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GLOBALIZATION AND BORDER SECURITY³

ABSTRACT

Globalization is one of the main characteristics of contemporary international relations. In this article, the authors underline the fact that globalization is a complex phenomenon with many faces which affects international actors in different ways. It also affects the entire world. Globalization has turned the world into a global village by compressing space. The role of the state in the international arena has also changed. Different security threats have arisen making states all over the world face with new challenges. In such a climate even the meaning and importance of border lines has come into the question.

Key words: globalization, international relations, actors of the international relations, information revolution, border security

Introduction

Globalization is one of the main characteristics of contemporary international relations. Although it would not be completely incorrect to consider globalization as an ideological doctrine⁴, the authors of this paper accept the approach that treats globalization as an objective process and phenomenon which can not be neglected. Impetus of globalization was given by technological development, particularly in the areas of communication and information infrastructure. Globalization has made the

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⁴ See more in: Kursar Tonči, “Smrt “globalizacijske teorije” ili kraj još jedne revolucije?”, *Politička misao*, Vol. XLV, 2008, br. 1, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb, str. 4.

“world shrinking” and finally turns it into a “global village”.⁵ All barriers and obstacles got removed and the free flow of people, capital, ideas etc. was encouraged. Eastern culture start influencing Western, products from North shortly after producing became available at every local store in the South and *vice versa*.



Source: Internet, <http://killtheboredomp6.blogspot.com/2010/09/globalization-what-would-world-be-like.html>, 15/10/2011.

Very often globalization is considered equal with the spread of liberalization of global financial markets, global production and global investment. For Immanuel Wallerstein “globalization represents the triumph of a capitalist world economy tied together by a global division of labour”.⁶ Economic position holds also Robert Cox who claims that “the characteristics of the globalization trend include the internationalizing of production, the new international division of labor, new migratory movements from South to North,

⁵ Herbert Marshall McLuhan created the term “global village”. See more in: Facchina Laureano Ralon, *Sir George R. Parkin & Herbert Marshall McLuhan Making Sense of Shrinking World*, in: *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue Internationale d’études canadiennes*, no. 39–40, 2009, pp. 333–341, Internet, <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ijcs/2009/v/n39-40/040836ar.pdf>, 15/10/2011.

⁶ Wallerstein Immanuel, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York: Academic Press, 1974, as cited in: Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, “Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition”, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006, p. 9, Internet, <http://www.sustainablehistory.com/articles/definitions-of-globalization.pdf>, 15/10/2011.

the new competitive environment that generates these processes, and the internationalizing of the state ... making states into agencies of the globalizing world.”⁷ In the similar manner, Mark Ritchie defines “globalization as the process of corporations moving their money, factories and products around the planet at ever more rapid rates of speed in search of cheaper labor and raw materials and governments willing to ignore or abandon consumer, labor and environmental protection laws. As an ideology, it is largely unfettered by ethical or moral considerations.”⁸

Defining of globalization was not just the occupation of the scholars; some of definitions of globalization are created within the international organizations. Thus, for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) “globalization refers to the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide through the increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services and of international capital flows, and also through the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology.”⁹ Similar within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) globalization is defined “as the phenomenon by which markets and production in different countries are becoming increasingly interdependent due to the dynamics of trade in goods and services and the flows of capital and technology.”¹⁰

From the other side, sociologists consider that globalization should not be viewed as strictly economic category. Accelerating transformation of modern life led to the emerging of numerous changes in almost each aspect of everyday life. World seems to be compressed, it is much easier and quicker to travel from one place on the Earth to another, almost at the same second while something is happening, for instance, under the Equator, people above it can watch it over cable or satellite television or Internet. Being aware of that, Anthony Giddens, famous sociologist, defines globalization as an

⁷ Robert Cox, “Multilateralism and the Democratization of World Order”, paper for the International Symposium on Sources of Innovation in Multilateralism, Lausanne, May 26-28, 1994, as cited in J. A. Scholte, “The Globalization of World Politics”, in J. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 15

⁸ Mark Ritchie, “Globalization vs. Globalism”, International Forum on Globalization, 1996, as cited in: Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, “Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition”, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006, p. 12, Internet, <http://www.sustainablehistory.com/articles/definitions-of-globalization.pdf>, 15/10/2011.

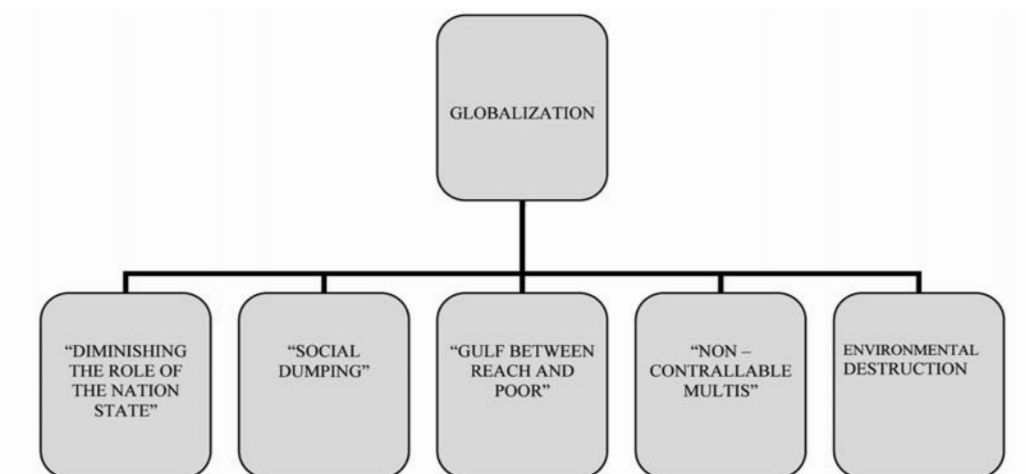
⁹ International Monetary Fund, “World Economic Outlook, A Survey by the Staff of the International Monetary Fund”, “Meeting the Challenges of Globalization in the Advanced Economies”, in the *World Economic and Financial Surveys 1997*, p. 45, see: Internet, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/WEOMAY/Weocon.htm> (Chapter 3), 15/10/2011.

¹⁰ OECD, *Intra-Firm Trade* (Paris: OECD, 1993), p. 7, as cited in: Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, “Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition”, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006, p. 9, Internet, <http://www.sustainablehistory.com/articles/definitions-of-globalization.pdf>, 15/10/2011.

“intensification of societal relations on global level which connects far away places in a manner that local events are caused by events which happened many kilometers away and *vice versa*.”¹¹

Close to Giddens is Malcolm Waters who describes globalization as “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding.”¹²

From the optimistic point of view, this phenomenon “pertains to the increasing ease with which somebody on one side of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other side of the world”.¹³ Free flow of ideas (looking from the global perspective), norms and values more than ever affects (d)evolution of the local communities. Consequences of globalization, as one can expect, are not equal. Globalization is like Janus, it has two faces.



Source: Internet, http://www.dadalos.org/globalisierung_bih/grundkurs_4.htm, 15/10/2011.

Giddens is right when claiming that “globalization is not a single set of processes and does not lead in a single direction. It produces solidarities in some places and destroys them in others. It has quite different consequences on one side of the world

¹¹ Gidens Entoni, *Posledice modernosti*, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 1998, str. 69.

¹² Malcolm Waters, *Globalization*, London: Routledge, 1995, p. 3, as cited in I. Clark, *Globalization and International Relations Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 48.

¹³ Thomas Larsson, *The Race to the Top: The Real Story of Globalization*, as cited in: Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, “Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition”, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006, p. 3, Internet, <http://www.sustainablehistory.com/articles/definitions-of-globalization.pdf>, 15/10/2011.

from the other. In other words, it is a wholly contradictory process. It is not just about fragmentation: I see it more as a shake-out of institutions in which new forms of unity go along with new forms of fragmentation.”¹⁴

State borders and globalization

There is no doubt that globalization affected all actors at the arena of world politics. It seems that it affects the most the entity for centuries known as the basic constituent of the international order and the international law – a sovereign state.¹⁵

During the twentieth century, substantial changes occurred in the international relations and the international law. In both areas new actors emerged and they, due to the objective and undeniable circumstances, became interrelated and interdependent parts of the unique world system. Their relations are complex and intertwined. Nature of those relations is not pure economic, political, cultural or ecological. Even more, the state has no more a crucial or a core role in international relations. Even the fundamentals of the state came into a question.

According to the classical realistic approach to sovereignty, sovereignty is observed as distinctive feature of states.¹⁶ Fundamentals of the sovereign state system can be summarized in territory, population and control, although some scholars add also mutual recognition and autonomy.¹⁷ For realists, state is the highest authority in the international scene and its major concern is how to maximize its security status having on mind that anarchy rules out of state borders.¹⁸

¹⁴ Anthony Giddens on Globalization: Excerpts from a Keynote Address at the UNRISD Conference on Globalization and Citizenship”, UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) News, Vol. 15, Bulletin No. 15, 1996/7, pp. 4–5, p. 5, as cited in: Mark Findlay, *The Globalization of Crime, Understanding Transitional Relationships in Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 169.

¹⁵ The foundations of international law with regard to state sovereignty were shaped by the agreements made by European states as part of the Treaties of Westphalia in 1648. The sovereign authority of the state was established within a system of independent and equal units, as a way of securing peace and order in Europe after nearly thirty years of war.

¹⁶ See more in: Frankowski Pawel, *Liquid sovereignty in the post-modern world order*. Paper presented at the Sixth Pan-European Conference Standing Group on International Relations, Torino, September 12-15, 2007, p. 3, Internet, http://turin.sgir.eu/uploads/FRANKOWSKI-Liquid%20Sovereignty_Frankowski.pdf, 15/10/2011.

¹⁷ Stephen D. Krasner, *Rethinking the sovereign state model*, Review of International Studies, Volume 27, Issue 05, pp. 17–42, Internet, <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&pdfType=1&fid=163528&jid=RIS&volumeId=27&issueId=05&aid=163527>, 15/10/2011.

¹⁸ See: Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, different editions, Hedley Bull, *Anarchical Society*, different editions and other representatives of the realism.

But, what happened with that concept in globalized world, world ruled by mutual interdependence?¹⁹ What happened with power and ability of state to secure its borders, to control not just the movement of goods, people, capital, but ideas, information, electronic money, etc. across its borders?

For Kenichi Ohmae “globalization means the onset of the borderless world”.²⁰ Or, in other words, “national borders become porous also for passing of ideas, culture and images, not just the capital”.²¹ Their conclusions are based on observing that history is changing and that, influenced by new technologies, borders became open and its “control is more complicated, blurred and it is a question of degree”.²² Such situation is direct consequence of the fact that information technologies introduced new forms of security undermining putting in other plan security in spatial and geographical term. Defending the state sovereignty is now more complicated because of the threats “dislocated from the physical realm”.²³ It seems that “borders are lost in the ever-expanding realm of cyberspace. Cyberspace has no front-line and potential battlefields can materialize anywhere networked systems permit entry”.²⁴

Globalization challenged the state’s territorial dominion. At that point of view stand some scholars who argue that the new environment is one in which “decisions and outcomes do not correspond with the choices of sovereign wills and are not contained by the boundaries within which they operate.”²⁵ Similar to this is the opinion that “states may no longer be the neat containers of political community that international relations and political geography have for so long assumed” and that there is an urgent need for new political cartographies.²⁶ This is because of the evidently “need for multiple and overlapping maps...which pay less attention to the boundaries of states and more to the

¹⁹ See more in: Keohane Robert and Nye Joseph, “Globalization: What’s new? What’s not? (And so what?)”, *Foreign Policy*, no. 118, Spring 2000, pp. 104-119.

²⁰ Kenichi Ohmae, *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Global Marketplace*, London, HarperCollins, 1992, as cited in: Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, “Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition”, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006, p. 4, Internet, <http://www.sustainablehistory.com/articles/definitions-of-globalization.pdf>, 15/10/2011.

²¹ Francis Fukuyama as cited according in: *Kako nazvati naše doba u: Globalni svet, Osam ogleđa o globalizaciji*, 2003, (priredili Olja Nušić, Dušan Veličković), Beograd: Aleksandrija Press, Nova srpska politička misao, str. 29.

²² Joseph Nye, as cited in: Frankowski Paweł, *Liquid sovereignty in the post-modern world order*, Paper presented at the Sixth Pan-European Conference Standing Group on International Relations, Torino, September 12-15, 2007, Internet, http://turin.sgir.eu/uploads/FRANKOWSKI-Liquid%20Sovereignty_Frankowski.pdf, 15/10/2011, p. 3.

²³ Fisher Uri, *Information Age State Security: New Threats to Old Boundaries*, Journal of Homeland Security, December, 2001, Internet, <http://isanet.ccit.arizona.edu/noarchive/urifisher.html>, 15/10/2011, p. 1.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 2.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 8.

flows and fractures that run across these boundaries.”²⁷ In the other words, “as the blurring of “here” and “there,” domestic and foreign, continues, the topography of the world’s security landscape will involve actual landscapes less and less”.²⁸

It is already mentioned that, in the age of globalization, the flow of people, money, ideas, images, etc. is fostered. Parallel with that process, states are facing with an important task: they have to design and conduct sophisticated methods in order to follow their flow. That task is urgent because of tendency of increasing the irregular paths. Having that in mind, it is inevitable to conclude that, in this era of globalization, modern states has to foresee different threats and situations in order to preserve its stability and to cope with numerous security challenges. As one can expect, very often acquisitions of technological development are misused by different criminal structures. With inconsiderable effort, they rein the cyberspace and benefit by handling the illicit trafficking of people, drugs, guns, money, etc. States are aware of this kind of the “information superhighway”.²⁹ From that awareness arisen a new approach to securing borders. Far from traditional approach, states now have to consider a territoriality from different, less important perspective. The reason for that attitude is issued in a fact that modern technologies practically are ignoring existence of geographically divided spaces, meridians, parallels or, simply, borders. The nature of new technologies is different, it is not much, if any, material or physical, it is non-material, non-physical. Cyberspace can not be measured in length, or situated somewhere at the surface of the Earth. We are speaking of non-material space which is impossible to connect with geography. In that non-material space rein the information, but even more, it is very likely that soon it will rein the material world, as well.

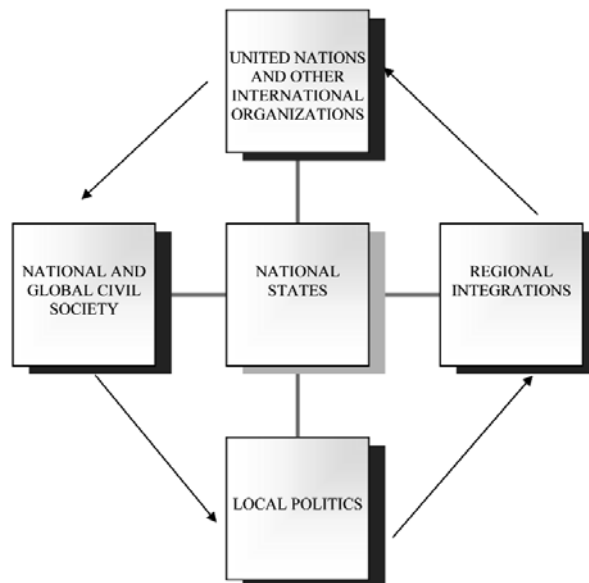
Developments of technology made people live easier. People start getting different information, deepening its knowledge, communicating with more people, getting new skills, paying their bills without leaving the house, etc. At the same time, there was no spatial limitation. From the other side, governments now got a problem; they were not able to follow these activities. At the beginning, these technologies were reserved for the military, and now they are using by each state, each non-state actor even terrorist organization, and, at the end, by the ordinary people. States now are urged to react very quickly in order to adjust its security policy to new circumstances. There is no doubt, new security strategy is necessary. And that new strategy should be designed irrespectively of geographical reality. Reason for that is fact that the premise of territorially fixed states is disintegrating. It is apparent that state’s central authority over a certain geographical area continues to diminish. In that sense, state is unable to preserve its top secret from the rest of the world. There are no fences able to keep that particular

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 10.

²⁸ Ibidem, p.11.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 6.

state cut off and safe from the rest of the world. This is why security strategies in the era of globalization must take into account, apart from traditional threats, numerous non-traditional threats from the realm of cyberspace. Non-traditional threats can cause serious damages by, for example, the disruption of communication services, destruction of data or the theft of digital information. And that is the main reason why states should consider the possibility of global organizing themselves in order to struggle with the plague. All actors of the international relations, without any distinction, will become key players in any nation's efforts to make self more secure of possible cyber attacks. It would be easier to tackle these issues within the international forums or through the work of the international organizations. Lot of traditional threats states managed to minimize gathering and pursuing joint actions under the auspices of the international organizations. That is the case of migrants and immigrants³⁰, human trafficking, trafficking of illicit substances, guns, etc. Also stands for the ecological threats, effects of climate change, natural disasters. Facing with these challenges each state needs an ally, the best ally would be the international community as a whole.



Architecture of Global Governance. Source: Internet, http://www.dadalos.org/globalisierung_bih/grundkurs_5.htm, 15/10/2011.

³⁰ On migrant issues see more in: Ivona Lađevac, Dragan Đukanović, “Republika Srbija i Međunarodna organizacija rada”, u: *Srbija i međunarodne organizacije*, Dragan Đukanović, Ivona Lađevac (priređivači), Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd, 2011, str. 284–295 and in: Јанковић Слободан, “Савремени миграциони трендови: последице по Србију”, *Национални интерес*, 2/2010, год. VI, vol. 8, стр. 229–254.

Conclusion

In the XX century, technological revolution reached the very high level and influenced each segment of human life. Not even the national states remain immune to its influence. Some certainties came into the question and the issue of security became priority. Globalization shows us how relative is the importance of human agency on borders. It shows us that borders are porous and that new strategic policy that might strengthen border security objectives is urgently needed. By overcoming geographical categories, institutional arrangements of governments to establish and recognize formal borders, and then regulate flows and other activities across them, became irrelevant. Nowadays, threats are coming from the cyberspace and in most of the cases are connected with theft of information and their misuse. In that sense, states should cooperate with each other as well as with the international organizations in order to cope with these challenges. It is not a question of security of one particular state, but the entire world.

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