$ articles. The eight articles of the second report are actually chapters written by a number of experts and are organized around eight different areas where globalization is thought to have an effect on Finland. However for the purpose of this essay they are treated as independent articles that all could be said to carry a certain perspective of globalization.

Like in the case of Denmark the first report functions more as a frame of reference to what globalization is and what effects on national and international organizations that could be expected to grow from it. If treated together with the chapters of the second report it is possible to speak of the full “population” of globalization publications put forward by the Finnish initiative. Even though the first report and its thirteen articles are oriented towards the EU as a whole rather than Finland, they all express thoughts and ideas (perspectives) of globalization that are indeed part of the Finnish initiative. Therefore the 21 articles and chapters have all been included in the population from which a random selection of five texts have been chosen. The selection has been stratified so that three articles have been chosen from the first report and two chapters from the second to account for possible differences of globalization perspectives portrayed in the articles that uses the EU and the ones that are policy recommendations for Finland.

3.1.1.4 Case four – Refleks (The Norwegian initiative)

In the case of Norway the texts used as empiric material are the ones published within the initiative's project called Globale Norge – hva nå?. They are shorter in length but far greater in number in relation to the texts used by the other councils. In total there are 194 articles written by researchers and proponents of different interest groups that are divided into nine areas tied to globalization politics.

In this essay twenty of the articles are included in the analysis through stratified sampling where the proportions of texts used from the the different areas are equal to the total proportions in the entire “population”. This means that two texts have been sampled from the area concerning national security policy, one from energy politics, three from the area of economic interests, three from environmental issues, two from the area that covers good governance, four from the area of international aid, two from the area of identity and immigration politics, one from texts concerning
Africa and finally two from the area covering human rights. In sum that makes for twenty articles that holds (roughly) the same proportions as the entire population.
4. Analysis

The analysis is conducted throughout this chapter using the method and the instrument\textsuperscript{11} put forward in the preceding pages. The councils and initiatives of all four countries are dealt with in separate parts and will be classified as independent units. The classification of individual texts is argued for by empirical quotations and encapsulations of the main thoughts on globalization within the articles used. Since the goal is to identify what social scientific perspective that is dominating within each of the texts the analysis has often had to find its classification from deductive reasoning based on what underlaying perspective that seems most likely to argue the way the authors do. Very seldom the articles used present explicit information on how they view globalization along the two axes of the analytical instrument. Rather it is common for the articles to argue from positions that are possible to refer to underlaying understandings that are classifiable with the instrument. That is, a text that for instance argues for the fact that Finland has to increase the number of technical innovations produced to keep up in the age of globalization probably could be said to take a materialistic point of view. Such a classification is not always obvious though, and therefore the ideal images presented in figure 3.2 (p.XX) are used to fine tune the overall analysis of any given document.

4.1 Case one – Interpretation of The Swedish Globalization Council

The results of the research done in 2008 that covered the eight initial reports by the globalization council (Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008) are used here as a starting point to which four additional reports are added. By doing so the result reflects a selection of reports that spans over a wider time frame, thus accounting for effects added by the latest reports on the overall view of the council. Before analyzing the additional reports a short resume of the research presented in *Conformed Globalization - A Study of the Swedish Globalization Council* (Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008) is made.

4.1.1 The first eight reports (a short resume)

The first eight reports issued by the Swedish globalization council expressed a perspective of globalization that was labeled as overwhelmingly Liberal, with only one falling outside of the ideas

\textsuperscript{11} Again, for reasons of readability the term “instrument” is used as a synonym to “tool”. Thus the “analytical tool” and the “analytical instrument” refers to the same thing.
of Liberalisms. The last one was categorized as Constructivist which made for a globalization perspective that, based on the first eight reports, was almost entirely without focus on power relations as important factors of globalization (Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008:32).

The reports usually argued in line with materialistic understandings of what globalization is and the words of Johan Norberg was but one of many such explanations:

A constructive way to measure wealth then, is to investigate what goods and services people can afford to consume. The number of radios per thousand inhabitants in the developing countries increased from 90 to 245 between 1970-1997 and the number of TVs increased from 10 to 157. In 1988 there was one computer per thousand inhabitants in the world's low and medium income countries. 2004 there were 40. The number of telephone lines increased from 16 to 135 per thousand inhabitants between 1980 and 2005 (Norberg, 2007:11).

It was concluded that such argumentation had to rest on an understanding of globalization that was very much adhering to a materialistic ontology. That is, globalization could most of the time in the first eight reports be understood as a force that was primarily driven by material inventions. These inventions tied the world's nations closer to each other and led by the logic of market economy the concept of globalization could be interpreted as somewhat of an increased capitalism, and indeed this was a good thing in all of the reports (Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008:20ff). Anders Johnsson, author of the third report gave words to this kind of argumentation when he repeatedly stated how globalization was very much a matter of increased capitalism:

Since the 1970s the costs of working, storing and transferring information have decreased dramatically. Therefore all new possibilities have been created for international trade and international business. With products that can be transformed to electrical signals possibilities of global trade to low costs is becoming a reality (Johnsson, 2007:66).

The pattern of thought throughout the reports would probably become even more clear if related to the ideal images represented here in figure 3:2 (p. 29). The liberalisms of the analytical tool fits very good with the analyzed reports and even in the case of the deviant report number 4 that was labeled as constructivist, it falls very close to the liberalisms of the ideal image (Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008:20ff).

Thus the research on the Swedish globalization council concluded that it failed in trying to be a body that contributed to a broadened discussion on globalization. Of interest here is to investigate if additional reports would change this rather discouraging image, and while the preceding research

12 Translation by the author original quote in Swedish.
13 Translation by the author original quote in Swedish.
(Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008) concluded that such a change in globalization perspective was not at all likely it remains to be seen if that is the case. Before starting the further analysis the prior results are reprinted graphically in figure 4:1.

Note that the individual relations between the numbers in the matrix only portrays that the particular report was analyzed as fitting within that cell. They do not express differences of scale since all reports where only categorized as either more idealistic or more materialistic and either as displaying strong or weak emphasis on power relations.

4.1.2 Report 9: Globaliseringens Drivkrafter och samhällsekonomiska konsekvenser

Policy report number nine entitled *Globaliseringens drivkrafter och samhällsekonomiska konsekvenser* tries to evaluate the forces that drives globalization and at the same time also sketch

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14 In the case of the Swedish council the original numbering or the articles as issued by the council are maintained when referring to them. In the other councils and initiatives the numbering is set by the author since they really do not have numbers in their titles as the Swedish ones.
what consequences the same forces implicates for Swedish economics. Assistant professor Karolina Ekholm argues in line with the first eight reports and emphasizes an outspoken materialist view of globalization. Indeed this materialist starting point is profound through out the report where globalization very much is seen as a phenomenon that was made possible through inventions such as informations technology and continues to be driven forward at an increasingly higher speed (Ekholm, 2008).

In her attempts to analyse globalization as a modern, technological phenomenon Ekholm establishes the materialistic assumptions:

15 The by far most important driving force behind the increased movement of information has been significant advancements within the field of communications and informations technology. [...] This development has been a contributing factor to the increase in movement of capital, goods and services (Ekholm, 2008:7).

The increased movement then is a central theme of globalization according to Ekholm as she continues to treat the phenomenon as primarily a result of technological advancements. Indeed the report focuses solely on economic aspects of globalization even though Ekholm acknowledges that the concept encompasses more than so.

16 The increased movement has implications for most areas of society such as culture, security politics and crime enforcement. This report is however only interested in economic consequences of globalization (Ekholm, 2008:7).

The fact that the report focuses on economic factors of globalization may be of importance to the writer in so much as that her purpose never was to complicate the concept any further. However for the purpose of this essay it matters just as much what is said as what is not said. Globalization, like in the preceding report is treated with a materialistic understanding over and over again. At the same time Ekholm never really pays any attention to power relations, which is quite telling as the last third of the report evaluates effects on wages for different groups of society. Here the groups remain mostly analytical concepts of economic theory. While she stresses how globalization indeed may be a force that makes the already (relatively) poor people of Sweden even poorer, she never treats the different economical groups of society as conflicting power interests. That is, she never speaks of class as an important factor nor does she complicate the implications for ethinical groups or minorities of other kinds. Taken together it is most fair to say that she does not find globalization to be a concept that has a lot to do with power relations at all. Instead the economic theory she argues for finds it to be a very good thing for all, excluding maybe a few individuals that may have

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15 Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
16 Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
to bear some of our collective burden (Ekholm, 2008:44ff).

[...] the technical advancement is actuated by globalization in such a way that it could be viewed as an indirect threat to the employment of workers with low education. But this is, under all circumstances, not something we wish to change or in other ways complicate, since it is ultimately the technological development that creates room for increases in real incomes. The fact that this seems to be actuated by globalization should be counted on the plus side of globalization effects (Ekholm, 2008:49). 17

Classification: Based on the analysis above the report is considered to be ontologically materialist while at the same time paying very little attention to power relations as an important factor of globalization. Thus it is labeled within the liberalisms of cell A in the matrix of figure 3:1 (p. 24).

4.1.3 Report 14: Språk, krav och medborgarskap

In report number fourteen, Språk, krav och medborgarskap, Dan-Olof Rooth and Per Strömblad engage in the issue of how and in what ways language is an essential part of citizenship in western countries. When doing so they set off by stating the current positions of social scientific research on language connected to citizenship, and also by reasoning briefly over citizenship in general. The current research combined with their own findings point to many similarities among western nations in the way they deal with refugees and how they try to integrate foreigners who live in the respective country. Most nations Rooth and Strömblad claim, require a set of conditions to be met by people who apply for citizenship and even though the exact conditions differ somewhat, most nations have in recent years started to pay more attention to language skills among aspiring citizens (Rooth and Strömblad, 2008:6ff).

The report in itself deals very little with the concept of globalization making the interpretation of where it falls along the dimensions of the analytical tool (figure 3:1 p.24) a little complicated. However, like with many other texts, interpretations could be extended to include not only what is stated explicitly in the text, but also to some extent what is not said. In this particular case it is possible to speak of a report that first of all does not focus at all on some of the core materialistic views that has been so prominent in most of the other analyzed ones. Rather a more idealistic approach could be said to emerge from the subject itself since it must be assumed that the focus on citizenship requires an assumption that globalization brings with it changes in areas that are not directly identifiable through empiric research of economic variables (Rooth and Strömblad, 2008).

Rooth and Strömblad writes:

17 Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
The connection between national origin and citizenship that used to be almost obvious has
to a large extent been loosened up as an effect of increasingly expansive migration. In the
multi cultural societies of the new millennium the citizenship of a nation must be based on
something else than ethnicity (Rooth and Strömblad, 2008:7)

By developing a discussion of how a new kind of citizenship could be motivated in the age of
globalization Rooth and Strömblad takes more of an idealistic approach to globalization. They keep
this basic perspective through out the report maintaining their focus on the roll of language in a
number of different western states while trying to apply their findings to the Swedish society. At the
same time they focus very little on power relations when doing their analysis, which enhances the
general feeling of Constructivist thinking. Recalling the central themes of the ideal type of
Constructivisms in figure 3:2 (p. 29) there are many themes that are reoccurring in the report of
Rooth and Strömblad (2008). For instance it is an underlaying assumption on many occasions that
humans of the modern world perceive themselves and more of global citizens. True, much of the
analysis of Rooth and Strömblad (2008) is based around the kind of immigration that is a
consequence of war and poverty, but at the same time there is an argumentation surrounding the
report that has a constructivist feel to it.

Citizenship is formally a judicially binding relationship between the state and the
individual. This relationship could arise automatically at birth or get established later on in
life. Citizenship is also at the same time expressing affiliation with a political community. It
is a membership that is connected to a number of rights and responsibilities but also a
symbolically significant identity (Rooth and Strömblad, 2008:48).

Classification: While hard to classify along the dimensions of the analytical instrument (figure 3:2
p. 29) it is possible to classify this report within the Constructivisms in cell C of the matrix. It has a
somewhat idealist understanding of the forces behind the changes in citizenship and pays very little
attention to power relations.

4.1.4 Report 19: Globaliseringen och den svenska
ägarmodellen

The nineteenth report issued by the Swedish globalization council deals with the different types of
ownership in western capitalism. The Swedish model is considered to be special in many aspects,
particularly through its very high concentration of ownership. This is manifested through the fact
that a (low) number of families controls a significant part of the nations industry. The model has
been under attack, according to professors Henrekson and Jakobsson (2008), at least three times
since it was established in the 1930s as an effect of the Social Democratic Party's dominating stand within the domestic politics of Sweden. The current attack is the challenge of globalization that is primarily understood as a process that internationalizes the capitalistic ideals of western economic thought (Henrekson and Jakobsson, 2008:10ff).

Globalization in itself however is not a significant part of the report. Indeed it seems as if Henrekson and Jakobsson takes for granted that the concept is limited to economic dimensions at least to such an extent that they do not find it necessary to define or further complicate what globalization actually is. Instead the report takes a rather materialistic point of view of how to describe and analyze the events that has lead the Swedish model into its recent crisis. Thus the argumentation is often based on economic facts in such a way that the economy and the institutional arrangement around it is seen as the primary analytical unit of interests (Henrekson and Jakobsson, 2008:24ff):

After the second world war the corporate control in Sweden was highly concentrated. This has been documented by by Lindgren (1953) in a study based on the census of 1945. He shows that 6-7 percent of the shareholders owned 65-70 percent of the stock value and in as much as 60 percent of the large companies (more than 500 employees) one single individual represented the majority at the annual stockholders meeting (Henrekson and Jakobsson, 2008:25).

The quote is not to be interpreted as a left wing attack on the system, by contrast the authors represent themselves as “non normative”(Henrekson and Jakobsson, 2008:11). In fact though, they pay very little attention to power relations in association with globalization. Indeed, as has been mentioned, globalization is very much missing from the analysis and where ever it is mentioned it is done so in terms of economics and the institutions of capitalism only:

Globalization and the deregulation of the financial markets has thus created a dilemma to the Swedish taxation law. The solution at hand so far seems to be that the Swedish risk capitalists, like the Swedish sports stars have to find their home in some foreign tax paradise.

Using the ideal image of Liberalisms presented in figure 3:2 (p. 29) much of the argumentation used by Henrekson and Jakobsson seems to fit. This is most obvious in the way the report focuses on the institutional arrangements of capitalism. At the same time, since globalization is considered to be the force that now challenges these arrangements it is reasonable to call the focus of the report materialistic, or at least in line with the general ideal image of Liberalisms.

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18 Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
19 Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
Classification: The low focus on power relations suggests that the report must fit within cell A or C, and while it actually is hard to find expressions of any particular view of globalization the report is constantly arguing as if globalization is easily understood as just changes in economical variables and institutional arrangements. Therefore the report is classified as within cell A among Liberalisms.

4.1.5 Report 24: En exkluderande arbetsmarknadsmodell? Den svenska arbetsmarknadens trösklar i ett globalt perspektiv

In report number 24, *En exkluderande arbetsmarknadsmodell? Den svenska arbetsmarknadens trösklar i ett globalt perspektiv*, economist Per Skedinger compares the different systems for establishing wages and the more general differences between the labor market organization within the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). When doing so Skedinger continues the pattern established in most analyzed reports by focusing very much on the economic effects of globalization (Skedinger, 2008:7ff). Globalization, it seems, is a concept not at all under contest, rather Skedinger assumes that his work's connection to globalization is quite clear. To be sure this could be true in some cases, such as the the fact that recent development in the movement across borders challenge the so called Swedish model of the labor market. However such argumentation must be based on assumptions of what globalization is and how it works. That is, proponents from the different perspectives of figure 3:2 (p. 29) would view this fact very different. It is therefore of interest here to interpret in what way globalization is perceived to work in the theoretical frame work of Skedinger to be able to say something about the perspective of the report. Almost exclusively the argumentation made bay Skedinger is materialistic, in as much as it assumes that the effects of globalization on job markets is to a great extent measurable through indexes and quantifiable variables:

Concerning possible effects of globalization it is first and foremost the level of minimal wages in relation to minimal wages abroad, not the minimal wages relation to the median salary of a particular industry,\(^{20}\) that is of relevance. High minimal wages in Sweden should at the one hand attract relatively unskilled labor from the EU's new member states, while the levels at the other hand in many cases could be to high to make it possible for business from other countries to position their work force here (Skedinger, 2008:79).\(^{21}\)

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\(^{20}\) The Swedish term used is “minimilönebetten” which expresses the minimal salary in comparison with the median salary of a particular industry.

\(^{21}\) Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
The materialistic argumentation about the effects of globalization then must probably rest on a position where the prominent features of the concept in itself is materialistic. This is also the case in the report authored by Skedinger. Without ever defining globalization it is tacitly understood that globalization is first of all a force that has its origins in the technological advancements that has made humans, capital and information much more closely connected (Skedinger, 2008).

At the same time there is little (if any at all) focus on power relations as an important aspect of globalization. Indeed there is a lot of argumentation about the Social Democratic Party and the evolution of the Swedish labor market model, that is not however the same as saying that the report rests on a perspective of globalization that holds class struggle as an important factor of explanation when relating to the phenomenon. Rather the expose over the Swedish situation is given in such a way that it is possible to interpret the effects of globalization in line with the Liberalisms of cell A in figure 3:2 (p. 29). The general idea presented by Skedinger is that globalization works to enhance what he feels is a system that excludes people from the labor market. Thus globalization also has a lot to do with the institutional framework of the western world, an argumentation that probably best fits within the Liberalisms.

An obvious risk with globalization is that labor market institutions that works in such ways that they exclude people will be strengthened (Skedinger, 2008:83)

**Classification:** The report does speak of power relations, but not as an explanation of globalization. Rather in that respect the attention to power relations is low, and since there is an underlaying understanding of materialism the report is classified as within the liberalisms of cell A in figure 3:2 (p. 29).

### 4.2 Case Two  -  Interpretation of The Danish globalization council

The analysis of the Danish globalization council is carried out very much like the Swedish one. However since the council in Denmark has finished its work and has presented it in a final report, the material used will not consist of a number of issued documents. Instead the final report is analyzed in conjunction with a document containing the starting point for discussion published by the Danish government and the globalization council as somewhat of a debate article to get things going.

In absolute terms then, the analysis of the Danish council is “smaller” than the Swedish one.

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22 Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
However since it is the final report it is on the other hand more valid in the sense that what is written there really is the view of the council in a compact form. Indeed the report and the debate piece together extends to only about 100 pages. While this is significantly shorter than the documents analyzed from the other countries it still serves its purpose. It does mean though that the room for the Danish council within this essay is smaller than the other countries, but as explained this does not at all reflect the significance of the analysis.

4.2.1 The policy document and the debate piece

One of the two analyzed documents of the Danish globalization council is entitled *Danmark og globaliseringen – Debatpjece om globaliseringens udfordringer for Danmark* and is thought to function as a debate starter. It was issued by the government after what they call “discussions in the globalization council” (Danish globalization council, 2005:7) and starts off by establishing what globalization actually is:

> We live in a globalized world. A world where countries increasingly gets closer connected and dependant of each other. When we go shopping the shopping cart is filled with both Danish and foreign goods. We watch TV from many countries and when we go on vacation the world lies open. We search for information and knowledge on the Internet and we cooperate and develop knowledge with an ever growing number of nations and cultures (The Danish Globalization Council, 2005:8)\(^\text{23}\).

This is a very materialistic approach that sets the tone for the rest of the argumentation. Globalization is identified through its materialistic components and from this a number of problems and possibilities for Denmark are identified. Specifically globalization seems to be connected to the idea of education, but it is not just any education, rather it is technological and entrepreneurial research that needs to be increased if Denmark is to remain one of the richest countries in the world (The Danish Globalization council, 2005:9ff).

To understand this position it is necessary to point out how globalization to the Danish council is very much connected to global competition. Indeed it is the extension of market capitalism to the rest of the world, and while this may have some discomforts for some, the main effects are perceived to be a good thing since competition generally is assumed to bring better standard of production.

The result of the economic globalization and the technological development is first and foremost a more fierce competition. Greater competition between businesses from all countries to be the one with the best product to the best price. Competition to know the

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\(^{23}\) Translation by the author, original quote in Danish.
most and know how to use the knowledge. Competition to attract the most brilliant minds
(The Danish Globalization Council, 2005:9).

This materialistic understanding is used to form a concept of globalization that extends no further
than the quest to finding the best minds and delivering the best education to make Danes more
knowledgeable. While this is a discussion that at least gets close to a somewhat idealistic approach,
the knowledge and education is a mere instrument to reap the benefits from a materialistic
globalization. There is very little at all about how knowledge and education may be important to
prepare the citizens for a more global mankind. As such the knowledge and education sides of the
discussions are extensions of the materialistic arguments. Even though there are examples where the
education is supposed to give young people “an understanding of other cultures” (The Danish
Globalization Council, 2006:18) this is primarily to also make them able to “acquire the
qualifications and competences to participate in the globalized world” (The Danish Globalization
Council, 2006:18). Since globalization is time and time again understood as a materialistic process,
the participation that the report speaks of in connection to education is most likely to be thought of
as in relation to a market led expansion of material goods.

Furthermore the quality and competition of the public sector research is also assumed to be of
significance if Denmark is to achieve some of its potential in a globalized world. To some extent
the council's position on this issue underlines its materialistic approach even more:

Increased competition will ensure that the funds go to the best researchers and the best
research environments. At least 50 percent of the funds should be subject to open
competition. The funds should be targeted at large, long-term research projects that can
produce ground-breaking results and attract top-level researchers. In addition, a strategy for
investment in advanced equipment and laboratory facilities should be formulated (The

Indeed the council illustrates how they find that the process of globalization is a force that makes
the public sector needed to first and foremost produce research that is of benefit to society in a very
much hands-on kind of way. This is a also a recurring theme throughout the policy report issued by
the council, where it is argued that education, research and the society in general must be much
more in tune with the needs of the business sectors (The Danish Globalization Council, 2006).

While a measurement along the dimension of ontological understanding leans heavily towards one
side, the same can be said about the dimension focusing on power relations. Indeed this focus is
virtually absent throughout the report and the debate piece. With its focus on education and
knowledge to strengthen the danish people's skills the view of the globalization council may be said

24 Translation by the author, original quote in Danish.
to point out how the future will be a place where different power interests fight for their piece of the pie, however this is not really the case. Rather, as pointed out before, this focus on knowledge is very much thought to function as a natural part of the extended capitalism that is globalization. Indeed there are no arguments within the documents that point towards an understanding that stresses class interests or a north-south divide. Instead the most common argumentation in association to these issues usually follows a line where it is understood that competition is something that is expected to increase, while the very nature of the competition such as if it is fair to start with (or if at all that would be a good thing) is absent. In addition the ways to combat some of the world's problems is indeed the market capitalism:

Denmark should continue to play an active roll in addressing global challenges. Global poverty should be reduced through free trade and effective development assistance (The Danish Globalization Council, 2006:30)

When analyzing the documents of the globalization council then, it is obvious that the interpretation falls within the Liberalisms. To further this argument it is very much possible to check some of the most important characteristics of this perspective according to the ideal image of figure 3:2 (p. 29). If doing so one finds that all of them fits with the documents of the Danish globalization council. First of all it is, as has been argued for here, forwarding a materialistic globalization understanding where the concept is understood to be mostly about the invention of new technology (The Danish Globalization Council, 2006). Indeed the Danish report is full of references to how Denmark must be structured to take part of this evolution, for instance:

Danish companies and public institutions should be among the most innovative. One of the essential driving forces behind innovation is effective competition, both in the private sector and the public sector. It is also important that Denmark attracts highly skilled foreigners to Denmark (The Danish Globalization Council, 2006:28).

To continue the comparison with the ideal image it is also very much true that the central claim of Liberalistic perspectives that globalization is the extension of modernity through capitalism. Furthermore the Danish documents agrees that this is indeed a good thing and that it is potentially a form of salvation to the world. In sum then it is safe to say that the document is possible to classify based on the idel images and the dimensions of the instrument.

Classification: Based on the interpretation above the Danish Globalization council is argued to have a perspective of globalization understanding that falls within the Liberalisms of cell A in the analytical tool.
4.3 Interpretation of The Finnish Initiative

The globalization perspective of the Finnish initiative is found through the analysis of a number of articles and chapters of the two general reports called *Globalization Challenges for Europe* and *Finlands Response to the Challenges of Globalization*. Five of the articles within the reports have been selected through random sampling to create a sample that is representative of both the reports and the Finnish initiative in general. In the following they are analyzed as “article 1-5” in the order that they were selected, even though some of them are in fact chapters rather than articles they are all treated the same here. The chapters are independent of each other and resembles articles in other ways such as the fact that they are written by different scholars and are focusing on separate areas of globalization. Thus they are, as pointed out, treated like the articles and therefore receives independent classifications with the help of the analytical tool.

4.3.1 Article 1: Globalization The Great Unbundling(s)

In the first article Economist Richard Baldwin describes what he finds to be the functions of globalization as seen through its history, but also its possible futures. According to Baldwin what we call globalization is a rather new phenomenon, but it still has history enough to talk of distinctive phases. As a process though, it is clear that Baldwin finds his understanding of what globalization is in a materialist understanding:

> Globalization is a new and important phenomenon – and has been since the introduction of steamships, railroads and the telegraph (Baldwin, 2006:11)

The most important historical traces of what has been happening according to Baldwin, leads him to the conclusion that globalization could be described as a process that first started through a “great unbundling” that recently has been followed by a second unbundling. The second one brings with it what could possibly be called a new paradigm of globalization since it fundamentally changes how it functions and thus how states, corporations and individuals need to prepare for its consequences (Baldwin, 2006:16ff).

While the first unbundling brought with it increased industrialization, urbanization, international trade and growth through the fact that different sectors of the national economy increasingly became international, the second one takes the logic further. In this state of economic history globalization has changed so that it now functions not only on a sector level but also on a level of individual tasks of workers in a given sector. Through the changes of information technology it is now possible to subject a number of services that earlier had very high costs to offshoreing. For
instance the inspection of tax forms used to be a job for local tax officials, but can today be offshored to a service company on the other side of the planet through the informations technology in such a way that the costs of moving the information are far lower than the benefits that are gained through the use of cheap labor (Baldwin, 2006:28ff).

It is clear that the way Baldwin argues must rest on a very materialist understanding of globalization. To further illustrate the point made a few paragraphs above he sums the phenomenon up as:

Globalization means unbundling. All sorts of economic relationships were bundled spatially to avoid or minimize transportation; this situation implied that the price of many goods, services and wages were set in local markets, not global markets. […] Unbundling breaks the link to the bundle's average. Workers will increasingly get paid what they are worth on the world market. This will lead to gains and pains from trade (Baldwin, 2006:49).

The very materialistically oriented understanding is not coupled with any particular focus on power relations as important features of globalization. Instead the argumentation is very much focused on portraying scientific understandings (from Baldwins perspective) that does not at all assume that for instance class struggle may have something to do with how globalization will take shape in the future or, for that matter, what it is in general.

**Classification:** The interpretation of the article finds it to have a materialist understanding of globalization while at the same time paying very little attention to power relations thus making it fall within cell A of the analytical tool (p. 24), Liberalisms.

### 4.3.2 Article 2: Globalization and Economic Growth: Energy and Environmental Constraints

Sten Nilsson and Juha Honkatukia investigate in their article how contemporary research within the field of economics view how globalization effects growth and how this is hampered by effects on the environment. They apply a rather straight forward economic argumentation that is based on a materialist ontology. Indeed they define globalization as:

[…] the integration of economic activities via markets. It generates economic growth through international transmissions of new technologies and policy changes. Globalization brings rapid economic change and economic change always imposes losses as well as gains (Nilsson and Honkatukia, 2006:87).

In their article the writers analyse the connection between growth, globalization and different parts of the environment such as energy production and transportation. When doing so they maintain the
general economic reasoning basing their statements on facts and figures of typical materialistic variables (Nilsson and Honkatukia, 2006).

The article is not at all concerned with power relations but rather stays focused on measurable so called economical facts. Thus the interpretation of the text leans heavily towards the perspective of Liberalisms as understood by the ideal image created in the preceding chapter.

**Classification:** In line with what was outlined as a globalization perspective of Liberalisms this article portrays a materialistic understanding and low focus on power relations. Therefore the classification is such that it falls within cell A of the analytical tool (p. 24).

### 4.3.3 Article 3: The EU and the Governance of Globalization

The third article analyzed under the Finnish initiative is written by Alan Ahearne, Jean Pisani-Ferry, André Sapir and Nicolas Véron and tries to evaluate the function of the EU in the quite large subject of global governance. The authors argue that because the state of global governance is not at all stable the European Union needs to step up to fulfill a leading role. To be able to do so the union needs to make a choice on how it actually wants to be a part of the coming world where the authors are sure that global governance will matter, with or without the EU (Ahearne et al, 2006:295ff).

The perspective of globalization that is present within the report can be found through an interpretation of what the article concerns itself with and in what ways the authors choose to do so. Doing this shows a latent perspective that, while not explicitly articulated, is very much existent throughout the argumentation.

Since the entire thesis of the authors assumes that global governance is needed to tackle the effects of globalization it is safe to say that globalization then must have something to do with economy and the institutions that surrounds the market. Indeed the view of what is the core component of globalization is manifest in the article when the authors argue that:

> Globalization's main driver, however, was the dynamism of private capital [Eichengreen 1996, Frieden, 2006]. Today's world shares many of these features. (Ahearne et al, 2006:280).

The way the text is formulated makes the above quote central when trying to understand what perspective of globalization it holds. The institutions that it focuses on must be thought of as essential to handle the particular form of globalization that is present according to the quote above. It is therefore fair to interpret the article as very much materialistic. In fact the institutions are to be understood not only as a framework of physical buildings or laws, they are indeed a form of capital
to the authors:

Third, institutions are a form of capital and can themselves be viewed as global public goods. [Kindelberger, 1986]. This is because established institutions which can rely on founding principles and internal governance rules can help in tackling new issues as they emerge. [...] Well designed and well governed institutions are therefore an asset to all participants in the world economy (Ahearne et al, 2006:285).

If the focus on materialistic understanding is quite heavy within the text, then by contrast the focus on power relations is close to insignificant. There is no analysis at all concerning the ways the global governance may in fact become an instrument for different social classes or ethnicities to steer globalization, thus changing what it is. Therefore the interpretation of the text in general is leaning hard towards the explanations of globalization that is present within the Liberalisms. This is further strengthened if the text is compared to the ideal image of Liberalisms in figure 3:2 that tells us how the perspectives focuses on economic and institutional aspects and understands the phenomenon as a market led expansion of capitalism.

Classification: Since the article shows high levels of materialistic explanations to globalization as well as low attention to power relations the text is classified as within the perspective of Liberalisms thus falling within cell A of the analytical tool (p. 24).

4.3.4 Article 4: Employment Developments and Labour Supply

This text is actually the third chapter of the second Finnish report, but as mentioned it is treated here as an independent article. As such it tries to survey the most recent history of the Finnish labor market while at the same time assessing how it functions and in what ways it is affected by globalization.

Like many of the other articles and reports analyzed in this essay the perspective of globalization must be found within the text as a latent meaning. That is, there is an understanding of what globalization is, however it is not explicitly stated. In this case the latent perspective is very much coined by argumentation that is highly materialistic in its nature. As such there are many examples that takes on the following characteristics:

Then again, technological progress will effect labour demand in Finland through globalization. [...] Finland has been able to export an increasing number of goods to expanded markets and, through its specialisation in high technology, improve labour productivity while experiencing a low level of job migration abroad (offshoring) in view of employment developments as a whole (The Finnish Globalization Initiative, 2006:100).
While the dimension of ontology is clearly leaning towards materialism the other dimension, emphasis on power relations, is equally heavy leaning towards a low score. Throughout the article lots is written about the labor market, a classical arena for power relations conflicts, however such a perspective is very much missing, especially in relation to the effects of globalization.

**Classification:** The text is classified as falling within the Liberalisms of cell A in the analytical tool (p. 24).

### 4.3.5 Article 5: Performance and Structural Change in the Finnish Economy

In the fifth and final article analyzed under the Finnish initiative the general performance and function of the economy is accounted for by showing how the country has developed over the years in some of the most important macro economic indicators. At the same time the article stresses how this increasingly has been a process influenced by globalization. How this globalization functions is quite clearly portrayed in the article both manifested in explicit formulations and latent in the general subtext of the argumentation. It is a highly materialistic process:

> Globalization means widening the scope of international exchange and competition to encompass an ever-increasing share of the production of goods and services. Globalization, as expressed by quickly growing flows of goods, capital and technology between countries, has been aided by the removal of the obstacles to the movement of goods and production factors. The central force that stimulates globalization is technological development (The Finnish Globalization Initiative, 2006:23f).

In general the article concludes that Finland has been a winner in globalization so far, while still showing room for improvement in some areas. In particular the country needs to be cautious in the coming years not to handle the technological advanced areas of its economy wrong as they most likely will see heavy competition from developing nations especially in South-East Asia.

Such remarks about an increased competition is also as close as the article gets to paying any significant attention to power relations when explaining globalization and its future. Indeed all the significant features of the ideal image of Liberalisms can be accounted for in the article in quite obvious ways. It understands globalization as primarily driven by technological advancement (materialism) and stresses how this market led expansion of capitalism is something good for mankind, even though some of the institutions governing the process need to be updated.

**Classification:** Based on the ideal image shown in figure 3:2 (p. 24) the classification of this article
is such that it falls within Liberalisms. Most (if not all) of the indicators of a Liberalist perspective are abundant in the text and since it shows very low emphasis on power relations it falls within cell A.

4.4 Interpretation of *Refleks* – The Norwegian Initiative

The Norwegian initiative is, as mentioned, different in as much as that it comprises a large number of shorter articles (194 to be exact). Here some twenty of them have been used as a sample to be able to draw conclusions about the general perspective of the council. Since the full population of texts is divided into nine different areas the sample has been stratified to account for this. However in the following analysis the nine different areas are not used to cluster the texts into categories, rather all twenty texts are analyzed one after the other. Furthermore since they are rather short (and many) the actual space for one single article is usually shorter than in the cases of the other countries. In addition the Norwegian initiative has brought difficulties that is connected to the length (or rather the lack of length) of the articles analyzed. Many of them are so short, and at the same time very focused on the sometimes narrow perspective of the category for which they are written, that it makes them hard to classify. That is; an article written within what the initiative calls *Sikkerhetspolitikk* (security policy) is often likely to focus hard on its particular issue and may not be directly connected to globalization. A choice has been made here to not try to stretch the analytical tool to get every text to fit within it. Instead if a text falls outside the scope of the purpose of this essay – to analyze what perspective of globalization the text rests upon – it has been excluded from the analysis. Such texts are then to be considered as fallout in a statistical sense, or in other words they will not be used as ground for characterizing the council.

4.4.1 Report 1: Globalisering og norsk sikkerhetspolitik

The report *Globalisering og norsk sikkerhetspolitikk* is written by professor Johan Galtung and argues that the globalized world in its current form is a threat to Norwegian security. In fact globalization is understood to be driven by American capitalism to an extent where, what Galtung calls the American empire, is forced to act aggressively around the world. This will not only bring with it an unstable environment for all of its allies (including Norway) it will eventually lead to the fall of the empire (Galtung, 2009:1):

> Two processes coin the state of security: globalization and the fall of the US empire, like all
other empires. They are tied to each other through the ways in which USA tries to turn globalization to its benefit and its desperate tries to avoid the inevitable (Galtung, 2009:1)

Indeed Galtung's report focuses on power relations among nations and has an underlaying tone of a class perspective where it is clear that globalization is a force that in its current form favors a selected few. At the same time Galtung views globalization as first and foremost a materialistic process that is not at all new, rather it is the next logical step for the capitalistic world run by the American empire (Galtung, 2009):

Globalization means a world less determined by traditional borders between states. Economically this means an intensification of the free flow of production; at first through resources, capital and commodities, later through labor, technology and services with problems for all six. […] But the upheaval of borders between nations is not something new […] Migration is as old as the human tribes themselves and human trade at least as old as the silk-trade route (Galtung, 2009).

Classification: Taking into consideration the article's emphasis on power relations and its materialistic approach to globalization it is considered to fall within the Marxisms of cell B in the analytical tool (p. 24). This also fits with the general ideal image of Marxisms to a large extent as the article views globalization as the extension of capitalism – and that this is not a good thing.

4.4.2 Report 2: What is National Security in the Age of Globalization?

As the title of the article reveals, professor Barry Buzan's contribution to the Norwegian initiative is focused on the issue of national security. His report argues that globalization has become a force that makes us rethink what national security actually is, or at least so many social scientists would have us believe. To Buzan globalization is a concept grounded in materialistic requirements, however the effects of this is depending on how we interpret the changes (Buzan, 2009). He argues that:

Because globalization is about the increased range, scale and intensity of human interactions and their consequences, it generates increasing levels of interdependence. Interdependence works to increase the importance of the system level (the global economy, the cybersphere, the global environment, international society) over the unit one (states). This increases the number of shared interests (in finding the rules of the game) and shared fates (global epidemics, economic crises, cyberwar, environmental change) (Buzan, 2009:2).

Thus, even though there are materialistic components of globalization it would be fair to say that it

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is at least equally important to Buzan how these components are interpreted, or indeed constructed, by the states of the international system and the humans inhabiting them. Furthermore he acknowledge that “Globalization is not just a function of material developments” (Buzan, 2009:3) and that it is an important aspect of the future how the world chooses to “construct China as a threat” (Buzan, 2009:3). Together with the fact that he also argues that “For better and/or for worse, ideas, activities, organizations, people and consequences of human activity now penetrate the whole globe more widely and deeply than ever before” (Buzan, 2009:3) it is the conclusion here that his article rests on a constructivist globalization perspective.

**Classification:** Since the article seems to argue that globalization is resting both on ideas and materialist conditions and since the former takes the upper hand in the expressions of the author, the interpretation here is that this article portrays a constructivist perspective of globalization. This is based also on the fact that it portrays little to no focus on power relations. Thus it falls within cell C of the analytical tool (p. 24).

**4.4.3 Report 3: Hvordan kan Norge best arbeide for en positiv utvikling i utviklingsland med olje-økonomier?**

The report tries to evaluate how Norway in the role of an oil economy can contribute to a positive development of the third world. This is connected to a globalization perspective that is possible to extract from how the writer Anne Hege Simonsen, argues. For instance she repeatedly comes back to an argumentation that wishes to “introduce reasonable international rules for the oil industry that does not put the commercial interests of Statoil and Hydro first” (Simonsen, 2009:1).

While there are no explicit articulations of how globalization is to be understood it is obvious that the author is concerned that contemporary institutions and existing rules contribute to an uneven distribution of resources. Since it also seems as if globalization is connected to these resources the article leans towards high attention to power relations and a materialistic ontology (Simonsen, 2009).

**Classification:** The article is classified as within the field of Marxisms based on the fact that it is paying attention to power relations and at the same times argues around globalization in a very materialistic context.
4.4.4 Report 4: Norske intresser i en globalisert verden.

Written by the leader of Association pour la taxation des transactions pour l'aide aux citoyens (ATTAC) in Norway, Marte Nilsen, the fourth report takes a clear position on globalization. Here it is argued that globalization must be understood as a phenomenon that in its present form not only contributes to, but indeed creates huge cleavages between a rich and a poor side of the world (Nilsen, 2009).

The argument that weak, small and poor nations have something to gain from a regulated international trade is used a lot in the Norwegian debate. The statement is meaningless however, if it does not specify what rules and what principles that should form the basis of such a set of rules. Today the main principle is deregulation, and the rules give advantages to the already powerful (Nilsen, 2009).

The focus on power relation is accompanied by a materialistic understanding of globalization. The majority of issues that concerns Nilsen seem to stem from an understanding that views such concepts as technology, economy and migration to be the most distinct expressions of globalization (Nilsen, 2009).

Classification: The report is paying high attention to power relations and at the same time largely handles materialistic expressions of globalization. Thus it is classified as falling within the Marxisms of cell B in the analytical tool (p. 24).

4.4.5 Report 5: Globaliseringen og næringslivet

In this report professor Torger Reve argues that the businesses of Norway probably are the ones who most directly experience globalization. The underlaying perspective that professor Reve advances holds a distinct and materialistic understanding. Globalization is understood in liberalistic terms and it is clear that the report bases its understanding on a world made smaller through inventions and technological advances in general (Reve, 2009).

The motor of the global knowledge based economy is the Universities and the research and development environments of the private businesses (Reve, 2009:1).

Statements such as the one above constitute the bulk of argumentation around the concept of globalization and they are indeed accompanied by a view that does not consider power relations to be prominent features of the concept. Liberal ideas of globalization as a good thing led by an international capitalism through the market also seems to be the understanding of professor Reve.

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25 Translation by the author, original quote in Norwegian.
Classification: The article is classified as within the Liberalisms of cell A in the analytical tool (p. 24) based on a materialistic understanding and low attention to power relations.

4.4.6 Report 6: Norge i en globalisert verden

The eight report is written by the leading economist of the Norwegian national union organization Landsorganisasjonen (LO) Stein Reegård in Oslo. In it he argues that globalization, if not handled right, contributes to increasing inequalities among and within nations. This is most distinctly seen in the fact that the first decade of the new millennium has seen the real wages of Norwegian workers fall significantly as a proportion of the income of private businesses (Reegård, 2009).

There will be a continued number of winners and losers among nations and within nations. This will be an issue both for the international community and the national institutions to handle. In our country the most probable winners are the ones that already have great resources while the ones with lesser education and resources most likely will suffer the most [from globalization] (Reegård, 2009).

The report also has a distinct tone of materialism to it in as much as that the concepts and issues that are under discussion in majority handles economics and migration as forces that may challenge the Norwegian way of life in the age of globalization. In general then the report should fit within the ideal image of Marxisms which is also something it does quite well based on its expressions.

Classification: Based on the interpretation above the report is classified as falling within the Marxisms of cell B in the analytical tool (p. 24).

4.4.7 Report 7: Norsk næringslive I den globale økonomien – hva skjer lokalt?

Professor Merete Lie argues in the seventh report for a shift of focus to investigate not only the macro perspectives of globalization, but also the local ones. According to her globalization must be understood as a process that is constructed both from forces of the transnational, but also from the small businesses down the street and in the everyday life of citizens. She argue that “Instead of more statements on what globalization adds [to society], we need nuanced studies of different passing places of the local and the global actors”.

Lie's argumentation leans toward the ideal image of the Constructivisms of cell C in the analytical tool. While it is hard to find manifest statements that supports this analysis it corresponds quite well

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26 Translation by the author, original quote in Norwegian.
27 Translation by the author, original quote in Norwegian.
with the focus of constructivism such as the view that globalization is *constructed* through human interaction and how such interactions have made us able to think of ourselves as global citizens. At the same time the report does not express any significance to the power relations of different classes or ethnic groups which furthers an interpretation towards Constructivism rather than Post-colonialism.

**Classification:** The analysis presented above suggests a classification within cell C, Constructivism, in the analytical tool (p. 24).

### 4.4.8 Report 8: Strategies For Increasing Norwegian Influence on Global Environmental Management

Marc A. Levy argues in his report that globalization is a major part of the growing environmental issues. The world is, according to Levy, standing at a crossroads where it is time to start making up our minds about where we want to go. In general this applies to the entire world although Levy is specifically interested in the Norwegian role of the future development (Levy, 2009).

When relating to globalization it is clear that what Levy considers to be immanent threats to the world is the changes in the environment. As such globalization is treated as a very materialistic process where what is the most problematic is the increased pollution but also the lack of institutional framework. At the same time Levy's report argues in a way that also makes its attention to power relation an important part of its understanding of globalization:

> Perceived inequities in how the fruits of globalization are shared, including the perception that global inequality is increasing, undermine the legitimacy of the international system and make it difficult to achieve global cooperation. Although there are legitimate scholarly debates about how to measure inequality and whether, and in what dimensions, it is increasing, there are enough indisputable facts to create real problems (Levy, 2009:2)

In sum then the analysis provided by Levy, while focusing very much on environmental effects, still displays features that point to an interpretation that classifies it as within Marxisms. It is important though to keep in mind that the article itself is interested in a subject that actually is hard to capture with the analytical tool.

**Classification:** The text is classified as within the Marxisms of cell B in the analytical instrument (p. 24).
4.4.9 Report 9: Climate Change Impact on Norway – What do we know?

Report number eleven sets its focus on the future changes brought to the world by the so called climate changes. While the article stresses many interesting ideas and important issues it lies outside of what is possible to classify with the analytical tool. Its focus is almost exclusively such that an interpretation with the method used in this essay would be misleading. Therefore the report is excluded from the analysis.

Classification: The report is excluded from the analysis.

4.4.10 Report 10: Hvordan påvirker globaliseringen norsk fiskerisektor i tiden fremover, og hva er de viktigste utenrikspolitiske utfordringene i lys av dette?

Professor Frank Asche takes on the challenge of evaluating the impact of globalization on the Norwegian fishing industry in the tenth report analyzed here. When doing so he takes a stand where globalization is very much a matter of materialistic explanations. In general his argumentation also fits quite well with the ideal image of Liberalisms presented in figure 3.2 (p. 29). Particularly the texts takes a very economically focused stand on what is perceived to be some of the most prominent features of globalization (Asche, 2009).

Throughout the eighties the transport systems of the world became significantly better, and the trade with seafood increased considerably. Primarily the trade flows to the three markets with the highest purchasing power, EU, USA and Japan (Asche, 2009:2).

The above quote should be understood as a typical argumentation from the report and illustrates how it is economically written, and also finds its understanding of globalization in the same world. In sum then, since it does not pay any particular attention to power relations, it is interpreted to be falling within the Liberalisms of the analytical tool (p. 24).

Classification: In line with the interpretation above the article is considered to be falling within cell A, Liberalisms, of the analytical tool.

28 Translation by the author, original quote in Norwegian.
4.4.11 Report 11: Policy Memo on World Order and Global Governance

Professor Michael Barnett addresses in his report the issue of global governance and the way contemporary world order may influence how we understand the following years to come. When doing so he focuses heavily on the institutional framework that sets the borders of the discussion. That is, his focus is explicitly on what global governance is and how it can be created, however, in a very short form (Barnett, 2009).

Thus the perspective of globalization that flows throughout the report could be said to be materialistic. At the same time there is some focus on power relations, however, they are not prominent. In addition, when showing, they are more connected to the power among states, than to class or ethnicity making the analysis here lean towards a low focus on power relations within states. In all that makes for a Liberalistic perspective of globalization which also fits with the ideal image of figure 3.2 (p. 29).

Classification: The report is classified as falling within the Liberalisms of cell A in the analytical tool. This is based on the fact that the report is focusing mostly on institutions as materialistic objects that are very important in the management of globalization. At the same time it fits with the general ideal image of Liberalisms presented in figure 3.2 (p. 29).

4.4.12 Report 12: Foreign Policy in the Age of Globalization: Implications for Norway

Christopher Bertram investigates what implications of globalization that are to expect on the foreign policy of Norway. First and foremost his understanding of globalization influences his ideas on the general subject quite heavily. It is clear that he views the modern era as something new in as much as that it brings with it a number of challenges to the classical take on foreign policy. States today do not have the luxury of only to “have good relations with allies, particularly the chief ally who also was your chief protector, as well as avoid major tensions with your neighbors” (Bertram, 2009:1). Instead they have to act in a world with a myriad of choices and actors, who all combines into a constructed image of what is needed in any given moment and how foreign policy is to be formulated to match these conditions (Bertram, 2009).

As far as globalization goes it is possible to extract a view that is indeed quite idealistic. While not explicitly so, there is an underlaying pattern that views globalization as something that makes our
world a new place, but not just through materialistic inventions. Rather it is just as much about the construction of world politics:

Yet it would be a major mistake to define globalization as an economic phenomenon only. The massive, often dramatic changes that the liberalization of commercial and financial transactions has brought about must not blind us to the fact that globalization is essentially a political phenomenon: not only the redistribution of production and wealth, but fundamentally the redistribution of power and influence (Bertram, 2009).

While understanding globalization as based on a form of idealism, Bertram does not pay much attention to the power relations that are crucial to the Marxisms or Post-colonialisms. Rather his perspective is more in line with the Constructivisms which is also the interpretation made here.

Classification: Since the text displays a perspective of globalization that is at the same time paying low attention to power relations and has an idealistic ontological ground it is classified as within cell C of the analytical tool labeled Constructivisms.


Professor Patrick Bond argues heavily in his article that the large debts that many third world countries owes the rich nations of the North are actually payed back (with interest) long ago. In fact if anything, Bond argues, it is the North that owes money to the South for a number of reasons. In his article Bond also examines the ways that the so called debt is supposed to be payed back and finds that the conditions established by the rich countries (including Norway) not only are made up so that they are very hard to accomplish for the developing countries, they actually make things worse, and far so (Bond, 2009).

Bond holds a perspective of globalization where power relations within states takes a very prominent position. This is shown through his denunciation of contemporary globalization politics as a form of Neo-liberalism that is close to lunacy. At the same time his understanding is very much founded in materialistic reasoning making the issue first and foremost about money, economics, production and environment. This makes this report fall within the Marxisms of the analytical tool (p. 24).

Classification: The high attention to power relations and the materialistic understanding makes the text combine qualities that makes it classifiable as within the Marxisms of cell B of the analytical tool.
4.4.14 Report 14: Globalization and National Interests

Joe Oloka-Onyango is in his short article answering a number of question concerning the issues connected to foreign aid from rich countries to poor ones. Taking a general approach to the aid question Onyango ends up at discussing particular problems for Norway and how the nation could best handle them. When doing so his perspective of globalization functions as a framework for his recommendations. Even though most of the things that need to be done in the poor nations are of materialistic nature, the process of globalization is understood by Onyango as:

"Globalization has increased global interaction, which has enhanced communication and interconnectivity, both between countries and among the people of the world. This has enhanced social movements across a wide range of areas, improving the mobilization power of civil society and promoting social activism. Knowledge and information (particularly via the WorldWideWeb) has been greatly improved, stimulating the exchange of ideas and strategies (via virtual libraries, e-learning, blogs, etc.) as well as discussions on rights, equality and the inclusion of marginal groups (Onyango, 2009:3)."

Thus his view is such that it focuses on the way the ideas of a global world influences its evolution towards an even closer knit structure of interdependency among states and humans. At the same time he also pays quite a lot of attention to the power relations of the contemporary world as a means of understanding the process of globalization. As such he acknowledge for instance that “Increased immigration restrictions (with racist overtones), cultural homogenization (or what can be described as MacDonaldization) and the undermining of social security schemes have also been a main feature of globalization”(Onyango, 2009:3). Taken together then the interpretation of the report is such that it falls within the Post-colonialisms of cell D in the analytical tool (p. 24).

**Classification:** Because the text portrays high attention to power relation and an idealistic ontology in its understanding of globalization it is interpreted to have a perspective that classifies as within Post-colonialism in cell D.

4.4.15 Report 15: Statebuilding and Global Governance

Dr. Ashraf Ghani and Clair Lockhart are in their report analyzing what needs to be done to the international community in order to make it more suitable to the challenges of a globalized world. Specifically they are dealing with the hardships of state building in the world's so called *failed states*. This is, according to the authors, a key to making globalization fulfill its potential as a liberating force of economic prosperity to all (Ghani and Lockhart, 2009).

Globalization is according to Ghani and Lockhart something that is understood as a process based
on materialistic grounds. That is to say, its liberating force is its possibility to bring with it the
technology and institutions of the rich western world to the failed states and the third world in
general. While this is a process that indeed is unequal right now, it is possible to make it more equal
if only the market and its efficiency would be a reality in all of the world:

Finding market-based solutions to the problem of inequality is urgent. There is still no
international body designed to deal with market building, and thus investments in risky
countries remain under-developed. Organized for a for interaction between global
corporations and states would allow businesses to play a more significant role in the
creation of global, functioning markets and solutions for making workers stakeholders in
the global system (Ghani and Lockhart, 2009:3)

The materialistic base of the argumentation is coupled with an understanding of globalization that,
while acknowledging inequalities, does not pay any high attention to power relations as primary
parts of the equation needed to solve global issues. Instead it fits quite well with the ideal image of
Liberalisms (p. 29) that argues for the fact that globalization is a potentially liberating force for all
mankind if only left to the market and the institutions of capitalism.

**Classification:** Through a match with the ideal image of figure 3:2 in conjunction with the texts
display of a materialistic ontology and low attentions to power relations it is classified as falling
within the Liberalisms of cell A in the analytical tool.

**4.4.16 Report 16: Globalisering, identitet og norsk utenrikspolitikk**

Professor Thomas Hylland Eriksen is in his short text focusing on what he finds to be essential and
overlooked themes of globalization. Typical examples of such themes are, according to Eriksen,
connected to identity and culture. By understanding that globalization is not only about materialistic
features we stand a chance in the struggle to govern the world in such ways that it will be a better
place to live, he argues (Eriksen, 2009).

When doing so Eriksen does not attempt to fill his understanding of globalization with a lot of
emphasis on power relations. Instead he is most interested with the idealist aspects of globalization
and finds it to be a process that is very much intertwined with culture and identity (Eriksen, 2009).

**Classification:** The text is classified as falling within cell B, the Constructivisms, based on the
above interpretation.
4.4.17 Report 17: Hva betyr globalisering for endring av identitet og kultur?

The aim of report seventeen is to investigate questions connected to what globalization means to the identity and culture of Norwegians. It does so by adapting an understanding of globalization that encompasses both an idealistic ontology and an emphasis on power relations:

The special [with globalization] in our time is the grasp and speed, but also the establishing of new forms of global class differences both within and among countries and continents. We see the evolution of hybrid identities as well as a fight for identity. Not least globalization means that more people live in transnational realities (Simonsen, 2009).29

While the report is short and compact, it is still possible to see this foundation throughout its argumentation. Author Anne Hege Simonsen expresses a perspective of globalization that pushes some of the new inequalities that are now visible in Norway to the forefront and links them to global processes such as migration. Thus the report is leaning towards the Post-colonialisms that highlights issues of identity and power relations as prominent parts of globalization.

Classification: The report falls within cell D, Post-colonialisms based on the interpretation presented above.


In article eighteen historian Jarle Simensen examines in what ways the causes of underdevelopment in Africa could be understood and tackled by globalization. His text analyses the common understandings of underdevelopment such as the slave trade, colonialism and ethnical conflicts. When doing so Simensen argues that it is time to bring some of the good things of for instance colonialism to the surface in order to understand the causes of underdevelopment better. It then shows, he argues, that in comparison to other colonized countries in for instance Asia the African ones have been left far behind. He concludes that the reason for this is just as much internal problems as it is the colonial period in itself. In this day and age Simensen finds it necessary to keep this in mind when arguing over how to best integrate Africa in the world economy (Simensen, 2009).

Globalization is a potential way to solving many of the problematic issues for Africans if handled right according to Simensen. If not handled correctly it can bear with it devastating effects for the

29 Translation by the author, original quote in Norwegian.
people. The view of globalization applied throughout the report rests on a materialistic understanding and finds many of the possible effects of the phenomenon within economics or political institutions. In plain language this means that globalization can bring with it better communications, economic investments and liberal institutions. While the analysis of Simensen also investigates issues of power such as colonialism it is his conclusion that they do not play a particular role in the globalization of today. Therefore it is fair to say that he does not pay high attention to power relations in his globalization perspective.

**Classification:** The article is classified as having materialistic approach to globalization and also as not paying high attention to power relations. This means that it falls within cell A, Liberalisms, of the analytical tool (p. 24).

### 4.4.19 Report 19: Human Rights and Businesses: How Can We Move the Agenda Forward?

In article nineteen John G. Ruggie develops his thoughts on the Issues of Human Rights (HR). While the article, like many of the other, does not explicitly relate to what globalization is, it argues as if something is new in the world and this new entity is making it imperative that we change some of our institutional framework. It is only fair then to assume that the new thing is globalization and it is therefore possible to find what its main features are thought to be by analyzing what answers it provokes.

In this case most of the issues of human rights seem connected to a Business world that increasingly is getting more space in the modern age. According to Ruggie the Transnational Corporations (TNCs) as well as the local businesses have a responsibility to help contribute to a better world more coined by human rights. In its argumentation the article is hard to fit along the dimensions, however, it does not seem to think that power relations are prominent features of globalization and at the same time it argues a lot for the function of markets as a very good thing. At the same time it fits quite well with the Liberalisms of figure 3:2 (p. 29) through its focus on the institutions of capitalism.

**Classification:** With help from the ideal images of figure 3:2 it is possible to interpret report twenty as portraying a perspective of globalization that falls within cell A, Liberalisms, in the analytical tool (p. 24).
4.4.20 Report 20: Combating Terrorism While Protecting Human Rights

The final report analyzed in this essay is trying to find new ways to combating terrorism while at the same time protecting the human rights of all parties involved. In it Professor Martin Scheinin uses judicial arguments to strengthen his view that the UN need to refine its ways of handling terrorism. Unfortunately the article does not at all relate to globalization, and its is also very hard to find an underlaying understanding of the phenomena based on the argumentation within the text. Therefore it is best to exclude it from the analysis.

Classification: The report is excluded from the analysis.

4.5 A Short Recap

In this section the so called globalization councils and initiatives of four Nordic countries have been analyzed. This has been done through the use of a textual analysis that has tried to classify what perspective (or perspectives) that are present within the initiatives and councils. As has no doubt been understood by reading this chapter this has given some results that in three of the countries are very similar while the fourth one, Norway, stands out. Before a discussion of the results is in its place they are presented graphically and with textual clarifications in the next chapter.
5. Results

This chapter aims to make the results of the analysis in chapter four clear and easily accessible to the reader. This is done by plotting the classifications of the texts using the analytical tool developed in chapter three. All four countries are treated separately and even though the focus is on the graphical representation, each country's results are also explained shortly through the use of text. Note that none of the figures reflect relative positions among classified reports.

5.1 Result; The Swedish Globalization Council

The extended investigation of the Swedish globalization council was built on the results of preceding research (Öjehag-Pettersson, 2008). This was illustrated in figure 4:1. The analysis done here added four new reports by the council making it a total of twelve from the previous eight, giving more weight to the argumentation of the earlier research.

Figure 5:1 – Perspectives of globalization in the Swedish Council.

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Strong emphasis on power relations

Weak emphasis on power relations
As it turned out the pattern of the first eight reports was followed by the four new ones showing a heavy concentration on a perspective of globalization that falls within the Liberalisms of cell A. The total spread of the combined research shows ten of the twelve reports falling within Liberalisms and two within Constructivisms.

5.2 Result, The Danish Globalization Council

The analysis of the Danish council was based on two reports that were treated as one entity. Together they constitute the full population of reports issued by the Danish council and thus the result shown below is to be understood as the complete view of the council.

![Perspectives of globalization in the Danish council.](image)

The circle represents the fact that the total view of the council is located somewhere within the Liberalisms of cell A.
### 5.3 Result, The Finnish Initiative

All five articles analyzed under the Finnish Initiative can be found within the two main reports issued by the Finnish government under its economic council. While resembling the Danish report the Finnish ones differs in areas crucial to the analysis. Here it was possible to analyze the articles as independent pieces that all held their own perspective of globalization and therefore they are classified one by one.

As can be seen very clearly the Finnish reports makes for a high conformity around a perspective of globalization that lies within the liberalisms of cell A.

![Perspectives of globalization in the Finnish initiative.](image)

### 5.4 Result, The Norwegian Initiative

The Norwegian initiative had by far the greatest number of articles in its total population amassing a total of 194 texts within nine different areas. Here 20 articles were chosen through random sampling to represent the perspectives present within the full population. In the following the results of the classifications are plotted similarly to the Swedish and Finnish ones. It is clear then that the spread

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<th>Materialistic ontology</th>
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<tr>
<th>Weak emphasis on power relations</th>
<th>Constructivisms (C)</th>
<th>Post-colonialisms (D)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Idealistic ontology</td>
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As can be seen very clearly the Finnish reports makes for a high conformity around a perspective of globalization that lies within the liberalisms of cell A.
of perspectives is much more evenly distributed in Norway than in any of the other countries. As seen below the classifications were such that six fell within Liberalisms, six within Marxisms, four within Constructivisms and two within Post-Colonialisms. Two of the articles were regarded as non classifiable with the tool used and are therefore not plotted.

What is also obvious is that even though the distribution of articles is far more even than in the other countries, the Post-colonial perspective seems to be the one that is present the least within all councils and initiatives.

Figure 5.4 – Perspectives of globalization in the Norwegian initiative.

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<tr>
<th>Materialistic ontology</th>
<th>Weak emphasis on power relations</th>
<th>Strong emphasis on power relations</th>
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<td>Constructivisms (C)</td>
<td>16 12</td>
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Falling outside:
Report 9
Report 20
6. Concluding Discussion

The chapter sums up the essay and develops a number of thoughts and questions that are possible to ask in light of the results presented in chapter five. Furthermore it relates the work to the research questions and the purpose of the essay as established in the first chapter. At the same time the discussion is also lifted to embrace wider questions of politics and science in general and the usefulness of globalization councils in the future.

6.1 About the results

No doubt there is a striking conformity of thought within three of the councils and initiatives analyzed. Indeed the liberal perspective that is reality within the Swedish, Danish and Finnish examples is not just barely outweighing the alternatives; it is exceptionally dominant. Why is this so, and why is it that the Norwegian alternative does not fall in the same pattern? To be sure these are interesting questions that, if answered exhaustively, would require more research. That is not to say, however, that it is not possible to start a discussion and to establish some general idea of why this may be, which is done here.

First of all it is important to relate the results to a discussion of validity, and explicitly the selection of material but also the selection of councils. The fact that the analyzed units differ somewhat could be a problem for any analysis that tries to establish exact and quantifiable differences or similarities among the four countries' answers to what they perceive as globalization. However, such an approach has never been the intention here. Rather the results are satisfying in as much as that they point to general trends within the material analyzed. That is, the fact that all articles of the Finnish initiative falls within Liberalisms is enough to be able to say that it is indeed portraying a perspective of globalization that most likely is Liberalistic even though the analysis here is not able to establish just how Liberalistic it is.

What is possible though is to point to the fact that the Norwegian example is deviating from the others in such a way that it shows that the analytical tool used is quite functioning. If all councils would have generated the same results it would have been right to ask whether or not the instrument did catch differences in perspectives in a satisfying way. Now, any possible problems of validity is rather found in the selection of the material.

The most obvious problem in respect to this could be said to be the Finnish initiative. Since it is in fact a part of the economic council of Finland is it not obvious that it will show an economic
argumentation and a generally liberal understanding of the phenomenon? This may be so, but there is a flip side to such a coin. Finland has indeed set up what they perceive to be a good response to globalization. If they felt that the phenomenon had more important effects and influences on the Finnish society would they not then have formulated an investigation that accounted for this? In reality then, the way a country chooses to analyze and understand any given problem may say a lot of what they find to be its most prominent features, thus making the Finnish choice such that it is still very much possible to call it heavily Liberalistic. In other words, they could have chosen to include a lot more in their analysis of globalization if they wanted to.

In the case of Sweden and Denmark the main difference is that while one country has finished its work while the other one is preparing to issue its final report. It is important to keep in mind that, as mentioned, the actual number of classifications is only relevant within a country. That is, it is not possible to state that the Swedish council is more Liberalistic than the Danish one based on the fact that they have more reports falling within cell A of the matrix only. If anything the analysis of the Danish council is probably the one that falls closest to the actual perspective of globalization if compared with the other three analyses. Since it is based on a material that is the council's final view and policy recommendation rather than underlaying reports as in the case of Sweden and Norway it is analyzed in a way that excludes selection problems.

Turning then to the Norwegian council and its deviation from the others the first and most obvious question must be how it differs in its actual institutional composition. It has been mentioned that it is functioning under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Norway and as such may have a slight different perspective to begin with. However, the other general premises are quite similar among all councils, at least similar enough to conclude that if it is the arrangement of the Norwegian initiative per se that causes its deviation one would expect much more obvious differences in the way it is set up. Rather it seems to be a fact that the Norwegian initiative is successful in its work of trying to establish a broad and open debate about the consequences of globalization. On the contrary then it is fair to conclude that this is not the case in the other countries.

In fact the deviation of Norway could possibly have been even more striking if the analytical tool was finer tuned to pick up more perspectives of globalization. The Norwegian initiative took such a broad approach that if the instrument had been able to catch for instance an environmental perspective and a realist perspective (as understood by Scholte, 2005:121ff) some of the texts, and particularly the ones that fell outside of the analysis, would have probably fit better there. Thus the broad approach of Norway to globalization is indeed different from the very narrow ones present in Sweden, Denmark and Finland.
In sum then, to explain the deviation of the Norwegian initiative from the other countries one must search for external answers. That is, since it is not enough to point to the differences in the analytical units themselves and their respective compositions or structures as explanations the answers must be found elsewhere.

Two features of the context in which the Norwegian initiative operates stands out in relation to the other countries. First, it is a fact that Norway is the only country of the four that currently is run by what could be considered a social democratic government. By contrast the other three nations are all ruled by political parties to the right where the liberal understanding feels as a natural way of analyzing the phenomenon of globalization. Second, Norway is not a member of the European Union, while the others are. It could be a possibility that there is a large conformity among EU countries as to what globalization is and how it should be handled that is not found within nations that are not as closely integrated in the European community.

Such explanations are, however, failing to address a very crucial part of all four nations' answers to globalization, namely the fact that they all aspire to be more than political projects. In fact, as has been pointed out they more or less take on the role of investigations based on science and as such it should not matter whether the political majority is left or right. Instead, as the background of this essay pointed out they should reflect the diversity found within the social sciences in their understanding of globalization. A part from Norway this is not the case, and it is therefore plausible to try to explain the results of this essay with a general reasoning that connects the more concrete questions with the larger ones as introduced in the beginning of this essay.

6.2 A Concept under contest

Instead of asking what it is that makes Norway the deviating case, it is just as plausible to ask why the other three nations show such a conformity, especially considering that they aspire to establish forums for a broad discussion. After all in the light of the results found here it is only Norway who accomplishes this.

Within the social sciences scholars have been involved in the hunt for the “truth” of human interaction for centuries. However, most social scientists are very aware of the limitations to the quest they pursue. The “truth” is a concept that within sciences in general and the social sciences in particular is under contest. This is manifested in numerous debates such as the one concerning globalization where different scientific interpretations of a phenomenon are involved in a race that is not easily decided.
In contemporary society the significance of scientific theories is hard to underestimate. We are literally bombarded in our everyday lives with facts and figures from so called scientific sources in a way that has made it almost a requirement for any meaningful statement to also involve a reference to a scientific work. During the latest decades this evolution has become so apparent that some scholars (for instance Karl Popper) have come to speak of scientism as a form of alignment that is increasingly gaining ground at the expense of traditional religion and politics. In such a world it is obvious that we need to deepen the discussion of not only what science is but also what politics is.

In the case of the globalization councils of Denmark, Finland and Sweden it would be easy to dismiss them as only political rhetorics from the dominating parties. However, as pointed out, this would be to miss the essential point that they at the same time also tries to take the form of science. As an expression of the world around us it seems natural that politicians need science on their side whenever they try to make an argument. Globalization, that indeed is a very political subject, can in this way be controlled and explained in ways that serves the political agenda of the forces in power. To be sure this is true about many more concepts than just globalization. The Finnish philosopher George Henrik von Wright addresses this problem in his work *Vetenskapen och förnuftet* where he argues:

> In the long run the changing position of science within society is riddled with dangers. Research runs the risk of becoming the prisoner of the state and the business community [...] The obedience of science before the authority is no longer upheld by the inquisition but by the financial departments (von Wright, 1986:122f).

To von Wright the most central change in the scientific community is connected to this alteration of authority. While the Church was an authority that tried to keep science in check it did this based on a competitive relationship where it sought to advocate its own version of the “truth”. This is not the case today as the state or the business community is a supposedly neutral forces with no goal of establishing a truth that is in direct competition with a scientific world view (von Wright, 1986:120ff).

However, this supposedly neutral relationship is very hard to uphold. When the state and the businesses are the primary framework of research, a situation is created where science is at risk of loosing its capacity to set its own goals. The pursuit of the “truth” is dictated by what is considered by the authorities as useful, either in the service of society or as profitable investments to private interests. Von Wright argues:

30 Published in English under the title *Science and Reason*
31 Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish
“The Politics of Science”\textsuperscript{32} is a new concept in the state economy. The expert councils needed is provided by the scientific community, however the goals are set elsewhere. Likewise the decisive resolutions are past by other institutions and in the end by the legislative authority. […] The goals are usually not clearly stated. Instead they are referred to in vague terms by focusing on such things as higher material standard of living, increased competitiveness (export), or safety and national independence. The emotionally tinged and unspecified nature of the goals tends to obscure the ways in which science is used to pursue them (von Wright, 1985:123).\textsuperscript{31}

As an example of von Wright's reasoning the globalization councils and initiatives analyzed in this essay functions perfectly. They are striking images of how science is used by states to serve interests that not necessarily share the same goals and ideals as the scientific community itself. At the same time they also contribute to blurring the line between politics and science to an extent where it is essential to start asking questions about what the political actually is in the modern world.

Parallel to the process that through modernity has changed the foundations of the scientific community another equally altering process has been changing the concept of the political according to Belgian political scientist Chantal Mouffe. Arguing that the liberal democracy of our time fails to handle the antagonistic features of politics, Mouffe has characterized politics as increasingly consensus driven. This is creating an environment where such terms as deliberative democracy, cosmopolitanism and good governance have become attempts to deal with the complex issues of the political reality. However, they will not succeed according to Mouffe, instead they are actually expressions of a post-political world (Mouffe, 2008:18ff).

In the post-political landscape conventional politics is gradually transformed from being a field of contesting forces with competing visions of how to best govern a people, into an area where governance is understood to be a form of expert rule. Solutions to problems (such as globalization) is often thought of as a question of adjusting technicalities rather than as political battles between rivaling interests. The political itself – the notion of what politics is – has become apolitical (Tesfahuney and Dahlstedt, 2008:10ff).

According to Mouffe and others the post-political world holds an understanding of the political that can best be understood as defeated. The ideas of liberal democracy, market capitalism and freedom is today not just the message of liberal parties, but rather a common denominator for most of the political world in western society. Therefore it does not matter much who governs in a post-political

\textsuperscript{32} The Swedish term used is vetenskapspolitik.
\textsuperscript{33} Translation by the author, original quote in Swedish.
reality since the differences between a social democratic leadership and a conservative one is mostly a matter of adjusting minor details of the big picture (Mouffe, 2008:17ff).

In Sweden, Denmark and Finland the globalization councils could be argued to be reflections of the world as described by Mouffe. The contesting alternatives are never part of the story, even despite the fact that most of the councils are comprised of different interests of the community. On a grand scale this conformity on how to handle globalization can be identified in most of the so called Bretton Woods institutions as they continue to prescribe Neo-liberal medicine to third world countries. However, the conformity has not gone unchallenged. Since it first started to be debated among social scientists globalization has been a phenomenon that cuts through both politics and science with voices from different perspectives battling for what they feel is both normatively right and scientifically correct. Indeed their scientific work is a way out for politicians who feel that or reality still is in need of a political dimension.

While the classification of the councils have been conducted using a tool that labels them according to a political perspective it should not go unnoticed that such a way is not the only one to show a disturbing conformity. To be sure it would be very possible to just speak of a high concentration of economic factors of globalization, pointing to the fact that it misses essential parts of what the scientific community finds most intriguing with the phenomenon.

In conclusion then, the councils of Sweden, Denmark and Finland serves as reminders of the fact that politics and science is not at all easily separated, especially if they are used to legitimate one another. As for the actual results of the investigation carried out here it has shown that only one of four councils and initiatives actually could be said to broaden the debate on globalization. The Norwegian example is a refreshing breath of air into a debate that otherwise would have seemed to been none existent outside of the scientific community.

Meanwhile, what has been called the worst financial crises since the great depression is in full effect around the world. It remains to be seen if the solution to its ramifications is a one sided take on the effects of globalization. What is still sure though, is that globalization as well as science and politics will continue to be concepts under contest.
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Mouffe, Chantal (2008) *Om det politiska* Stockholm: Tankekraft


