Cultural globalization: 2001–10

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abstract This article reviews theories concerning the effects of cultural globalization on national cultures, the nature of transnational networks and flows and the emergence of world culture and global civil society. A survey of articles on cultural globalization listed in two information databases in the past decade is used to locate new and revised theories and to identify frequent topics of study and regions where researchers are concentrated. Topics for future research are suggested.

keywords cultural flows ◆ cultural imperialism ◆ global civil society ◆ hybridization ◆ media imperialism

Introduction

Although it has not attracted as much attention as the subject of economic globalization and globalization in general, the study of cultural globalization has a set of basic concepts, several prominent theories, classic authors (including Appadurai, 1996; Barber, 1995; Bhahba, 1994; Hannerz, 1996; Huntington, 1996, Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Robertson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1991, 1999), textbooks (e.g. Hopper, 2007; Nederveen Pieterse, 2004; Scholte, 2000; Wise, 2008) and reviews (including Robertson, 2001; Tomlinson, 2007).

The field incorporates scholars from several disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, communication, cultural studies, geography, political science and international relations. Consequently, the literature is scattered among a large number of journals that originate in many countries and several languages. This review focuses primarily on the recent literature in sociology. The subject is very broad, because there are many forms and types of culture that are potentially global or transnational, ranging from material cultures and the cultures of everyday life to cultures produced by or associated with media organizations, arts communities, scientific institutions, political institutions, economic organizations and markets and religious institutions.

Three types of theories have dominated the field: (1) theories concerning the effects of cultural globalization on national cultures; (2) theories concerning the transnational networks and flows through which cultural globalization takes place; and (3) theories concerning the emergence of world culture and global civil society. Articles on cultural globalization, published during the past decade, are used in this article as an indication of the areas in which current research is taking place, the extent to which these three types of theories are the subject of research and the emergence of new theoretical models in the field. Due to space considerations, I do not discuss the history of globalization in previous centuries or the extent to which phenomena analogous to cultural globalization were present in the past.

Cultural globalization: definitions

Globalization connotes the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of social, cultural and economic phenomena across national boundaries. Held (quoted in Guibernau, 2001: 427) states: 'It [globalization] is about the stretching of connections, relations, and networks between human communities, an increase in the intensity of these, and a general speeding up of all these phenomena.' Cultural globalization, which refers to cross-border flows of national and transnational cultures, has very broad

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connotations that hinder the development of precise definitions and testable theories.

The term, globalization, is usually a misnomer, since cultural phenomena that transcend national boundaries rarely incorporate all nations in the world or even all of its continents because of the enormous diversity of national cultures in terms of wealth, power and resources for disseminating and receiving cultural materials and artifacts. Empirical research on cultural globalization tends to be restricted to an examination of the impact of a specific form of transnational or global culture on a single national culture.

Frameworks for the study of cultural globalization

In this section, I review the major theories of globalization (see Figure 1). In subsequent sections, I discuss empirical findings and modifications of these theories that have been published in the past decade.

Effects of cultural globalization on national cultures

There are two principal theories in this category: (1) cultural/media imperialism in which one culture dominates or is imposed on others and (2) hybridization in which new versions of culture emerge when different cultures come in contact with one another.

Cultural imperialism as a theory referred to the imposition upon other countries of a particular nation's beliefs, values, knowledge, behavioral norms and style of life (Salwen, 1991). Beginning in the 1960s, scholars argued that American culture disseminated in other countries constituted a form of cultural imperialism or cultural domination (Tomlinson, 1991). Scholars interpreted certain types of culture as representing the political interests of the United States and other powerful capitalist societies. The theory highlighted the discrepancy in the power to disseminate culture between the industrial West and the developing world. Critics alleged that it tended to have 'a one-sided emphasis on the role of "external forces" … while underestimating the internal cultural, class and economic factors at work in each third world country' (Laing, 1986: 331).

The cultural imperialism thesis originally referred to the imposition of political ideologies. A later version, media imperialism, attributes the source of hegemonic dominance to media conglomerates, based in a few western countries, that control production, program content and worldwide distribution in the television, film, music and publishing industries (Kellner, 1999: 243). This system affects the survival of national cultural industries in smaller, weaker countries whose cultural goods are often unable to compete in their own countries with those that are distributed by international media conglomerates. Transnational corporations (TNCs) can eliminate or decrease opportunities for the expression of indigenous cultures by substituting western media culture.

In both types of theories, cultural globalization is criticized on the basis that it is disseminating a homogeneous, hegemonic form of culture, reflecting the attitudes and values of western, particularly American, capitalist societies.

Cultural hybridization as a theory argues that cultural globalization is accompanied by a desirable outcome, the hybridization of national cultures, which Nederveen Pieterse (2004: 64) defines as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices'. According to this theory, hybridity may occur through 'global localization' or 'glocalization', in which a globally disseminated product is altered in order to fit the cultural outlook or tastes of people in a specific country or of members of a specific ethnic group within a country (Iwabuchi, 2002; Nederveen Pieterse, 2004: 49–52; Robertson, 1992).

People who are exposed to foreign cultures are influenced selectively, depending upon the characteristics of their national or ethnic cultures, and are likely to integrate foreign elements with their own cultures, as illustrated by Liebes and Katz's (1993) empirical studies of how audiences in different countries, belonging to different ethnic groups, interpreted the television serial *Dallas*. Alternatively, people synthesize diverse cultural influences in their environment to produce distinctive hybrid cultural practices, institutions and meanings.

Appadurai (1990: 1) claimed that: 'The central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization.' This suggests that neither outcome dominates but that both are taking place.

Processes of cultural globalization

Theories about processes through which cultural globalization takes place are less well developed. Castells (1996) argued that the 'space of places' (nation-states) is giving way to 'the space of flows' (delocalized networks of association in which managerial and entrepreneurial elites function). This space of flows spans cities and continents (Ong, 2003: 155). Castells argues that networks, which he views as being non-hierarchical and conducive to innovation, constitute a basic form for the internal organization of business and for relationships between businesses. In the 'network society', the power or

Figure 1. Theories of cultural globalization

Theories concerning effects of cultural globalization on national cultures:
Cultural imperialism, cultural hegemony, westernization
Media imperialism
Homogenization of culture
Hybridization of culture
Global–local relationships
Glocalization
Nation-states: cultural strategies

Theories concerning processes of cultural globalization:
Cultural flows
Cultural networks
Impediments to flows: cultural conflicts, clash of civilizations

Theories concerning world culture and the cultural bases for a global civil society:
Global civil society
Global governance
World culture
Cosmopolitanism

'space' of flows (information, goods and finance) becomes the dominant factor as opposed to the flow of power (government, social stratification) in the 'space of places' that consists of territorially defined units or states.

Although Castells' thesis has been widely accepted, our understanding of how the space of flows operates is relatively limited. Appadurai (1990) was the first social scientist to attempt to categorize the contents of these flows (media, technology, finance, ideologies and ethnicities). More recently, Berger (2002) identified the 'four faces of globalization' as academic culture, elite business culture (Davos), popular culture (McWorld – see below) and religious social movements (Evangelical Protestantism). Ritzer (1998) claimed that a new form of business culture, McDonaldization (based on the mode of operation of the chain of restaurants which has spread worldwide), dominates global culture. Barber (1995) identified a widespread, homogeneous global culture (McWorld) that incorporated the most prominent aspects of American popular culture, ranging from music to fast food and technology, including the internet.

It has been more difficult to theorize the nature of the flows as opposed to the content of the flows. The network metaphor is frequently used but the size and dispersion of the networks in question have made it difficult to study them quantitatively. Qualitative studies of the global women's movement provided some indications of how networks evolve. The movement 'is built upon grassroots organizations, which combine into networks, build networks of networks, and then utilize communications technologies to exchange information as quickly and cheaply as possible and in ways that facilitate greatest access and therefore mass participation' (Sreberny, 1998: 218–19; see also Keck and Sikkink, 1998). These 'networks of networks' are able to mobilize widespread support for their political initiatives.

Conflicts between systems of meaning and values may interfere with cultural flows. Impediments to cultural flows have been the subject of studies, such as Huntington's (1996) thesis concerning the clash of civilizations and Barber's (1995) argument about the existence of an intense conflict between homogeneous global culture (McWorld) and national and religious traditions representing Jihad. Huntington's (1996) thesis envisions a clash of civilizations, specifically western vs non-western civilizations. Although he defines civilization as consisting of language, history, customs, institutions and subjective self-identification, he views religion as the most important element. Conflict between civilizations results from ethno-religious identities, particularly associated with differences between western Christianity, on the one hand, and Islamic fundamentalist and Orthodox religions, on the other. Conflict also arises over disagreements concerning core political

Figure 2. Cultural globalization: substantive issues*

Context:	Economic globalization, political-legal globalization, global civil society
Units of analysis:	Global cultures; countries, cities and communities; institutions/organizations/professions; individuals
System focus:	Meaning and values; economic and political aspects of culture; modes of production and creativity

*Adapted from Anheier and Isar (2007: 14).

values associated with representative democracy. Huntington views a clash of civilizations as inevitable because members of different types of civilizations are increasingly in contact with one another, as a result of economic globalization and modern communications.

Barber's (1995) interpretation of contemporary transnational cultural conflicts assumes that McWorld is eliciting a highly negative response from national and religious traditions that represent Jihad and which build on 'parochial hatreds'. Jihad is pulling the world in the opposite direction, against interdependence and modernity, toward fragmentation and retribalization of cultures, primarily along religious lines. These tendencies are operating simultaneously across national cultures and reinforcing one another. Barber argues that both McWorld and Jihad undermine the nation-state and its democratic institutions as well as civil society.

World culture and global civil society

According to the world polity thesis (Boli, 2005; Boli and Thomas, 1997; Meyer et al., 1997), international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are enactors and carriers of a world culture that has become increasingly influential. Global civil society is composed of human rights organizations and global social movements that are concerned with issues related to social justice, including gender, the environment and development. These organizations include international NGOs, religious organizations, lobbies, charities and think-tanks as well as social forums, activist coalitions, dot.causes and international social movements. Actors in the global moral order are generally characterized as non-profit, voluntary organizations distinguished by civility in their mode of operations, as compared to violence or cut-throat competition. Boli (2005: 393) also attributes important roles in world culture to certain international NGOs, such as the United Nations, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization.

Boli (2005: 387) claims that NGOs are 'the structural backbone of world culture … the principal organizational form in which world culture crystallizes and through which it is debated and propagated'. In many areas of social life, the impetus for regulation comes from NGOs; states respond by founding agencies and creating policies. NGOs lobby, criticize and convince states to act on their principles.

The core of world culture consists of: 'rationalized domains – science, technology, infrastructure, standardization, accounting systems, formal organization, professionalization, certification, etc.' (Boli, 2005: 388). This core is 'highly fragmented and differentiated' but increasing in size and importance. It constitutes the cognitive, functional and instrumental dimension of world culture.

At the transnational and global levels, the values of civil society conflict with the values of neoliberal economics. Most transnational corporations are identified with the values of the latter and dominate global space as a result of their huge resources and their geographically far-flung activities. Transnational social movements consisting of NGOs and their followers attempt to target global corporations, large intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and nation-states for violations of global justice.

Finally, elaborating on the philosophical ideal of cosmopolitanism, that 'all human beings should be seen as members of the same community', Hannerz (1990) distinguishes between cosmopolitans and locals. The former are more open to cultural diversity and more willing to experience and learn about unfamiliar cultures (see also Rizvi, 2005; Strand, 2010).

Ritzer (1998: 81–94) provides a searing critique of this set of theories on the basis that their interpretation of globalization de-emphasizes the nation-state, the West in general and the United States in particular, the impact of westernization and Americanization on the rest of the world and the homogenization (rather than heterogenization) of

Table 1. Geographical locations of authors and subjects of articles on cultural globalization, 2001–10 (in percentages)

Continent	*Authors*	*Subjects**
Asia	16	**31**
Europe	**31**	14
North America	**34**	13
South America	2	13
Middle East	6	9
Africa	0	2
Oceania	7	3
None	0	20
No information	4	1
No. of papers	165	165

*Coded in more than one category if necessary.

culture. He accuses these theorists of overemphasizing a deterritorialized world while de-emphasizing the territories (particularly the US) from which these flows emanate. He disputes their view of the world as one in which 'today's emerging global culture is tied to *no place* or period'. Instead he points to the fact that a disproportionate amount of goods, bodies of information and other cultural products emanate from the United States and the West.

The variety of theories relating to cultural globalization is a result of the diversity and complexity of the phenomena to which they refer. Anheier and Isar (2007: 14) provide a framework for organizing the substantive issues related to cultural globalization (see Figure 2). They define the global context in which cultural globalization is taking place as consisting of economic globalization, political-legal globalization and global civil society. Among the questions they raise are the following: What is the role of economic globalization in fostering cultural globalization? What types of government policies are conducive to the production of cultural goods that can compete with cultural goods from other countries in global markets?

Units for the analysis of cultural globalization are located on global and societal levels, ranging from macro to micro: transnational and global entities; countries, cities and communities; institutions/organizations/professions; and individuals (see Figure 2). Studies of cultural globalization focus on specific elements of culture and its social environment, such as systems of meaning and values, the roles of economic and political factors and the nature of cultural production and creativity.

In the subsequent sections, I discuss the following questions: (1) To what extent have the theories discussed above been the subject of research or new theoretical analysis? (2) Have research findings in the past decade confirmed or modified the dominant theories in the field? The studies I discuss are drawn in part from a set of 165 articles that were published between 2001 and 2010, identified as being related to cultural globalization (as a keyword), and retrieved from two information databases (*Sociological Abstracts* and the *International Bibliography of the Social Sciences* [book reviews and duplicates were removed from the set]) as well as from other relevant materials, including books. The amount of literature classified as cultural globalization during the decade is relatively small. By comparison, the keywords 'culture' and 'globalization' retrieved a much larger number of references (approximately 9980) during the same period, suggesting that these terms refer to a more diffuse and less focused literature, probably consisting of numerous specialized sub-fields.

Research on cultural globalization: 2001–10

Information about the continents on which the authors of the articles in the dataset were located suggests that the perspectives of most of these authors were those of western developed or Asian developing countries (see Table 1). Europe and North America were best represented. Asia was less well represented although a number of the authors identified as being located in North America appeared to be graduate students of Asian origin who had completed dissertations at American universities. Relatively undeveloped countries were not well represented. None of the authors was African.

Similarly, the authors' choices of nations as subject matter (coded in more than one category, if necessary) were revealing. Asian countries predominated, followed by Europe, North America and South America. Again, the Middle East, Oceania and Africa were minimally represented. A sizable number of articles consisted of general discussions of the phenomenon of cultural globalization and did not refer to specific countries.

The subject matter of the articles, which was coded in more than one category, covered a wide range of theoretical and substantive topics, but very few topics attracted a substantial amount of attention. The most frequent topics were those related to theories of the effects of cultural globalization on national cultures: cultural and media imperialism broadly defined (26 articles), hybridization and homogenization (24 articles), global–local and glocalization (33 articles). Cultural flows and cultural networks was a less important topic (17 articles). Civil society, world culture, clash of civilizations, global governance and global democracy and cosmopolitanism received much less attention (five or fewer articles each). The effect of economic globalization on culture was the subject of a substantial number of articles (17).

The media (including advertising, fashion, film, popular culture, music and television) were the most popular substantive topics (34 articles). Most other topics were the subject of fewer than five articles. Case studies of specific national cultures (11 articles) and cross-national comparisons (15 articles) were the most frequent approaches to research. In other words, many articles were analyses of the content of specific films or television shows or studies of the public for specific types of cultural offerings in specific countries.

These findings indicate that a few topics, theoretical and substantive, attract a substantial amount of attention in the literature on cultural globalization but that the subject matter of the field is quite fragmented. On the whole, the literature is focused on national cultures rather than on the emergence of global networks and global civil society.

Research on effects of cultural globalization

Cultural and media imperialism

Findings concerning the hegemonic effects of American media culture have been contradictory. Kuisel (2003) argues that American media culture has led to the Americanization of France. He claims that in France, a country he has studied intensively, American media culture has had a pervasive influence throughout the entire population. Kuisel concludes that Americanization in the form of cultural exports influences the behavior of those who consume it in other countries, the meanings they attribute to products and their sense of their own identity.

By contrast, Delanty (2003: 114) argues that 'Japanese culture … has been highly subversive of Americanization'. He explains this outcome on the basis that, in general, Japanese culture and society have tended to adapt to foreign cultures without assimilating them. Delanty concludes that Americanization was essentially a superficial phenomenon in Japan because existing cognitive and normative structures shaped the project of Americanization, an argument that should be applied to the analysis of Americanization in other countries.

While it is relatively easy to measure levels of imports of cultural products, such as Hollywood films, television series, popular music and fast food, it is more difficult to show that high levels of such imports have had an impact on behavior and values in specific countries. In a study of young Indian men who were heavy users of western media, Derné (2005) found that the attitudes of these men toward gender and family arrangements were not influenced by western ideas. He argues that 'changes resulting from globalization are more likely to follow from changed structural realities than the introduction of new cultural meanings' (p. 33). A study of the social impact of television and cable on middle-class households in India found that 'the private world of the family retained many aspects of traditional moral and hierarchical principles' (Scrase, 2002).

Chalaby (2006) argues that speaking of the 'primacy' of certain national media cultures rather than imperialism is preferable because it avoids the ideological biases of the cultural imperialism thesis. She shows that the American film and television industry has achieved a dominant position in the European

audiovisual market in spite of protectionist measures by European countries. As Chalaby points out, 'American companies owe their continuing presence in the region to their understanding and adaptation to European cultures, establishing bases across the continent and hiring European staff' (p. 48). Unlike their European competitors whose approach is nation-centric, the American broadcasters 'have adopted a regional strategy and adapted their organizational structure to the international nature of the multi-channel television market'.

Other critics of the media imperialism thesis argue that the impact of western global cultures is being offset by the development of regional cultures within global cultures. World television is not so much global as regional (Sinclair et al., 1996). The numbers of producers of media content and of countries producing such content are steadily increasing, particularly in Asia, and are contributing to the diversification of global culture (Curran and Park, 2000) (see UNESCO [2005] for a detailed statistical analysis of international trade in cultural goods). According to Goldstein-Gidoni (2005), 'Globalization cannot be easily described anymore as having "a distinctly American face". There is more and more evidence for competing centers or multiple globalizations.'

Scholars differ in their interpretation of the consequences of these changes and the continuing influence of American media. Banerjee (2002) argues that the increase in television production in Asian countries favors the dissemination of Asian content and the eventual decline of American media influence. Shim (2006) claims that the popularity of Korean film and television in the region constitutes a challenge to American media. Jin (2010) is more cautious in his evaluation of the same phenomenon. He argues that Korean popular culture is heavily influenced by western norms and formats and that newly created local cultural products represent western culture instead of unique local culture. Given that nation-states in the region are supporting the media culture industries, Iwabuchi (2010a, 2010b) questions the extent to which the new Asian media culture is leading to meaningful cross-border dialogue in the region and whether it is serving the public interest locally, nationally and transnationally. While cultural production is greatly increasing in Asian countries, these forms of culture are mainly circulating in Asia, rather than in the West. Singapore has been described as an emerging 'cultural hub' in the region (Kawasaki, 2004).

The emergence of media culture industries in Asia has to be seen in the context of the continuing dominance of American media culture. Banerjee (2002: 517) states: 'The USA has emerged as the most powerful player and clearly dominates the world's cultural industries.' This is particularly true in the film industry and to a somewhat lesser extent in the television industry. Statistics on imports of feature films by country (UNESCO, 2000: Table 4) demonstrate the global dominance of American film. In 86 percent of the 73 countries for which data are available, the US was the major country of origin for imported films in 1994–8. In 68 of these countries, the average percentage of imported films (out of the total number of films distributed in 1994–8) was 86 percent. In 1997, the proportion of television programs imported from the US in several leading European and former Commonwealth countries ranged from 66 percent to 87 percent (Sparks, 2007: 143). Using data from 2002 to 2007, Fu and Govindaraju (2010: 223) found that countries are increasingly importing American films.

Van Elteren (2003: 173) provides a partial explanation for the dominance of the United States in certain genres:

> U.S. firms have always enjoyed a comparative advantage in the global media and popular culture industries because of a huge domestic market that offers economies of scale, ensuring that cultural exports can be sold at rates well below the cost of production for smaller nations. U.S. firms also have the advantage of working in the principal international language, English.

A study of the media in Slovenia (Luthar, 2006) provides some insight into the factors affecting the impact of American films on foreign audiences. Luthar states: 'the majority of the media almost completely reproduced promotional discourse of the Hollywood producer and the local distributor'. Independent journalistic interpretations of films were marginalized.

Similar trends are appearing in the arts. Buchholtz and Wuggenig (2010) find a marked tendency toward globalization in the enormous increase in the numbers of biennales in contemporary art between 1980 and 2006. However, analysis of a list of the top 100 artists in the world, compiled by a German business magazine on the basis of their presence and visibility on the international exhibition circuit, reveals 'the blatant exclusion of Eastern Europe, Latin America, Australia as well as Africa and Asia from the centre of the self proclaimed global art-world' (p. 15). Quemin (2006), using a variety of indicators of the presence of artworks from different nations in western collections and major museums, finds that artists from a small number of western countries, including the US and a few European countries, predominated in these venues. An exception to this uni-directional flow was the fad

for Chinese artists among contemporary art collectors in New York and in Western Europe in 2007–8.

However, the dominance of American culture in popular music takes a somewhat different form. While popular music disseminated by media corporations tends to dominate in global markets, a great deal of popular music is created and disseminated on the local level. This music is influenced by American rock music but represents a synthesis of these influences with local influences (Regev, 2003). Instead of being perceived as a form of cultural imperialism, rock music has been accepted as a means for making music that expresses rebellion against traditional cultures and authoritarian regimes while at the same time conveying 'local cultural uniqueness' (p. 226). Styles of music worldwide that incorporate elements of the rock aesthetic often combine the rock aesthetic with indigenous styles and idioms that provide enormous possibilities for cultural diversity (see, for example, Mendonça, 2002). Hip-hop musical culture performs a similar role for African descendent youth in the Afro-Atlantic world who use transnational identities of blackness transmitted by that music to create their own disaporic identities (Perry, 2008).

Van Elteren (2003: 176) suggests that the seemingly contradictory findings concerning cultural and media imperialism can best be understood as an indication that the nature of cultural imperialism has changed. He argues that American cultural domination needs to be reconceptualized to incorporate domains other than the products of cultural industry such as 'state and business culture, management and labor practices, and cultural and political "development policies" for developing countries'. He points out that the US dominates in many of the important aspects of globalization such as the standards and rules governing the internet and other international communication networks, securities law and practice; and international legal, accounting and management practices. In an argument that has analogies to Barber's 'McWorld' thesis, he claims that the US has propagated a distinctive style of globalization based on 'possessive individualism and consumerism'. Dehierarchization and democratization on the aesthetic level has led to a breakdown of boundaries between high and popular culture but does not enhance democratization on the political level. This culture emphasizes freedom of self-expression and a tendency toward extreme civil privatism with no links to community life or common good.

Van Enteren argues that this American style of consumerism drives the new transnational flows. He says (2003: 179): 'The globalizing of the profit-driven culture of consumerism is identical to Americanization. … Clear ties remain between this type of globalization and the dominant financial, economic and political interests in US society.' In other words, the problem with cultural globalization lies not in the homogenization of cultures as such but in the global diffusion of consumerist beliefs and practices. Lizardo (2008) offers an alternative interpretation that the content of these cultural flows reflects changes in the nature of the demand for symbolic goods. Audiences in advanced and advancing countries seek cultural goods that facilitate social interaction and social relationships beyond their local communities.

The role of the nation-state is controversial. Has the nation-state declined in importance, as predicted by some cultural theorists, or does it still perform a role in negotiating the reception of transnational flows and the availability of its cultural exports? In an analysis of the responses to cultural globalization by media systems in many different countries, Curran and Park (2000) conclude that 'the nation – its history, cultural tradition, economic development, national configuration of power and state politics – is still very important in shaping the media's global system' (p. 16). In addition to legislation governing media systems, nation-states 'have informal means of influencing the media from information management to the provision of loans' (p. 12). Crane (2002) discusses the 'framing' of national cultures through a variety of cultural policy strategies.

Case studies of responses to four types of global culture – business, academic, popular and religious – in nine countries in various parts of the world also revealed major differences resulting from national cultures and social structures (Berger, 2002).

Hybridization

The role of hybridization has been controversial. Nederveen Pieterse (2004: 53) states: 'Hybridization goes under various aliases such as syncretism [religion], creolization [Caribbean], métissage [France], mestizaje [Latin America], crossover [American].' Hybridity has been described as 'the site of struggle and resistance against imperialist powers' (Kraidy, 2002: 316). According to Bhahba (1994), the phenomenon of hybridization produces inconsistent, ambiguous, or conflicting meanings that create opportunities for culturally oppressed groups to resist the dominant culture (see also Cohen, 2007: 371).

When used to analyze hybridization among minority groups, the concept of hybridity has helped to overcome the western bias among Anglo-American scholars who have tended to stress the impact of Anglo-American media cultures on non-western cultures and ignore the impact of non-western cultures on western cultural practices (see, for

example, Campbell, 2008).

Guilianotti and Robertson (2007) have examined immigrant sports cultures whose members seek to participate meaningfully in their host cultures while retaining important aspects of their cultures of origin. In this context, they find that hybridization 'involves the dynamic synthesis of local and other cultures to engender distinctive, creolized cultural practices, institutions and meanings' (Guilianotti and Robertson, 2007: 142). A study of reactions to advertising among diasporic groups in India revealed that these people defined themselves in terms of 'multiple attachments' that reflected the role of hybridity in their daily lives (Dutta-Bergman and Pal, 2005).

Hybridization is not only a spontaneous occurrence on the micro level. Media multinationals use hybridity to attract diverse audiences in many countries rather than simply marketing a homogeneous Anglo-American culture worldwide. According to Kraidy (2002: 335, 334), 'the concept of hybridity has been appropriated to serve a variety of theoretical explanations and political agendas … hybridity should be conceptualized as one modality in which hegemony is practiced, reproducing and maintaining the new world order … hybridity is summoned up to justify a transnational cultural hegemony made possible by power asymmetries.'

The hybridization of cultural themes during the process of creating and producing scripts for popular films often eliminates cultural markers in order to create deliberately 'faceless' products that represent non-western cultures. Wang and Yeh (2005: 178), in a study of a Chinese film and an American film using Chinese subject matter, used the concept of 'delocalization' to describe the virtual elimination of local elements and the concept of 'deculturalization' to explain the erasure of culturally specific elements, ethnic, historic and religious, in order to produce 'acculturized' cultural products. Iwabuchi (2002) describes how Japanese cultural producers deliberately create faceless cultural products that are not identified as Japanese when they disseminate their own media cultures to other Asian countries.

The use of strategies of 'format adaptation' and localization of television programs by global media companies is another form of hybridization (Bielby and Harrington, 2008; Kraidy, 2005). Bielby and Harrington state:

> … the concept of flow in the context of global television mistakenly implies a fluid and uncontested journey from contexts of local production to new cultural contexts of consumption … our research finds that televisual elements vary considerably in their ability to travel undistorted through the site of distribution. … Each element is negotiated, contested, and re-examined during distribution. (Bielby and Harrington, 2008: 172)

Research on transnational flows and networks

Cultural flows

Cultural flows tend to be analyzed at the micro level through studies of immigrants and diasporas in specific countries or through qualitative studies of communication flows from specific countries. Measuring cultural flows from one country to another is a complex methodological problem. There are significant differences in the amount and nature of participation in transnational phenomena by country. One way to measure transnational flows and the relative importance of countries in global cultural transactions is through an examination of cross-national variations in the coverage of various forms of foreign culture in elite newspapers. A major study of the coverage of several forms of foreign culture (classical and popular music, dance, film, literature, theater, television and visual arts) in elite newspapers published in four countries (France, Germany, the Netherlands and the US) revealed considerable differences in the extent to which these different forms of national culture were reported in newspapers in the other countries (Janssen et al., 2008; see also Crane and Janssen, 2008).

Janssen et al. argue that, since the Second World War, national media and arts cultures in the aggregate have developed a cultural world system, a transnational system in which national cultures are exchanged with one another and compete with one another for the attention of the public. Consequently, newspapers devote increasing amounts of space to coverage of foreign arts and culture. Substantial evidence for the existence of a cultural world system is provided by data showing that the number of countries represented in newspaper arts and culture coverage in the four countries in the study increased by over 50 percent between 1955 and 2005 (from 47 countries to 72 countries). Characteristics of countries, such as population size and language, influence the extent to which their national cultures are able to compete successfully in this system. The cultures of large countries and English-speaking countries tend to be perceived as central to the cultural world system while those of other countries are perceived as peripheral. Language performs an important role here as well as the extent to which leading producers of particular forms of culture are located in specific countries.

Comparing changes in the internationalization of newspaper coverage of the arts and media culture from 1955 to 2005, Janssen et al. show that foreign coverage increased substantially in the three European countries but not in the US. At the same time, the proportion of attention to American culture almost doubled between 1975 and 2005 and was considerably larger than the amount of attention to any other national culture, including the three European cultures. Coverage of arts and culture in peripheral or non-western countries increased but remained very small. These findings provide support for a core–periphery model of globalization in which the United States and a small number of other western countries dominate the cultural world system.

Cultural flows between nations appear to be impeded more by political conflicts than cultural factors. A study of cultural values in 75 countries, including nine predominantly Islamic societies, found much less evidence of divergent values than anticipated by the clash of civilizations thesis (Norris and Inglehart, 2002). Using the World Values Survey/European Values Survey, the study found considerable similarity in political values between respondents located in western and in Islamic societies. Views expressed by members of these two types of societies differed primarily on issues of gender equality and sexual liberalization. The authors concluded (p. 237): 'The central values separating Islam and the West revolve far more centrally around Eros than Demos.'

Transnational networks

Transnational networks of organizations also perform important roles in cultural globalization. From this perspective, networks are the basic unit of analysis for understanding cultural globalization rather than individuals, organizations or nation-states (Dicken et al., 2001). This phenomenon can be seen among transnational corporations and among international advocacy NGOs.

Urry (2003: 57) argues that TNCs are huge, deterritorialized networks of 'technologies, skills, texts, and brands that ensure that the "service" or "product" is delivered in much the same way across the entire network'. Such networks have relatively instantaneous and simultaneous communication. Federations of advocacy NGOs, like Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, also constitute networks of organizations based in several different countries that lobby for similar policies in different countries.

Instead of owning production facilities, some TNCs obtain products by creating commodity chains of networked organizations that facilitate acquisition, manufacturing, distribution, marketing and consumption in several different countries (Dicken et al., 2001: 98–9). Cultural globalization performs important roles in generating the profits of these firms. For example, firms like Nike and Apple are distributors rather than manufacturers and use extensive global advertising to confer meaning on products manufactured in low-wage Asian countries. According to Goldman and Papson (1998: 14), Asian firms produce shoes but Nike confers symbolic meaning on the shoes and appropriates most of the value resulting from sales.

Similarly, advocacy NGOs create advocacy networks, devoted to specific policy issues, consisting of NGOs located in many countries, both North and South. These networks facilitate the process of lobbying IGOs and national governments and disseminating ideas about policy. They amplify the impact of ideas about social policy, reaching many more people than most unconnected individuals could contact, and influence the implementation of various types of policies (Stone, 2002).

As a result, small national NGOs that represent the weak and disempowered have more influence than in the past because they can use transnational networks to draw upon the resources of international NGOs and certain IGOs. For example, a study of attempts to resolve the problem of killings of Brazilian street children (Serra, 2000) revealed a process in which NGOs in Brazil attracted the attention of NGOs elsewhere, IGOs and the international press. National authorities took action only when international organizations and the international press became concerned with the problem.

Research on world culture and global civil society

World culture in the form of rational and civil values is expected to provide the basis for a global civil society, a new form of political community oriented toward human rights and transnational values. According to Omelicheva (2009: 110; see also Baker and Chandler, 2005), 'the phrase "global civil society" … continues to mean different things to different people depending on different circumstances and contexts in which it is used'. Spatial metaphors are frequently used, implying the existence of social relations that are globalized and deterritorialized beyond nation-states (Omelicheva, 2009: 113).

The existence and influence of civil society can only be shown indirectly on the basis of an increase in the numbers and activities of IGOs and international NGOs as well as the emergence of transnational social movements and global advocacy networks (Falk, 2005). International governmental and non-governmental organizations greatly increased in number during the previous century (see Princen and Finger,

1994; Smith and Weist, 2005: 622; Union of International Associations, 2004).

Following Held et al.'s criteria (1999: 17–27) for global networks, Anheier and Katz (2003: 247) measured the extensity (prevalence) and intensity (density) of the global civil society infrastructure. Their map of the organizational infrastructure of global civil society reveals that Europe has the highest concentration of NGOs, followed by the East Coast of North America from Montreal to Washington. In other parts of the world, higher prevalence and density of NGOs was found around major cities. Their map also reveals several regions with low NGO prevalence and density, such as Central Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. Anheier and Katz's data suggest that low prevalence and density of NGOs in some regions is correlated with low levels of domestic civil society.

Theoretically, international government organizations are 'the keepers of a moral conscience that applies across borders' and that is concerned with human rights, environment and democracy (Chandhoke, 2002: 41) but they have a mixed record in this respect. Major IGOs, such as the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, are closely identified with the pursuit of neoliberal economic policies. Della Porta (2005: 679) stresses the lack of democratic accountability and transparency of many IGOs and the monopolization of control over these organizations by the superpowers. International NGOs have had some influence on the World Bank's policies for economic development, leading the Bank to revise its policies in certain areas. Other IGOs, such as UNESCO, are more likely to express support for civil society values in their publications and reports.

Conclusions and suggestions for further research

This review suggests that theories that have been applied to cultural globalization in the past are still being used but require some modification. The nature of media imperialism has changed with the expansion of media production in Asia. A pattern of core and periphery persists in that western media culture continues to dominate in some genres and in the arts. What has changed is that the 'periphery', particularly Asian countries, produces its own media and arts cultures in much greater quantities than before. However, while these media cultures circulate widely in Asia, relatively few of these products reach the West. Those that are disseminated in the West tend to be products that appeal to niche cultures, such as Japanese comics and video games.

The nature of cultural imperialism and western cultural hegemony has become both more pervasive and less visible because it is based on clusters of values and behaviors, such as McWorld and McDonaldization, which penetrate cultures in different institutions including business as well as media. It is so omnipresent in many western countries that it is truly 'taken for granted' and therefore almost invisible. The coexistence of both homogenization and hybridity, as Appadurai noted in 1990, persists. Homogenization is a consequence of a new kind of hegemony which can lead to 'faceless' products and narrow cultural choices; hybridization in the face of increasing cultural diversity on the interpersonal level expands cultural choices and behavior.

By contrast, the existence of a 'world culture' remains largely an elitist phenomenon, created, debated and disseminated by scientific, technological and policy experts although its potential ramifications for the general public are considerable. The definition of civil society continues to be a subject of controversy. The phenomenon of core and periphery exists among civil society organizations, where European NGOs are particularly numerous and active. In this case, the periphery consists of civil society organizations in less developed countries in the South which tend to have more limited resources than their counterparts in the North. Northern NGOs tend to have a more substantial level of network connections with movements in other countries than southern NGOs whose connections are more likely to be localized (Anheier and Katz, 2005). The goals of a global democracy and a global public sphere remain out of reach (Crane, 2005).

These studies show that there are differences in the characteristics of transnational flows of media as compared to those related to civil society. Media culture tends to be disseminated from West to East (and within the East, among other eastern countries). Culture disseminated by NGOs is more likely to be disseminated from North to South (from advanced to less developed countries).

The identification of some form of cultural integration or cultural center has been a long-standing topic of discussion in the globalization literature, beginning with the concept of a global village (McLuhan, 1964), the idea that, because of widely disseminated mass media which expose people all over the world to the same information and images at the same time, people in countries all over the world are beginning to share the same outlook. Instead, there appears to be a 'world system' in which media and other types of culture circulate among many countries and in which American culture in various forms still predominates.

This review reveals several issues that deserve

more attention in the literature on cultural globalization. First, the effect of economic globalization on cultural globalization has received little attention, such as case studies of specific settings. For example, how does economic globalization impact on other types of culture in the same location? Focusing on a town in Ireland whose inhabitants had experienced both economic and cultural globalization, Van Der Bly (2007) traced the consequences of economic globalization on the town's culture. She found that the arrival of two major American multinational corporations led to 'a resurgence of local identity, a reinvention of local history and a revival of the indigenous language' that was encouraged and in part subsidized by the global firms. In this case, economic globalization transformed the relatively homogeneous local culture into a much more heterogeneous local culture which included global elements.

Second, the role of the internet in cultural globalization, which is becoming increasingly evident, is virtually absent in these studies although it is relevant to all three types of theories. Studies of the development of the internet in several countries in different parts of the world (Kogut, 2003) suggest that, with respect to the internet, 'social networks and their institutions are geographically local and national' (p. 471). Internet use beyond national boundaries is more likely to take the form of resistance to establishment institutions. Kahn and Kellner (2005: 75) state that the internet 'has facilitated the worldwide emergence of the anti-globalization, anti-war, and anti-capitalism movements, even as it has coalesced local communities and groups'.

Third, cross-national studies are difficult to conduct and may require collaboration among scholars from different countries and regions with backgrounds in different languages and cultural systems. Comparisons between media organizations in different countries are relatively straightforward but studies comparing publics in different countries require qualitative and quantitative research at the micro level which is a much greater challenge. A comprehensive survey of cultural globalization in the lifestyles of people in seven societies in the Asia-Pacific found that differences in behavior were less a matter of personal choice than a reflection of complex societal conditions (Hsiao and Wan, 2007). Comparisons of publics between East and West and North and South are virtually non-existent.

As Darling-Wolf (2008: 188) points out, a scholar's view of globalization depends upon the larger ideological context in which she is embedded, typified in very general terms by the oppositions between East and West and North and South. Identification with the West and the North, as is the case for many scholars in the field (see Table 1), may produce an unconscious bias that privileges Anglo-American and European culture in discussions of cultural globalization.

Annotated further reading

Anheier HK and Isar YR (eds) (2007) *Cultures and Globalization: Conflicts and Tensions.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Anheier HK and Isar YR (eds) (2008) *Cultures and Globalization: The Cultural Economy.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Anheier HK and Isar YR (eds) (2010) *Cultures and Globalization: Cultural Expression, Creativity and Innovation.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

These three volumes constitute a major contribution to the literature on cultural globalization, incorporating a large number of authors and a wide range of topics.

Condry I (2006) *HIP-HOP JAPAN: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Based on 10 years of fieldwork, this book is an exemplary study of the impact of a foreign musical style on an Asian culture, covering the history of hip-hop in Japan, hip-hop clubs, Japanese rap fans and the role of women in Japanese hip-hop. The book concludes with a discussion of the impact of hip-hop on Japanese culture.

Hopper P (2007) *Understanding Cultural Globalization.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

An introductory text that reviews major theories and important issues in the field, using a multidimensional, interdisciplinary approach.

Ritzer G (ed) (2007) *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

A collection of articles on a variety of topics related to globalization and cultural globalization.

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résumé Cet article résume les théories concernant les effets de la globalisation de la culture sur les cultures nationales, les caractéristiques des réseaux transnationaux et l'émergence d'une culture mondiale et d'une société civique globale. Une revue des articles sur la globalisation de la culture publiés dans la dernière décennie et paraissant dans deux bases d'information bibliographique a servi à localiser les théories nouvelles ou révisées et à identifier les sujets les plus abordés et les régions avec un nombre substantiel de chercheurs. Des sujets de futures recherches sont suggérés.

mots-clés flux culturel ◆ hybridisation ◆ impérialisme culturel ◆ impérialisme médiatique ◆ société civique globale

resumen Este artículo resume las teorías sobre los efectos de la globalización cultural en las culturas nacionales, la naturaleza de las redes y los flujos transnacionales, y el surgimiento de una cultura mundial y de una sociedad civil global. Se revisan una serie de artículos de la última década sobre la globalización cultural, procedentes de dos bases de datos, con el fin de localizar las teorías nuevas y actualizadas, así como para identificar los temas frecuentes de la investigación y las regiones con un número significante de investigadores. Se sugieren temas para futuras investigaciones.

palabras clave flujos culturales ◆ imperialismo cultural ◆ hibridación ◆ imperialismo de los medios de comunicación ◆ sociedad civil global