Towards an Anthropology of Globalization in Times of Biopolitics

Aldo Bonomi

It is not true that globalization has no face. It has at least six. We stand before a Zelig that adopts and changes our very own appearances. In order to take account of globalization, it is necessary to stare it in the face and understand how it changes our own anthropology. This can be done, by telling the tale.

Making sense of globalization means reckoning with a concept that has an intrinsically controversial nature. Having entered with force into common use from the early 90s, the term 'globalization' denotes a situation whose nature is still widely contested among those who, on the one hand, view this phenomenon as though entirely lacking in precedent, the sign of structural change, and, on the other, those who consider it a merely cyclical process; among those who see globalization as phenomenon connected to economic structures and dynamics, and those who focus above all on its cultural characteristics.

This accentuated polysemy is also reflected in the problem of the perspective from which to investigate the countless analytical dimensions. This not only concerns avoiding the peril of naturalizing the phenomenon, following which the processes we characterize as globalization would constitute a mechanical effect of the unintentional expansive dynamics of technique and economy, and therefore expunging from the picture the constellations of players and institutions whose decisions have played (and still play) a determining role. Certainly this is an easy trap to fall into - but here the aim is to bring to center stage another dilemma, one of method but also, we might say, immediately existential (or empathetic), and one that may be labeled as the problem of putting globalization 'back on its own two feet'.

The challenge for the social investigator consists in shifting away from an approach that looks mainly toward the vertical dimension of globalization and ultimately adopts the view of the *overfliers* of the world (observing from above with indifference) - be they globalist critics who denounce the dangers of globalization or neo-liberal cosmopolitans belonging to the elite that preside in the control rooms of institutions and transnational meetings - and moving

instead toward a grounded approach that constructs the narration starting from 'what there is right under foot', an approach that considers globalization a process that digs deep into subjects, modifies the structural coordinates of social conflicts and in the end changes the role and characteristics not only of the economy but also of politics, eroding, precisely, their microsocial, cultural and anthropological premises.

In this sense, globalization can be considered the macrophenomenon that accelerates the passage from a social order founded on the conflicting polarity of capital/labor that predominated in the course of the twentieth century, to an ordering in which the vector of modernity becomes the relationship/conflict between flows and places. Here, the concept of flow represents the characteristic of simultaneity and fluidity of the social relationships ignited by what is perhaps the most impressive feature of globalization, namely the shortening of the space-time dimension, while the concept of place alludes to social and economic behavioral structures that, through localization, become exhausted of their community value.

If this is so, it is fundamental that the investigator takes up a position within the relationship between flow and place, setting at the centre not a contrast between the two concepts, but rather the nexus between the function of interconnection carried out by the flows and the degree of opening towards the outside of places (or awareness of place). In other words, this means that the perspective should point not only to the top (economy of flow), but also towards that self-performing dimension of globalization that concerns the universe of attitudes developed in place to the impact of flow. We can represent these at a typical-ideal level by means of three notions, namely *nostalgia* rooted in the 'no longer' and experienced solely as loss, *resistance* to the system of values of globalization experienced in its dimension of pervasiveness of place, and finally the *acceptance of challenge,* in which the refusal of nostalgia is accompanied by the acceptance (critical) of the by now global character of place, but starting off from what remains of the original community in order to try to experiment with forms of adequate community policy suited to the times. According to this view, we might say 'in the middle' of globalization and the relationship between flow and place, if the researcher's problem is that of dismantling the general process into its various components and understanding their connections, the issue at hand for the social players is the structuring of a consciousness of place that allows for a mediation in the impact of the flows in a progressive sense, avoiding the tight spot of the alternative between a localist closing, defined in terms of fundamental primordiality (language, reli-

gion, ethnic group), and the void left by the ascension of flow and its separation from territory. Making sense of globalization by looking at the impact of flow on the orientation and behaviors of the players therefore means building a relationship between these two priorities (of the understanding and consciousness of place). It also means stitching together the typical separation of the sociology of modernization, with its traditional functionalist leaning, between the perspective of the observer and that of the participant, assuming likewise as a possible objective the production of an institutional fabric able to reduce disorientation, but also the verticalization of social relationships induced by the impact of global flows.

The faces of globalization

Given its lack of univocality, the meanings attributed over time to the concept of globalization have become extremely varied. In brief, there are those who understand globalization as a process of mercantile and financial expansion, intrinsic to the capitalist system, but on a global scale, while others have highlighted the process of growing interdependence between economies. Others again, restricting the field of application, have seen the defining core in the internationalization of the productive chain, identifying globalization in the hard facts of the assertion of the enterprise-network model. Finally, there are those who have underlined the impossibility of reducing the complexity of the phenomenon to the economic dimension alone, suggesting broadening the field of application to cultural and political subsystems, and thereby directing greater attention to the topic of identity.

The problem of all these ways of defining the phenomenon is that they tend to end up by re-proposing the traditional opposition between the concepts of social homogenization and differentiation, interpreting both in an objectivist light. On one hand, there are authors who see globalization as a solely manipulative and leveling process in which the scene appears entirely occupied by a modernity-world that consists in the purely westernization ('macdonaldisation') of the globe, a kind of planet-market where the destiny of local societies is to succumb helplessly to the advances of the self-regulating market. On the other hand, globalization would seem to be a process of heterogeneization and production of differences, where change is not only a non-unilinear phenomenon, but is also presented in the two-faced guise of cultural integration-disintegration. Here, the synergic trend of the global cohabits with the 'allergic' of the local, and the action of media and financial techno-apparatus locally produces 'resistance, irony, selectivity and more

generally, action' (Appadurai, 2001), which in turn impacts on the structures and the powers of the system-world.

In this latter case also, however, the problem lies in the conception of modernity. Although it may be far from invincible, given the reaction potential of the local, the modernity-world remains a linear phenomenon: its absolute imperative is still to make headway along the road of rationalization. Faced with this dichotomy of homogenization/differentiation inside a common systemic matrix, the perspective that centers on the relationship between flow and place introduces a twofold advantage. First, there is the use of a category, flow, which is not necessarily confined to the economic but potentially applicable also to cultural and political phenomenologies; furthermore, rather than a contrasting of perspectives there is an enhancing of their connection points through the adoption of a voluntarist view and a strong insistence that the global is not only 'system', but also the object of choice and construction by players through an awareness of place. In short, this means not being restricted to highlighting the potential of the local to influence the global, allowing instead for this latter as a non-linear process, closer to the concept of reflexive modernization than that of rationalization. The concept of modern is in this sense an open concept: what is posited by modern principles becomes retroactive on them by transforming them. In fact, if two emblematic processes of globalization are observed, one the effect of migratory flows on the labor market and the other regarding local economies and production, we see that globalization appears as an archipelago of places whose connections produce relations of exchange by which the migratory emptying of the original communities is reflected in the creation of a boiling cultural melting pot in the centers from which the global flows depart. It should also be noted that despite the forced readings describing globalization as a disciplinary pyramid in which *naked life*[1] in places is replicated from the top, in reality the connecting function of flow itself depends on the cultural and economic vitality of place: more global also means more local (Bonomi, 2002; U.Beck, 1997).

Thus, the problem lies in identifying the forms adopted by the modernizing dynamics of 'overflight', starting, however, from the role of the players and territories. We can identify at least six of these forms or flows.

The first great globalizing flow is without doubt the internationalization of finance, an aspect whose impressive innovation is also recognized by those who tend to minimize the historical breach achieved by the global age (e.g. Hirst & Thompson, 2000). The progressive deregulation of financial move-

[1] The body as productive machine, the site of thinking, communication and reproduction.

ment and the consequent partial unification of the capital market has led to a drastic restructuring of the relationships between private economic power and the State, so much so that the flows of money driven by the great private financial players are today able, through their movements, to bring down the currencies and economies of entire countries by rendering state policies dependent, at least partially, on the decisions of financial markets. This process leads, among other things, to two consequences that appear particularly interesting: the flight of banks, lifting off from the ground into the flows of globalization, and the financial market control of saving.

Regarding the first consequence, if gigantic processes of aggregation of banking institutes have transpired, driven by the scourge of global competition in the international arena, and resulting in denser networks of financial relationships that bind the global economic elite (Pizzorno, 2001), then on the ground these same processes have led - in a particularly evident manner way in our country - to the transformation (and in some cases the disappearance) of the model of the territorial bank founded on local fiduciary networks of proximity. This means that although in some situations the extended networks of the combined banks have chosen to accompany the local productive subjects in the global by not creating a void when taking flight, it is clear that in any case the local community has ended up in this exchange by losing its prevailing control of money flows.

The other great change, which we may define as the molecular financial market control of savings, has dug even deeper. And this is perhaps an epochal passage that has changed the social composition of entire social classes, passing in our country from 'BOT people'[2] to individual micro-shareholders, in the stock exchange *cattle market* inside the great circus of the speculative bubble of the end of the last century, and which in other cases (the English one is emblematic) has acted as a directly political element influencing the electoral behavior of the masses. This has been a process that has left a mark on the self-awareness of important social groups, and has led in a certain sense to mass financial literacy and an impressive re-orientation of attitudes towards the private sphere, understood, however, as a development of the anthropology of the everyday in a symbolic dimension in which money is the cipher of social relationships.

The second great process is represented by the changing nature of the global flows. What might until a short time ago have been labeled simply as *foreign* must today be redefined as *transnational,* with the dual meaning of mul-

[2] BOT, Buoni Ordinari del Tesoro, Treasury Bills.

tiplication of the possibility of the physical or communicative crossing of borders towards an international space and of the contemporary presence of variety (in terms of origins and destinations of flows) of this space in each place. In short, the typical dimensions of the concept of flow, mobility and connection, are strengthened exponentially.

At an organizational level, this is expressed in the evolution of the great multipolar multinationals in centralized transnationals, large companies that fly over territories and land according to opportunity. They are large globalized productive organizations that 'think' in planetary terms. They individuate and exploit the available resources in the territories, and are in a certain sense entirely neutral with regard to parameters such as local cultures and traditions, ethnic or racial prejudices, political considerations (unless obstacles to investment), ethical or moral prejudices: a McDonalds hamburger, a Hollywood blockbuster or mass produced car, these are destined for the planetary market with the only constraint that of consumer purchasing power. And usually the consumer, under whatever sky, responds; not only by making use of the product, but often introjecting the vital model that the commodity incorporates.

The relationship between the player-transnational flow and the reality of the place where it lands should not, however, be seen as a relationship of pure dominion, in a kind of global night wherein all cows are black. In truth, to present a situation in which the globalized firms plummet down to the territories to then depart with equal speed once their objective of stripping bare has been exhausted implies an overly drastic undervaluation of the role of the local players. On the contrary, the landing of transnational firm, which then pervades (fills) a territory with its apparatus, is (nearly) always a mediated process, albeit to various degrees and in different ways. Furthermore, the potentially most devastating moment of the void created by its taking off may be regulated by a strong awareness of place through the exercise of a capacity of *governance* by the societies or local elites. We should not forget that the broadened reproduction of the relationships of global is created and can be reproduced, and therefore at least in part depends, on choices made also at a local level.

If the transformation of the multinationals into transnational firms represents the dominant organizational and the most studied model of globalization of flows, the variant that we could call the pocket multinational constitutes a third form of global flow. This is endowed with conceptual autonomy and is of undoubted interest because it is typical of that particular form of 'medium-range' globalization predominating in the strategies of delocalization of

national production districts. Although this model in part follows the path of the great transnational overfliers, gliding over territories in which the conditions of productive factors appear the most convenient, reproducing therefore the model of verticalization of the relationships of power in the landing territories, in truth it has two peculiar characteristics that originate from the mechanisms of communitarian regulation, typical of the productive district. On one hand, the delocalization process comprises the departure from districts and landing in the territories of entire systems of medium and small enterprises, with the consequence of breaking up the traditional blend between town community and economic community that characterized the productive localism of the 'third Italy' and thereby provoking the development of attitudes of resentful nostalgia, and reclassifying them upon the impact with the destinations. On the other hand, and as a result of this, the departure and arrival places prove to be spatially concentrated, for example, in the attractive areas of Eastern Europe (as testified by the case of Timisoara in Rumania, or the establishment of a kind of broad banking dominion between Poland and Turkey) that are then saturated by production networks. This is a model, therefore, that despite keeping its dimensional peculiarities, is capable of preventing itself from being outdone with respect to competitors in the production of global competitive networks.

The fourth flow, which may be defined as the economy of desires and has its organizational form in the model of virtual or networking enterprise, has in many respects the densest political and cultural implications for its capacity to absorb our own desiring egos. It is the flow that most presents the features of that cognitive capitalism that already, in many ways, Marx had specified in his *Fragment on machines* (contra Capital), namely as endowed with the capacity to incorporate within a generalized social activity - and therefore in the commodity - the tendencies, desires, lifestyles and creativity of men, and, more generally, all the possible innovative elements of valorization. This represents in the phase of globalization (or, within globalization) a powerful engine of change of the social composition at the heart of the Empire, shifting the social layers still bound to the traditional productive cycle to the periphery of the landing places of the flows. In addition, it is important in this case to emphasize that this is not a model limited to the great American players with established logos, universally renowned examples like McDonalds, Marlboro and Nike. It is also a characteristic of that molecular Capitalism typical of central and northern Italy, where medium-size, leading firms such as GAS or Diesel in the casual clothing sector, manage to take advantage of consolidated networks at a local level and are at the same time able to explore opportunities

offered by production in other countries where they recreate the same networks of collaboration as in Italy.

The point to bear in mind is that the passage from the Fordist company to the reticular or virtual enterprise - or as Castells (2002) puts it, from industrialism to informationalism - unhinges the model of regulation of the productive organization, not only from the viewpoint of the organizational rationale of the factory by the externalization of functions whose internalization had been envisaged by Taylorist Fordism, but above all by reformulating the dense and structured social relationships of the Fordist phase with the overturning of the tendency toward worker concentrations. Thus, delocalizing unskilled labor in the global and maintaining only management and logistic functions in the territory the form of regulating class conflict constituted by the Keynesian-Fordist corporative compromise is destructured at all levels and replaced by the accentuation of forms of vertical solidarity of a localist type, determinant within the flows of global competition. But the dispersion of the productive cycle into the global has a further important implication. Owing to distance, it produces a kind of 'spatial front for inequality': there is an isolation of management positions with respect to the workplace (and often also residential segregation as evident in the phenomenon of 'communities of interest', widespread in the United States, for example), and this weakens the perception of differentials of social condition, significantly reducing the opportunity for comparison.

If the processes of reorganization of the chain of value are set at the centre of the typologies outlined up to here, the fifth type of flow concerns the development of the great global communicative network and the player flows that manage its structure, like the globalized *internet companies.* The great network and the process of outsourcing of jobs that it produces can be defined as a foundation-making flow, since through world communication technologies it allows other flows to acquire the ability to govern the continuous transnational productive cycle. The influence of the network is multiple however, and in certain respects conflicting. If, in fact, its most revolutionary feature is represented by the creation of a space-time simultaneity able to break down dense social ties and bypass the necessity of face to face social relations, it is also true that in the virtuality of the net an artificial community (with sometimes ambiguous features approaching pathologies of the ignoble) tends to be (re)produced whose characterization as a weak bond nevertheless widens its potential capacity to generate social capital. This last outcome must surely not be taken for granted, and there are no lack of examples beginning, for instance, with the role carried out by the net as a virtual

structure of mobilization inside movements and transnational non-governmental organizations.

The passage: when consciousness of place may also become a flow.

This analysis, however, becomes relative with the onset of a very strong historical acceleration when that element of the consciousness of place that was once closed in the narrow confines of non-negotiable primordial identity (be they blood and land ties as in the former Yugoslavia of the ethnic native lands, or bound to the religion of forefathers, or localist rancor), also arises to literally combat the representation of central powers. What we could call soft globalization because it is drawn mainly by the instruments of technique, economy and the market, assumed the guise of a hard globalization with 9/11, founded on the return on a grand scale of the idea of the 'just war'.

Global warfare, the sixth flow, if begun in the Yugoslavian local theatre is now theorized as a global dimension in which both soft and hard models of globalization enter into symbiosis and the clash of civilizations penetrates our everyday worlds. But the central point is that the war flow, on becoming global, deeply affects the very conception of modern western citizenship, goes beyond the concepts of discipline and control of which Foucault spoke, and pushes politics to transform the space of exception in which power can act on the life of bodies, into the rule, the norm. And this is a truly fundamental shift.

This is highly significant where the global redeployment of territories in the international division of labor and therefore of peoples, produces another fundamental flow, namely migration. Its reification in the figure of the nomad,[3] which in massive migratory waves towards the western centers inverts the trend that during modernity had pushed Europeans towards new worlds, reveals the exposure of the by now naked life to the action of the state of exception. There develops thus on one hand a mass insecurity, the offspring of a freedom that the liquidation of social ties in the crucible of second modernity has transformed into loss, generates the threatening profile of the *ugly citizen,* of the 'ugly and bad' citizen ready to mobilize against the presence of foreigners, barricaded in a military conception of security and the base of consensus available for the state of exception; on the other hand, the legal constitution of real and proper fields as spaces of exception in which the suspension of the legal condition of the migrant reduces his body to naked existence; but

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[3] The figure of the nomad, the local that seeks a place to stop in to eventually transform himself into the other figure of the tourist, the global, is in Baumann 1999.

more generally, the process of tendential deactivation of the same jusnatural-istic foundations of citizenship produced by the policies of security, precisely in the Anglo-Saxon countries of the liberal rule of law.

Naked life and life laid bare: the global explosion of the prism of work.[4]

The phenomenon, or, if we prefer, the flow of the epochal migrations with the consequent *melting* pot of the globalized (the 'tourists') and those aspiring to such (the 'nomads') represents a trend that in a certain sense lies *beyond* society, in a territory to be explored with new conceptual instruments. Indeed, migrations constitute a flow endowed not only with a physical but also episte-mological consistency that distinguishes it from others. It is, it might be said, a total flow in the sense that it produces the impact of body, culture, civiliza-tion, blood and land in a more direct way with respect to the fundamentally abstract nature of money. But above all, it is a flow that directly affects the social composition of territories and speaks of work that changes according to a new code, that we might define the *naked life and life laid bare.*

From this point of view, globalization produces a fundamental change that can be defined as the rendering current of what had appeared outdated, the obsolete from history reactivating forms of work that the prophecies of moder-nity had believed to be definitively eliminated. There is here, surely, the evi-dent paradox of a hypermodernity that re-discovers the traditional or, or bor-rowing from Beck, the modernization of modernity that ends up however by producing the re-actualisation of the traditional. The earliest form of work that man adopted reappears, namely barter, founded on informal norms of trust and reciprocity as a form of defense of society from the intrusiveness of the mar-ket. Servile jobs increase and slavery returns in the form of ethnic division of work between native and migrant citizens. A modern, serf-like servitude develops with the absence of self-consciousness that prevails in the working figures of the outsourcing cycle and of the hierarchical sub-supply. Trade cor-porations return as communitarian forms tendentially closed by the certifica-tion of skills and control of working insecurity by a social grouping that founds its life opportunities on self-realization. Beside these forms of the new outdated, it is then just the 20% of social composition represented by regulat-ed and salaried work on which the welfare system continues to be founded, which the transformations of the productive organization have by now relegat-ed to a minority.

4 In the Italian, 'Nuda vita e vita nuda', where vita nuda indicates relegating of the body to its elemental func-
    tion of survival machine.

This explosion of working figures can be understood if set within the two coordinates of globalization: productive companies and the professional met-ropolitan *melting pot.* Three large areas of the world emerge from these coor-dinates: an area where work is done by communicating, another in which one works by manufacturing and finally one where work is survival.

The first world is the area of globalization in which the processes of out-sourcing and the pervasive assertion of forms of personal capitalism *bring about the setting to work of our very own naked life,* of our thinking, speak-ing, remembering, imagining in an economic cycle that increasingly becomes one of services, creativity, knowledge and experience. But the economic cycle founded on the valorization of the naked life of each of us is none other than the other side of the process of individualization. If this creates the melting of the social structures, able to transform individual life choices into collective projects and actions, while also producing a new structure of conflict (at least potential) to the extent in which it is the *bios* of the naked life that becomes subjected to an attempt to regulate by norm and transformed into object of political decision, or rather, to the extent to which a biopolitics is asserted, and consequently a biopower, in the first world.

In truth, the affirming of biopolitics marks the workings of distinct processes. More generally, if biopolitics is the form of politics in the time of the global and its flows, it can also be observed that the concept is in part changed with respect to Foucault's formulation. Biopolitics is identified with biopower and represents the passage from the application of disciplinary pow-ers over the body to the modality of control of the cognitive and biological naked life socialized in the collective dimension of the population - therefore, a phenomenon largely from the top down. In this sense, it represents the dark side of individualization, the failing of the power of inclusion of the general categories of the first modernity, like class and citizenship. Politics with a cap-ital P loses the capacity to present itself as a subsystem of social synthesis, but nonetheless extends its potential range of action as far as the biological and private dimension (as in the case of genetic engineering). This broadening of range is accompanied by a crisis of decisional ability of the political structures to the extent that so-called 'private politics' is asserted, which leads to the political market becoming a spectacle, increasingly populated by user-cus-tomers and decreasingly so by citizen-voters, thus transforming the public sphere from an arena in which private problems are transformed into collec-tive issues into a stage on which private transactions are represented directly.

At the same time, the affirmation of the *new economy,* as it is variously understood, and its implications in the sphere of information, communication, human memory and desire, alongside the eruption of the productive forms on the territory, combine to create and spread of the myth of personal capitalism, rooting capitalism within us and subsuming our everyday lives within the economy. Biopolitics is here a veritable anthropological transformation accelerated by globalization, on the basis of which there is a leap ahead in the generalized growth of the cognitive and creative abilities of ever more immaterial work - therefore, a phenomenon from the bottom up.

If the typical manufacturing work of the Fordist cycle is based in the middle, in those territories where the productive decentralization has transferred manual production (for example, the so-called CIBRE, China, India, Brazil, namely the countries of emergent powers), then the life laid bare of survival work, of eating, of heating, of moving, is set at the opposite pole of the naked life. This is the area of the world that may equally be found in third world countries or in the heart of the metropolitan centers (the case of New Orleans is emblematic, but this is valid also for national metropolitan centers generally, such as Milan, for example), the area which lives on economies ranging from the informal to the illegal and appear to have a hierarchy of needs and value structures opposite to the dominant post-materialism in the area of the naked life.

These three areas of the working prism are not arranged in parallel but, as we have mentioned in the case of the life laid bare at work, merge in a hybrid way at the crossroads of the large dimensions of flow. The modern cities therefore constitute the privileged ambient space to represent this crossroads, so much so that the hypermodern forms of conflict develop in them, between those who can live in the time of instantaneity, who move faster and can take off from the territories thus staying free from ties, and those who are nailed to the places and depend on the former who draw their source of freedom from such dependency.[5] After all, to speak of naked life, life laid bare and work by manufacturing does not mean contrasting Fordism and post-Fordism, *new economy* and *old economy,* but discovering and narrating the map of the productive *melting pot* within the international division of jobs, between the areas of the world but also within the areas of the world.

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5 Crozier's classic, The bureaucratic phenomenon (1964), raised for the first time the identification between dominion and control of the sources of uncertainty: those who maintain their own actions independently of and unforeseeably by the rest dominate (see also Baumann 2002).

Remembering the future. possible lines of escape.

Broken down into the six fundamental flows, the monster of globalization appears devoid of any post-modern mythologies: not a totalizing system without an 'outside' to get hold of, but a dialectic weave made up not only of top and bottom, of flows and places, powers and technology, but also of other potential lands with respect to the temptation to react to the normative and cognitive insecurity (and to the consequent deficit of recognition) induced by globalization through an ethical-symbolic armor-plating of strong identities, be they neo-ethnic or neo-religious, in the East as in the West.

It is in this 'other land' that the crisis of the democratic public sphere induced by global biopower can be faced, by adopting the strategy of 'putting oneself in the middle' - not only to separate and weaken the armored identities of the Bushes and Bin Ladens, but also by connecting, for instance, naked life and life laid bare, constructing new institutional spaces that bring the two conditions into relationship with each other. This becomes possible precisely because cognitive capitalism of the naked life and the life laid bare, predominant, for example, in the migratory flows, appear by now partly as the two sides of the coin represented by the affirmation of cognitive capitalism: as much research shows, one does not only emigrate to escape misery or tyranny, but also to move positively in the search for freedom, towards employment, invention and ultimately towards the centrality of immaterial work. The situation of life laid bare can therefore be interpreted not only as material poverty in the classical sense of the term, but as the potential of immaterial work, unexpressed perhaps because of a deficit of relational capital in a position to activate the cognitive creation of value. In short, between naked life and life laid bare there is a potential space of relationship founded on the common tie with the immaterial transformation of the work process.

It is therefore possible to think that, if there persists a need for the State, unavoidable in order to prevent society sinking into the anomy of the *free riding* individual, there is also the necessity to construct social institutions of post-Fordism that can facilitate the rise of a society able to connect the ethical nature of the long networks concerned with the life laid bare in the global with the necessity of new self-organization and solidarity between those working by communicating. Is it realistic to think of places in which the naked life and the life laid bare that tumble into the metropolitan territories become self-organized and enter into relationship? Because the problem is that tendencies toward self-organization are beginning to exist, but tend to act as islands of separation.

What we can say is that if one starts off from the five flows (plus war) in the global, it is possible to notice many micro beacons of the possible escape within each of them.

Where finance takes off from the territory and money pervades social relationships, local committees are set up from above with which the bank can rebuild a dialogue with the local and the long nets of micro-credit and ethical finance interweave so that a communitarian relationship with money can be reconstructed. Where the over-flight of the transnationals occurs, there can operate fair and equal trade and a strong consciousness of place. Where the pocket multinationals glide, the problem of ethical districts is beginning to be raised. Consumer groups of fair purchasing are developing and taking control where virtual enterprises grasp the vital worlds of creativity. Where there is the large network and its masters, virtual communities are being developed by those who use them to reconstruct social micro-ties.

In a word, where the macro-flows impact on the social, one may notice a tendency of the latter to develop self-defence mechanisms. However, these need encouragement and support and seem so much more important the more the tendencies of the global thrust towards conditions defined by Hardt (2003) as the 'deterioration of civil society'. But all this represents none other than the requirement to remember the future, understanding that periods of disorientation have already taken place at other times in history, periods in which accelerated social change has rendered the living space of individuals lacking in those structured references that allowed them to evaluate others and be evaluated by them. Notwithstanding all the differences that separate the former from latter modernity, it is easy for Italians, for instance, to recall the processes of social destructuring that occurred in our country between the 19th and 20th century (and that are probably today being produced in China) in the passage from agricultural society to industrial society.

The passing of work that follows the rhythms of nature to those of the factory, from self-consumption to the purchase of commodities, from spoken culture to the insertion into the institutions of the written word, from welfare hinging on the expanded family and sexual division of labor to public social apparatuses, from the economy of barter to the dependency on money; and one could go on. And today? Today we are at a comparable epochal passage, but whose consequences seem the contrary: where there was wage-earning and regulated work, today there is flexibility or the nightmare of a job without end and without guarantee or the certainty of a guaranteed income; from standardized consumption there has been the transition to   personalized biological

need; from mass education there has been the shift to the problem of the generational technological gap; from the securities of public welfare to the insecurity of the future; from the use of money in the relations of proximity, to the banks that soar above in globalization.

What is most central in this parallel is the understanding of the logic of action used by the social subjects involved in the changes. If before, the process of overcoming the deficit of social recognition was tackled by privileging forms of collective vocalization through the setting up of parties, unions, leagues, small rural banks, institutions of mutual aid and popular literacy, according to a sequence that went from rebellion and social self-organization to political construction and the binding of the institutional fabric to the territory, today the task is complex but in the end very similar.

Although globalization has been shaped as a gigantic process of incentivation of the logic of individualized *exit* with respect to the customary forms of structuring social relationships, the observation and the tale of the 'traces of community' that despite everything are beginning to be (re)produced, allows for the idea that within the social and the large processes, the dialectic between flows and 'the community to be' may result in an awareness of place that accepts the challenge of the opening without subordination. In order for this to happen, however, it is still necessary to re-invent forms of social capital that without disdaining to be founded also on the value of long lasting structures that have come down to us (along the lines of Putnam, for example), work in such a way as to connect the self-constructions of the naked life and the life laid bare, the Milan May Day (in Italy) and the most institutionalized of unions, the organized forms of 'ethical politics' (be it internationalized humanitarian or the local third sector) and a new inclusive mutual aid. It is also, to conclude, by constructing institutions of a new mass schooling regarding the new issues of biological and primordial identities that the excluding nature of biopolitics can be beaten, having connected generations and reconstructed a public sphere in which everyone faces the disorientation within the global, but by starting off from the real processes that one experiences. The problems to be raised include those of how to enable the local ethical product to reach the market, how to recommence popular schooling based on technology, and how to reconstruct a mutual assistance suited to transition in order to avoid entrusting future generations to the sole selective mechanism of credit cards. Only in such a way, indeed, is it possible to avoid the reconstruction of a new symbolic imaginary falling into the universe of technique or the spectacle.

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