Gábor **GYŐRI** –
Tibor **DESSEWFFY**

Everyday Globalisation

DEMOS
MAGYARORSZÁG

September 2007, Budapest

Authors: **András Bíró Nagy – Gábor Győri – Orsolya Imecs – István Tornai**

Editor: **Tibor Dessewffy – Gábor Győri**

C o n t e n t s

1. INTRO

Now that there are no more than a small handful of socialist countries left, it has become a particularly interesting question from an ethnographical point of view, what is happening in these countries. What were the Cubans doing for instance, when their beloved Máximo Líder was suffering from a serious illness and was said to have only days to live? They were watching Doctor House.

Together with a wide American, Hungarian and other international audience the majority of Cubans worry week after week, how the cynical, mysanthrope, non-existing doctor manages to cure a peculiar illness of a non-existing patient. According to the Cuban correspondent of the German *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* the series has swept empty the streets of the little island nation, meaning that a great number of Cubans watch the series made by their mortal enemy. And as ever so often it occurs, reality and fiction are interwoven. One episode of the series is about a Cuban couple who, although loyal subjects to Castro, are fleeing the country on a boat to see the brilliant TV doctor with the wife's odd disease.

How did they know on this secluded island that there exists an expert of tropical diseases in Princeton, New Jersey?
They must have watched TV. It can be by all means assumed, however, that the creators of the show were largely inspired by the Cuban success, to invent such an unusual story line. (It will be interesting to see how the Cuban censorship will react to the refugees.)

every possible development. The phenomenon, however, is real. Largely due to globalisation and its related processes, the world is radically changing.

Dr House is only one of the many anecdotes symbolizing globalisation. Until recently it had been the privilege of a select few scientists and journalists to experience the presence of globalisation. It was them who could travel and see how much the different parts of the world intertwined. Globalisation started to accelerate 20-30 years ago but was still not conspicuous in everyday life and its analysis had remained a scientific issue. Today, there are hardly any parts of the world that have remain untouched by globalisation and most people recognise its extent in their own life.

Only a few disagree that globalisation is a defining process of the present age. All political movements are forced to self prescribe a particular identity. This phenomenon, which was hardly spoken about two or three decades ago, has an ever growing dominance both in social sciences and in political journalism. Unlike many sudden populist trends, it is not a passing fad. The concept of globalisation becomes increasingly diffuse because it is said to be linked with nearly

Globalisation is an unbelievably complex concept that cannot be restricted to a couple of international phenomena. It is necessary to avoid seeing it as a solely economic process as is so fashionable today. In addition to the obvious economic and commercial dimensions, globalisation expands over our social and cultural relations having both major and minor influences on them. In our definition globalisation is the integration on various levels of the international economic, social, political and cultural processes. Globalisation is therefore not a single, clearly defined process but the combination of several, partly connected, and partly separated processes. Globalisation is characterized by the progression of "deterritorializing", i.e. the loss of the traditional role of territories. It entails a reconfiguration of geography, so that social space is no longer wholly

mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders. Anthony Giddens has thus defined globalisation as "the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1990: 64). David Held et al (1999: 16) defines globalisation as a "process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact - generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity" (Smith, 2002).

As any big change, globalisation fills people with great fear. Ever since

the industrial revolution the world has undergone more rapid changes than in the previous millenniums. Scientific inventions together with significant social-cultural innovations drove us at high speed towards modernisation. As if the speed of accelerated, radical change was frightening in the past, becoming identifiable and analysable after only a generation, now they manifest within one or two decades. They transform society, economy, culture and not least environment on an everyday basis. It is no wonder that mankind, who has never faced such rapid changes before, is now hugely taken aback. "The world in which we find ourselves today doesn't look or feel much like they predicted it would. Rather than being more and more under our control, it seems out of our control – a runaway world. Moreover, some of the influences that were supposed to make life more certain and predictable for us, often have quite the opposite effect (Giddens, 1999: 2).

1 What is interesting to see is that Italy and Germany should find globalisation a positive process, the two countries who have suffered from the greatest economic problems in recent years, partly because of failing to prepare for the effects of globalisation. On the other hand, the relatively successful United Kingdom has the most negative opinion. The actual data (positive/negative, the rest is not sure): United Kingdom: 15:53, USA: 17:45; Germany: 36:42; France: 18:53; Italy: 25:55; Spain: 17:54.

As a result, it is predictable that the press would be, softly speaking, mixed about globalisation. In wider public opinion its reputation is even worse: overwhelmingly negative. As an example, according to a Financial Times/Harris Poll in July 2007, in the six western economic powers (USA, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy and Spain) only a minority finds globalisation a positive process (Financial Times–Harris Interactive, 2007)[1]. A significant proportion of Europeans see economic danger, cultural uniformisation, social alienation and diminishing social solidarity behind globalisation. The fight against them is one of the most important political activating forces world-wide. The extreme right and the extreme left alike take to the barricades over globalisation. Both the youth and the older generations find it threatening. Even among the politically moderate it is more common to view the process with concern than with optimism.

As any complex process including several different factors, globalisation too has numerous negative effects and affects many people's life adversely. Experts agree, as an example, that it undermines the chances of under-skilled workers in developed countries because the low-paid, industrial and similar jobs they typically do are done for less money in the developing countries (Garrett, 2004). On the other hand, as the effect of the same process, hundreds of millions of people have escaped extreme poverty and continue towards middle class and better living standards in the developing world. Today social mobility is being realised for hundreds of millions in India and China, the two largest countries, and the poorest in the world.

It is difficult to strike a balance with globalisation and we would like to emphasise that it is not an aim of the present study. However, to paint a complete picture, it is necessary to look at all the aspects of the phe-

nomenon. In the Hungarian public discourse positive features of globalisation are hardly mentioned, nor are the numerous new and hitherto unseen opportunities which could have been created by globalisation alone. There are two attitudes towards the spread of globalisation among those who we call pro-globalists for the sake of terminological simplicity. Tony Blair expressed one of them as follows: "Complaining about globalisation is as pointless as trying to turn back the tide. There are, I notice, no such debates in China. They are not worrying about potential threats but are busy seizing the opportunities in ways that are transforming their society and ours as well" (Blair, 2006).

The second attitude is our, slightly different, opinion. We believe that it is indeed essential to have a substantive debate on globalisation. A key element, however, is to recognise the above considered opportunities and include them in the debate. Focusing on the negative points only makes the debate biased. Politics, provided it reflects the social discourse and public opinion, will be

biased too and therefore it will draw false conclusions. We believe that globalisation is, if not entirely controllable, still a shapeable process. As Tony Blair briefly put it: globalisation has to be adapted to. Those who keep pessimistically wondering about the development will fall behind. On the other hand, it is also true that globalisation requires complex approach. The dual requirement is, all the while, to recognise the problems it causes as well as the opportunities it entails.

A significant majority of analyses on globalisation focus on macroeconomic processes, complemented with the fact, where appropriate, that political institutions become intensely internationalized. As the above examples show, globalisation is not a process happening on an abstract level that can only be illustrated with statistics. On the contrary, globalisation radically transforms our everyday life. Our "lifeworld" is being rearranged as a result of changing ordinary, everyday processes. The concept of lifeworld

has been transported from philosophy by Alfred Schütz. His main idea is the critical approach towards the traditional methodology of social sciences (Schütz, 2003). According to Schütz "the positivist rationality of social sciences can describe certain structural elements of society but it is not capable of understanding the core of society, i.e. everyday life" (Szombati, 2003). According to Schütz becoming familiar with everyday life and thinking – i.e. the lifeworld – is more important than the traditional macro-theories of sciences, farfetched from real life. Schütz has "created the research framework of the newborn social sciences: the world of everyday life." This is the very idea that motivates our present study: globalisation often manifests in a way that we are unaware of, a novel development/phenomenon is becoming a part of our life that has so far been present only in the outer world, and often in the distant and exotic world.

Globalisation manifests itself in many areas of our everyday life. Just think of the Chinese restaurant where we take away our dinner, the Argentine music we listen to, the American blog we read, the Korean film we watch, or the French and English supermarkets where we like to shop. These are changes that are hardly visible in the natural course of everyday life, unlike, for instance, the giant investments of the Korean tyre manufacturer, Hankook or any events in global politics. Nevertheless, their impact is deeper. Our life is not happening in the Management Board of Hankook or the UN Security Council but in the experiences of everyday life. This does not suggest by any means, however, that international economy and politics are not important. On the contrary, we deal with them too little rather than too much. But the everyday effects of global processes are hardly discussed and even if they are, the disagreeable subject of cultural homogenization often stigmatizes discourse.

both horizontally organised networks and the information nodes promoting national languages are strengthening considerably. Together with numerous other effects of globalisation, they are transforming our everyday life permanently and providing new dimensions through which to define our identity.

Public discourse is hardly about the fact that the transformation hallmarked by globalisation opens numerous doors in our everyday life, in the fields of culture and in the way we define identity. Cultural globalisation does not mean cultural imperialism lead by dominant groups but it means a mass of networks operated by individuals and communities of individuals. The peculiarity of cultural globalisation is that it is not a top-down process, planned from above and forced upon people, but significantly the result of a bottom-up initiation, started and organised on the level of individuals. Manuel Castells says that in information society, one of the most important fields of cultural globalisation, there are nodes in the global information network, but there is no centre (Castells: 2005). The initial predominant role of the USA is decreasing on the global level, despite the absolute expansion of its networks. Everywhere on the globe,

A basic suggestion of the present study is that Hungary must consciously prepare for globalisation. On the one hand this means that in the above mentioned macro-areas, the fields of economic competitiveness and foreign affairs, the government and the state has to establish policies on the basis of relevant strategic priorities which would relatively improve Hungary's situation. On the other hand, preparing also means that in the everyday dimensions of globalisation individuals have to possess a similarly conscious attitude towards the transforming lifeworld. In modern society individuals cannot be exempt from the responsibility to confront the changing world openly and to evaluate and grasp the opportunities it offers. In Anthony

Within the framework of the present project, from the various dimensions of globalisation we concentrate primarily on the aspects of mobility, both in the geographical sense of the word and with respect to the international intellectual and cultural processes.

Giddens's words, we have to learn to orientate in a "runaway world" (Giddens, 1999). This entails greater risk and more individual responsibility, but in return it opens up numerous useful opportunities. Preparing for globalisation is indeed the task of the society as a whole and aside from the essential role of politics and civil societies, it starts first and foremost with individuals.

The present study of DEMOS Hungary Foundation intends to fill in a gap in the public discourse on globalisation. To undertake such a role, we consider two main components. Primarily, the present study scrutinises the everyday, cultural and social aspects of globalisation, not using the generally dominant economic-commercial approach as a starting point. Secondly, we focus on the advantages and opportunities of globalisation, especially when it is the responsibility of individuals to seize them, and when the state cannot play more than an auxiliary role, due to its limited abilities.

Globalisation is undoubtedly one of the most commonplace terms in Hungary today. Those willing to participate in the discourse on globalisation have to be prepared to confront demagogy, violent emotions, massive ignorance and commonplace arguments. We are ready to face the possible nuisances of such a democratic dialogue, since in the long run it is always better to foster than to avoid debate. Furthermore, in order to realise an effective debate we find it important that the targeted topics of our study be clearly outlined. Therefore, we continue by defining the scope of the present study. The aim of the next chapter is to give a general picture of globalisa-

tion and its literature. It examines the ways in which contemporary global processes are novel and what phenomena have come to determine the globalisation of today. Then, Chapter 3 review intellectual and geographical mobility as global processes. We present the concept of the terms and analyse the tendencies characterising them worldwide. At the same time, relying on statistical indicators where appropriate, we touch upon the situation of Hungary analysing in which fields we are lagging behind and where our situation is already favourable.

Finally, the summary focuses on the fields where there is still room for improvement, and where our attitudes prevent us from consciously forming the process of globalisation and exploiting the opportunities effectively. We conclude by making suggestions as to what ways citizens, intellectuals and politics can contribute and help us form an active, not uncritical but still open attitude towards globalisation.

2. Globalisa-

tion in the modern age

2. GLOBALISATION IN THE MODERN AGE

In-depth studies on globalisation divide the analysts of globalisation into two groups: hyperglobalists and sceptics (Giddens, 1999; Held et al., 1999). According to the first group the world will become entirely global, the nation state and national cultures will slowly or even rapidly disappear, their role being taken over by the global cosmopolitan culture and/or government. According to sceptics the concept and process of globalisation is overvalued by the public discourse and the analysts. Both the nation state and the national cultures stand in the centre of major social processes and will continue to be their predominant determinants well into the future. Nations will join the global processes as much as they please, and shape "globalisation" consciously, in line with their own interest. Globalisation extends as far as nations allow it. Importantly, each

move towards globalisation is relatively easy to undo. It is notable to mention, the group of sceptics often declare that, essentially, the world is not more globalised than it used to be at the end of the 19th, beginning of the 20th century when the proportion of world trade to GDP was similar as it is today (to be discussed later). Note that the above standpoints do not suggest categorical opposition or support of globalisation. Both groups have members who would be happy to see a dynamic globalisation of the world and members who would have negative attitudes towards it.

Having thus defined two extreme standpoints, analysts of globalisation take a comfortable seat in the moderate centre. They claim that the world is globalising but not to such an extent that nations should disappear or cultural uniformity should manifest, as feared by many. In the present discourse we feel comfortable in the centre, too[2].

Globalisation is an existing phenomenon which is, in its present form, qualitatively different from any previous globalising process. At the same time, nation states play an important role in the shaping of globalisation, by means of, just to mention one example, determining the regulatory system of international trade. This combination – globalisation being an existing but influenceable process – further emphasises the necessity of determining our attitude towards globalisation consciously.

It must be clearly decided in what direction we want to affect the phenomenon and what role we assign to ourselves in the globalising world. Those countries that have successfully adapted to globalisation in terms of economy (e.g. the USA, UK, Ireland, South Korea, Singapore and Australia) and those who are successful in the global field both economically and socially (e.g. the Scandinavian countries) have all determined their politics consciously and consider globalisation as a strategic question.

To avoid globalisation being solely an external compulsion it is necessary to evaluate its meaning and determine how we want to benefit from it. It is not our intention to present our point of view on the process of globalisation and its moral questions. Instead, as highlighted above, our focus is the so far unknown opportunities globalisation entails, and how we can join the global processes on a day-to-day basis in order to benefit from them. We do not mean to dwell upon economic and commercial viewpoints primarily. The present study intends to touch upon fields of everyday life such as culture, travel, education and the Internet. Thus, we wish to demonstrate that the concept and process of globalisation encompasses fields where its presence has not yet become obvious. Before discussing these points, we briefly reflect on a significant polemics in connection with globalisation, whether it is indeed a new phenomenon or an old process returning and continuing by new means.

2 It has to be added here that the division into hyperglobalists and sceptics is an over generalized notion, because in reality only few analysts of globalisation adopt any of the two extreme standpoints. The spectrum between the two extremities is broad and the overwhelming majority of scientists and analysts is located somewhere on this spectrum. Besides globalisation as a positive process it also holds for its normative and value judgements.

Is globalisation a new phenomenon?

Fewer and fewer deny the novelty of the modern mechanism of globalisation compared to the globalisation processes of previous periods. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to recall these arguments and explain the fallacy of that approach. In fact, people have always tried to maintain contact with their close and distant neighbours by means of trade, for example. If the difficulties of living made it necessary, they moved from their birth place, temporarily or permanently. Different centres of knowledge have always attracted people longing to learn, ever since antiquity. People interested in sciences have often risen above the limitations of local life. Empires and great religious systems played an important role in the birth of religious, moral, legal or cultural communities linking distant communities thousands of years ago. The Roman Empire which was forged by

military force was a giant, partially integrated community and spread over wide regions. Christianity could also spread relying upon the framework of this empire and might be considered the first real global movement. The global ambition of Christianity was closely trailed by the Islamic desire to expand. Besides the well-known Silk Road linking the Mediterranean and Asia there were several other trading routes dating from antiquity and the Middle Ages. The analysis of this ancient interconnectedness, e.g. the expansion of empires and world religions, discoveries, colonisations and trading networks has helped Held and his colleagues identify several periods of globalisation in their book *Global Transformations*, one of the most comprehensive works on globalisation. The period they call contemporary is simply the newest – although also according to the authors it is radically different than all the previous ones. (Held et al, 1999).

Those who deny the special character of the contemporary globalisation, like to refer to the "modern period", named so by Held and col-

leagues. According to some, it started around 1850, to others, in 1871 with the end of the wars unifying Germany and the beginning of a long peaceful period in Europe and ended with the two World Wars. The acclaimed British historian, Niall Ferguson says the following about this period: "The last age of globalisation resembled the current one in numerous ways. It was characterized by relatively free trade, limited restrictions on migration, and hardly any regulation of capital flow. Inflation was low. A wave of technological innovation was revolutionizing the communications and energy sectors; the world first discovered the joys of the telephone, the radio, the internal combustion engine, and paved roads. The U.S. economy was the biggest in the world, and the development of its massive internal market had become the principal source of business innovation. China was opening up, raising all kinds of expectations in the West, and Russia was growing rapidly" (Ferguson, 2005). Similarities are indeed numerous and it can be also added that at that time American immigration was practically unlimited. Today the USA, formerly the biggest host country, similarly to several other countries introduced more restrictive immigration policies (Negus-Velázquez, 2000). Therefore in the field of migration – in a sim-

plistic interpretation – the degree of globalisation has relatively decreased.

As is evident from this rough overview, the historical processes of globalisation share a number of features that characterise globalisation today. Nevertheless, differences are fundamental. For one thing, in several dimensions new globalising channels have opened up which have not operated before. Secondly, we can affirm that the new range of instruments of globalisation resulted in a significant quantitative growth compared to the previous forms of globalisation and as in many other fields, after a while, larger quantities have brought about changes and developments which implied qualitative differences as well.

The proportion of world trade to GDP in itself does not seem to be determining. However, if we peep in an average household in Budapest

today, we face such material globalisation that would astonish anyone who lived at the beginning of the previous century. Although the label "made in" was not in fashion at that time, if we compared the number of goods and verify how many of them have come from abroad in an average household now and then, it would turn out that statistics on trade before 1914 are quite deceiving. Today we encouter many more foreign goods, products and services on an everyday basis.

What's more, markets became indeed global. Thanks to the modern communication technologies and especially to the World Wide Web as such, international financial markets operate 24 hours a day, territorial limits have ceased to exist and participation is no longer localised. During the night one can take part in a financial transaction on the other side of the world and from any point of the world it is possible to move capital between any other two points of the world. Markets, just as the world in general, are radically transformed as the relevance of distances disappears. "Due to the new information technologies, geographical distances and the time needed to bridge distances shrink. This phenomenon is called space-time compression by David Harvey. In 1872, the hero of Jules Verne's novel, Phileas Fogg could have wagered with mad audacity only that he circumnavigates the world in 80 days. Today, it is possible within a single day on board of a passenger airplane. The possibilities of marketing on a foreign stock exchange, booking airplane tickets on-line, or sending e-mails all seem to justify the theory of 'space-time compression' " (Dessewffy, 2004: 24-25). The peculiarity of the present economic processes and at the same time one of the main signs of globalisation is that capital moves not only from the West to the East and South but in the reverse directions as well. After the extensive buying-in of Japan in the 80s, now it is the companies of India and China, members of the developing countries, who have started buying up the West. For example, the Chinese Lenovo took over the production of laptops from IBM, and the Indian Tata Steel bought one of the biggest European steelmaker companies, the English-Dutch Corus Group.

However, it is also misleading if we compare the present and the previous periods of globalisation based solely on trade or economic data. A fundamental difference is that globalisation today influences numerous other fields of our everyday life. Let us consider the most obvious ones first. International organisations establish institutional framework for the relationships between countries. The international legislation system endeavours, however weakly, to map the regulation of national legal systems on a global level. The UN is clearly not a global government but it is indisputably, despite all of its shortcomings, a much more effective coordinator of international cases than its predecessor, the League of Nations. International courts, especially the new-founded International Criminal Court (ICC) deal with international litigation more systematically than ever before. As far as ICC is concerned, it even interferes with the local law enforcement's sovereignty of the countries in question. Both the European Court of Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights strengthen international law enforcement. The international institutions increas-

ingly regulate the cooperation and relationship between countries, although for the time being, this process is extensive in few fields only, e.g. in trade and human rights. At the same time, international law is becoming increasingly intricate. Due to the further development of free trade, global regulation in some fields, for example environmental protection, energy and transport can reach a similarly detailed level as national regulations. This would not mean the birth of a global state, which we are far from experiencing. Nevertheless, although any violation of international law receives wider attention than conforming to the rules, the latter is, in general, much more typical for the international community. When Iran ignores the UN SC resolutions or the USA the decisions of the WTO in a trade debate, these incidents, due to media attention, make the impression that international law is feeble. On the contrary, in reality "nations follow ninety-nine percent of international law ninety-nine percent of the time" as a researcher of international relations put it polemically. According to many authors, international law provides firm standards (Price-Tannenwald, 1996; Wendt, 1992).

Institutions built on regional cooperation like the European Union, the Mercosur in South America and the Asean in Asia play a significant role in representing international law. Such institutions are simultaneously responses to globalisation and its guardians. The institutions play these roles to different extents, but they have made significant progress in creating cross-frontier policies. These are compulsory for each member state, and provide equal regulation beyond the nation state, the traditional setting for politics. The European Union, for a significant example, affects increasingly specific fields of politics. Diverging from its original aim, i.e. creating a single market, the Union expands its influence and introduces common policies on traditionally national fields such as the juridical system, security and foreign affairs.

On the other side of public life, as a reaction to interstate cooperation and the global activity of multinational companies, civil societies more frequently coordinate their activities on an international level. If decision making rises from national to international level then interest groups have to move part of their lobby-

activities to this level, too: "[C]ivil society has sought to achieve its aims by networking with political officials in governments and international organisations. Relationships with the UN provided NGOs with a stage for voicing their concerns and a primary point of access to the international political process in the form of international negotiations orchestrated by intergovernmental organisation." (Price, 1998: 623-624). Parallel demonstrations of millions against war in Iraq illustrate well the power of international organisation. They also show that people consider the problems to be global rather than local. It is interesting that anti-globalisation protests and organisations utilise the instruments of globalisation and are difficult to regard as anything other than global movements. Some, like the followers of the Hungarian, so-called "alter-glob" movement, do not define themselves as anti-globalisers but as members of a movement fighting for a different, better globalisation.

An example of global civil cooperation that has often been quoted is the successful campaign to ban landmines, initiated among others by the Human Rights Watch. This multina-

tional, non-governmental organisation has achieved the international ban of the weapon and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997. The campaign for global civil cooperation naturally has its historic origins in the first period of globalisation. A civil organisation, similar to the anti-landmine campaign led by the charismatic Judy Williams, was already created in the 19th century, which launched an effective campaign against the brutal exploitation of Congo by Belgium and activated the intelligentsia of several Western countries (see for example the awareness-raising book of Adam Hochschild, Hochschild 1998). Differences are, however, more apparent than the alleged similarities. The campaign remained a primarily British initiative and has never become global in the way that civil co-operations do today. At that time organising, distributing detailed information and involving supporters lasted for years. Today, all of them are literally done in just one click. Finally, it is a very important difference that while an international campaign, organised against the horrors committed in the name of King Leopold of Belgium, was a curiosity at the end of the 19th

and beginning of the 20th century, today the cooperation of complex networks of civil organisations is an intrinsic characteristic of civil society (Keck-Sikkink, 1998).

Along such networks, i.e. as a result of economic, governmental and civil cooperation, social classes are evolving that can now be called global. By global class we mean social groups that possess similar value systems, opinions and a certain feeling of belonging or sense of identity, regardless of their nationality. The most well-known of such classes is the group of international experts and managers representing multinational companies world-wide. These "global mercenaries" change workplace yearly or even more often, expand their knowledge on different professional fields and feel at ease in many parts of the world. Parallel to this class there is another class of international experts, which is meant to promote the global concentrations of governmental institutions. This group consists of executive and administrative technocrats, the representatives of several inter-governmental organisations (IMF, World Bank, NATO, etc.), including smaller, specialized organisations like international criminals courts as well (Sassen, 2006; Bauman, 2002). These are the unambiguous, easily identifiable

global classes, since their profession and way of life implies joint experience and common beliefs. Peter L. Berger refers to Samuel Huntington's "Davos Culture" and describes these groups and their cultural appearance in his essay *Four faces of global culture* as follows: "This culture is globalised as a direct accompaniment of global economic processes. Its carrier is international business. It has obvious behavioural aspects that are directly functional in economic terms, behaviour dictated by the accoutrements of contemporary business. Participants in this culture know how to deal with computers, cellular phones, airline schedules, currency exchange, and the like. But they also dress alike, exhibit the same amicable informality, relieve tensions through similar attempts at humour, and of course most of them interact in English. Since most of these cultural traits are of Western (and mostly American) provenance, individuals coming from different backgrounds must go through a process of socialization that will allow them to engage in this behaviour with seemingly effortless spontaneity. (Berger, 1997: 24).

Besides the above mentioned group of global "mercenaries" cooperation is also strengthening among those who do not live cosmopolitan lives, nor does their work have any international aspects but whose fight against certain social problems forge them into an international community. They form the backbone of the international civil cooperation (Sassen, 2006). Hence "global identity" is not the privilege of the executives of multinationals only but it is a phenomenon that encompasses an increasing spectrum of social groups. Global identity reflects not only the values of technocrats and groups promoting free trade. The attitudes of politically conscious groups who reflect on the values of the previous groups can be considered a form of global identity as well. In his cultural-anthropological study Berger observes the formation of an international "faculty club" that intends to export and universalize the values of Western intellectuals. Their occasionally market-critical views often lead to confrontations with their Davos culture counterparts thus making domestic ideological conflicts international (Berger cites the American anti-smoking movement as a case in point).

3 Thus named by Huntington, after the participants of the annual meetings of the World Economic Forum (WEF) hosted by the Swiss town, Davos.

Media and communication are further fields where traditionally national structures take international forms. The intensifying commercial relations of the 19th century necessitated the establishment of news agencies. Havas (the predecessor of the present Agence France Presse) was founded in the first half of the century. The British and German counterparts, Reuters and Wolff, were established by ex-employees of Havas. At the beginning of the 20th century they were joined by two other agencies, still dominant today, the American Associated Press (AP) and the United Press International (Thompson, 1995: 154-157). With the help of telegraph, telephone and telex they brought closer and closer many parts of the world. The new instruments of the 20th century, especially television, mobile technologies and the Internet transformed global media even more radically. In other words, national news media gave way to the rise of global news and media empires. This does not refer to ownership exclusively. Only because Time Warner (CNN, Warner Bros. HBO, etc.), or News Corporation (Fox News, Twentieth Century Fox, etc.) rule international media and television empires, they are not automatically global. What really makes them global is that the content their channels broadcast attracts an international audience. When CNN was founded in 1980, it built its business model on the foundation that there was a demand for international newscasting. The establishment of such a network has since proved to be an accurate recognition of the opportunities provided by globalisation. The model has been copied several times. The foundation of the Arabic equivalent of CNN, Al-Jazeera (even if it is seen as propaganda by many) indicates that more and more, greatly isolated regions are joining the processes of globalisation on many new levels.

The above considered fields, politics, economy and trade belong to the most traditional segments of globalisation, even if within their scope we looked at new developments. For example, this arises when discussing strengthening civil cooperation. However, the most interesting areas from the point of view of the present study are those where from day to day, ordinary people encounter the opportunities offered by globalisation.

Another effect of globalisation is the strengthening of cultural consumerism. On the one hand this refers to everything that might be called everyday culture: television programmes, feature films and bestsellers. But for those who keep their distance from the McCulture it can be highlighted that globalisation is not simply about the spread of Dallas, the Disneyworld and the culinary supply of the McDonald's. It is an element of globalisation that exhibitions of the world's greatest museums can be visited on the Internet (which also contains an unbelievable mass of cultural and scientific information). Another aspect is that while in the first periods of globalisation it was only the privilege of the rich to travel, now many young people are able to study abroad and visit foreign countries. Today travel has become available for the middle class, hence for a very significant part of the population. Also in Hungary, the scale of opportunities offered by the international cuisine beyond the McDonald's chain is widening.

The world of sports is globalising, too. Supporting a local club and cheering at its games is no longer exclusively the tradition of patriots (Rowe, 2003). FC Barcelona and Real Madrid fans or supporters of Manchester United and Juventus FC in Turin can now be found all over the world. Numerous sports events lose their local characteristics and become international via television. Those, which have always been international, cease to be abstract global events and become palpable, concrete experiences thanks to television broadcasting: "The modern Olympic Games are, via media, the most widely shared regular event in human history…No other event in human history can claim the two billion or more live viewers who tune in to the Olympics or the 'Copa Mundial del Futbol' … For the first time, we can speak of a truly global ritual." (Michael Real, 1989: 222-223).

Undoubtedly, aside from all their advantages, certain features of the global changes can be considered negative. In connection with the globalisation of sports through the media, David Rowe draws our attention to the dangers of commercialization. Herbert Schiller, a prominent, radical critic of globalisation sees the commercial advertisements

on the uniforms of athletes as "a concerted assault of corporate marketing values on global consciousness" (Schiller, 1991: 24). Schiller in agreement with several other analysts has fought against American cultural imperialism for decades. According to him, what we call globalisation is practically no more than the American media and economy becoming international. Schiller also rejects the idea that a globalising culture could be a mixture consisting of many components and integrating different cultural effects. Brazilian soap operas for example, which are very popular in certain parts of the world unlike the American ones, are simply creolized versions of the American originals in his opinion.

The danger that the numerous diverse local cultures might be taken over by a single uniform and global culture and that the USA could play a hegemonic role in international relationships, troubles many people. In most aspects of globalisation, however, such worry seems exaggerated. According to Anthony Giddens, "globalisation is

becoming increasingly decentralized – not under the control of any group of nations and still less of the large corporations" (Giddens, 1999: 16). This is underpinned by the theory of Manuel Castells, discussed in more detail later. An international system dominantly built on networks, he says, precludes the existence and the possibility of the existence of any hegemonic role.

The opportunities of the USA, the single super power today, are limited both diplomatically and militarily. This has been proved, among other events, by the war on Iraq. The economic position of the USA is fading relatively as the rise of the two Asian giants, China and India continuously decrease the influence of the USA in the international economy (see among others Economists, 12/06/2007). It is symptomatic in this respect and somewhat frightening too that China has overtaken the United States as the world's largest emitter of carbon dioxide according to an article published in the *Guardian* on 20 June 2007. Not only the economic dominance of the USA is decreasing, but also weakening is the cultural hegemony. The revival of cultures is an evident world-wide process from

Catalonia, Wales, and Scotland to Quebec and Kurdistan, just to mention a few frequently quoted examples. According to certain analysts the project of globalisation has not only failed but we are witnessing the return of tribes. Old traditions are so strong in Africa, for example, that any "globalizer", let it be Muslim or Christian missionary or ultra-rational charity worker, they will strike serious barriers in their work. The power of local culture and local traditions is stronger than that of the newly offered universalist values: "When Global Man goes home, the shaman returns" (Peters, 2006). Finally, it is an important and evident supposition that in practice, peoples' lives take place in a local context, however strong the global influences may be (Wolf, 2004: 16). Apart from a very narrow, truly cosmopolitan group, we live in physically very limited spaces, which plays central role in the mediation of values and culture.

Herbert Schiller's critique on television is well-known, namely that by its very nature it is incapable of interactivity and transmits culture unilaterally. At the same time, his insight is less valid regarding the Internet, the new instrument shaping global culture. Internet is undoubtedly interactive and opens up opportunities for users to share their own culture, opinion and ideology. An extreme case in point here is the Islamic terrorist organisations' skilful Internet use, but online communities provide numerous positive examples as well for the meeting, the constructive clash and the mixing of cultures and opinions. Television is less and less exclusively "Western". Still, the Internet continues to be mostly available for the users in industrialized countries (digital equity will be referred to later on). But this is changing rapidly, and statistics clearly show that the World Wide Web is becoming world-wide indeed. This is, among other factors, due to the recognition that integrating into global processes, and maintaining economic and intellectual competitiveness is unimaginable in the medium term without connecting to the Internet. Therefore, the international develop-

ment and charity organisations regard it their crucial task to disseminate cheap PCs and mobile technologies in developing countries. Although from a very low base, growth is impressive in Africa and very dynamic in Asia and Latin America where the starting point is more favourable (Internet World Stats). The situation with mobile phones is similar: while the proportion of land lines grows very slowly in Africa, mobile phones have reached nearly 10% penetration within 10 years, increasing continuously (International Telecommunication Union). What it definitively implies is that Internet and mobile technologies strengthen the heterogeneity of international cultures and not the hegemony of the USA.

Local cultures will not vanish and nation state is not dead yet either. Quite the contrary, states are indispensable in the successful economic participation in the globalisation processes (Wolf, 2004: 276-277) as well as in the solutions of local problems and for the strengthening of the social and cooperative community. Martin Wolf, a committed supporter of free trade notes that the winner states of the global economy are far from being weak. Weak states, especially those who are on the verge of collapse do not attract capital but frighten it away. A state is demanded primarily as the guarantee of security and rule of law which are essential in commercial life. Nevertheless, experience shows that those who think that the state's "night watchman" role, i.e. the laissez-faire system is the most successful in the global competition are wrong. States investing in knowledge and social security can be very successful in the global economy as indicated by the achievements of the Scandinavian countries. Furthermore, nation states that painstakingly define long-term investments and priorities and lay emphasis on equity and social security thus involving more people and talent into global competition will consequently be more successful.

Globalisation ante portas

In the contemporary period of globalisation numerous processes take place at a much higher speed than ever before. Several phenomena that used to be the privilege of the elite become available for wider groups of society, in more and more countries of the world. Globalisation is a significantly quicker and more widespread transformation than any similar historic processes. The upper class-led international relationships give place to a world that is globalised on every level. Both the speed and the scope of the phenomenon demands rapid adaptation and that an ever growing part of the population gain access to the instruments of globalisation.

It can not be claimed, however, that globalisation is an irreversible process. For among other reasons, the fact that the nation state still plays a big role in maintaining international relations also means that at the same time it significantly withholds the progress of globalisation. Unilaterally it cannot be judged but if more key countries of the global economic processes withdrew from these for a reason, then it would have an effect on the whole. Some analysts say that globalisation has already stuck and slowed down partially in connection with the collapse of the WTO Doha Round (Abdelal-Segal, 2007: 104). Others warn referring to the experiences of the past that the globalisation process is vulnerable and fragile

4 According to the theory of Polányi, the excessive growth of the market and the dominance of free trade generated authoritarian expansion between the two world wars, because societies based on liberal economies had neglected the social elements of development. The growth of social tension predictably created counteraction. One movement is therefore the economic liberalism and the resulted growing social tensions and the other one is the appearance of social actions and measures that balance the first.

lations are issued and framework agreements and global political solutions are worked out. Direct influence is realised through international civil societies whose membership is generally open to anyone interested in participating in the work of the given organisation. Indirect influence is facilitated by the public discourse – thus hopefully with the help of the present study – the media, and conviction or political pressure placed on local decision makers. The extent to which these processes be can transformed is largely determined by our attitude towards globalisation, our willingness to take part and our actual participation in the global processes.
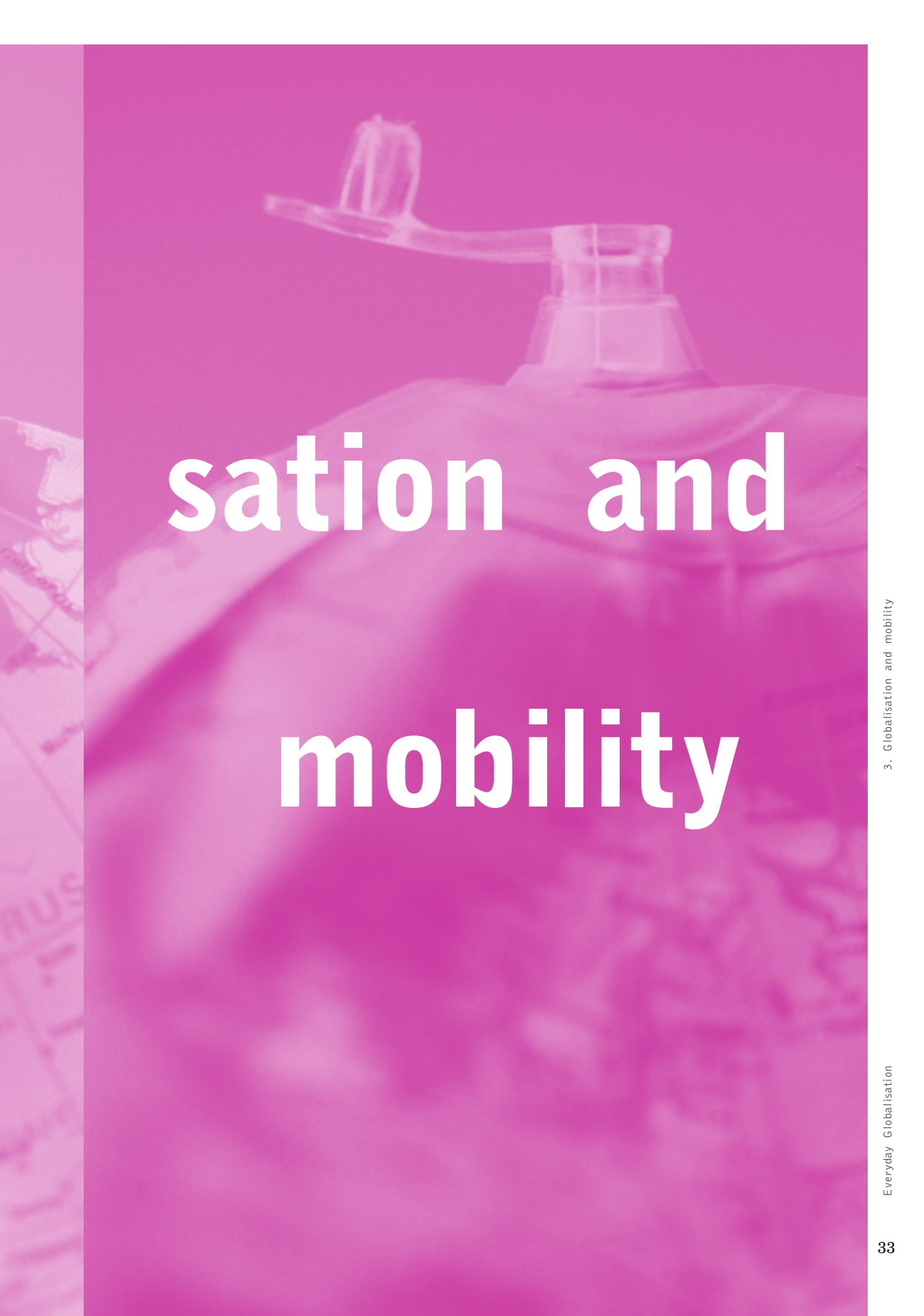
(Ferguson, 2005). It cannot be ruled out that, like the first wave of modern globalisation, the excess freedom of capital and the assumed or real extent of inequalities will again provoke a "double movement"[3], identified by Károly Polányi and result in social seclusion and possibly, conflict (Polányi, 2004). It is another question whether the peaceful or the conflict version is desirable, if any.

Instead of deeming globalisation dead too early or mourning over the negative effects it is more useful to get prepared and seize the opportunities globalisation offers and transform them so that it better matches our sense of equity. In the form of civil and academic cooperation, globalisation networks have prospects to indirectly or even directly influence the decision making forums where international economic, environmental protection and safety policy regu-

3. Globali-

sation and

mobility

3. GLOBALISATION AND MOBILITY

3.1 Trapped by negative attitudes

Do Hungarians speak or think of globalisation at all? It is an undeniable fact that the different media do not burst with debates on the question nor are the streets loud with the word globalisation. And even if some do reflect upon the issue, everybody can easily have their own different interpretation on the complex concept. It is clear that we do not all mean the same by the word "globalisation" and we definitely cannot expect that people's mental map contains all aspects of globalisation. It is therefore absolutely essential what processes we associate with this fashionable term and consequently what kinds of attitudes we adopt towards them.

The Hungarian interpretation of the main processes in the world depends on the following question: does fear rule public opinion or do we attempt to strike balance based on facts and therefore reach conclusions that describe the complexity of the world supposedly more gen-

uinely. It is not a novelty for those who follow the present Hungarian public discourse that for the time being, the first scenario is prevalent. Loyal to the most beautiful traditions of the Hungarian culture of complaining, only the negative effects of the changes and their malicious spread in Hungary are talked about.

The defensive and complaining attitude – even if well-founded – does not facilitate the recognition and exploitation of the advantages that globalisation opens up in everyday life. The main results of globalisation manifest in our everyday life, the "lifeworld", therefore individuals have to become aware of their own responsibility. In order to prevent negative attitudes from becoming self-fulfilling prophesies, everybody has to recognize the effects of globalisation in their own life and find the opportunities by which they can improve it themselves.

world and a narrow elite among the countries in question, while at the same time, masses of others struggle for existence.

One of the most frequent of the moaning opinions in the Hungarian public discourse is the vanishing of our own culture and the fear from the phantom of a uniform world. One factor in the growth of such panic could be the dumping of Anglo-Saxon cultural products in the Hungarian market throughout the last decade. In most of the cases, concerns are apparently caused by other changes in the immediate environment such as the appearance of multinational companies.

Globalisation is identified world-wide with multinational companies such as McDonald's or Coca Cola. No wonder that also for many in Hungary the main direction of the world's development is represented by fast food chains and giant shopping centres. The unequal fight between recently arrived big companies and small businesses struggling for their survival turns our attention towards another inbred stereotype according to which the money is omnipotent in our age and the strong always defeats the weak. Many say that this is the real face of globalisation, the world of winners and losers: it fattens the developed

Criticism in Hungary – and nearly everywhere else in the world – centres on the ruthless moneymaking of global capitalism that totally disregards any spiritual aspects of human life. The new world proclaims the glory of materialism and cannot cope with values beyond, such as love, selflessness, belief and devotion and therefore it disrespects them.

According to other opinions, globalisation can be condemned primarily for the acceleration of the rhythm of life. In the giant pool of information and in the world of opening opportunities many have the impression that the urge to keep up the pace, learn continuously and do well at work leads to the deterioration of human relationships. It is apparent to those critics that time is lost in the endless pursuit of these ambitions. According to this reasoning the curses of the new world are the lack of time and the

general feeling that "everybody is running and we do not talk anymore".

The above opinions prove that Hungary is in line with the international trend. As far as globalisation is concerned, the not-too-dynamic public discourse as well as the economic dimensions are dominated by macro-level factors. Therefore it is rather predictable that globalisation on the whole has been fixed as a series of negative processes in people's mind. This incomplete picture needs to be developed. It does not seem to be an impossible task, however, because in Hungary – similarly to most parts of Europe – we perceive several tendencies that can improve the quality of our life. This is exactly what stands in the focus of the present study. Namely, it intends to draw attention to the everyday opportunities of globalisation. The unprecedented abundance of goods, the chances offered by geographical mobility and the Internet-related changes in everyday life are now tangible phenomena for the bulk of society. However, according

to the standpoint of DEMOS Hungary Foundation, we are not sufficiently aware of these opportunities.

As far as the abundance of goods is concerned, there is no longer need for such shopping tours as those at the end of the 80s, referred to as "Gorenje tourism". Practically any consumer goods can now be purchased in Hungary. The development is evident, in terms of supply Hungary has never been so close to the developed Western countries. At the same time, it is less mentioned that the fiercely criticised multinationals have largely contributed to such abundance of goods.

Similarly, the sharp rise in the opportunities to travel and to work abroad is an unfairly neglected issue. Still, the question remains; is there any willingness to live with them? Definitely, when it comes to one or two week long trips, evidence shows that those experiences are frequently indulged. On the other hand, it is common that people would not work abroad even if they earned much more. It is understandable, when people argue against labour mobility saying that "this is

where I grew up, this is where my family is". Still, this attitude of seclusion prevents individuals, often permanently, from the opportunity of attaining professional expertise, language knowledge and often financial progress with the help of a one or two year job abroad.

Another important component is the Internet whose appreciation is undivided among its users. Unfortunately they are the minority. Hungary is among the lower third of European countries with respect to the proportion of regular Internet users. The problem here is also the negative attitude. A significant majority of non-users have no financial reasons but they do not utilize the internet because of cognitive barriers (they are not interested in the Internet, they do not know what it is good for). It is in this way that they remain distant from the global flow of information (Dessewffy-Rét, 2004).

We are convinced that the awareness of facts, trends, and information on broadening opportunities can eliminate numerous earlier stereotypes and attitudes that are deeply rooted in the Hungarian society. We believe that the analysis and discus-

sion of the above described new phenomena that emerge in everyday life can help us overcome our reflexive negative approach. The following pages, therefore, provide an overview on the global and domestic changes that contribute to the transformation of the lifeworld. Several data illustrate the main tendencies of geographical and intellectual mobility and serve as a basis for the analysis to what extent Hungary has become part of these processes.

3.2 Intellectual mobility

Globalisation has no other aspect that provokes such emotions as cultural globalisation. General knowledge about the term usually stops with the Americanization of the world and that global consumer goods are spreading explosively, endangering our own culture. We believe, however, that cultural globalisation entails much more than that. As the most fundamental process of our age it is in fact nothing else but intellectual mobility. It affects an ever growing group of people and anyone is able to take advantage of it.

Cultures of different nations have always influenced each other and the concept of cultural globalisation could be applied to any historical

age. However, the term is mainly used to describe the processes that have run from the beginning of the 20th century and are still carrying on today. This has evolved particularly because the accelerated cultural globalisation of our age is a qualitatively different period in history. Due to the emergence of new technologies, instruments of telecommunication and international media companies the global circulation of information has dramatically accelerated, become varied and is spreading in an unprecedented manner.

Contrary to the opinion of those opposing cultural globalisation, we argue that this process indeed has a possible interpretation that presenting the advantages and the tangible results verifies the opportunities opening up for society. In our understanding, information that becomes freely accessible and derives from wide sources, together with the rapid spread of new scientific and cultural achievements promotes mobility. We can only have doubt as

far as our own capability is concerned in taking these opportunities. It is important to emphasise once more that the role of individuals becomes crucial in this matter. We ourselves are responsible for the exploitation of the free access to information and the global cultural exchanges. We must be proficient in using the knowledge conveyed by new technologies in order to achieve our own goals.

Digital revolution
Cultural globalisation can not be interpreted without the concept of digital revolution. It involves the continuous development of information technology and the means of telecommunication as well as the parallel decrease in their price. As a result of these factors, within a few years the development of information and communication technology has completely transformed the economy, culture and mass communication of the whole world.

It is not being questioned anymore that one, if not the most, important catalyst of the digital revolution is the Internet. Besides making freely accessible a previously unimaginable wealth of information, this network allows everybody to study using enormous resources and establish contact with almost anyone disregarding geographical distance.

Thanks to this electronic global communication, people with completely different cultural backgrounds are able to communicate in a common virtual space.

The spread of digital technologies and the Internet as well as the expansion of the users' circle continues to be a very rapid process. While at the beginning of the 90s less than three million people used the Internet world-wide, today an estimated 900 million users surf the web. According to certain suggestions it is utterly unnecessary to quote numbers because the Internet is spreading at such a speed that only proportions can be ascertained, precise data become irrelevant within less than a few months. The most probable calculations testify that the number of PCs connected to the Internet increases by an average of 10-15% every month.

And this comes as no surprise: the options available on the Internet are expanding at an unbelievable speed. Less than one and a half decades ago only universities and some public institutions with a very modern approach owned a homepage. Today, many services are available on the Internet. Books, theatre and cinema tickets, but also cars and holidays can easily be found and purchased. Thanks to the size of the virtual

market it is especially favourable that prices are easily comparable, better offers are simpler to find and even rare products are often available that are otherwise difficult to buy. While earlier the owner of a rare good could not really find a potential buyer who lived far away, now Internet provides the means for both of them.

In the European Union every second person (54 per cent of the population) uses the Internet while in Eastern Europe only 27 per cent accesses it and their majority uses it only at their workplace. This ratio is relatively low compared to the average of the EU, and especially humble if we consider that in the United States of America 77% of the population is Internet savvy (Bognár-Galácz, 2004). In Hungary 36% of people above 14 years use the Internet which falls short of the European average and the growth rate is slow, around 4% annually. Significant differences persist in the

proportion of users within different demographic groups which indicates that the digital gap is large. For example, nearly 90% of the 14-17 year olds use the Internet, but this ratio is only 38% among the 40-49 year olds and 4% among those who are older than 60 years. Similarly, big differences exist with respect to education level and the degree of urbanisation of residence. Household Internet access is also worse than the European average.

In 2006 21% of Hungarian house-holds had an Internet connection. It is promising, however, that broad-band access shows growing tenden-cy: in 2003 only 30% of all connec-tions were of this kind, whereas in 2006 75% of households with access used broadband connection.

Figure 1 – Spread of home PCs and the Internet in Hungary: proportion of households with access (1992-2006) (%)

For years, the most frequent Internet activity in Hungary has been the use of e-mail (84 per cent) but searching for information is sim-ilarly popular. Furthermore, two thirds of the Internet users play games regularly and almost 50% use the web for online communication. The majority of people who read

homepages in a foreign language (40% of users) visit English sites dominantly. German sites are visit-ed only by significantly less people, about a third of those who browse English sites.

Figure 2 – Distribution of selected online activities among Internet users (proportion of those who use the given activities with a certain frequency), 2006 (%)

Activity	Value
Sending E-mail	84
Finding information - work or study	80
Finding product information	77
Finding personal information	73
Entertainment, playing games	65
Chatting, instant messaging, forums	50
Finding health care information	42
Looking for job	36
Banking	19
IP phoning	15
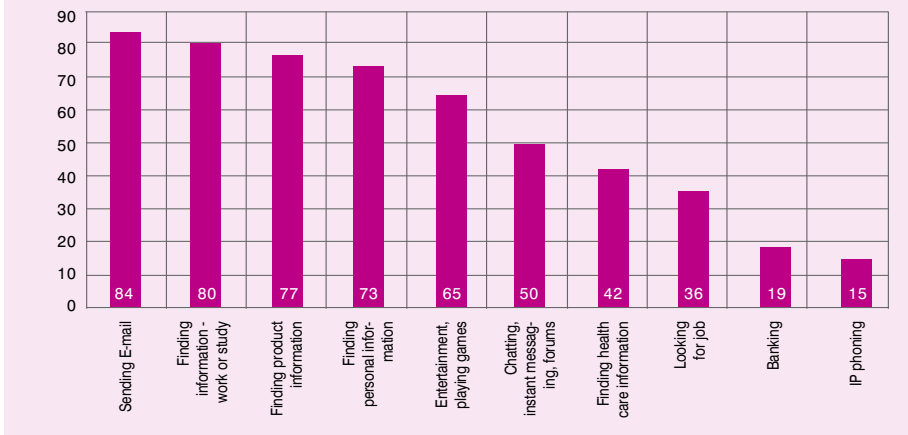
S O U R C E :   Hungarian society and the Internet. World Internet Project (WIP) 2006 interim report

In conclusion, the above data shows that Hungary is significantly lagging behind even its immediate neighbours in terms of distribution of the Internet. At the same time, the digital revolution is undeniably present in our everyday life. Considering the fact that indicators are much more favourable among the youth, it is reasonable to assume that with time, Hungary and its citizens will be able to take advantage of the opportunities of globalisation and its most effective transmitter, the Internet.

Global networks and global language

Contrary to the critical assumptions, cultural globalisation is not a cultural attack organised by a few world-wide companies with the intention to homogenise the taste and opinion of people in order to exercise power over them. It is in fact an array of horizontal networks operated by individuals and their own communities. Centralized information centres gave place to freely accessible networks. See for example the user-edited Wikipedia that is indeed reliable and has more up-to-date information than any other encyclopaedia in the world. Such networks have ultimately ruled out the possibilities of controlling the information flow. Therefore the criticism does not hold at all that cultural globalisation is nothing but a process forced on us from above. Although nodes exist in these global information networks (Castells, 2005), there is neither a centre nor a hierarchy. Networks cannot be controlled, that

is, according to Castells, a network is the only system that is able to grow in undetermined directions and learn without control. Everything else poses topological barriers in front of the possible proceedings. A network barely contains edges or borders,: it is open, no matter where it is approached from. It can be stated that a network is the least structural among all organisations that are structured at all. This multitude of diverging components can only stay coherent within the framework of a network. No other arrangements – chain, pyramid, tree, circle, spoke – are able to operate real diversity in unity (cited by Dessewffy, 2004: 32).

New technologies and telecommunication channels greatly facilitated the development of global communication, but there is another shared instrument that assisted the process. In the intercultural exchange of information the real explosion was created by a common language. Today, this is the English language, the *lingua franca* of cultural globalisation (Held et al, 1999). This is the language in which we use many services on the World Wide Web and what we use in most of the cases when communicating with other participants of global society. According to surveys, 80% of stored electronic data is in English. The dominance of English has increased especially in scientific life. Studies that are not written in English or have not been translated after publication are not linked to the scientific mainstream and thus are in fact condemned to death. The dominance of the English language is also reflected by the fact that books written in French, German, Japanese, Dutch, Spanish and Swedish are translated into English in the biggest number since this is the language in which most people understand them (Held et al, 1999). Global network contacts are realised with the help of English, but it is not to be feared that due to the dominance of the English language, Internet communications in national languages would disappear.

In crucial areas, such as the international scientific cooperation and diplomacy, the dominance of English language is a noteworthy phenomenon. In this arena it has significantly promoted the scope

and effectiveness of international cooperation. Nevertheless, the growth of English in these fields does not contradict the support of the Internet in the strengthening of local cultures as well. The Internet, just like the book in its own time, is the cultural medium of our age that can afford new opportunities and forums for the spread and strengthening of national ideas (Anderson, 1983). English replaces by no means the role of national languages nor does it substitute them. Nevertheless, it is very practical that a universal language exists by which we all understand each other regardless our mother tongue. The spread of the Internet indicates that this process confirms the preservation of national cultures and strengthens, rather than damages, cultural identity. This is underpinned by the growing number of Internet services that are now available in different national languages and the development of virtual societies of forums that are designed for individual users, like iwiw. During the years 1999 and 2000 two languages have spread the most on the European web, Catalan and Dutch. English is still the prevailing language but its proportion in all the web pages is decreasing (Castells-Ince, 2003).

Hungary, with respect to foreign language use is rather backwards. According to the latest survey of the Economist Intelligence Unit, among the countries of the European Union it is Hungary where the least people speak foreign languages. In the Census 2001 only 20% of the population claimed that they spoke at least one language besides their mother tongue. Before the political transition, in the 60s the proportion of people speaking English was negligible and even in the 80s only half as many people spoke English than German. By 2001 not only has the proportion of both English and German speakers rapidly increased but they have nearly levelled off. Interestingly, the number of Russian speakers has also increased in spite of the fact that it is no longer a compulsory subject at school.
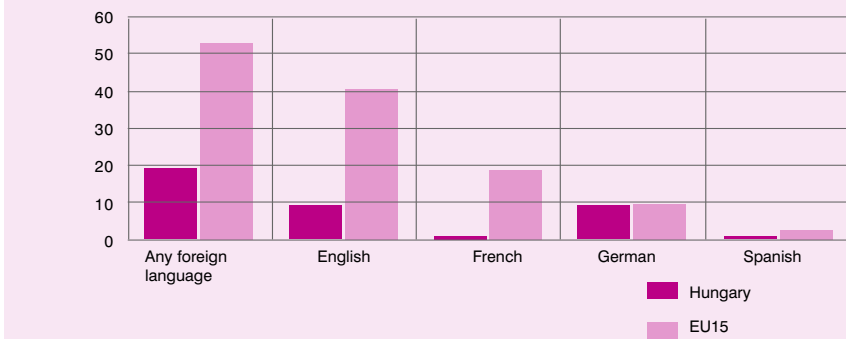
Hungary
EU15

Figure 4: Foreign language knowledge by languages (%!)
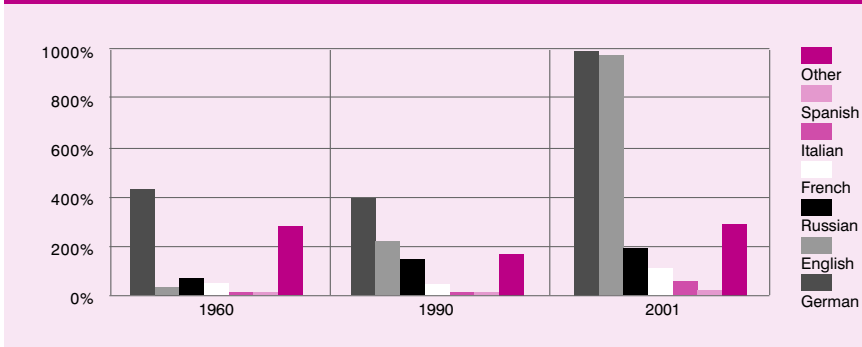
Other
Spanish
Italian
French
Russian
English
German

This indicates positive progress and that as a result of education reforms, the choice of foreign languages is wider and language learning is compulsory already in the elementary education. Furthermore, in contrast with the period of seclusion before the 90s, a great part of the population has realised again the value of speaking foreign languages.

Effect of globalisation on cultural supply and identity

Our most immediate encounter with globalisation is probably the enormous change in our culture. A great number of examples illustrate that cultural production and consumption have developed into a global system. For instance, the day after the American premier of a Bruce Willis film, its pirate copy is available on the markets of Shanghai, the skilled can download it from the

Internet immediately, and in two weeks time we can all see it in a cinema in Budapest. What is new about globalisation is not that internationally distributed cultural products reach us, since we have always been watching American films, but the new novelty of globalisation is the simultaneousness. Via the communication channels of globalisation, the same cultural product reaches millions of people almost at the same time, in any corner of the world.

Along the lines of simultaneousness, a certain common sense of identity evolves. According to conservative criticism, it is simply caused by the dominance of the international penetration of world brands. In our opinion, however, it is mainly due to the fact that now we can create our cultural identity within new structures. One of the most important accompanying phenomenona of globalisation is the earlier described *deterritorialization* (i.e. loss of the

traditional role of territories). This diminishes the significance of geographical location to the flow of cultural experience (Tomlinson, 2003). As a result, cultural experience is lifted out from its traditional locality. We may be at the same geographical distance from each other as before, but this is no longer the determinant of our cultural identity. Since the 18th century, national identity has been the main mode of expressing belonging and individuals have not enjoyed considerable freedom of identity. Today, cultural existence is affected by globalised influences, forces and experiences (Tomlinson, 2003). A boy from Kenya wearing a Beckham jersey is at the very same time a Kenyan, a member of the Kikuyu tribe (or Luhya, Luo or Meru) and a Manchester United fan.

An oft-repeated criticism of cultural homogenization is that national cultural values become overshadowed by global culture. It is thought that the cultural products of many countries cannot possibly cross the borders because, lacking in proper technology, they stand no chances in the global cultural competition. On the contrary, in our opinion this novel circulation favours the world-wide appearance of local cultures. The globalisation-enhanced spread of the Asian countries' culture (consider

sushi or karaoke) underpins that ways of presenting local cultures indeed exist and that it is not a one-way process.

The rapid exchange of cultural products implies increasing supply. We do not have to be content anymore with just reading Hungarian dailies, and we no longer have to wish for a wider view. At a few clicks of a mouse we can learn about this week's most "in" restaurant in London or the most fashionable haircut in New York. In front of the television, we can support Barcelona alongside many millions of other fans. If we are real supporters, and we have already been to a game in Barcelona with a cheap flight, we might prepare for the evening with a Spanish jamón serrano sandwich as seen there. In order to do so, we can simply pop into the nearest shopping centre and find what we need between the German ham and the Italian salami. This cultural transformation entails a qualitative and quantitative revolution with great implications for everyday life. Where

this process will end, cannot yet be predicted.

Besides providing cultural diversity and abundant supply, cultural globalisation – and primarily the Internet – has community-creating power as well. Several examples prove that such growth of intellectual mobility is able to bring together producers and consumers who have been working in their isolated immediate environment and who have never before had the chance to find partners. It is the network operated, horizontally connected organisations that play the most important roles in the development of various subcultures. They offer an alternative global culture to the one that is seen as homogenous and extensively uniform by many.

A case study on *nu jazz* (Vályi, 2004) has proved the importance of the Internet in cross border, bottom-up cultural production. With its help, subcultural forms reach consumers at places where they are not ensured by the mainstream market.

Moreover, in the analysis of cultural consumption the significant increase in choice is noteworthy. Since the political transition we can choose from more goods, buy cheaper and parallel to this, the proportion of foreign products (books, films, etc.) is also growing. As an example, the total number of copies of books published in Hungary in 2004 was 32 million, but as regards the proportions of the domestic market, the sales of import books was 4 billion Forint (by 2.5%) more than in the previous year. This is due to the fact that after 1990 the general state aid for publishing was abolished and since then, the number of copies of Hungarian books has sharply dropped. Although the proportion of books by Hungarian authors has diminished within all published books, a greater variety of books are now available in shops and the supply side has expanded.

Figure 5 Total number of copies of published books in given year and the number of published titles

SOURCE: NKÖM, KSH (straight lines denote trend)
NKÖM – Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, KSH – Hungarian Central Statistical Office

Data on the Hungarian film distribution reveals that from 1995 onwards both the number of newly released Hungarian films and the number of viewers have begun to increase again. In 2000, 63% of film premiers were American, 7% English, 7% French, whereas in 2004 a "mere" 50.4% of films screened in cinemas were American, 11.9% Hungarian, the same per cent French and 5.7% English.

Figure 6 Number of viewers of newly released feature films

Although digitally accessible services and applications offer overwhelming social advantages, they are not nearly equal in the different parts of the world and in all segments of global society, Hungary being no exception. Chances are that the digital gap further deepens the economic differences between countries. A big part of everyday life – from work to learning – is closely dependent on the Internet, therefore those who have no access to digital technologies, cannot benefit from its advantages. In countries where the quality of Internet access and the exploitation of information are limited, the young embark on their career with much less of a chance at mobility. Contrary to the often repeated misconception, the internet is not only a reservoir of shooting games and stolen music but an inevitable means of learning.

Effect of globalisation on education

One generation ago, international relationships did not influence the actual existence of universities. Today, however, participating in the global environment is indispensable for every institution of higher education. In the global, knowledge-based economies, the role of institutions of higher education is more important than ever: they are the key figures in cross-border scientific cooperation, and the circulation of students, knowledge and information. Not every university is international, but

they are all participants, winners or losers in the global processes. Therefore, in several countries political discussions prioritise the enhancement of international mobility, the internationalization of educational institutions, the encouragement of scientific cooperation and the global competition for human capital.

One of the best indicators of intellectual mobility within higher educa-

tion is the proportions of students studying abroad. Mostly, they are motivated by the possibility of knowledge exchange, learning about another country, its people and their culture, and/or the opportunity of gaining experience that would be impossible to obtain at home. In the last 20 years, the number of students studying abroad in the OECD countries has doubled, in 2001 a total of 1.6 million people studied in

Figure 6 Number of foreign students studying in the given country in the last 20 years

NB 1980-1990: Data on Germany do not include East Germany
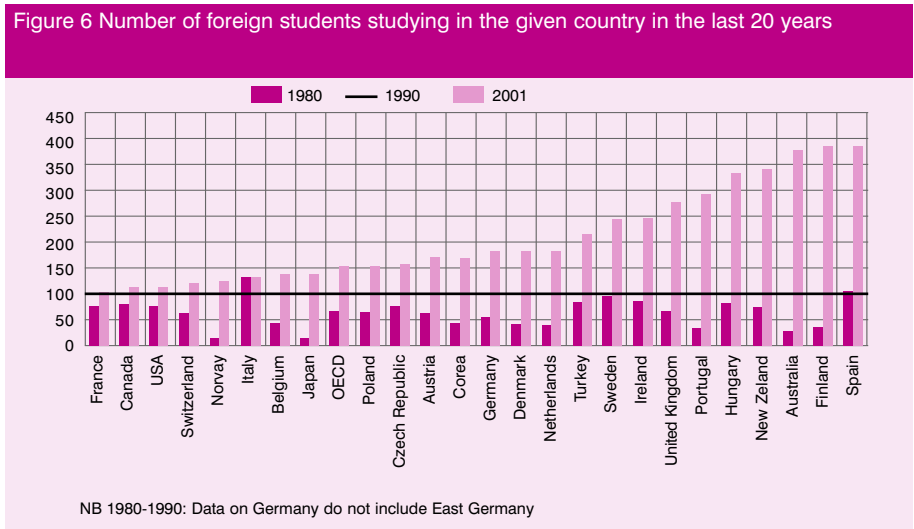
a foreign country, 30% of them in the USA, 14% in England, 13% in Germany, 9% in France, 7% in Australia and 4% in Japan.

Learning abroad, however, is only one possible medium of mobility. The number of students is also increasing, for example, who graduated from a foreign university or participated in a foreign, postgraduate education without leaving their home country. The number of E-learning courses and trainings are continu-

ously growing, and according to a survey by the OECD, after learning abroad, this is the most determinative form of student mobility.

During the years spent at foreign universities, students not only exchange experiences but develop a system of personal connections, i.e. *networks,* that similar to big international organisations, mesh the whole world and create a global elite. Besides students, institutions benefit as well: it evidently boosts their prestige if a foreign student excels in their institute, simply because it proves that they provided a better, more interesting and intellectually more inspiring environment. Additionally, the forming of an intellectual elite has cultural aspects. Due to the mobility in higher education, the most educated people scatter around the world bringing along their identity and culture into the host countries, thus serving as a cultural transfer medium. As a result, a world-wide cultural exchange is being realised whose relevance in the determination of our future is yet to be discovered.

Institutions of higher education that successfully exploit the advantages of intellectual mobility not only create global elite, but also affect the domestic economy. American elite universities are characterized by flexibility, decentralized governance, intellectual openness, competitive spirit and devotion to knowledge. As such, they are considered "hotbeds of innovation". This is the attitude that in the case of Stanford University has largely contributed to the development of Silicon Valley (Castells-Ince, 2006). A similarly excellent example – returning to the European continent – is the Helsinki University of Technology, one of the best European universities, where the key to development was indeed the openness towards international networking. Without the openness and scientific expertise of the university Nokia could not have become one of the most recognised companies in Finland, and around the world (Castells-Ince, 2006).

The situation in Hungary has radically changed since the political transition. In the last twenty years the number of students studying abroad has tripled, reflecting the widening international grant opportunities and the willingness to take

them. Some argue, however, that this indicator should be further improved because tendencies discussed above are particularly valid for Hungarian students and their future opportunities.

3.3 Geographical mobility

Globalisation has implications beyond the mobility of people themselves. We learn, hear and read about the so far unprecedented speed of the circulation of goods, capital, services and information. Moreover, we ourselves are more and more often their recipients and users. None of them are, however, as observable as, for example, the dominance of foreign students in the most popular night clubs of the city who flew to Budapest with a 10 euro ticket or when someone with from different culture, and speaking a different language moves into our neighbourhood.

Fortunately, the opportunity to obtain a breadth of perspective and gain new experiences does to exclude Hungarians. Thanks to less expensive and more expedient transportation, it is easier today than ever before to delve into distant and unfamiliar places, work in another corner of the world, maintain foreign social contacts, and follow foreign cultural trends, that is just to mention a few advantages.

People have obviously not been discovering the distant points of the world or starting new lives there, solely on the basis of modern globalisation. In nearly any period of history, mass migration waves have been recorded. It is worth emphasising, however, that the significantly increased geographical mobility of the last two decades does not even compare to the migration data of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. As far as the geographical scope, intensity, and social influence on both the home countries and the host countries of our age is concerned, we are witnessing a process of unprecedented depth.

Multicultural societies – Immigration and politics

In 1980 the UN estimation of immigrants in the world was 100 million. Today, this number has almost doubled (in 2006 it was 191 million). The largest group of immigrants is composed of masses flee-

ing from poverty, war and persecution (Collett, 2006). Immigration into Europe has a relatively shorter history than that towards the USA and Australia; it practically started in the second half of the 20th century. Despite the fairly short history, 23 million immigrants live in the EU today who have arrived from outside the EU countries. Clearly, the process has not come to an end, as a wave of 500 thousand illegal immigrants continue to arrive onto the continent each year. Most of the Western societies have become multicultural as a result, and are now facing new social challenges (e.g. the coexistence of different cultures and identities, tension on the labour market).

The immigration waves into Europe in the 1950s and 1960s primarily concerned the developed, industrialized or former colonizing countries. The reaction of the time to that mass immigration was the seclusion of the 1970s and the constriction of immigration policy. From the 1980s on, the immigration tendency has again begun to accelerate and now concerns practically the whole of the continent (Held et al., 1999).
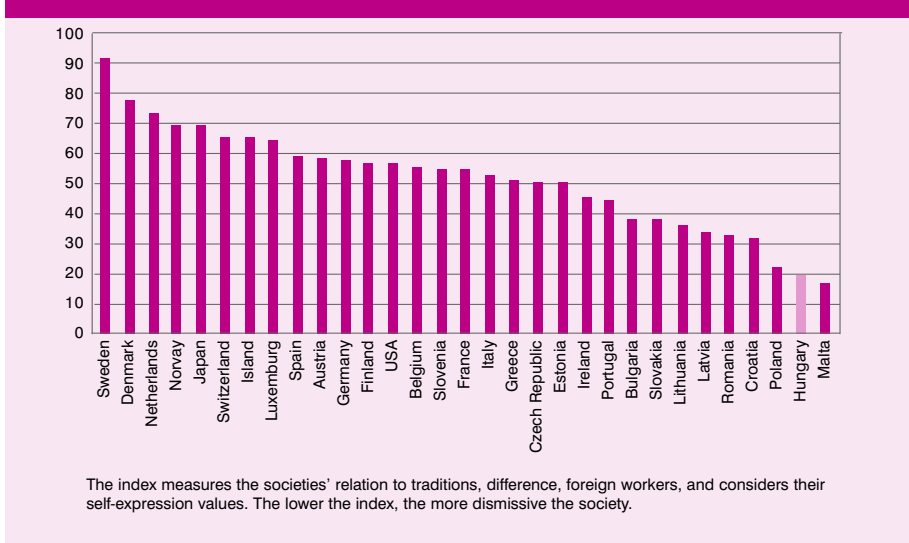
Since 1996 all the 15 member states of the "old" EU-15, have experienced net immigration flow (Collett, 2006). Among the newcomer states it is only the Latvians, Lithuanians and Poles who leave in greater number than the number of foreigners coming to settle in their countries. It comes as no surprise that in many countries, most significantly in Western European developed countries, immigration has become the focus of political infightings. Le Pen's qualification for the second round in the French presidential elections in 2001, Jörg Haider's government in Austria, the short-lived glory of Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands, and the activity of Vlaams Belang, the second strongest Flemish party in the 2007 elections in Belgium are examples that show how populist ideology building on xenophobia can develop into serious political forces. This predicament is more likely to occur in countries where the traditional political elite has failed to resolve the cultural and social tension caused by immigration.

The clash of values and the fre-

quently higher rate of poverty, unemployment and crime among immigrants are in one balance of the scale. Based on the experiences of previous decades, however, it can be concluded that an appropriate immigration policy would realise the needs of the labour market and recruit a skilled labour force for the professional shortage areas. This

Figure 8 – EU tolterance index (EU25 + USA, Japan, Norway, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia) (1995-200)

The index measures the societies' relation to traditions, difference, foreign workers, and considers their self-expression values. The lower the index, the more dismissive the society.

S O U R C E : World Values Survey

would ideally stimulate the economy of the host country and balance the situation.

The above data on the prevailing tendencies shed light on the Hungarian mentality, namely that Hungarians have a strong anti-immigrant attitude in comparison to other European nations and similar-ly, are reluctant to move abroad. The Hungarians' propensity for mobility is exceptionally low, both within the borders and abroad. As regards migrating from the country or from the European continent, Hungary is one of the least mobile nations in international comparison. According to the latest survey con-

ducted in 2007, 29% of Hungarians can be regarded as xenophobic. The majority of those represented in the above table, who are "hesitating", would not like to allow in the country Romanians, Russians, Chinese and very least least, Arabs. It is an unfortunate fact that the proportion of dismissive people has increased in Hungary within all ethnic groups between 2006 and 2007. This phenomenon is likely to slow down the process of cultural understanding and is counterproductive concerning the maximal exploitation of economic, labour market and cultural opportunities within the European Union. Special attention has to be turned to this retraction and to the generally negative tendencies regarding immigration. According to calculations, by 2030 the population of Hungary, if the present migration trends continue, might decrease from its current level of 10 million to 9.6 million. This estimated number is likely to be worsened further by the extensive anti-immigration attitude.
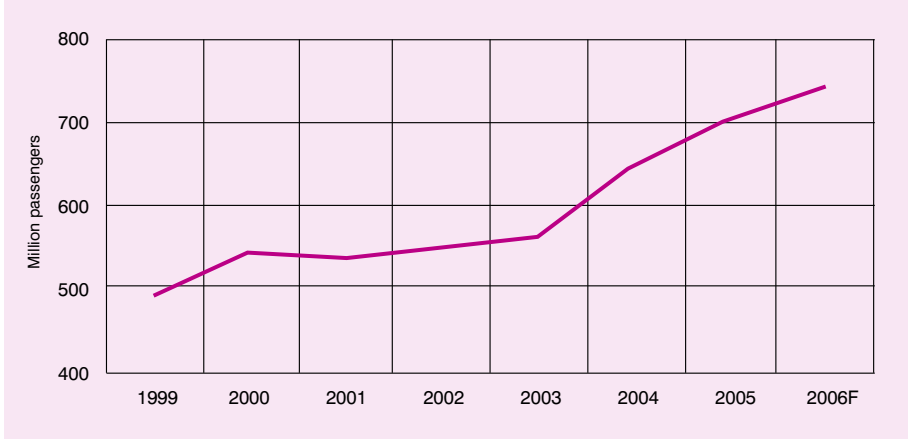
Cheaper and faster transport

The migration explosion of the last two decades was made possible by the new technical conditions that created various opportunities. The available transportation channels provided masses of people with the chance to travel to any obscure place in the world for an affordable price. Accordingly, the huge distances of thousands of kilometres between or within continents call for the analysis of airline companies and their traffic, primarily.

The range of travel opportunities has broadened significantly since the turn of the millennium, and the number of flights, the passenger traffic and the income of airline companies have all increased. In 2006 the total international air passenger traffic was 740 million people, 37% (more than 200 million people) greater than in 2000. The only disruption of the recent years was due to the tragic events of 11/9/2001. Despite the rapid growth following the event, it still had a prevailing effect. The sector could not fully recover to perform the expected increase rate estimated before the terrorist attacks. In 2006, it had fallen behind by 5 per cent (IATA, 2006).

Figure 9 – World air passengers traffic, 1999-2006

Low-cost airline companies have participated actively in the growth of the recent years. Although they have only so far had outstanding positive effect on the traffic within Europe, most airline companies of the world are pressured to adapt. The results of the activity of cost effective low-cost airline companies have been the restructuring and more effective operation of flights, the rationalizing of the cost of the work, the decrease in the degree of comfort and consequently the depression of ticket prices.

Undoubtedly, a distinct advantage of the appearance of low-cost airline companies is that they have generated a price competition on lines operated by traditional companies and provide air connection between cities that previously had no connection at all. The advantages are indeed palpable: they connect new cities and thus whole new regions to the international economic and cultural circulation, enhance tourism and contribute to the geographical flexibility of employees. Moreover, cheaper transportation opens up travel opportunities to wider social classes.

Who could have guessed ten years ago that a low-cost airline company would become the biggest international air passenger carrier of the world within a short period of time? Excluding the owners of those air-

line companies, the following data has come as a surprise to everyone: in 2006 it was Ryanair that carried the most passengers, more than 40 million, exceeding Lufthansa, Air France and British Airways[4]. The second biggest low-cost airline company, easyJet is sixth on the list. (IATA, 2006).

The actual increase at exceptional speed will be further enhanced if, as expected, the Chinese and Indian middle-class set out to travel as well. This evolution is likely, as this class is now enlarged by both countries' economic development and include several hundred million people. The appearance of a new audience requires adaptation of the tourist industry and its employees. Signs in Russian are not a curiosity anymore on the French Riviera and it is not unimaginable that within a few years restaurant owners of the world will offer their menu, besides English and French, in Chinese as well.

Figure 10 – Number of flights and market share of low-cost carriers, 1991-2007

low-cost market share   number of low-cost flights
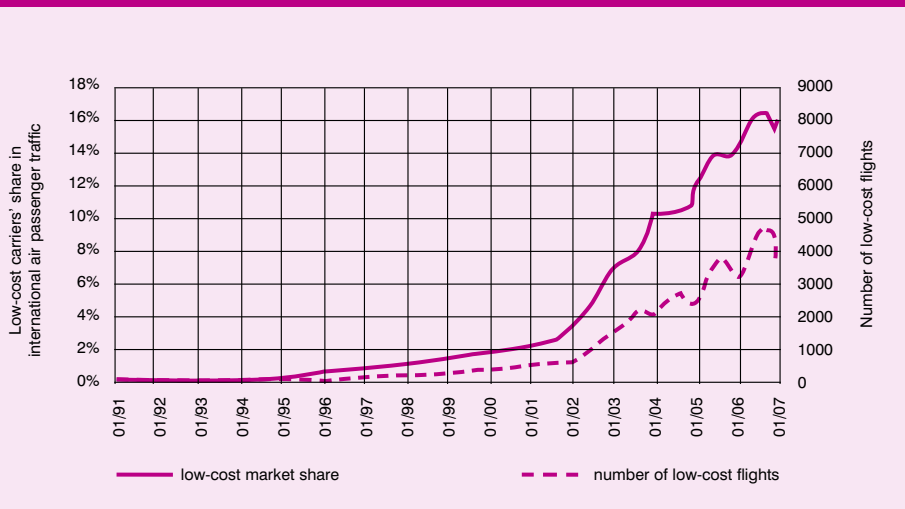
5 Taking into account the domestic air passenger traffic, too, it is the big American airline companies (American Airlines, Delta Airlines, United Airlines, etc.) that head the list and there is no low-cost company among the first ten. The advance of low-cost companies is evident mainly in the international air passenger traffic and this is the dimension where Ryanair and Easyjet have been able to reach their excellent position.

The recent success story of low-cost airline companies is verified by the growth of their share in the European market: from 2000 to the beginning of 2007 it increased from 2% to 16.5% (Eurocontrol, 2006).

Today, the airports of three countries, Great Britain, Germany and Spain, are realizing more than half of the entire low-cost passenger traffic movement. The proportion of low-cost passenger traffic within the total passenger traffic is the highest in the same countries (29 per cent in the number-one Great Britain). Through these main hub airports, flights cover almost the entire area of the European Union. What is even more important is that their activity and market share in every member state, including Hungary, is rising continuously.

Figure 11 – Market share of low-cost airline companies by European countries, July–December 2006

ESRA

0%–5%
5%–10%
10%–15%
15%–20%
20%–25%
+25%

Santa Maria FIR   Canary Islands
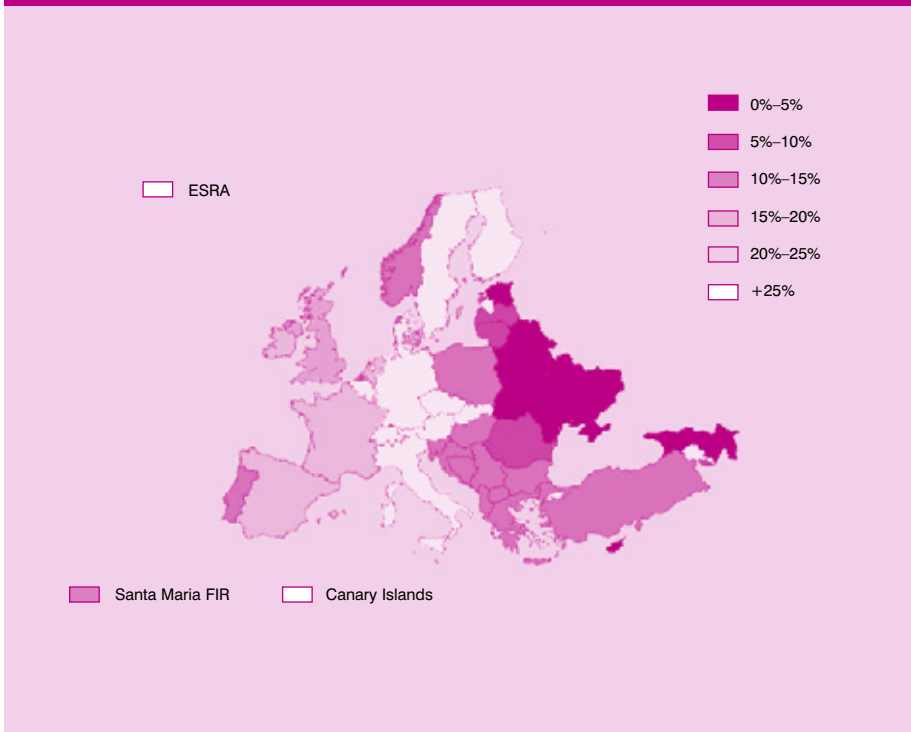
In Hungary the most obvious changes in the field of geographical mobility can be observed in the shift of emphasis in travel habits and especially in the radical increase in air passenger traffic. At the beginning of the 90s, the fall of the iron curtain generated an increase in the number of travellers abroad, while a decade later the low-cost flights, affordable also for the average citizen, induced still higher passenger traffic. The number of arriving and departing flights at Budapest Ferihegy Airport has more than doubled in the last ten years and due to the planned future developments, the expected trend will likely be an extensive increase.

As a result of the accession and the arrival of low-cost airline companies, the formerly stagnating market of air transport has begun to develop explosively. The decreasing prices and the increasing number of destinations make it possible for many Hungarians to come into contact with the cultures of other European countries. It can be observed that today the proportion of Hungarians account for 33 per cent of the entire passenger traffic of Ferihegy Airport.

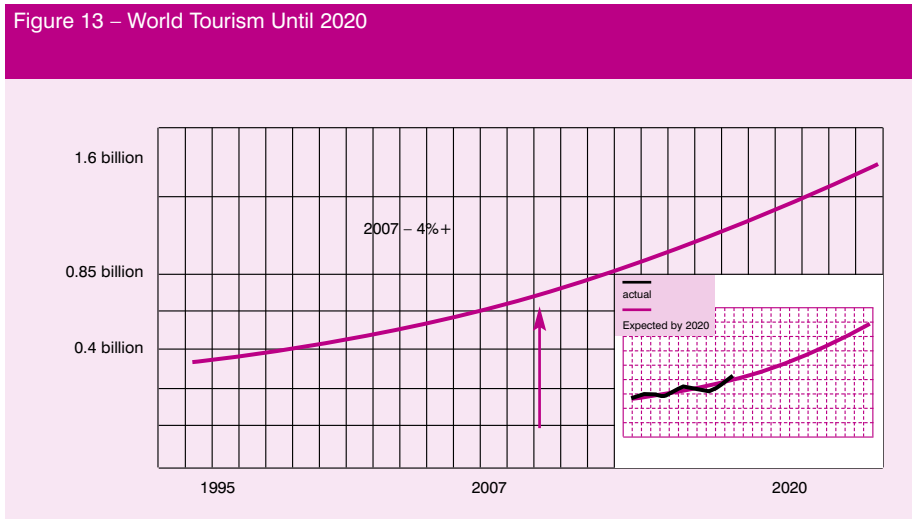Figure 12 – Passenger traffic of Ferihegy Airport
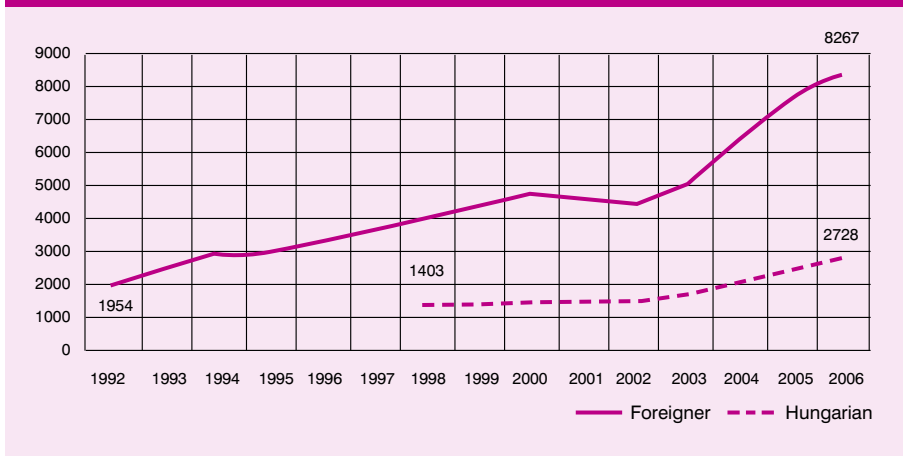
SOURCE: Ferihegy Airport

Global tourism – continuous growth

The widening of travel opportunities resulted directly in the world-wide recovery of international tourism industry. The continuous growth of the last decades broke only twice. The above mentioned terrorist attacks resulted in a standstill in 2001 and the war on Iraq and the

fear from SARS epidemic led to a slight decline in 2003. Apart from those two obstacles and a few other minor slowdowns, the expansion of the sector has been exceptional: in 2006 world tourism increased by a number amounting to the yearly guest flow of Italy, 36 million people, which meant that about 850 million tourists were visiting the world. The forecasts for the following years are similarly optimistic. The estimations of the UN organisation specialised in world tourism examines the threatening factors for the sector, e.g. terrorism, various epidemics, higher fuel prices that increase the cost of travels. Even while taking these threats into account, by 2020 the world tourism market is forecast to nearly double, which means that the number of tourists is expected to swell to 1.6 billion (UNWTO, 2007).

Figure 13 – World Tourism Until 2020

1.6 billion

2007 – 4%+

0.85 billion

actual

Expected by 2020

0.4 billion

1995   2007   2020

S O U R C E :   UNWTO 2007

The market has become global: besides traditional destinations in the European countries and North America, more and more tourists visit Asian, South American and African countries. The world tourism data of 2006, however, still showed the dominance of Europe as a desti-nation (56.5 per cent of all travellers have chosen European destinations). 18 countries (including Hungary) of the 25 most visited, and 7 of the 10 most popular countries are European (UNWTO, 2005a).

Europe's leading position is not being threatened yet in the short term, but it has to be taken into account that other, so far less popular, destinations realise a higher rate of growth than the countries of the old continent. With respect to continents, in 2006 the tourism of Africa has increased at the highest rate (by 8%). Among the countries in the list of the 25 most visited countries Egypt, China, Malaysia and Mexico have increased the most, by a rate exceeding 10 per cent. Even among these countries China has to be highlighted, because by 2020 it may become the number-one destination of the world (UNWTO, 2007).

Besides being a destination, Europe is also a major outbound market. The top 25 list of international travel expenditures by countries, led by Germans and followed by Americans and the British, include 14 European countries. Besides them, tourism spending is typically high in Asian countries such as Japan, China, South Korea and Singapore (UNTWO, 2005b).

Hungary witnesses similar tendencies to the international ones, both with respect to the number of tourists arriving to Hungary and Hungarians visiting foreign countries. Hungary, as the 17th most popular tourist destination, receiving 12.2 million visitors annually, occupies a prominent place in the regional international statistics.

On one hand, Hungary increases spending on the development of the national image and allocates the resources effectively. On the other hand regional initiatives are also emerging such as the development of Sármellék Airport. This aims to make Lake Balaton and its surroundings an interesting, important and accessible travel destination for all Europeans rather than remaining primarily a domestic vacation spot. Considering all this, it can be concluded that tourism is to be regarded as a dimension of the economy that is gaining more and more ground in Hungary today.

Figure 14 – World's Top Tourism Destinations (absolute numbers)								
Ranking	International tourist arrivals (million)			Change (%)			Market share	Arrivals per hundred inhabitants
	2002	2003	2004	2002/01	2003/02	2004/03	2004	
World	700	690	763	2,9	−1,5	10,7	100	11
1 France	77,0	75,0	75,1	2,4	−2,6	0,1	9,8	124
2 Spain	52,3	51,8	53,6	4,5	−0,9	3,4	7,0	133
3 United States	43,6	41,2	46,1	−7,1	−5,4	11,8	6,0	16
4 China	36,8	33,0	41,8	11,0	−10,4	26,7	5,5	3
5 Italy	39,8	39,6	37,1	0,6	−0,5	−6,4	4,9	64
6 United Kingdom	24,2	24,7	27,8	5,9	2,2	12,3	3,6	46
7 Hong Kong (China)	16,6	15,5	21,8	20,7	−6,2	40,4	2,9	318
8 Mexico	19,7	18,7	20,6	−0,7	−5,1	10,5	2,7	20
9 Germany	18,0	18,4	20,1	0,6	2,4	9,5	2,6	24
10 Austria	18,6	19,1	19,4	2,4	2,5	1,5	2,5	237
11 Canada	20,1	17,5	19,2	1,9	v12,6	9,2	2,5	59
12 Turkey	12,8	13,3	16,8	18,6	4,3	26,1	2,2	24
13 Malaysia	13,3	10,6	15,7	4,0	−20,4	48,5	2,1	67
14 Ukraine	10,5	12,5	15,6	14,6	19,0	24,9	2,0	33
15 Poland	14,0	13,7	14,3	−6,8	−1,9	4,2	1,9	37
16 Greece	14,2	14,0	–	0,9	−1,5			131
17 Hungary	**–**	**–**	**12,2**				**1,6**	**122**
18 Thailand	10,9	10,0	11,7	7,3	−8,0	16,5	1,5	18
19 Portugal	11,6	11,7	11,6	−4,3	0,5	−0,8	1,5	110
20 Netherlands	9,6	9,2	9,6	1,0	−4,3	5,1	1,3	59
21 Russian Federation	7,9	8,5	9,2	7,3	7,3	7,5	1,2	6
22 Saudi Arabia	7,5	7,3	8,6	11,5	−2,4	17,0	1,1	33
32 Macao (China)	6,6	6,3	8,3	12,4	−3,9	21,9	1,1	1869
33 Croatia	6,9	7,4	7,9	6,1	6,7	6,8	1,0	176
25 Ireland	6,5	6,8	7,0	1,9	4,4	3,2	0,9	176

S O U R C E : World Tourism Organisation, 2005

"Mobility is a good thing, but I wouldn't go to live abroad"
It is rather unanimous that the establishment of peace and the Common Market were the most important achievements of our immediate environment, the European Union. Nevertheless, for 53% of EU citizens the EU represents mostly the disappearance of state borders and the free movement of labour (Eurobarometer, 2005). In the light of the above, it is somewhat surprising that Europeans, who like to visit other countries as tourists in great numbers, make use of the possibilities offered by the freedom to work within the European Union rather reluctantly.

Only 4 per cent of the EU citizens have worked in another member state. In the United States, for example, despite of the similarly vast geo-

graphical distances, mobility is higher, which has a positive effect on economic growth. The American example points out the importance of the language (in their case English, spoken by nearly everybody). In Europe today, language is an obstacle: only those can benefit from the possibilities of mobility that speak the language(s) necessary for work and are culturally open-minded.

As opposed to mobility between member states, to date, mobility within the regions of the given countries has proved more attractive: every third person has already lived outside of the region where they were born. With the intention to present the advantages of free labour movement, the European Union declared 2006 the Year of Workers' Mobility and the following proves that this was not an unfounded idea. There is indeed a serious need for the providing of information on the advantages of mobility.

The 2005 Eurobarometer survey, based on a sample of 24 000 people, shows that EU citizens, on the whole, find it advantageous for individuals to work abroad. However, they themselves are less willing to move abroad in the hope of a better job. It is the opinion of 46% of the EU citizens that working abroad is a good thing for individuals, 49% thinks that it is beneficial for the labour market, and 59% finds it useful for the European integration. The propensity for mobility, however, is much lower.

Figure 16 – Proportion of citizens who think geographical mobility is beneficial for individuals, by EU countries
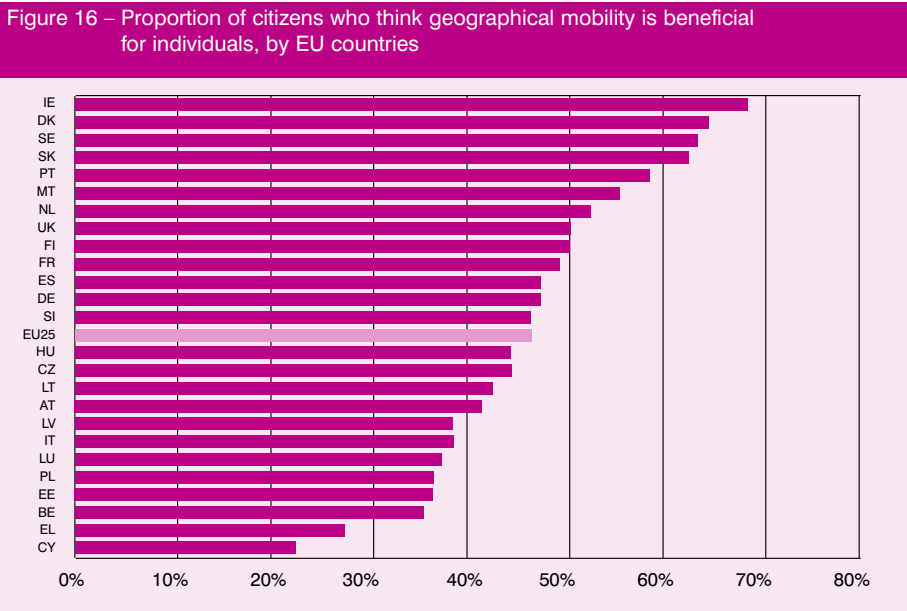
70% of the population of member states has no intention at all to work in another region even within their own country. It clearly shows that there is only a small chance that the propensity for mobility among EU citizens will increase significantly in the coming years. This is especially unfortunate in light of the fact that most Europeans are aware that mobility can improve their career options as well as strengthening their chances for financial growth. Nevertheless, a better job, a bigger salary, a more favourable climate and the chance to meet other cultures melt into the background due to the fear of breaking off personal contacts. EU surveys underpin that it is chiefly the family relations and friends that keep people embedded in their environment.

The importance of these factors cannot be questioned; however, the spread of the Internet can now make it easier for many to break away from their accustomed sphere, if only for a few years. Thanks to the new telecommunication technologies, keeping in close touch with family and friends from abroad has become a simple undertaking. Furthermore, it is easy to follow political events of the homeland and familiar cultural products are readily available without any difficulties. Despite the geographical distance, by using the new technologies those living abroad are not excluded from the processes at home as they would have been two decades ago when moving abroad meant nearly complete seclusion from domestic life. In spite of all the above, the Eurobarometer surveys indicate that for the moment, no matter how easy keeping in touch is made by the new communication technologies (that are becoming cheaper and cheaper and develop at an unbelievable speed) the loss of personal contacts cannot be compensated for.

Evidently, it would be a mistake to generalize: there are significant differences between member states. The Irish, Danish, Swedish and Slovakians find geographical mobility explicitly advantageous in contrast with the Greeks and Cypriots. Less than 30% of the latter find it useful for the individuals to leave home for work. The threat of unemployment, however, can change attitude towards mobility. More than half of the Poles would not mind moving, even to another country, just to find work (British immigration officers, having registered several hundred thousand Poles since the

EU accession, could tell stories about this outstanding geographical mobility). If at risk of unemployment, the Swedish, Latvians and Dutch would not hesitate either to work abroad.

On the contrary, the Irish, Austrians, Hungarians and Czech do not intend to work abroad even if they lost their job at their actual residence (Eurobarometer, 2005).

Figure 16 – Proportion of citizens who are ready to leave their residence if faced with unemployment, by EU countries
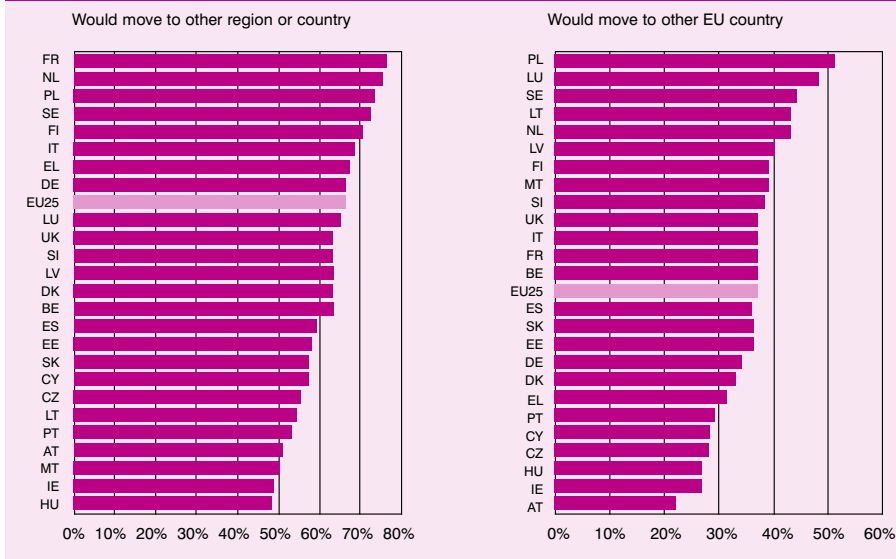
In addition to the above, geographical flexibility is impeded by excessive attachment to the workplace. Europeans work for 10.6 years on average at the same workplace (6.7 years in the USA) and less than 10 per cent of employees change jobs within a year (Eurobarometer, 2005). Furthermore, considering that 54 per cent of Europeans do not intend to change jobs in the following five years, it can be stated that the pre-requisite of greater geographical mobility in the EU is the social acceptability and regularity of the change of workplace.

As mentioned above – in connection with the Hungarian xenophobia – propensity for mobility is particularly low in Hungary. With respect to mobility to and from the country, in international comparison, Hungarians are at the rear, being one of the least mobile nations. This is cause and effect, simultaneously, in the present competitive situation. In the competition for employment in the globalising labour market, Hungarian citizens are falling behind.
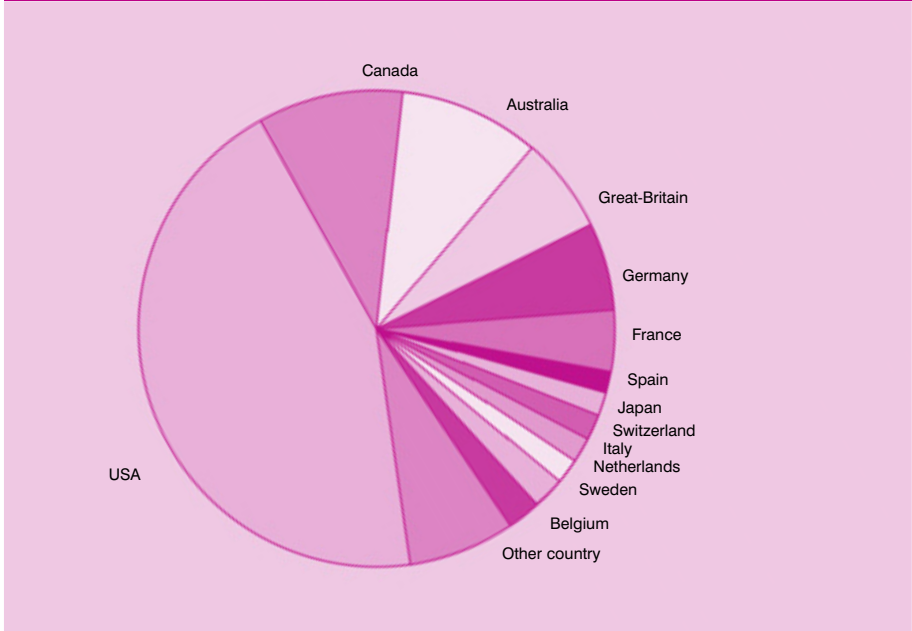
Figure 17 – Propensity for Mobility (%)
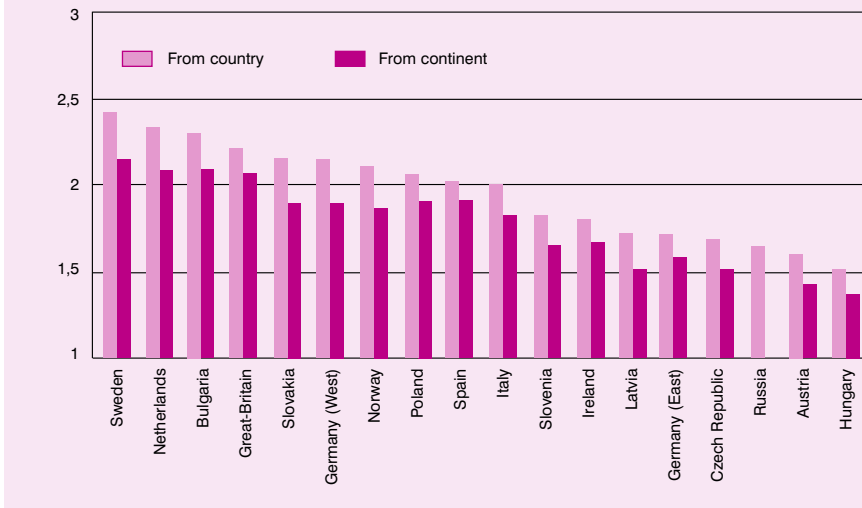
Figure 17 – Propensity for Mobility (%)

From country   **From continent**

Key issue of our time: attracting human capital

It is commonly known that government expenditures on innovative research and development are high priorities in the economies of our age. (in the OECD countries this increases by a yearly 10 per cent in average since 2000). Money is not everything, though: the rate of the scientific and technological progress of a country and the volume of its creative potential is decisively determined by the quality of its work force. Therefore, in the final paragraphs of this chapter, it is important to take a quick look at the global competition for talents, i.e. human capital.

The leading position of the United States in the global competition is unquestionable. At the beginning of the 21st century, 41 per cent of highly qualified immigrants arriving at the OECD countries settled in the United States. In Europe, immigrants with higher education degrees prefer Great Britain, Germany and France. The share of these countries from highly-skilled immigrants, however, does not even approach their ratio in the United States (Basri, 2001). European countries should draw the conclusions as soon as possible: they have to offer more attractive conditions, better research fellowships and more promising career options in order to attract a greater proportion of the world's talents.

3. Globalisation and mobility

Everyday Globalisation

Figure 18 – Proportion of highly qualified immigrants in OECD, 2001

Canada
Australia
Great-Britain
Germany
France
Spain
Japan
Switzerland
Italy
Netherlands
Sweden
Belgium
Other country
USA

The American dominance is likely to be challenged by the reclusive reactions that have followed the events of 11th September, 2001. As a comparison, the United States has a smaller share of university students studying abroad than of employees with higher education degree working abroad. In addition, the numerous obstacles that immigrants are faced with upon arrival in America will likely prevent talents of the world from studying there in the future.

Though there is no lack of elite universities in the USA, seclusion in the long run can harm the potential for innovation, indispensable to a competitive economy. Great Britain, on the other hand, has achieved a successful combination of high standard universities and open immigration policy. As a result, in comparison to the size of the population it attracts foreign students more successfully than the USA (despite its five times bigger population, the share of foreign students in the USA is only twice of the share of Britain).

A frequent and often justifiable concern about the migration of a highly skilled work force is the brain drain, the loss of the best and most qualified citizens. However, the tendencies of recent years indicate that today, instead of "brain drain" it is more precise to use the term "brain circulation" to describe the actual process. The theory of brain drain expresses that the flight of highly qualified workforce necessarily harms the home country. In contrast, the theory of brain circulation says that the circulation of talents is not a one-way process and is economically beneficial both for the homeland and the host country.

Undoubtedly, emigration entails the risk of losing the best; still, the process itself and its consequences are more complex (Solimano, 2006). Emigration is not a one-way process: also the sending nations benefit from the movement in numerous ways. On one hand, immigrants transfer a portion of their earnings home, supporting relatives or investing it and starting small businesses in the mother country. Furthermore, beyond the financial dimensions, countries that are afraid of the final loss of human capital actually benefit from the improvement of their human capital. The home country will be the recipient of benefits as the knowledge obtained can be applied in many parts of the world, or in the case of moving back, made of particular use at home.

It must be noted that a significant amount of foreigners graduating from North American or Western European elite universities embark on their career with the very ambition to build production and commercial relationship with their "old country". Anna Lee Saxenian splendidly described the process of brain circulation through the example of the Silicon Valley. She points out that it is the highly qualified entrepreneurs working abroad and establishing strong economic and trade connection points with the mother country that can provide variation for the often extremely negative perspective on geographical and intellectual mobility (Saxenian 2007).

4.

Summary

4. SUMMARY

Most revolutions start from above. The Soviet and Russian revolutions are good examples for elite-led revolutions, where a relatively well qualified elite group decides to change the existing social order and wins a mass of people for the cause. Therefore – regardless of the final result – most revolutions are not really democratic, the children of the "people" play the role of extras and this role is not always favourable.

In this respect, globalisation and the accompanying information revolution are indeed extraordinary. The above chapters prove that it is mostly individuals leading this revolution. Evidently, the traditional characters, i.e. the government sphere and big companies have significant influence on globalisation. But the system of horizontal networks that serve as a basis for the information revolution provides unprecedented opportunities for individuals. YouTube, iwiw, MySpace, eBay or photo sharing websites like Flickr are cultural and economic forums that provide individual participants with the unparalleled chance to reach a vast audience. It is at the same time an interactive process, where individuals receive, mediate, and in numerous occasions create new, common cultural values. Nearly all instruments promoting globalisation are available for individuals, with which they can shape and make use of globalisation. The economic aspects of bottom-up initiations are only a part (however important) of all the above. Although the legend of the "rags to riches" American success story has always existed, there has never been an age when so many people could have achieved prosperity from poverty. Even now, after the dotcom balloon had (temporarily) popped, there are many who can acquire vast fortunes starting with a minimal capital and using their creativity. The novelty of network society is that nearly unlimited information and creative opportunities are creat-

ed with relatively few instruments. A clever programmer equipped with a PC has more than once surpassed giant companies.

This revolution is shaped by those who participate and take an active part in it and the special role of individuals here entails special responsibility. The opportunities of the state and big companies are limited, while those of individuals are vast. In light of this, the traditional responsibility relations prove to be inverse: it cannot be expected of the state to find us a place in international networks, learn languages for us or serve to us on a platter the ever widening cultural supply. The state continues to play an important role in providing the necessary conditions to acquire basic skills, but the responsibility to initiate is increasingly left to the individual and relies upon their freedom of decision. This requires openness and a certain acceptance of the fact that success entails risk. In this case, that risk is worth taking.

As far as open society is concerned, Hungary is still lagging behind. Our attitudes towards globalisation and the world are rather ambivalent. The opinion of the significant majority ranges from tough rejection to slight refrain and we are strongly xenophobic (Dessewffy-Pulai, 2005). Even in the circle of liberal intellectuals, it is fashionable to the speak evil of the cultural and commercial products of globalisation. Nevertheless, the plazas and multiplexes are crowded and the sale of foreign goods bides rather well in Hungary. For our travels more and more often we choose foreign destinations, and moreover, we have begun to discover touristic regions that were thus far exotic to us, like Asia and Africa. But despite the complaints, the theoretical antipathy (fortunately) does not pass into practical refusal of the achievements of globalisation.

Unfortunately, the openness that manifests on the recipient side does not go together with open-mindedness in the shaping of globalisation and the exploitation of its opportunities. Our refraining attitude has

indeed negative effects. The most evident example here is that Hungarians hardly seize the opportunities that lie in studying and at least temporal working abroad, and we are not in the least trying to attract and welcome undiscovered knowledge. Hungary participates in "brain circulation" only on the sending side, and here it is only to a limited extent. Scepticism against the outer world in general, manifests itself in the low level of foreign language knowledge even though it is in this that way we allow ourselves to miss numerous opportunities.

Sooner or later we will have to face the reality that some Western countries are already witnessing: immigration cannot be avoided. It is true however, as the above chapters prove, that the proportion of highly qualified young people leaving Hungary is rather low. Despite this, we realise significant loss as a result of brain drain. With the spread of foreign language education, and the widening of foreign opportunities it

is expected that the number of those who try their luck abroad will rise. This is, no doubt, inherent in globalisation. But this process, combined with the population decrease and its dramatic effects, can create a significant deficit in skilled workforce already in middle-term, especially as far as the maintaining of the increasing pensioner population is concerned. Obviously, this problem can be compensated for in many ways. There exist numerous solutions from the raising of retirement age to the encouraging of child-birth; the actual solution will likely be a mixture of the different policies. It cannot be avoided, however, that we attract professionally skilled workforce in a globalising world, because as long as the Hungarian public opinion remains in strict rejection of that attitude, we deprive ourselves of many economic, scientific and cultural opportunities. It is in our fundamental and common economic, cultural and social interest to receive a net share of the global circulation of knowledge and skills.

We are perfectly aware of the fact that it is far from being easy and generally accessible to seize the opportunities of globalisation. Many people have no chance to learn languages, discover the world, study in foreign knowledge centres or professionally train themselves. DEMOS Hungary Foundation has published two studies on child poverty (Darvas-Tausz, 2006 and Ágoston-Győri-Kollányi-Tornai, 2006) unambiguously revealing that for a significant part of the population – and especially for the most vulnerable group, the poor children –problems are rooted in everyday subsistence and the acquisition of basic skills.

This however does not imply that globalisation is a secondary problem that can be separated from poverty. In the short term it is obvious that assisting the disadvantaged requires programmes ensuring basic subsistence and the acquisition of basic knowledge, independently from any instruments and opportunities of globalisation. In the middle and long term, however, it would be a dangerous self-deception to think that those on the margins of society can be integrated into the economic, social and cultural processes without providing them access to the opportunities of globalisation. In the medium term it is not true that the opportunities of globalisation are the least of people's worries. The point should be made that in the 21st century no pro-equity and anti-poverty policy can exist without focusing on the adaptation into the global age at the very same time. As it is highlighted in the second chapter, the digital gap is the most immediate equity problem of our age. Those growing up without basic computer knowledge will suffer bigger disadvantages than those fifty years ago – when there was an abundance of manual work – who could not read and write.

Globalisation is a complex political, social and economic challenge. It is political because in democracies it is the task of the elected government to realise the challenges the nation faces and give appropriate policy answers. It is the responsibility of politics to help and provide the conditions necessary to adapt to the global processes exploiting the range

of instruments of the state. But at the same time it is a social task where each individual is equally responsible. Evidently, a critical attitude that realises the negative effects realistically is very useful for the society. As it was emphasised in the beginning of the present study, such a rational consideration and analytical approach is required towards globalisation. However, those who are not willing to recognize anything besides the negative aspects therefore miss any potential advantages of the opening opportunities. They also harm personal and public interest equally or more than those who relate to any changes with blind enthusiasm. Those holding on to the unrealistically negative picture of globalisation are not revolutionary but retrograde. Those wanting to keep society away from globalisation instead of assisting in taking advantage of it are not the speaker of equality but of inequity and falling behind.

With the unity of politics, society and economy we must prepare strategically for the challenges of globalisation. This means that we shall become able to take part in the global cooperation that acts effectively as a brake on the negative effects while fully exploiting its opportunities. First of all, those policy solutions are considered here that experts have been suggesting for a long time: the importance of widening the accessibility of digital technologies in education with special attention to those parts of the country where home Internet connection is rare.

The World Wide Web itself and the wide spectrum of all that it offers are worth treating as a school subject. Instead of worrying what dangerous and harmful sites children might browse, it is well worth introducing them to the many interesting and useful contents that would potentially draw their attention, spark their interest and diversify and improve their skills. The qualitative improvement of foreign language education is indispensable, as is more effective encouragement of

language learning. If we do not advance in this field it is very likely that all other efforts will prove to be in vain. We can learn from countries where speaking English is as common as knowing multiplication. The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries do not belong to the most successful countries of the global world by chance. It is only one factor, but a symptomatic one and one that has a great effect on the level of foreign language knowledge: in these countries English broadcasts are not dubbed but screened with subtitles thus increasing the instances of encounter with the English language. In Hungary, it is difficult to imagine television in a foreign language although it would definitely mean a big step towards the improvement of language skills.

The improvement in foreign language learning can be enhanced partially by the widening of the scope of cultural exchange with foreigners and foreign countries. In essence, we have to make an effort both in the education system and in employ-

ment to attract more and more qualified foreigners as well as send our own citizens abroad in greater numbers. Naturally, in the long run our interest is that our citizens capitalize on their experience here in Hungary, return after a while and thus bring the world closer to us. In order to achieve this, it is also obligatory that foreigners working in Hungary are able to integrate more easily, that they do not have the impression of meeting walls with their different, but in certain cases novel, and more effective approach. The intention of reversing the direction of brain drain has to appear among government objectives.

First and foremost, as the basis of all the above, we have to endeavour to slowly but surely change the Hungarian mentality in connection with globalisation. Public policies can be successful only if they are accompanied by a shift in attitude towards globalisation. The world is changing and it depends on us how we profit from it. After two totalitarian dictatorships, the critical bias is

absolutely reasonable, keeping our distance from big processes that transform society is justifiable in a region where big changes have resulted in little good so far. Besides the critical position, however, the healthy approach seems to be an open-minded, ambitious attitude. We have to try and direct the advantages of the present complex process for our own benefit. But if our approach to globalisation is nothing else but determined resistance, no public policies and no government will ever be able to change it. Opportunities start at individuals.

We cannot cross out limits; we cannot create a new society from one day to the next. This does not only hold for the limited possibilities of individuals but those of the state as well. As *homo sovieticus* was not successfully cultivated, not even with the entire range of instruments of the totalitarian state, similarly, the liberal-democratic nation state will not be able to create the *homo globalicus* at a stroke. This dramatic approach is unnecessary, But nevertheless, both as individuals and by means of politics we can indeed act so that many of us enjoy the fruits of the globalising world. We can participate and make sure that that the achievements of globalisation are not left as exploitation, climate change, unilateralism of super pow-

ers and terrorism, but materialize as the spreading of prosperity, cultural and scientific dialogues, environment-conscious lifestyle, equity and cooperation for a secure world.

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