Chapter One

Introduction: Broadening the mind?

The 2010s and early 2020s may be labelled as era of deglobalisation. Britain's vote to leave the European Union on 23 June 2016 followed by the election of Donald Trump in the USA later that year marked the beginning of a series of victories for anti-globalising voices. The target of these political campaigns was not the economic free trade agenda and the free movement of capital that had represented globalisation, although both targeted geographic areas of industrial decline and off-shoring of jobs. Rather they focussed on the mobility of people: immigration was the key driver for many voters. Anti-immigration politicians have come to power in many European nations including Britain and Italy. Even the economic side of globalisation has sometimes been challenged by the era's politicians. The Covid-19 pandemic that began in 2020, moreover, severely limited the mobility of tourists as many nations or states entered partial or full lockdown to stop the spread of the deadly illness. It caused the delay of sporting events like the 2020 Tokyo Olympics. Global trade was severely impacted with supply chains failing and demand for many goods falling while others like medical supplies peaked. The interconnectedness of the world was upset further in February 2022 when Russia invaded the Ukraine. In response the USA, Britain and the EU began to decouple their economies from Russia's, divesting and seeking to block Russia's global trading connections. Food, fuel and fertiliser exports from Ukraine and Russia, on which much of Europe and beyond had based their economic strategies, declined. Yet, world trade has recovered with both the Western nations and Russia tilting towards other geographic areas. The mobility of people has not declined despite policies designed to hinder immigration. Globalisation, it seems, is hard to stop.

This book is about the encounters that result from globalisation: the everyday engagements with other cultures or more political engagements driven by states. Interconnections were formed through travel, migration and globalised activism, but they also came from through the globalised 'cultural supermarket' that brought physical and cultural products from far and wide into new areas, raising people's awareness of other cultures.[1] All forms of encounter can also cause people to react with anxiety and draw away, feeling the need to protect 'their' culture. However, this book also examines the role of governments and corporations in mediating these encounters, suggesting that the global citizen is not as free to explore and discover as they may believe.

The book draws on literature about cultural encounters by scholars in a broad range of disciplines including history, politics, anthropology, sociology, geography and economics. This interdisciplinary and transnational approach allows a fuller range of the cultural impacts of globalisation to be explored than a solely historical approach. The book will interest students and scholars in a broader range of subjects beyond Contemporary History.

The Age of Globalism

Economic and cultural globalism have existed for centuries if not millennia. The age of European Imperialism that peaked in the nineteenth century shared many features with globalisation: world economies and supply chains extended as never before, often through building exploitative relations between peoples. Improvements in transport and communications technology such as the railway, steamship and the telegraph made interconnections ever greater. The early twentieth century saw these links speed up with

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[1] Gordon Matthews, *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket* (London: Routledge, 2000).

transport and mass communications improving, especially with road, early air-travel, radio and cinema enabling people, goods and ideas to become more mobile.

Yet the roots of globalisation are far older. Globalisation has been a process that has been ongoing for centuries but which grew exponentially from the onset of capitalism in the sixteenth century. The European empires in the nineteenth century embodied a wave of globalisation that was enabled by new technologies such as the steam ship, the Maxim gun and the telegraph. In the second half of the twentieth century the process sped up again. Victoria de Grazia sees the seeds for post-war globalisation being set by Woodrow Wilson in the early twentieth century. Wilson's desire to create an empire of trade where values accompanied the sale of commodities led to what she sees as a peaceful conquest of the world.[2] This positivist approach ignores the role of American force throughout the twentieth century, often subverting democracy and sponsoring coups in foreign lands. American ideological and economic hegemony in Europe, however, did not come about through the barrel of a gun and the American 'way of life', or mass consumption, was often tied to financial aid or came through imports of culture. Globalisation has been a feature of the world since at least the sixteenth century. The post-1945 globalisation may have had different technologies and appeared revolutionary, but it was built on previous waves.

The European Recovery Programme or Marshall Plan of 1947, which provided recapitalisation funds for the Western European nations, was tied to economic liberalisation. A number of historians see this plan as saving Europe from poverty and the rising threat of communism after it struggled to recover from the war.[3] Certainly, the investment was followed by growth in Europe leading to a widespread belief in a post-war 'economic miracle' in several

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[2] Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th Century Europe* (Ann Arbor, MICH: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

[3] Harry Price, *The Marshall Plan and its Meaning* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1955); Michael Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-52* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Barry Eichengreen, *Europe's Postwar Recovery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

economies in the 1980s. Yet, others dispute this claim. Alan Milward sees the plan as

something of a red herring, suggesting that growth had already occurred and that the plan

merely resolved a short-term crisis caused by the exceptionally harsh winter of 1946-7.[4] He

contends that the plan aimed to support the world trading system which had been envisioned

at the Bretton Woods conference but was not yet realised. Furthermore Ferenc Jánossy

suggested that the miracles of European growth were merely a return to a previous upward

trend that the war had interrupted.[5] By the 1960s growth slowed as the expected economic size

based on 1930 trends was reached.

The period after 1945, however, saw rapid changes in politics, economies and culture

that brought the arrival of the global era. The economic arrangements made at the end of World

War Two at the Bretton Woods conference heralded in a new economic system which

promoted greater integration of economies and supply chains. It created the International

Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, two institutions that later became central to the

economic liberalism and free trade underpinning globalisation. The Marshall Plan enabled

American goods and credit to flow throughout Europe. At the same time, European politicians

implemented their own plans to integrate their economies to prevent future wars. The European

Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) formed in 1952 with the nations of France, Germany,

Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg and Italy, but it gradually expanded and deepened into the

institution that became the European Union (EU).

The institutions of Globalisation also included political formations. With the failure of

the interwar League of Nations a new institution, the United Nations (UN), aimed to prevent

conflict and maintain the balance between the global powers, especially the United States of

America and the Soviet Union. While a major part of its operations were in international

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[4] Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51* (London: Routledge, 1984), 5.
[5] Ferenc Jánossy, *The End of the Economic Miracle: Appearance and Reality in Economic Development* (New York: International Arts & Science Press, 1971), cited in Mark Harrison, 'The Soviet Union after 1945: Economic Recovery and Political Repression'*, Past and Present* (2011) Sup 6, 111.

relations the UN quickly became involved in relief and aid. As it became more established its various committees and institutions have developed to act as a concert of nations able to respond to crises but also enabling smaller nations to work together to protect their interests.

The processes discussed in this book have all been enabled by what is commonly termed 'globalisation'. Scholars have debated this concept. The sociologist Anthony Giddens suggests that Globalisation is 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.'[6] This definition, which is supportive of globalisation, points towards the interconnections that are discussed in this book. Giddens' definition, however, the capitalist imperative that drives globalisation. The ever-increasing search for global markets and the desire to maximise profits has led to the integration of supply chains and their diffusion across several nations. The sociologist Michael Mann is more critical. He writes,

> what is generally called globalization involved the extension of distinct relations of ideological, economic, military, and political power across the world. Concretely, in the period after 1945 this means the diffusion of ideologies like liberalism and socialism, the spread of the capitalist mode of production, the extension of military striking ranges, and the extension of nation-states across the world, at first with two empires and then with just one surviving.[7]

This definition is more similar to what has, traditionally, been labelled 'imperialism'. However Mann also discusses how ideology is tied into globalisation and sees it as very much the spreading of neo-liberal policies across the globe. The term neo-liberal, an ideology whose existence is often dismissed by media commenters,[8] refers to the attempts to disrupt the social

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[6] Anthony Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), 64.
[7] Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 4, Globalizations, 1945-2011* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 11.
[8] Ed Conway, 'Sky Views: What is Neoliberalism and why is it an Insult?', *Sky News*, 15 May 2018, https://news.sky.com/story/sky-views-what-is-neoliberalism-and-why-is-it-an-insult-11373031,

welfare systems which were put in place after World War Two. Philip Mirowski and Quinn Slobodian have both charted the rise of neo-liberalism as a distinct collection of ideas that its adherents aimed to spread.[9] Mirowsky pays particular attention to the development of the ideology through the Mont Pèlerin Society, which included economists such as Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman. These thinkers differed from the classical liberals who believed that the state should be minimalist and a 'watch-man'. Hayek, Friedman and other economists proposed the take-over of the state to transform society into their ideal form of 'pure freedom'. It is that maintenance and use of the strong state which sets neo-liberalism apart from liberalism. Neo-liberalism has been associated with post-war globalisation through organisations like the IMF and World Bank often ensuring frictionless trade between borders.

Along with economic growth came improvements in communications technology. The expansion and globalisation of television, radio and press (accompanied by improvements in literacy, translation and the spread of lingua francas such as English); and later the invention of the internet all contributed to people hearing about other cultures and spread consumer capitalism around the world. These were accompanied by increases also in travel speeds and affordability of both mass communications and travel, meaning that people were more in touch with those of other nations than ever before.

As these economic and political changes took place opportunities began to appear for people around the world to engage with other cultures. With labour shortages in many European nations recruitment of foreign workers spurred the mobility of people on a temporary or permanent basis. Over time governments made agreements with one another to take labour

accessed 1 July 2023; Bill Scher 'Is this the stupidest book ever written about socialism', Politico Magazine, 28 Aug 2018, https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/08/28/chapo-trap-house-book-review-219596, accessed 1 July 2017; Jonathan Chait, 'How "Neoliberalism" became the left's favourite insult of liberals', *New York*, 16 July 2017, https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2017/07/how-neoliberalism-became-the-lefts-favorite-insult.html accessed 1 July 2023.

[9] Philip Mirowski, *Never Let A Good Crisis Go To Waste*, (London: Verso, 2014); Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

with emigrants often sending remittances home and improving their nations' wealth. Migration was far from new but in the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries it became a central aspect of cultural change and economic growth and at times its impacts became the target of politicians and communities. One of the key industries that was deemed to both help economies and to build better relationships between people was tourism. With Americans and Europeans encouraged to travel and mix with each other and better availability of air travel, more of the world became accessible to more people than ever before. A number of European and non-European nations built vast tourist industries and people of all ages took holidays in search of sun, culture or to broaden their horizons. Increased communication, migration and travel enabled people to learn about and communicate with people far and wide; it was not long before international affiliations were built. Political activism and ideologies had existed for hundreds of years but the single issue nature of these groups or collaborations brought people from different nations together in movements and campaigns on a greater scale. An event in one part of the world would often cause a response from populations in other countries. As industries grew past their pre-war levels, governments, businesses and non-governmental organisations worked to promote their nations overseas. Nations used large scale events to promote their values and to build relationships with other governments and global audiences. The Olympic games returned at London in 1948 and over the next decades grew into a festival of physical prowess that gave host and visiting nations alike the opportunity to impress the world and sell their global 'brand'. The cultural equivalent of the Games are the International Expositions, which had been regular events since the late nineteenth century. Their return from 1950s allowed organisations and governments to present their cultures, beliefs and scientific inventions globally, drawing millions of visitors to explore these national presentations. These cultural encounters, the development of their structures and their impact on populations are the focus of this book.

Cultural Encounters

When scholars discuss cultural encounters they have often previously referred to the meetings of relatively isolated communities from the ancient world onwards.[10] The focus of cultural encounters has been on contacts and interactions between different peoples, friendly or unfriendly. In the eight decades since 1945 the scale of these encounters has increased. But it is important to see cultural encounters as part of a larger historical process in which globalisation and imperialism have expanded in waves, which are punctuated by other periods where connections might be broken by isolationism or war. Cultural Encounters are often examined using a specific language about the flows, transfers and inter-connections which refers to the ability of people, ideas, and goods to cross borders. From these interactions we often see the emergence of hybrid cultures.

The Sociologist Gerard Delanty has identified six types of encounter that are useful when considering how populations have responded to the mixing of cultures in the post-war period. Delanty's scale ranges from hostility to embrace.[11] The rejection of other cultures leads to disputes, mistrust and conflict. For example the Cold War, or the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and ensuing war on terror. These encounters often led to the rejection of other cultures: anti-Russianness or Anti-Islamism in Western film, literature, and other media. The second is 'cultural divergence', in this type of encounter different cultures emerge from a single entity. New autonomous cultures are created from the new communities. As a result both will have differing interpretations of culture and history. An example is the division of the Christian church into Catholic and Protestant in 1054. The subsequent division remained important in the late twentieth century in Northern Ireland which saw tensions emerging along religious and

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[10] John Thares Davidann & Marc Jason Gilbert, *Cross-Cultural Encounters in Modern World History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013); Michelle Ying Ling Huang ed., *Beyond Boundaries: East and West Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011); Charles Issawi, *Cross-Cultural Encounters and Conflicts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Özlem Çaykent & Luca Zavagno, *Islands of the East Mediterranean: A History of Cross-Cultural Encounters* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014).
[11] Gerard Delanty, 'Cultural diversity, democracy and the prospects of cosmopolitanism: a theory of cultural encounters', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 62.4 (2011), 633-656.

nationalist lines. These divisions caused conflict between a catholic nationalist community, which saw itself as part of the Irish Republic, and the protestant unionist community, which saw itself as part of Great Britain. Some cultural encounters lead to or embed divisiveness between communities.

Third, Delanty identifies 'cultural assimilation' as a type of encounter. This term appears more positive than the previous two and does not lead directly to conflict. Instead, one culture is absorbed by the other. The absorbing culture does not change, but the assimilated loses its characteristics or language. An example might be a migrant community that is fully integrated by the host nation, with no recognition or celebration of its previous culture, or as Delanty suggests, religious conversion. Assimilation might, however, be problematic for communities who have lost traces of their identity and the rejection of diversity.

Fourth is 'acceptance'. In this encounter cultures have limited contact, for example through trading relations. There are still divisions and there can be some forms of conflict between the cultures, notably competition between them. There might be some acceptance of the foreign culture, but this is limited to aspects like food or fashion. An example of this might be the period of the Cold War known as peaceful co-existence from the mid-1950s. Eastern and Western nations, especially those outside the USA, increased their trading with each other and aspects of culture like fashion were tentatively brought across the iron curtain. However, the two sides were very much in a period of conflict through the competition of ideologies and sought to influence worldwide public opinion.

The fifth of Delanty's encounters is 'cultural diffusion' or adaptation. Two or more cultures interact and the divisions between them begin to become blurred. There are some forms of cross-fertilization but each culture maintains its key aspects of individuality. Diffusion means learning about other cultures and increasing awareness of the diversity within and outside societies. The keyword here is integration, as opposed to the assimilation of his third

category. Some of the key examples of cultural diffusion are the availability of global foodstuffs, music or film in their original form as opposed to more Westernised variations of these which would fit more into his final category.

Delanty's final encounter is cultural fusion, which contains many elements that scholars term 'hybridity'. Fusion implies the mixing of elements of two or more cultures to produce a new identity that contains aspects of the older versions. British national identity is formed from elements of its constituent nations, it is a combination of English, Welsh, Scottish, and Northern Irish identities but also aspects of other migrant from Europe and beyond. Similarly the USA is made of a mixture of protestant and catholic communities that originate from various northern and southern European nations and have at times struggled with each other as well the native American culture that the Europeans decimated. Latterly, influences from Asia and Africa have diversified American culture making it ever more hybridised through the mixing of traditions. These hybrid identities are the result of the fusion of many different cultures. There are numerous forms of cultural encounter; most of them do not neatly fit into a model, taking an aspect of several: conflict may be followed by acceptance and later assimilation or hybridity. Delanty's framework shows how cultural encounters fit along this scale of responses.

Transnationalism

Many encounters which are discussed in this book are transnational in outlook. They go beyond the idea of the nation state and show how individuals can be either empowered by aspects of globalisation or internationalism or constrained by these new structures and encounters emerging from them. For Ulf Hannerz,

> The term transnational is in a way more humble [than globalisation], and often a more adequate label for phenomena which can be of quite variable scale and distribution, even when they do share the characteristic of being within a state. It

also makes the point that many of the linkages in question are not "international,"

in the strictest sense of involving national –actually, states – as corporate actors. In

the transnational arena, the actors may be individuals, groups, movements,

business enterprises.[12]

Therefore the linkages and encounters that I examine are not always about the nation state; they concern how individuals form encounters on their own terms. Pierre-Yves Saunier suggests that transnational history creates a perspective that 'enhances [history's] capacity by adding the history of entanglements between countries to the checklist of national history writing'.[13] It is argued that the ability to make connections beyond borders shapes everything that we do but that the nation remains important. This book is a history of globalisation that examines how everyday people are affected by the structures created by global businesses, nation states and supranational organisations rather than an examination of those institutions.

Diversity & Identity

The increasing prevalence of global encounters has led to societies and cultures becoming more diverse. For large parts of the Age of Globalism those from outside the majority culture, religion or linguistic group waged a contest for acceptance. The issue of diversity has become a current political issue often relating to immigration or foreign influences impacting on domestic cultures. The recent global surge of the far right has led some scholars to question the benefits of diversity and frame it as a threat to national cultures (by which they mean 'white' national cultures in the West). Many of these books have helped white nationalist politicians to legitimise their brand of identity politics.[14] Conversely, in the global era, many people have adopted what they consider a cosmopolitan identity. They are able to move around the world

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[12] Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places (London: Routledge, 1996)*, 7.
[13] Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 2.
[14] Matthew Goodwin, *Values, Voices and Virtue: The New British Politics* (London: Penguin, 2023); Eric Kaufman, *Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration and the Future of White Majorities* (London: Allen Lane, 2018)

for work or leisure; they sample a range of diverse cultural products through ever increasing mass media including print, broadcasting and the internet. Many build friendships around the world, some without leaving their home.

Identity in the twenty-first century is highly contested. When reaffirming her decision to withdraw Great Britain from the European Union on the basis of a slim referendum result the Prime Minister, Theresa May, made an attack on cosmopolitanism, attempting to win working class votes for the Conservative Party,

> Today, too many people in positions of power behave as though they have more in common with international elites than with the people down the road, the people they employ, the people they pass in the street.

> But if you believe you're a citizen of the world, you're a citizen of nowhere. You don't understand what the very word 'citizenship' means.[15]

The speech aimed to appeal to those who believed they had been left behind by globalisation and that their societies and economies were worse because of migration. The radical right, who had gained traction during the referendum campaign, had attacked those who wanted to remain in the EU as the 'elite'. Many people, therefore, who identified as something other than an imagined conception of a homogenous white British majority felt under attack. It was not just certain ethnicities or groups but the idea of cosmopolitanism which was threatened by May's rhetoric. Much of the press and her political opponents focussed on the phrase: 'citizen of nowhere'. The Liberal Democrat politician Vince Cable declared the phrase to be 'quite evil … it could have been taken out of *Mein Kampf*. I think that's where it came from, wasn't it "Rootless Cosmopolitanism"'.[16] The link with antisemitic phrases of the 1930s clearly had an

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[15] Theressa May, 'Speech to Conservative Party Conference', 4 October 2016.
[16] Quoted in, 'Theresa May Speech could have been taken out of Mein Kampf' *Independent*, 5 July 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-mein-kampf-adolf-hitler-nazi-vince-cable-liberal-democrat-conservatives-a7825381.html accessed 7 Feb 2019.

impact on many who felt that they were 'citizens of the world', who were now being made

stateless. Letters to the *Guardian* by several writers criticised this 'insular nationalism' as a

rejection of ideas of cosmopolitanism that were embedded in enlightenment values.[17] These

people felt attacked by May because the government had responded to what they felt was a

minority xenophobic streak in Britain, which was directing policy. Others bore the slogan

'citizen of nowhere' with pride. The National Theatre of Scotland held a *Citizen of Nowhere*

festival that celebrated a diverse civil society.[18] T-shirts bearing the slogan were sold and a book

was published that aimed to remake Europe on more democratic lines.[19] This hegemonic

contest for the values of cosmopolitanism showed that identities are fractured and diverse and

can cause conflict within individual societies. The response also showed that the power of the

nation state had weakened for some people who drew allegiances across borders as part of

what is sometimes termed the 'transnational civil society'.[20] While this term often refers to

organised advocacy groups and non-governmental organisations it also implies the building of

communities with interconnections across borders and shared values that diverge from those

of political leaders.

Resurgent Nationalism

Discussion of concepts like transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, globalisation or hybridity

could lead observers to conclude that the nation state and nationalism are outdated. In some

ways this is true: a more interconnected world has allowed citizens to think beyond borders.

Identities have changed with ideas like the 'global melange', the spread of hybrid cultures

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[17] See Phillip Murphy et al 'Theresa May's rejection of Enlightenment Values', 9 Oct 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/09/theresa-may-rejection-of-enlightenment-values accessed 8 Feb 2019.

[18] National Theatre of Scotland 'Citizen of Nowhere' https://www.nationaltheatrescotland.com/production/citizen-of-nowhere/ accessed 8 Feb 2019.

[19] Lorenzo Marsili & Niccolo Milanese, *Citizens of Nowhere: How Europe Can be Saved from Itself* (London: Zed, 2018).

[20] Thomas Davies, *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

resulting from globalisation, and the 'cultural supermarket', the exposure to and ability to engage with previously separated cultures, enabling people to choose values and ideas that matter to them.[21] Institutions created throughout the twentieth century from the League of Nations, UN, NATO, EU, and African Union to the World Bank and IMF have ensured that leaders think beyond the confines of their borders and realise that isolationism can not easily adopted as foreign policy. By the end of the twentieth century it seemed to many observers that nations were becoming less important in an integrated world where citizenship was multi-directional.

But nationalism matters. The turn of the millennium has seen a resurgence of this ideology that had sometimes seemed destined for the dustbin of history. Ethnic conflicts characterised the 1990s and continued into the 2000s. As Anthony Smith points out, the globalised labour market has witnessed a return to anxieties and prejudices thought to have disappeared.[22] New nationalist movements emerged and solidified in many nations throughout the early twenty-first century. The victories of Brexit, Trump, and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil and semi authoritarian leaders in Poland, Hungary and Russia seemed to herald a new era of far-right domination of world politics. Behind many of these movements of the 2010s seemed to be the orchestrating voices of internet campaigners, such as the Breitbart News Network and its former chairperson Steve Bannon who advised Trump, one of Britain's anti-EU groups Leave.eu and Bolsonaro and built political networks throughout Europe. In many ways far-right populism acted as a transnational community of mutual support. While this might appear contradictory: nationalist movements using transnational networks for their reciprocal benefit, it should not surprise us. In the 1930s fascist parties were interconnected and mutually supporting, and this

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[21] Jan Nedervenn Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange, 2nd Edition* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009); Matthews, *Global Culture*.
[22] Anthony Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

international support for other movements has influenced the new nationalist parties.[23] For Smith, nationalism remains popular because of the quasi-religious nature of the ideology that feeds off the ability of populations to 'imagine' in-groups and out-groups based on historical narratives, symbols and culture which globalisation and cosmopolitanism have been unable to dislodge. The ideology of nationalism grew in the twenty-first century and its anti-globalising agenda influenced policy makers.

Nationalism has long been a feature of cultural encounters. The political-scientist Mary Kaldor, suggests that it is here to stay despite the weakening of ties to the nation state in the global era. In 2004 she prophetically wrote

> I do not think that nationalism will necessarily go away in an era of globalisation. We are in the midst of a period of political experimentation, as earlier political ideas and institutions have been eroded by dramatic socio-economic and cultural change. Various political ideologies are currently in competition, including market fundamentalism, global Islam, cosmopolitanism, Europeanism and, of course, nationalism. Some of these ideologies are forward-looking or reformist [...] others are backward-looking or regressive, appealing to an imagined past, and proposing to reverse at least some aspects of the current changes[...] Unfortunately, there is no [...] reason to suggest that the more forward-looking ideologies will triumph over the backward-looking ideologies.[24]

The following decade saw many, perhaps backward-looking, ideologies like nationalism intensify. It saw the growth of them as political forces that captivated many. The politics of nationalism offered a convenient scapegoat that disguised the excesses and inequalities

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[23] Arad Bauerkamper and Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe eds., *Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections between Movements and Regimes in Europe, 1918-1945,* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2017).
[24] Mary Kaldor, 'Nationalism and Globalisation', *Nations and Nationalism*, 10 (2004), 161-177.

caused by three decades of market fundamentalism. In addition right wing movements of the twenty-first century utilised the discourses of anti-Islamism that predominated since the start of the War on Terror. And yet very often the scapegoats were not Muslims alone. The inflated fears of EU, African, Middle Eastern and Central American Migrants, combined with the aforementioned cosmopolitan 'elites', offered politicians a convenient group to unite their supporters against.

Kaldor has written about how nations continue to present a form of identity through mass co-ordinated performances that would not be out of place in the former USSR or Nazi Germany. This 'spectacle nationalism' can be seen in royal parades and celebrations, Olympic opening ceremonies and the singing of national anthems at sporting events. She observes that very often these and similar rituals aim to cement nationalism as an official legitimising ideology. She sees the passion as performed by those who join the crowd or watch on television; they are driven by a sense of obligation rather than a real urge to celebrate their nation. But by taking the message on board they accept the role of the state and obligations such as paying taxes that come with it. She distinguishes between this spectacle national and extreme nationalism in which participants take up the cause with a sense of religious fervour. A form of the latter has been invoked by the government of Ukraine to encourage its people to participate in repelling the Russian army, with some units including the Azov Battalion highly influenced by far-right ideology. But febrile nationalism does not need to be linked to war. The Proud Boys, an American neo-fascist organisation that combined nationalism with misogyny and were strong supporters of Donald Trump, mobilised into street actions aimed at creating conflict. Nationalism has taken different forms, from actions against elements of globalisation such as migration, to participation in festivals and ceremonies. Spectacle nationalism has taken on a global face, which has expanded in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Here it is examined in the International Expositions and Olympics with particular focus on how states

mediate these encounters, and governments use them to spread their values among their own population and beyond.

The chapters of this book are each formed around a type of cultural encounter. Migration has been the most notable encounter of the Age of Globalism. At times assimilation, hybridity, or conflict have arisen in societies which experience migration. Chapter Three examines tourism, a boom industry of the later twentieth century, which has allowed people to travel even on relatively low sums of money. Their ability to encounter other cultures is questioned and the impact of tourism on host nations is weighed against its cultural and economic impacts. The fourth chapter focuses on transnational activism, where groups of activists and non-governmental organisations coalesced around single issues. Three of the more prominent are examined here: the Anti-Apartheid Movement against South Africa's National Party government, the Women's Movement and environmentalism. Each balanced their national campaigning with international actions but often tensions emerged between different groups. The cultural encounters that enabled common aims and values sometimes came up against differences that hindered collaboration. The International Expositions, or World's Fairs, are the subject of Chapter five. These events acted as 'spectacle nationalism', but also aimed to expand trade and promote national cultures. Certain host and exhibiting nations used them to position themselves globally and to build better international relations. Finally the book examines the summer Olympic games. These sporting mega-events bring thousands of participants and spectators into close contact, but they also create a global media audience. Different international and domestic cultures interact at these games. They are mediated by governments, city authorities and the International Olympic Committee, but often participants have found a way to have their 'off-brand' messages heard. These are far from the only types of encounters enabled by globalisation but they bring millions of people around the world into direct and indirect contact with each other, creating mobility and interconnectedness between different cultures.