The Reincarnation of *Kosmopolis* in 21st Century Informational Age? Position Social Agencies and Cyber-Activism in their Geo-Historical Matrix[1]

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The ideals and praxis in/for *Kosmopolis*, following Greek's traditions, have been academic endeavours for centuries. This critical brief attempts to position the debates within the context of the globalization, in 21st Century, in the information age. It examines the ideas and cultural (re-)presentations of the politics of global cosmopolitanism and world citizenship in the cyber-age, with special focus on social agencies and the strategies and structures of transnational activism and progressive advocacy networks. It argues that the Internet and mobile telephony have been an important part of the anti-globalization demonstrations against global capitalism in major cities around the world. The new identity and actions for global citizenship are represented through electronically distributed messages, while new cultural representations argue that the present mode(s) of the WTO/G8/World Bank-sponsored global projects are not just or fair. The reason for this is that they are not available to many people in the developing world, or to underprivileged groups and individuals in the developed world. This might endanger sustainable development. But the e-new politics with people's activism, deriving from historical role of the socio-cultural dynamics of cyber-activism, is shaping the manifestation for *Kosmopolis*, constituting global civil society as well as the new identity building for social activists practicing world citizenship.

Key Words : Advocacies Networks, Cyber-Activism, Information Age, Kosmopolis, Social Agencies

1. Positioning the Kosmopolis in Hyper-Modernization Informational Trajectory

The ideals and praxis in/for *Kosmopolis*, following the Greek's traditions, have been academic endeavours for centuries (Lettevall & Linder 2008). This critical brief attempts to position the debates within the context of the globalization, in 21st Century, in the information age. It examines the ideas, ideals and cultural (re-)presentations of the politics of global cosmopolitanism and world citizenship in the cyber-age, with special focus on social agencies and the strategies and structures of transnational activism and progressive advocacy networks. It is argued that the Internet and mobile telephony have been an important part of the anti-globalization demonstrations against global capitalism in major cities around the world. The new identity and actions for global citizenship

are represented through electronically distributed messages, while new cultural representations argue that the present mode(s) of the WTO/G8/World Bank-sponsored global projects are not just or fair. The reason for this is that they are not available to many people in the developing world, or to underprivileged groups and individuals in the developed world. This might endanger healthy cultural reproduction. Articulating the transnational advocacies in general and the anti-globalization in particular, this paper addresses (1) the synergy of hyper-modernization with the informational society, (2) the significance of social agencies for the transnational advocacies network (TAN), (3) the re-presentation of a new identity politics and the global citizenship, and (4) the particular historical role of socio-cultural dynamics of cyber-activism in shaping *Kosmopolis*, that is, in constituting the global civil society as well as the new identity building for social activists and world citizenship.

Thanks to the advanced applications of information and communication technologies (ICT), within the developed economies productivity growth has accelerated almost everywhere since 1995 (The Economist, 25 October 2003, p.74). The socio-economic transformations are crucial: free and timely flows of capital and goods across borders have become the global economy; technologies are the functional necessity for socio-economic development. A new epoch of modernization – hyper-modernization – is on its historical course.

To characterize the speed and momentum of the technological changes, as well as the socio-economic changes that follow, and to juxtapose the high-tech regime of development, the concept of so-called hyper-modernization is used here. All of the above facilitate cultural formation and the change of everyday social practice in various ways (Murdock 2004). The use of hyper-modernity is merely a descriptive and an indicative, as the controversies about what exactly the present (post-)modernity is are still an unfinished project (Bauman 2000; Beck 1999; Beck et al. 2003; Dirlik 2003; Harvey 2003; Murdock 2004; Therborn 2003).

Hyper-modernization is not just characterized by global competition towards the increasing use of ICT, but also by socio-cultural transformations. Facing the rapid globalization processes, societies have been undergoing immense transformations. This is particularly true for East Asia's newly industrializing economies (NIEs) of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and the high-growth economy of China. Through exposure to the globalizing 'external' forces, capital, goods, labour (and jobs) are more mobile than before. All of these reinforcing hyper-modernization developments in Asia are exemplified by the Asian Miracle, the rapid recovery of Asian NIEs after the 1997 Asian financial crisis, as well as the two decades of continuous rapid economic development in China – with an average annual GDP of above 7.9% (Lai & So 1997, ADB 2005).

Presented with an increasing bandwidth utilization, faster downloads and improved processing power in handsets, juxtaposing the increasingly miniaturization of mobile digital phones and gadgets, 3G (as well as Web 2.0), allows both producers and consumers to use extensive and

Fig.1: Migration of 2.5G to 3.5G Mobile Communication
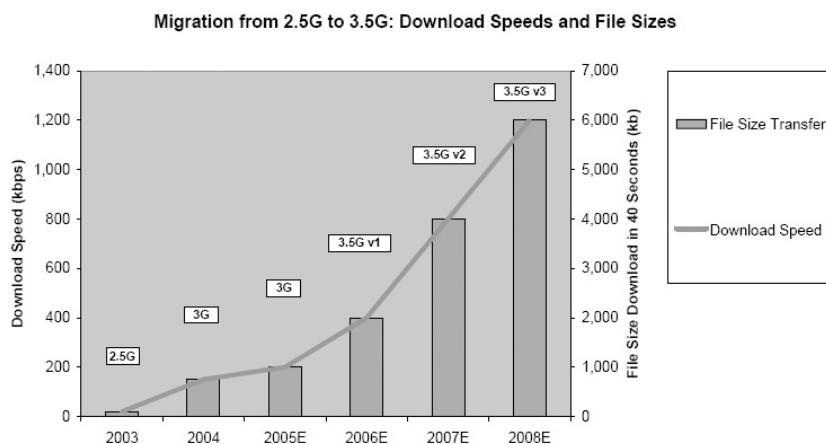
Source: Sanford Bernstein, Ericsson, Nokia, Qualcomm and NTT DoCoMo

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intensive mobile exchanges and the data in/beyond cyberspace as they could never before in mobile phone environments, for work, e-learning, and entertainments. The new media communication is replacing the fixed line ones (Srivastava 2004; Thornton & Houser 2005; Wieser 2005; See Fig.1, Fig.2, Fig.3 and Fig.4).
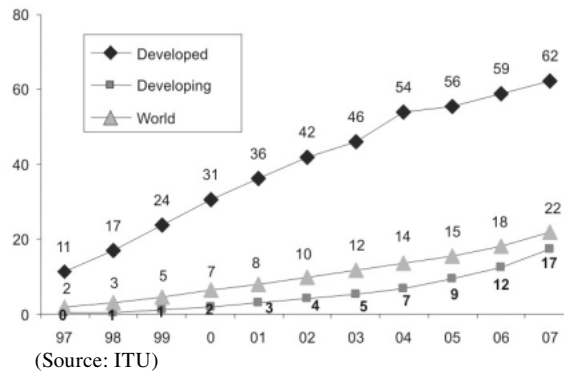
Fig.2: Internet Users per 100 Inhabitants, 1997-2007

(Source: ITU)

Fig.3: Mobile Phone Subscribers per 100 Inhabitants, 1997-2007
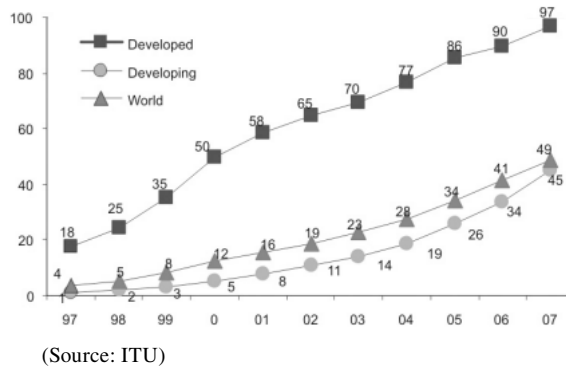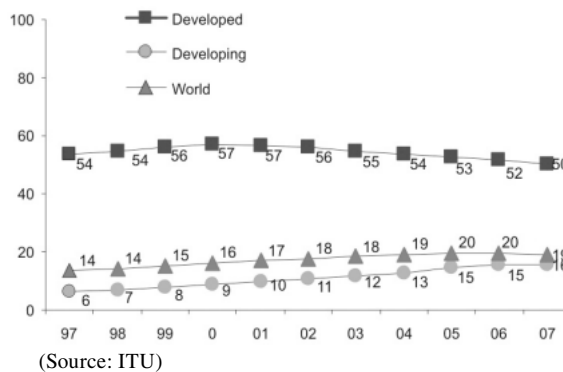

(Source: ITU)

Fig.4: Fixed Telephone Lines per 100 Inhabitants, 1997-2007

(Source: ITU)

2. Transnational Advocacies Network (TAN) in Its Informational Spaces

With the advanced application of ICT, the praxis of transnational advocacies network (TAN), succinctly discussed by Keck and Sikkink and recently explored in depth by Piper and Uhlin, is firmly established and embedded in the new communicative flows of the new media and the identity politics of social activists within and outside the cyberspaces (Keck & Sikkink 1998, 1999; Piper & Uhlin, eds., 2004). Cyber-politics challenges the traditional political establishment as well as the behavioural repertoire of political actor(s) (IDEA 2001, Goldstein & O'Connor 2000; Hick, et al. 2000; Hick & McNutt 2002, Stefik 1999).

John B. Thompson rightly points out that the new media not only has a strong impact on global politics, but also has become the weaponry of individuals and groups who have been excluded from traditional mass media making (Thompson 2005):

> In this new world of mediated visibility, the making visible of actions and events is not just the outcome of leakage in systems of communication and information flow that are increasingly difficult to control: it is also an explicit strategy of individuals who know very well that mediated visibility can be a weapon in the struggles they wage in their day-to-day lives. Once again, the war in Iraq provided us with countless reminders of this fundamental truth: the macabre beheadings carried out by (among others) Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's Tawhid and Jihad group, videoed and shown live on the Internet and then recycled with varying degrees of explicitness through the mass media of television and the press, are only the most dramatic illustration of a new political theatre that is played out in the world of the media, where spatial distance is irrelevant, communication instantaneous (or virtually so) and – especially with the rise of the Internet and other networked media – the capacity to outmanoeuvre one's opponents is always present (Thompson 2005, pp. 31-32).

Similarly, James N. Rosenau in his seminal work (Rosenau 1997, 1998), *Globalized Space*, stresses that the new media and their networking capacities are one of the functional equivalents of democratic governance where transnational issues are beyond the control of the nation state as well as a state-sponsored institutionalized regime, such as the UN:

> The widespread growth of the Internet, the World Wide Web and the other electronic technologies that are shrinking the world offers considerable potential as a source of democracy... by facilitating the continued proliferation of networks that know no boundaries, these technologies have introduced a horizontal dimension to the politics of *Globalized Space*. They enable like-minded people in distant places to converge, share perspectives, protest abuses, provide information and mobilize resources – dynamics that seem bound to constrain vertical structures that sustain governments, corporation and any other hierarchical organizations (Rosenau 1998:46).

David Held's (1998, 1999) Theory of "Cosmopolitan Democracy" argues that in a world of overlapping communities of fate, Cosmopolitan Democracy is the creation of new political institutions and a diversity of NGOs in global civil society, with the democratic principle and praxis of broad access to avenues of civic participation on national, regional, and international levels. More specifically for our discussion here, TAN is the new wave for the democratization process aided by new electronic communication technology through various forms of electronic-mobilization.

Here, the ideas (and ideal) of *Kosmopolis* or the questions they focuses on of liberty, progressiveness and democracy's extension beyond the nation state in terms of the articulation of international (humanity's) norms and justice call for a more open and participatory regime of global governance. This echoes the ideas of international civil societies and social movements for global and local justices (Archibugi & Koenig-Archibugi 2003). These movements are multi-dimensional, ranging from local human rights to global environmentalism (Lipschutz 1996; Mol & Sonnenfeld 2000; Pipper & Uhlin 2004; Wapner 1996).

3. Re-Presenting Global Citizenship in *Kosmopolis*

The spread of the relevant ICT is vital for transnational activism, as it highlights the dynamism of world citizenship and constitutes the global civil society of *Kosmopolis*. For Asia's hyper-modernization, four distinct yet inter-related issues need to be examined here.

First and foremost, although the activism derived from and through the Internet/cyberspace can be described as borderless in many ways, the networks

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are sometimes geographically confined to global cities of the developed world. More specifically, the locational choice of TAN agencies is still important, although the activism itself can shape regional affairs beyond the local base of the activists (Keck & Sikkink 1998, 1999). In other words, the cross-border advocacy is by no means borderless or non-territorial, as the specific location or mode of protest organizing and social mobilization is still very much geographically specific. Cities and micro regions with a high concentration of information flow and knowledge exchanges as well as capital and economic activities usually attract international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) – like London, New York, Tokyo and Hong Kong (cf., Downey & McGuigan 1999; Hick & McNutt 2002; Leyshon & Thrift 1997; Sassen 1998). These places, among others, also have a comparative advantage in terms of the availability and functionality of ICT – and this gives the seemingly borderless, transnational activism a geo-cultural political fix.

Secondly, despite the promising development of TAN on a global scale, severe obstacles to cyber-activism remain, not least the state's control of the Internet in the case of Asia (Hong 2001). In addition, digital deficiencies and divides remain, historically, problematic at global scale. The communicative backbone (the Internet) is still controlled by developed economies: 50% of the Internet communications among Asian countries are routed via US infrastructure. The ratio of the Internet population in Southeast Asia compared with the total population in the above area is about 0.5%, in East Asia it is 0.4%, and in South Asia 0.04%. For the OECD countries (except the US), the figure is 6.9%, and for the US it is 26.3% (UNDP 1999). The gap within Asian countries is also very wide: around 20% of the adults in the wealthy part of Asia (for instance, the four Asian 'little dragons' of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong) are online but less than 1% of the people in the poorer parts (such as the South Asian countries of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) use the Internet (ITU 2000). These figures confirm the digital divide inside and between regions and countries in Asia. Overwhelming majority, especially poor people in poor countries, are deprived of the benefit of the Internet and are therefore not active participants in the globalization process (Kenny, et al. 2000; see Fig.5 and Fig.6).

Thirdly, new identity formation and progressive political praxis by the information revolution are contingent upon a complex configuration of dynamic socio-economic factors (Waller, et al. 2001). The prospects for the greening of global/regional civil society, in the Asian case, are further shaped by the differential state-society conflict and intra-socio-cultural fault lines in the region, in addition to varied forms of undemocratic praxis which need to be challenged. Democracy, political liberalization for an open society, and environmentalism are as important as the economic miracle for Asian societies (Lee & So 1999; Sachs 2001). Furthering democratization is the way to go. Given the rise of Asian digital power and the expansion of cyberspace, the strategic use of the Internet can thereby foster transnational activism and social capital building across local, regional, and global spaces. On the other hand, there are powerful forces to slow down the scope of transnational activism. Asian states/societies are deeply divided along religious lines (Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam), political ideologies (democracy, authoritarianism, and market socialism), colonial heritages (British, Japanese, and American), boundary disputes (between India and Pakistan), and security tensions (in the Taiwan Strait and on the Korean Peninsula). All of this might provide a pretext for the state's control over civil forces, and for its exerting its hegemonic banner of nationalism and cultural-political correctness in and out of cyberspace, challenging the e-liberalized communicative politics (Comor 2001, Dryszek 1999).

Lastly, the disadvantages of the 'information society' should be stressed (Castells 1996, 2000; Luke 2000; Menzies 1996; Schiller 1999). Even advanced societies are still characterized by more or less high levels of segregation, diversity, and hierarchies with regard to the level of information gained through the Internet. More specifically for Asia, this has, to a large extent, to do with the dominance of the English language and American culture (Main 2001). In the long term, the domination of the English language in global communication might bring about a serious crisis regarding the existence of minority languages. Furthermore, the US lifestyle, movies, comics and other visual popular culture, and the 'manufactured' news and documentaries (the US version of the 'war against terrorism' represents such a case) could be seen as cultural manifestations of a global imperialism. As long as the Internet is based on existent power structures, it will likely reinforce cyber-imperialism (Ebo 2001; Lai 2004a/b, 2005; Ogura 2001; Wyatt et al. 2000). How to confront cyber-imperialism will be the challenge for transnational activists.

Fig.5: Global Digital Divides
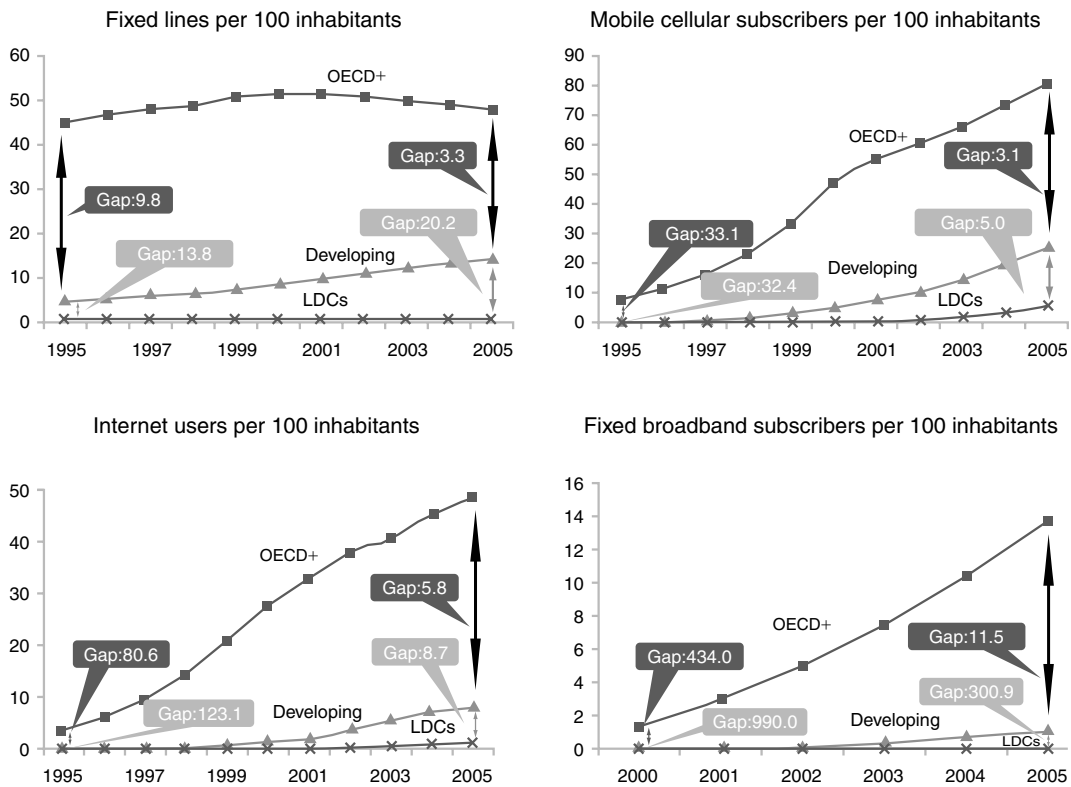
Note: *"OECD+" includes the 30 Member States of the OECD, their dependencies and the four Asian tigers (Hong Kong SAR, Macao, SAR, Singapore and Taiwan-China). "LDCs" are the 50 Least Developed Countries, "Developing" refers to all other economies. This analysis is based on a total of 213 economies.*

Source: ITU World Telecommunication Indicators Database.

4. The Globalization Project versus Cyber-Activism in the Information Age
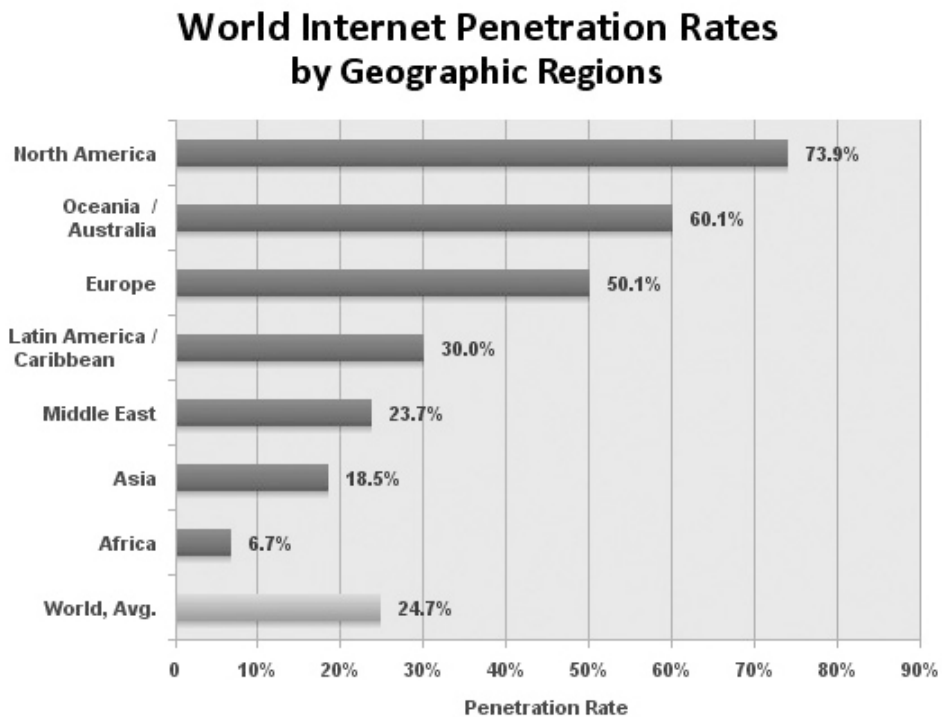
To discuss the multifaceted and complex manifestations of tensions between local and globalizing forces, the rest of this chapter examines the socio-economic logics of communicative actions in (anti-)globalization processes.

4.1 Constructive Competitive Globalization?

The ideological driven neo-liberal global project, i.e., the creation of a global free market by the G8, the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO, and cheered on by transnational corporations (TNCs), enables further deregulation, privatization, and structural adjustment programme, and also limits governmental power.

Yet globalization processes are problematic, and tend to polarize the socio-economic life opportunities of people – this has been confirmed by *The Report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization* (WCSDG 2004). There are two competing views on the globalization project: globalization might be regarded as a benign and automatic force that fosters better economic benefits for everyone; even the poorest group can be better off. This is in strong contrast to the political extremes of the Left and Right. According to the Left, unbridled capitalism produces an exploitation of the weak and socio-ecological degradation; for the Right the malignant forces of globalization engender xenophobia and the loss of people's jobs, culture, language, and hence identity at a local level (Milanovic 2003).

Since the early 1990s, most of the nation states

Fig.6: World Internet Penetration Rates by Regions

World Internet Penetration Rates
by Geographic Regions

| Region	Penetration Rate
North America	73.9%
Oceania / Australia	60.1%
Europe	50.1%
Latin America / Caribbean	30.0%
Middle East	23.7%
Asia	18.5%
Africa	6.7%
World, Avg.	24.7%

Penetration Rate

Source: Internet World Stats - www.internetworldststs.com/stats.htm
Penetration Rates are based on a world population of 6,767,805,208
and 1,668,870,408 estimated Internet users for June 30, 2009.
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have adopted the international financial institutes' (the IFI, the World Bank, and the IMF) recipe for reform in macro-economic policies in order to make their economies more competitive. Their strategies are the deregulation of international capital flows and trades, and the re-making of (the once protected or socially guaranteed) labour market into a deregulated (less rigid, more dynamic and more flexible) one. With the exception of the Asian Industrializing Economies (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) and China, most developing economies are not adjusting well to the globalization project. On the other hand, most of the developed capitalist economies have suffered from the sluggish economic growth, which ironically resulted from the deregulation of capital markets, and which weakened the relationship between banking and industry (Navarro, et al. 2004).

Taking the globalization discourse seriously has also helped to reinforce the political ideologically-driven reform of the so-called welfare state in the developed economies, but most of the reforms are not deemed as successful by their fellow citizens (Huber & Stephens 2001). In the case of most developing economies, the globalizing forces have not actually helped them much, and with the exception of China, global poverty did not diminish during the early globalization era (Milanovic 2003:679; Ravallion 2004:65). The number of poor (less than US$1 per day) did fall in Asia, but rose elsewhere; rising by 50% in Africa (see Fig.7).

To recapitulate our present state of digital capitalism, economic productivities have been much improved for the developed economies, but the aggregate progress of the ICT-aided globalization project has not achieved its intended purpose for a better and just world. And it is within this context that the anti-globalization movement, a quest for *Kosmopolis* in the global arena, is articulated.

Fig.7: People living on less than US$1 per day

People living on less than 1 US$ per day, 1990 and 2000 (millions)
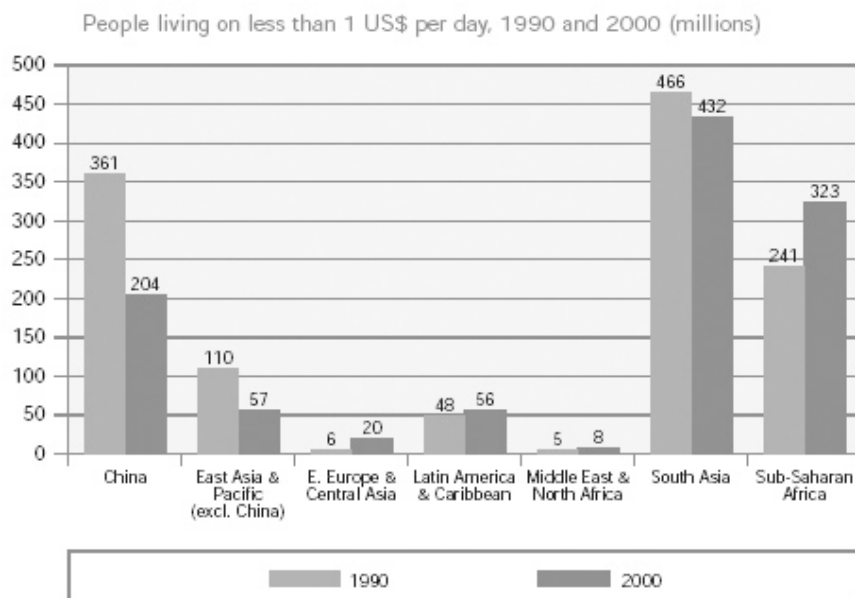
Source: World Bank, *Global Economic Prospects 2004*.

(Source: WCSDG 2004, p.45)

4.2 Economic Globalization-Driven Social Polarization

The instrumental role of the ICT in a free global market is crucial and referred to as 'digital capitalism' – the condition where ICT networks are directly generalizing the social and cultural range of the capitalist economy as never before (Schiller 1999). Digital capitalism therefore is predominantly a global corporate-led market system. It is also free to physically transcend territorial boundaries and, more importantly, to take economic advantage of the sudden absence of geopolitical constraints on its development.

Globally speaking, the present form of informatization of people's work and societal (virtual) encounters has reinforced a divided as well as a dual society: the informational-based informal economy is juxtaposed with a down-graded labour-based informal economy resulting in a spatial structure: a city which combines segregation, diversity, and hierarchy (Castells 1996, 2000; Lai 2004b, 2008). The ICT enhances a flexible production regime, generating more wealth and global economic activities. Yet far from developing an equitable and better society, our ICT-driven post-material society has produced more social disasters in the period
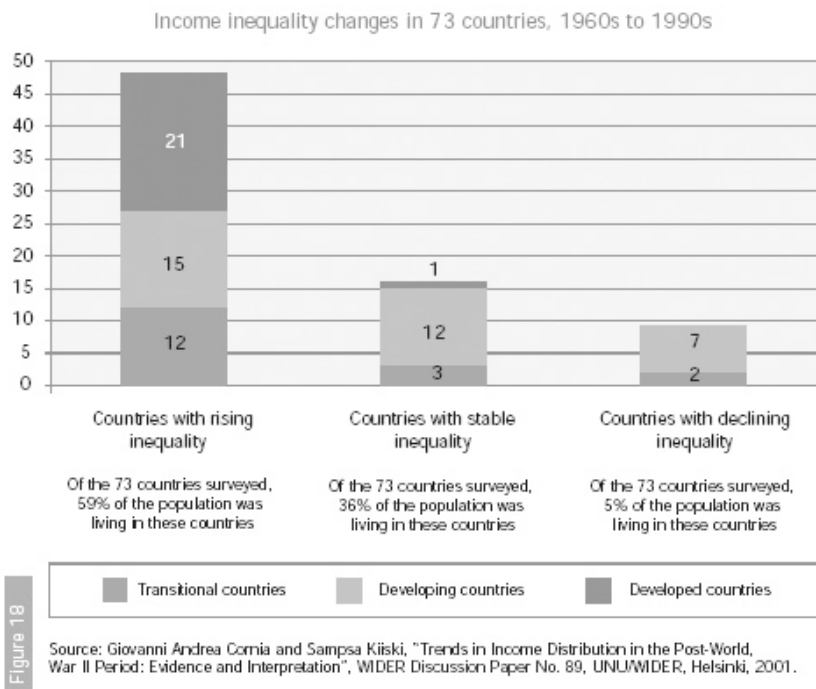
1960-1990 than ever before (see Fig. 4). All of these are part of the globalization processes. Not without exception, all developing economies aided by TNC networking have been integrated hierarchically into the global system of capitalism, and the process of integration widens gaps and causes divisions among communities, countries, and regions (see Fig.8).

5. The New *Kosmopolis*: Social Agencies' Global - Flexible Mobilization

In contrast to the liberal and progressive ideas of *Kosmoplis*, *Technopolis*, with high-tech development in the Information Age, is much championed by most nation states. *Technopolis* has become the iconography for a futuristic high-tech 21st century society. In Asia, such projects are aimed at enhancing national competitiveness in the global system, and are initiated by strong and/or developmental countries such as China, Japan and Singapore (Downey & McGuigan 1999; Lai 2004b, 2008).

5.1 Global Protests against Economic Liberalization: New Global Norm-Setting

Cosmopolitanism is occurring again, not just at

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Fig.8: Global Income Inequality

Income inequality changes in 73 countries, 1960s to 1990s

Source: Giovanni Andrea Cornia and Sampsa Kiiski, "Trends in Income Distribution in the Post-World War II Period: Evidence and Interpretation", WIDER Discussion Paper No. 89, UNU/WIDER, Helsinki, 2001.

(Source: WCSDG 2004, p.44)

annual 1ˢᵗ May anti-globalization demonstrations, but also through other protests against global capitalism in major cities around the world. Their message is loud and clear, namely the present mode(s) of the WTO/G8/World Bank-supported global project is not just or fair for many people in the developing world, or for those who are underprivileged within developed countries. Most of these social mobilizations are mobile and Internet network coordinated.

The 'Battle in Seattle' (demonstrations against the 1999 WTO ministerial meeting) marks the beginning of a new epoch of global activism, aided by ICT. Since then, global activism has shaped decisions regarding locations for IFI meetings, which are attempting to move away from cities and the transportation hub. Yet increasing amounts of e-mailing and mobile phone text messaging have become a central tool for e-mobilization: just before the Seattle meetings, about 1,500 NGOs had signed the anti-WTO declaration using e-mails and SMS text messages (Bennett 2003; Brecher 2000; Held & McGrew 2002). The more recent example is the global peace campaign against the US calling for war against Iraq: with the full-fledged utilization of ICT, the Internet/Web and mobile multimedia, over 12 million protesters were on the march in hundreds of cities around the world on 15ᵗʰ February 2003. All of this ICT-enhanced global activism therefore give leverage to ordinary people, resource-poor activists, and protest agencies to fight against the establishments, governments, big businesses and the mass media. All types of 'anti-' information and ideas in cyberspace which bypass the mass media can turn into global real-time social actions (for anti-globalization protest networking, see: www.indymedia.org and www.wtohistory.org).

On the other hand, but with the same logic, the developing countries are gathering momentum to fight for a more equitable and fair regime of trading – highlighted by the recent rebellious move by the Group 22 to walk out of the Doha Round of the WTO trade negotiations in Cancun (September 2003)[2] – this is in line with the call for a reinvention of global governance for fair globalization (WCSDG 2004).

2   The Group 22 includes the following developing countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, and Venezuela.
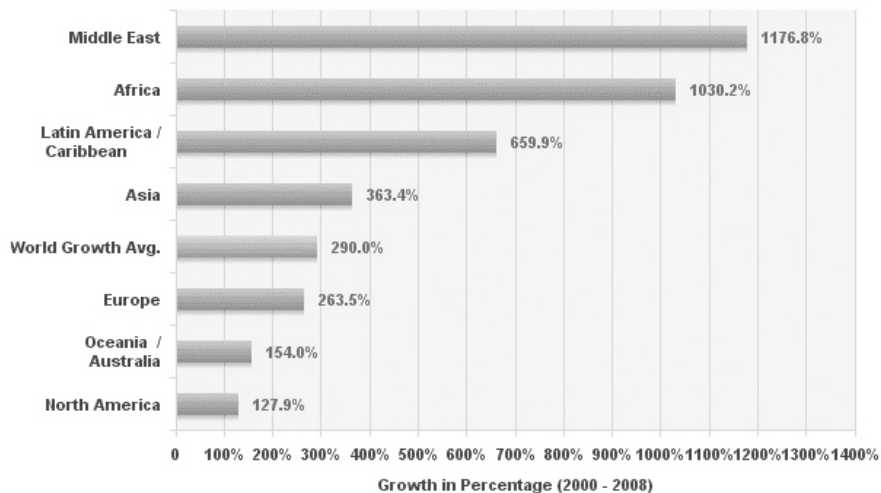
Fig.9: World Internet Usage and Population Statistics

World Regions	Population (2009 Est.)	Internet Users Dec. 31, 2000	Internet Users Latest Data	Penetration (% Population)	Growth 2000-2009	Users % of Table
			WORLD INTERNET USAGE AND POPULATION STATISTICS			
Africa	991,002,342	4,514,400	65,903,900	6.7 %	1,359.9 %	3.9 %
Asia	3,808,070,503	114,304,000	704,213,930	18.5 %	516.1 %	42.2 %
Europe	803,850,858	105,096,093	402,380,474	50.1 %	282.9 %	24.2 %
Middle East	202,687,005	3,284,800	47,964,146	23.7 %	1,360.2 %	2.9 %
North America	340,831,831	108,096,800	251,735,500	73.9 %	132.9 %	15.1 %
Latin America/Caribbean	586,662,468	18,068,919	175,834,439	30.0 %	873.1 %	10.5 %
Oceania / Australia	34,700,201	7,620,480	20,838,019	60.1 %	173.4 %	1.2 %
WORLD TOTAL	6,767,805,208	360,985,492	1,668,870,408	**24.7 %**	362.3 %	100.0 %

(Source: http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm, 30. June 2009)

Fig.10: Internet Users Growth in the World

Internet Users Growth in the World
Between 2000 and 2008

Region	Growth
Middle East	1176.8%
Africa	1030.2%
Latin America / Caribbean	659.9%
Asia	363.4%
World Growth Avg.	290.0%
Europe	263.5%
Oceania / Australia	154.0%
North America	127.9%

Growth in Percentage (2000 - 2008)

Note: World Internet Users estimate is 1,407,724,920 for Q1 2008.
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Retrospectively, as the rich countries' concessions to the poor ones were too limited, the NGOs' communicative actions in the mass and cyber media were highly exploitive and instruments for the collapse of the WTO Cancun negotiations. Shouting loud and long enough in various media enables the strong provocative communicative power to 're-frame' the anti-rich country sentiments, which eventually forced the Group 22 trade negotiators to take a decisive and radical stand against the present global project run by the WTO and the rich countries.

Obviously the WTO has been learning quite a bit from the communicative global actions of NGOs – and until recently, the WTO (like the World Bank) initiated activities for the participation of NGOs mainly in consultative sessions prior to an important trade summit. But these are more or less a form of public relations campaign, as the real multi-lateral trade negotiations are the prerogatives of nation states (Ullrich 2002). Through moral and ethical criticism of the globalization project, the cosmopolitan forces use a mobile communicative network to empower the (presumably) powerless NGOs, and the global civil society has learned quickly, adopting a wire and wireless communication set-up to champion their

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project in cyberspace and the mass media (Hajinal 2004, van de Donk, et al. 2004).

5.2 The Reincarnation of *Kosmopolis* – Rediscovering New Humanity?

Moving into an informational age is a global trend that with over 6.7 billions people have been Internet-active in late 2009 (Fig.9), and the substantial increases are deriving from the developing regions like the Middle East, Africa and Latin Americas (Fig.10). The informational dynamics will likely reshaping the socio-political contours of global and local governance (Katz, ed., 2008).

For social agencies and NGOs at both the local and the international levels, there are two major issues (or more specifically, dynamics) of anti-globalizing processes. They challenge the unfair and unjust economic processing as well as the consequences of global poverty and environmental degradation resulting from the globalization project and the ideological struggles against the hegemony of (US-led) global power. In short, it is the search for humanity.

In mid-August 2003, mobile communicative actions – the use of all wired and wireless media of communications in both cyberspace and in real communications – enabled over 200,000 people to participate in a three-day anti-globalization rally in Larzac, France (*The Economist*, 14. August 2004). Like other anti-globalization demonstrations their target was clear: it was the WTO Summit in Cancun, Mexico, one month later. The rally (or better put, a carnival-like anti-globalization's media platform) turned out to be informative and a communicative diversity, highlighting actions, knowledge, performance, and entertainment as well as new cultural praxis for the anti-globalization project.

The multi-media performing and expressive aspects of the anti-globalization campaign highlighted that it involves not only anarchic and violent clashes between the police and demonstrators, or the mob against transnational corporative symbols like McDonald's and international banks – actions we normally watch on television – but also represents a new politico-cultural praxis for an anti-globalization campaign as expressed through fine and performing arts as well as multi-media representations. New media definitely enhance the dissemination of the alternative agenda for the anti-globalization project – in some way, the mobile communicative actions constituted the creation of a new social capital of networking (Katz 2008; Katz & Rice 2002).

5.3 *Kosmopolis* – the Unfinished Project of Humanity?

In contrast to the 20th century's pro-growth yet unsustainable development, the 21st century's challenge is not just the economic crises and ecological sustainable development, but also the survival and rejuvenation of cultural diversity in a globalizing world – the project of *Kosmopolis.* The quest for alternative eco-modernity mirrors the quest for sustainable modernity (Habermas 1987; d'Entreves & Benhabib, 1997).

The reality of global capitalism is more chaotic and not as positive as the neo-liberal economics' discourse tells us: the permanence of global poverty, regional economic problems, and social exclusions coupled with the vulnerable social protection plus ecological degradation all push for the demands for ethical and normative terms for globalization processes and highlight the quest for equitable, fair, and just trading and an economic exchange regime. For this, TAN should be championed for the empowerment of people at large – the global civil society (Keck & Sikkink 1998, 1999; Piper & Uhlin, eds., 2004; van de Donk et al. 2004). The idealism of *Kosmopolis* project is as yet unfinished. Mobile communicative actions in a progressive mode which support these initiatives are particularly important, and will provide the leverage for the resource-poor and/or under-privileged groups in articulating their justifiable demand for a fair and equitable life.

Despite its sporadic success in mooting the critical issues of global development, such as human rights and environmental sustainability, the extent of the impact of global civil society is much constrained by international governmental institutions. Craig Calhoun rightly questions the new media (the Internet in particular) in the formation process of new human communities, and to what extent the solidarity of the communities constitutes or makes cosmopolitanism more conducive to global civil society (Calhoun 2003; see discussion by Kennedy 2006).

Yet two obvious limitations of the new media need to be noted here: both (*i*) the strong in-group identity for the participants and (*ii*) the ownership structure of the content (in the name of intellectual property rights) and conduits (ownership and subscription channels) can limit the formation of any imaginative global civil society for justice and equity mobilization. The latter can be shown by the fact that the media giants Google and Yahoo! are both much constrained by the regulatory framework in the US and its counterpart in China –

their offerings of unlimited access and freedom of communication in cyberspace are contingent upon a set of socio-political conditions which are neither equitably nor fairly allocated.

Against the problematic marketization and informatization of the socio-economy, the new global project should therefore not only focus on economics, but on the reinvention of cultural specificity, the promoting of social equity, and the safeguarding of people's control over socio-cultural development. The ICT-enhanced (wired and wireless, stationary and mobile) communications are a double-edged sword: the Net and mobile networks can likely be a good facilitating agent for global, cross-cultural communications but at the same time can reinforce the existing fault lines between the *lingua franca* and the extinct indigenous languages. Needless to say, there is a normative dimension for its further development: equal opportunity, social justice, e-equity and e-inclusion.

In the hyper-flexible globalization processes, two differential logics to embrace (versus challenge) global free market capitalism are obviously shown by the IFI-sponsored regime of economic liberalization and the ICT-enhanced global/transnational activism of TAN. They will confront each other, and their communicative actions will be in and beyond the cyberspaces as long as the struggles for an equitable, fair, and just regime of global governance – the ideals of *Kosmopolis* – continue. It is therefore incumbent on both the IFI and TAN to work out feasible routes for the humanization of the globalization project – the recent yet belated attempt by the IFI and the WTO to adopt TAN as their developmental dialogues is a welcoming one.

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