

GLOBALIZATION – 19th Century

Globalization after 1750

1750 as a Turning Point? Signs of interest in European science plus the steady advance of global trade unquestionably pushed international exchanges to new levels by the later 18th century. A few historians of globalization have argued that the mid-18th century actually marks a crucial turning point in the globalization process, with modern forms clearly emerging. One for example claims that increasingly effective governments, and particularly the strong British navy, created clear changes by limiting the operations of pirates and so facilitating even greater seaborne commerce. Combined with the expanding scope of some of the great trading companies, with their organizational innovations, the result adds up to a new framework. The claim should be debated: arguably for example the organization changes really happened earlier. There were a few new developments however, beside the piracy point, even if more decisive changes awaited the global technologies of the mid-19th century.

Geography While the basic geographical expansion of the global network dated from the 15th-16th centuries, it was toward the middle of the 18th century that Australia and New Zealand began to be explicitly included in contact patterns, with additional Pacific islands soon involved as well. Russia's Westernization process brought more upper-class Russians into active travel. India had of course long been central to transregional exchanges, but India's position now began to shift thanks to growing British power in the region. The clearer rise of Britain as the preeminent naval and leading imperial power constituted another change in emphasis, directly affecting the framework of global interactions. Soon after 1750 in fact, Britain would take the lead in the process of industrialization, as the West became the center of a broad technological revolution that would further redefine power relationships.

Consumerism The mid-18th century is now commonly seen as the effective birth of modern consumerism, with the West in the lead here as well. Again, signs of this sprouted earlier, with growing interest in imports of products like sugar and coffee. But it was in the 18th century that widespread attachment to more stylish clothing and more elaborate home furnishings, and greater interest in creature comforts, began to suggest new definitions of the good life for many ordinary people in Western Europe and North America. The importance of shops and commercial lures including advertising gained as well. Much of this remained largely regional in scope, but modern consumerism did depend on imports from many parts of the world, providing additional stimulus to world economic relationships and the regional inequalities they entailed.

New Attitudes A final change that began to take shape in the later 18th century involved the emergence of a new sense of humanitarian standards that arguably had global applicability. Both the American and French revolutions, for example, began referring to the "rights of man", as if there were certain categories that might apply to all of humankind. Some historians have referred to the rise of a new sense of "humanitarian sensibility" in the West at this time, thanks particularly to the political culture of the Enlightenment. A new anti-slavery movement was the clearest expression of this new sensibility on a potentially global basis. Antislavery advocates included impassioned leaders, but also hundreds of thousands of people in various parts of Western Europe willing to sign petitions against this old human institution. The idea was that it was now contrary to acceptable global standards for one individual to own another; many appeals referred to presumably universal "principles of justice and humanity." Anti-slavery efforts involved a sense of moral responsibility for people in distant places; advocates saw themselves as "friends of the slave of every nation and clime." Ideas of this sort did not bear wide fruit in the 18th century itself, though in the 1790s the Haitian revolution directly referred to the new principles. But the suggestion of a globally-applicable morality, not based on any one religion, was a crucial innovation that would play a role in globalization from this time forward.

Questions About the Turning Point The later 18th century clearly saw some new departures. But many key trends continued and extended developments that had been part of the early modern period more generally. The importance of the West as a key center of global initiatives was becoming steadily clearer, which was one reason that largely Western developments like new consumerism or sensibility could potentially have wider impact. On the other hand, some societies, like China, saw no particular change in global relationships at this point, as they held fast to basic policies that had carried them through the early modern period. Arguably, in this case and in others, more fundamental shifts would occur a bit later, toward the middle of the 19th century, when among other things a more decisive set of technological innovations redefined global interactions once again. The challenge of identifying key changes of direction in patterns of contact and globalization unquestionably warrants continued assessment and debate.

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The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence by T.H. Breen (Oxford, 2004)

Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution by Laurent Dubois (Harvard, 2005)

Questions

1. What were the main changes and continuities in Europe's relationship with other parts of the world in the later 18th century?
2. Did abolitionism express new values, and how did it link to wider global processes?
3. To what extent were the American and French revolutions global, as opposed to Atlantic, events, in terms of their impacts?
4. What are the challenges in fitting Africa into the major global trends of the late 18th – early 19th centuries?
5. What are the relationships between 18th-century consumerism and 18th-century global patterns?
6. On balance, did the later 18th century usher in a decisive new phase of globalization, or is it best seen in terms of amplifying earlier trends?
7. Is the concept of "proto-globalization" useful in describing developments in the early modern period, and their relationship to more recent patterns of globalization?
8. What was the role of military force in establishing new global relationships in the early modern period?
9. In what ways did China and Japan make different decisions about their interactions with global contacts in the early modern period, and what factors might explain the

Globalization after 1850

The 1850s are not usually identified as a major break in world history. We are much more inclined to look back to the late 18th century, when the great political revolutions of the Atlantic world took shape and when British industrialization began to form. The conventional story then breaks again in the early 20th century, with the conflagration of World War I. Increasingly, however, many historians of globalization look to a mid-point, when patterns of global contact experienced more decisive changes. They argue, essentially, that it took several decades for Western industrialization to gain fully global impact, which begins to show up more systematically toward the middle of the 19th century than at the outset. More specifically, they see new technologies supported measurable changes in the volume and speed of international exchange, with the mid-century point the key break. On the heels of a new transportation and communication infrastructure, and the West's dominant industrial position, other changes began to take shape. Most notably, globalization begins to take on a political dimension, through international conferences and agreements, which had never before existed. And there were innovations as well in migration patterns and cultural contacts.

The argument for the 1850s, in other words, rests primarily on a new global framework, rooted in dramatic technological changes, and the expansion of the range as well as the sheer volume of global interactions. In contrast to previous patterns, literally every region of the world was now lured or forced into active participation; no major holdouts were tolerated. But all of this occurred under the arguably artificial dominance of the West, now the world's supreme economic, military and imperialist center. The combination proved fragile, and by the early 20th century a number of regions found opportunities to break away from the globalization process, entirely or in part, leading to unexpected retreats and confusions particularly in the decades after World War I. Some familiar developments, like the rise of fascism and communism, take on new dimensions when also seen as part of the ebb and flow of global exchanges. In a backhanded way, the growing power of globalization showed in new forms of resistance.

Basic Treatments (pick at least one):

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The Three Waves of Globalization by Robbie Robertson (Zed Book, 2003). Pages 130-168.

Globalization in World History By Peter Stearns (Routledge, 2010). Pages 91-123.

The New Global Technology

Symbols of Change In 1851 the first World's Fair occurred at London's Crystal Palace. The Fair was in part a massive celebration of Britain's industrial leadership, with many displays of mechanical prowess with a featured glass pavilion that was itself a technological marvel. But the Fair also recruited displays from many other parts of the world around the theme "global connections shrink the world itself." A series of world's fairs followed, extending into the present day, allowing the host country to show off but also to recruit participation from other world regions, which faced increasingly interesting choices about whether to emphasize the beauty of their traditional culture or the strength of their modern accomplishment or, somehow, both together. World's fairs became both a symbol and a promotion of a new level of interconnectedness.

Transportation Undergirding the new connections was a literal revolution in global transportation. Key inventions actually occurred early in the 19th century, but it was only in between the mid-1840s and the 1860s that their implication began to work out on more than a local basis. Steamships became crucial. Until the 1840s they needed to take on so much coal that they were really only useful on coastal or river routes. (A first transatlantic crossing, in 1818, ended up under sail power.) Only in the 1840s did the first regular transatlantic routes open, under the British Cunard Line. From this point onward steady improvement in engines amplified both speed and capacity. And other technologies contributed to new types of global trade, including refrigeration capacities by the 1870s. Trains, pulled by steam engines, also added to the global revolution. Train allowed rapid connections between interiors and coastal ports, and by the 1850s networks were developing not only in Europe and the United States but also Latin America and elsewhere. From the 1860s onward transcontinental lines, in the United States, Canada and, soon, Russia, contributed to global linkages even more directly.

Communications The key invention here was the telegraph. Invented in 1837, the telegraph allowed intercontinental connections within 30 years. The Indo-European Telegraph Company, for example, opened in 1868, and soon connected India not only to Britain but also to Germany and Russia. Links between Australia and Europe were completed in 1871. Information, albeit in small chunks, could now be sent with unprecedented speed, quickly globalizing outlets such as newspapers. Prices for international telegrams dropped steadily. A transatlantic rate of \$100 for ten words, in 1866, reached 12 cents a word just 20 years later. The British poet Rudyard Kipling, noting the power of the deep-sea cables, wrote: "Men talk today o'er (the oceans), And a new Word runs between: Whispering, 'Let us be one!'" By the end of the century, international telephone linkages and experiments with radio added further to the mix.

Canals Increasing global exchange provided the motivation for the construction of ambitious new canals, first in Egypt and later in Panama. A direct link between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean had been talked about for some time, but it was a French team that began to bring it to fruition in the 1850s. The Suez Canal opened in 1869. It cut travel time between India and Europe in half, between China and Europe by 25%. The Panama Canal, completed in 1913, reduced the distance between the east and west coasts of the United States by 18,000 miles, and provided addition spur as well to trade between various parts of the United States and East Asia.

Trade Levels Reductions in travel time and costs pushed global trade to unprecedented levels. International shipping tonnage tripled between 1870 and 1900 alone. The total value of all imports and exports quintupled between 1850 and 1900. More and more countries depended heavily on sales and purchases abroad. Australia and Argentine, for example, became major exporters of meats. A growing range of goods, including daily products such as foodstuffs, now became routine items in global commerce. International companies, often seeking resources in one place, production facilities in another, became increasingly complex, and increasingly significant.

Geography Industrialization in Europe and the United States created new capacity to produce manufactured goods, and it became vital to seek new international markets. Industrial exports, for example in clothing, steadily pushed back local production in places in Latin America and India. Industrialization also required new access to raw materials and food supplies. Industrialization, finally, created new military capacities for the Western powers, with mass-produced repeating rifles and machine guns. Along with the new capacities in transportation and communication, the cumulative result of all these developments was increasingly effective insistence that the whole world actively participate in the Western-dominated world economy. American and British naval pressure, for example, forced Japan to open to active world trade after 1853; Korea was soon embraced as well. China was compelled into new levels of interaction with foreigners. Imperialists pressed into the interior of Africa. Isolation seemed impossible. Here was the final component of the new framework for globalization.

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Questions

1. What role did trade play in the argument that globalization began in the mid-19th century?
2. What factors besides technology help explain the acceleration of global trade in the 19th century?
3. How important were steamships in 19th-century globalization?
4. How did the West's new leadership in manufacturing technology affect the process of technology transfer during the 19th century?
5. How did the development of the Suez Canal flow from European and imperialist rivalries? Why did the Canal become so important in global trade?
6. Compare the technological framework available for global contacts by the 1870s with the framework that had been available fifty years before.

New Patterns of Immigration

Identifying Change Migration of various types is one of the oldest phenomena in human history, long predating the advent of *Homo sapiens*. We have seen that migration – voluntary, by Europeans; and forced, by Africans – was a key aspect of the Columbian Exchange, in the previous period. As part of the acceleration of globalization after 1850, migration patterns changed in several ways. We need to look at volume (the most predictable); distance, and related changes in sources and cultural mixtures; and return trips (the newest phenomenon). Changes in migration obviously reflected the shifts in transportation patterns. They also reflected surprisingly fluid regulations. People moved from one country to the next far more freely, with far less paperwork, at this point than would be the case in the 20th century – or today.

A Decline of Force? The transatlantic slave trade began to dry up after 1808, when Britain declared an end to the practice. Some trade continued, and older patterns of trade from Africa to the Middle East persisted strongly. But the use of outright force to compel migration undoubtedly declined. Growing hostility to slavery in the West, and the rise of anti-slavery ideas in other places such as Latin America, played a key role in this change. But so did the rise of opportunities to recruit labor in other ways. Contracts of indenture became increasingly common, as ways to recruit low-cost labor particularly from Asia. While there were harsh penalties for failure to fulfill the term of a contract, the arrangement was at least in principle voluntary. Concern persisted as well about illegal trade in people; at the end of the 19th century there was a major push against what was called “white slavery” or the seizure of women for use

as prostitutes in places like Latin America. It was unclear how much this fear was justified. Overall, the context for migration changed with the formal end of slave systems, but problems and issues remained.

Numbers The decades between 1850 and 1914 saw the largest movement of people in the history of the world to that point. Over 50 million Europeans went to the Americas, Australia and New Zealand. About the same number of Chinese went to the Americas and Southeast Asia. Thirty million Indians went to southern Africa and the Caribbean. Japanese immigrants became the largest single population group in Hawaii. Smaller but significant migration also occurred from some parts of the Middle East, particularly toward both of the American continents but also (in the case of Lebanese merchants) to Africa. Population pressures at home; the decline of slavery as a source of labor; new needs for workers in many places (and not just the United States) all combined to generate this unprecedented pattern.

Distances Quite obviously, migration often now occurred over longer distances than ever before, particularly thanks to the new surge of people from Asia. Even more, the results of migration mixed groups of people from different places to an unparalleled extent. Latin America, with an existing population mixture of native, African and European origins, now saw additional influx from other parts of Europe but also substantial Asian influx. The United States saw new mixtures, primarily from eastern and southern Europe but again with significant Asian elements. Important new cultural tensions and racial animosities resulted in many places (such as resentments against Indian immigrants in parts of Africa). But there were new cultural combinations as well. The phenomenon of the Chinese restaurant in the United States, for example, began to flourish from the middle of the 19th century onward, as immigrants branched out from feeding themselves to taking advantage of a wider clientele (while adapting their food traditions in the process).

Return Trips Migration patterns, but above all the new transportation systems, promoted at least the beginnings of a new phenomenon: travel back and forth. Historically, with individual exceptions of course, most mass migrations had always been one way. A group went out, and never came back. Now, however, a surprising number of people changed their minds, or never intended to stay too long in the first place. By the early 20th century 70% of all immigrants to the United States from the Balkans, and 53% of those from Italy, returned after a few years. They made enough money to pursue goals back home, or they were homesick or victims of prejudice – all sorts of motives were involved. As a Hungarian put it, “God save America forever, but just let me get out of here.” Return trips were not just an interesting curiosity; they also brought change. Return migrants, even if they had disliked their experience, were altered by it, and that brought new ideas and styles back to their native habitats. (They also sometimes annoyed the locals, by insisting on change or putting on airs, but this too could be part of a process of change). This new aspect of migration was a significant feature of globalization, challenging local isolation. Here was another way in which movement of people, though an old story in part, highlighted global connections.

After 1914 Global migration slowed after 1914, for over two decades. War and ensuing tensions helped reduce opportunities. So did economic dislocations, including of course the Great Depression. The United States took a new lead in passing laws to limit immigration, particularly from less favored ethnic and racial groups such as Asians or southern Europeans. More and more countries also began to install formal passport requirements and stricter border controls, which also complicated population movements and travel. There was however some continued change. A trickle of North Africans, for example, began to migrate to France, where slow population growth created some obvious labor needs. There were hints, in other words, of additional population flows that would emerge more strongly after World War II.

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Questions

1. What were the main differences in later 19th century migration patterns from previous patterns in world history?
2. Why and how did Asia become an important migration source?
3. What were the main variations in patterns of Italian migration to, and return migration from, the Americas? What were the nature and impact of return migration?
4. What kinds of pushback did new patterns of migration generate? Why was particularly hostility directed against Asian immigrants?
5. Discuss how patterns and changes in migration fit the larger process of globalization from 1850 onward.

Global Policies

The Idea of “Political Globalization” Growing trade and new technology, and even new population movements, might be counted as fairly familiar aspects of the 19th century, though they have not always been combined into a globalization focus. The development of new kinds of global policies and institutions is less familiar, partly because the 19th century also saw the rise of nationalisms that have tended to dominate our sense of history. In fact, however, new ideas about global policies gained ground. Various conferences issued new global policies on a whole range of subjects – and some of these would lead directly to global institutions still essential today. New institutions themselves were established, particularly by the end of the 19th century. Finally, the beginnings of non-government efforts at a global level (at least in principle) capped the process. The overall combination did not keep global policies on pace with global economic change, but it did create some important international controls and mechanisms.

Global Standards Building on patterns already suggested in the late 18th century, the Western world was the source of a number of reform ideas that were meant to have global applicability. Various movements promoted the abolition of slavery, including mass petitions and rallies, the formation of formal organizations, artistic efforts such as touring companies for a stage play of Uncle Tom’s Cabin; all were bent on the claim that no group or nation now had the right to enslave other human beings. Gradually, international anti-slavery efforts gained results, though the campaigns continued into the 20th century in parts of the Middle East. By the 1880s the idea of global standards also began to apply to conditions for women. In China a combination of Western missionary pressure and new local reform efforts began to attack the practice of foot binding. On a few issues, at least, the idea of a common global moral standard, backed by “enlightened” public opinion, began to gain strength.

Global Policies In 1863 the United States government called a conference on international postal exchange. Prior to this point, it was impossible to mail a letter from one country to another; letters had to be given to travelers for safekeeping. By 1874, backed also by German leadership, a Universal Postal Union was formed to honor stamps from any country. In 1851 French scientists convened an international conference to discuss methods to control the spread of cholera, the latest source of devastating global epidemics. The result was additional research, but also the coordination of policies to impose quarantines in cases of disease outbreak (particularly, initially, in the Middle East and Russia). Under international sponsorship a Red Sea Sanitary Service was established to help prevent disease among pilgrims to Mecca. Here was the seed of the idea of an outright international health organization; and in fact the spread of epidemic disease was slowed. Other global policies involved recognition of patents on inventions (1883), or exchanges of data about climate and weather, or regulation of activities on the seas, or territorial claims in Antarctica. From 1884 onward the idea of standard time zones across the globe was promoted through international conferences, though full adoption awaited 1929 (when Nepal became the final country to sign on). An ambitious undertaking, spurred by a Swiss engineering, involved pledges about the treatment of prisoners and wounded in war, leading to the first Geneva Convention in 1864.

Global Institutions A number of official organizations stemmed from the growing interest in articulating and implementing international policies. The International Meteorological Association formed in the 1870s. The International Red Cross formed in 1863, from the same movement that motivated the Geneva Convention. In 1899, triggered by a Russian statesman eager to preserve peace but also protect his country from an expensive arms race, a conference met that would lead a few years later to the establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration, in the Hague, Netherlands. The idea was a global institution that could provide individual nations the opportunity to settle disputes without outright conflict.

International NGOs Although the huge surge of International Non-Governmental Organizations would await the 1960s, some important precedents developed amid the globalization of the later 19th century. Anti-slavery societies were an example, and the London Anti-Slavery society legitimately claims to be the oldest existing international NGO. Several international feminist organizations formed in the 1880s; while their membership in fact was largely Western – though genuinely international – leaders made concerted efforts to recruit at least token membership from places like Persia or China. Karl Marx encouraged the

formation of the first Workingman's International, in 1864, designed to support labor organizations throughout the world.

Limitations The effort to develop international standards and policies, and some outright institutions, was a genuinely important innovation. It followed from globalization – the idea of time zones, for example, gained traction only as international travel became more important and more rapid – but it promoted it in turn. Some global practices we take for granted today – like the existence of facilities to send letters and packages around the world – clearly date from this period. But limitations on political globalization at this point are obvious as well. All sorts of problems were not touched by international activities. International business organizations were not regulated effectively at all. Discussion about limiting military buildups through international agreements was discussed, but nothing happened. And the international efforts that did emerge were almost uniformly Western-dominated, not really global at all. As other countries gained greater voice, they might or might not see advantages in this aspect of globalization.

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Questions

1. How do the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention fit into the new patterns of political globalization after 1850?
2. What changes in ideals and values help explain the rise of the anti-slavery movement? What other factors were involved with anti-slavery on a global basis?
3. Discuss the relations between post-1850 political globalization and Western imperialism.
4. Why did new efforts to control disease contagion become necessary and possible after 1850?
5. Discuss political globalization as an innovation in world history: how new? How significant?
6. What factors help explain why China would be newly responsive to outside influences on the issues of foot binding?

Cultural Globalization: Some New Steps

Background Trade contacts had promoted cultural influences before. Some conventional patterns persisted, simply taking advantage of the wider range of exchange. Thus Christian missionary activity, now Protestant as well as Catholic accelerated. Important conversions occurred in the Pacific islands, in Korea, and in parts of Africa. Islamic missionary activity stepped up in Africa as well. But there were newer types of interactions as well. On the whole, the hesitancy about cultural influences that had characterized the early modern period was modified. More and more regions either could not withstand external cultural examples, or in fact began to seek them out.

Students A key source of global cultural change came from realizations, on the part of governments, groups, or individuals that it was becoming increasingly important to learn about certain aspects of Western culture. This applied most obviously to science and technology, but it could also create interest in subjects like childrearing. A key result of this interest, and an obvious source of global interaction, was a growing movement of students or study trips across borders. Japan for example began to send observation groups to the West even before its reform period formally began, in 1868. By the 1890s China began to send students to the United States, Europe and Japan. Under European imperialism a growing handful of Africans and Indians went for study at schools and universities in Britain or France. Students did not, of course, always like what they saw. Japanese study groups thought that American political behavior was quite odd and the treatment of women bizarrely egalitarian (which is not what most American women thought at the time). But opportunities for influence were obvious. Finally, Westerners might be directly imported to help provide guidance. A Rutgers University professor was brought in to head up Japan's new educational initiative, in 1872.

Science Science became a key focus for international cultural exchange. Eager American doctors went to Europe, the dominant center for medical research; and the whole idea of a research university was imported to the United States from Germany. Japanese reform featured explicit emphasis on the importance of copying Western science, and the need to modify Confucian reverence for tradition accordingly. Gradually, an international scientific movement began to develop, though Western predominance would remain for many decades.

Popular Tastes While most food styles remained resolutely regional, some wider influences did begin to emerge. The spread of Chinese restaurants has been noted. From the 1840s onward, French food

style began to shape the definition of elegant dining in the United States and some other parts of the Americas. Western clothing styles gained new ground, gradually competing with traditional fashions in places like Japan; by the early 1880s Japanese political leaders were normally depicted in Western dress. A bit later the leader of independent Turkey, after World War I, required the adoption of Western clothing styles, insisting for example that the hat replace the traditional fez, which he associated with backwardness.

Department Stores Increasing globalization of a new (1830s) Western consumer institution, the department store, confirmed the growing relationship between international contacts and the spread of modern consumer habits. Pioneered in France as a way to offer a range of consumer goods amid attractive displays and advertising, the department stores spread to the United States and Russia by the 1850s. The format proved attractive along with its association with a modern, Western seal of approval. Department stores developed in Tokyo in the 1890s, and at about the same time in the Western-dominated sections of Shanghai. Not everyone was entranced; some Japanese and Chinese, even with some money to spend, professed to find nothing interesting in the proliferation of foreign styles. But there was some undeniable contagion. Young people, particularly, might see in the department store an opportunity to demonstrate independence from the habits of their parents.

Sports Growing Western influence drew increasing international attention to several sports, and something of an international sports following began to develop. Soccer football headed the list, with teams in Latin America forming from the 1860s onward. An international federation emerged in 1904 to oversee the game on a global basis. Russians imported soccer to China, through the northern city of Harbin. American baseball also spread, to Latin America and Japan. A new Olympics movement formed in the 1890s, with the hope of making sports competition a symbol of global harmony, though in fact the games were almost exclusively Western for many decades. Still, the suggestion of international spectator interest in some key sports added to the sense that global contacts were promoting a new kind of popular culture.

Arts While most cultural influence fanned out from the West, there were some other interactions. Growing familiarity with artistic styles in Africa and Japan, thanks to international exhibits organized in the West, deeply influenced modern artists like Gauguin and Van Gogh, contributing actively to major innovation in styles. The late 19th century hardly saw systematic cultural fusion, and there was both resistance to and ignorance of many of the major influences. But important new connections were being formed, constituting another new facet for globalization more generally.

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Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan by Daniel V. Botsman (Princeton, 2007).

Questions

1. What new elements did department stores bring to global consumerism?
2. Was there any difference between late 19th-century “cultural globalization” and Westernization?
3. What kinds of resistance developed to late-19th century cultural globalization?
4. Discuss the role of science in cultural globalization in the later 19th century.
5. How did Christian missionaries serve as agents of cultural globalization, beyond religion itself?
6. How did Japanese and other travelers help select between western cultural features worth imitating and features to be avoided?

The Western Role

The Problem Globalization after 1850 took shape in a Western-dominated world framework. The process of globalization was very real, but it developed alongside the rising tide of Western imperialism plus growing interference into technically independent states like China or the Ottoman Empire. The West’s temporary monopoly on industrialization created simultaneous economic advantages, as the income gap between the West and virtually every other region widened greatly. The challenge was obvious: how greatly would the West’s global advantage complicate or compromise the globalization process? Would regions be able to distinguish between growing international contacts and their concerns about undue Western influence?

Imperialism and Globalization For some societies, imperialist pressures undeniably increased global contacts. European penetration of Africa, for example, brought more Africans into production for export markets and into some exposure to Western cultural and social standards. It was imperialist pressure on China that brought department stores to foreign-influenced cities like Shanghai. Obviously, imperialism also tended to exacerbate global inequalities. African peasants pressed to produce cotton for export, often at costs to local environmental quality and even the available food supply, earned meager wages at best, and often saw their living standards and sense of economic control both deteriorate. Imperialism could also confuse signals about global standards. Imperialists talked about their responsibility to end slavery, or improve conditions for women, or even to reduce cruelty to animals. But many used physical force to coerce local workers, or sought to press for sexual favors. In Kenya at one point, British

authorities punished natives for animal abuse by --- whipping them. It was easy to confuse global standards with exploitation.

The Case of Japan Japan made its basic commitment to globalization during its Meiji era, after 1868, ending the long period of substantial isolation. The nation eagerly organized study trips, international advisors, and a host of new interactions that would, among other things, assist it in launching its own process of industrialization. But the novelty of the endeavor raised obvious questions about how much to copy, how much to protect a treasured cultural and political identity. Initial enthusiasms for Western ways were soon tempered. By the 1880s the government pulled back in the interest in exploring Western political values, restricting access to Western influence in these areas, for example in the school system, even as scientific and technological contacts persisted. A new or renewed emphasis on group loyalty and worship of the emperor replaced what was seen as excessive Western individualism and political division. Here was one important attempt to distinguish between continued globalization and what seemed undesirable aspects of Westernization.

Nationalism The 19th century saw a major expansion of nationalist ideas, literally around the world. Nationalism, as a set of political and cultural loyalties, had first emerged in the West in the 18th century. Potentially at least it challenged both the local and the larger religious loyalties that had previously prevailed. The power of these new ideas began to surge beyond Europe, from the early 19th century onward. East European and Latin American nationalisms became firmly established. Later in the century statements of Arab, Turkish, Indian, Jewish and African nationalisms emerged. Nationalism became part of the Japanese reform era. The whole phenomenon bore an ambiguous relationship to globalization. On the one hand, the spread of nationalist ideas illustrated the new connections that allowed this kind of widespread dissemination. On the other hand, nationalism could easily emphasize cultural distinctiveness and separation, and could encourage political barriers, that could resist or impede global contacts. Nationalism certainly helped many societies resist or oppose Western domination. It also began to undermine a number of "multinational" states, such as the Ottoman Empire. Its role in globalization, both in the later 19th century and more recently, has been complex.

An Egyptian Example Around 1900 a number of Egyptian reformers attacked the practice of veiling for women, arguing that it was retrograde by global standards and made the country look backward to foreigners. Other Egyptians, including many women, reacted in the other direction, contending that precisely because of foreign interference veiling should be retained, even expanded, as a badge of independent identity. Western-dominated globalization could produce diverse reactions, and to some extent that remains the case today.

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Questions

1. Discuss the relationship between nationalism and globalization. How did nationalism both reflect and complicate globalization by 1900?
2. How did Japan define a distinctive approach to late-19th century globalization?
3. How did international corporations affect regional responses to globalization?
4. Discuss changes and continuities in Africa's relationship to world trade in the later 19th and early 20th centuries.
5. Was there any distinction between globalization and assertions of Western world power in the later 19th century?
6. What was Hobson's critique of imperialism? Why was imperialism beginning to raise new concerns after 1900?
7. How did imperialism and feminism impact the Middle East? What new divisions resulted?