IT and New Architectures in the Global Realm

Edited by

Robert Latham and Saskia Sassen

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THIS VOLUME IS the end product of a research working group on "Cooperation and Conflict in a Connected World," organized through the Social Science Research Council Program on IT and International Cooperation. The program was established to help advance the interdisciplinary, social scientific study of the international dimensions of IT. Building a social science of IT means that research and theory-building around IT should be well integrated into each of the social science disciplines. This will better enable researchers to understand not only IT itself, but also how it intersects with other conditions and challenges existing theories and empirical generalizations. The aim is to avoid a segregated domain of "IT studies"; instead, information and its technologies should become a category of analysis for the social sciences in much the same way as "institutions." We hope that the chapters that follow live up to these aims.

The Ford Foundation funded the program and pushed it to take risks and be innovative. Mahnaz Ispahani at Ford was a key partner whose initial support was essential, as is the continued support of both Lisa Jordan and Becky Lentz.

The aid of the original program Steering Committee, some of whom became part of the working group and contributed chapters, was indispensable to the project. They included Hayward Alker, John Seely Brown, Dorothy E. Denning, Dieter Ernst, Jane Fountain, D. Linda Garcia, Dina Iordanova, Robert Keohane, Rohan Samarajiva, Saskia Sassen (chair), David Stark, Nigel Thrift, Steven Weber, Barry Wellman, and Ernest Wilson. We owe special thanks to former committee member Robert Keohane, who was an active and engaged participant in the working group. His critical comments and suggestions along the way shaped the book in innumerable ways.

The program and this volume owe special thanks to Michael Watts and David Stark for organizing summer institutes at, respectively, Berkeley and Columbia. All of the many participants, too numerous to name here in those institutes provided important analyses and ideas that have become part of the collective wisdom this volume represents. Additionally, a meeting led by Bill Drake and Ernie Wilson in Budapest, co-organized and co-funded by the Open Society Institute, contributed further intellectual capital to this program and volume. Key to making that meeting possible were Darius Cuplinskus and Vera Franz of OSI. (See www.ssrc.org/programs/itic for a list of participants and profiles of the various meetings.)

Michael Chwe also participated in the working group and contributed to the intellectual agenda. Paul Price helped formulate some of the initial purposes of the working group. Deborah Matzner assisted ably in the initial organization of the working group. Marcela Sabino and Gretchen Schwarz helped bring the chapters to final form. Without them both, this volume would not have been possible.

## Introduction

## Digital Formations: Constructing an Object of Study

ROBERT LATHAM AND SASKIA SASSEN

COMPUTER-CENTERED NETWORKS and technologies are reshaping social relations and constituting new social domains. These transformations assume multiple forms and involve diverse actors. In this volume we focus on a particular set of instances: communication and information structures largely constituted in electronic space. Examples are electronic markets, Internet-based large-scale conversations, knowledge spaces arising out of networks of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and early conflict warning systems, among others. Such structures result from various mixes of computer-centered technologies and the broad range of social contexts that provide the utility logics, substantive rationalities, and cultural meanings for much of what happens in these electronic spaces. In this regard, the electronic spaces that concern us in this volume are social. Digital formation is the construct we use to designate these specific types of information and communication structures. Digital formations are to be distinguished from digital technology tout court; not all digital networks are digital formations.

This volume seeks, then, to advance research that is at the intersection of what we might simplify as technology and society. We do not assume that technology and society are actually separate entities, and we accept many of the propositions in the critical social science literature that posit that technology is one particular instantiation of society—society frozen, that is, one moment in a trajectory that once might have been experienced as simply social (Latour 1991). Without losing this critical stance, we want, nonetheless, to capture the distinctiveness and variable weight of "technology" and to develop analytic categories that allow us to examine the complex imbrications between the outcome of society that we call technology and the social, economic, political, and cultural dynamics through which relations and domains are constituted. Much rides in social analyses of IT on the category of "newness," and this volume is no exception. We believe we are looking at formations that have not existed before, and we mean this to imply two things: that the forms were not

present in a given social context before, and that the formations in question are novel social forms.

That these are novel forms implies that we are looking at entities that are likely in the early—if not initial—stages of formation. We are not claiming this status for IT itself. Beniger (1986) underscores that the reflexive development and organization of complex IT-based formations is discernible as early as the nineteenth century. Rather, we attach this status to the emergence of a wide range of formations of varying scales that depend on digital technologies, cross a variety of borders (national or otherwise), and engender a diverse array of spatial, organizational, and interactive practices.

The set of cases explored in the chapters that follow is meant to give readers a sense of that range and to cover topics that have been considered important to the social analysis of IT, especially as it bears on transboundary phenomena, including transnational civil society, transboundary public spheres, global finance, transnational corporate networks, global technological diffusion, regional integration, and international economic development. There has been no attempt to be comprehensive, however.<sup>2</sup> What joins the chapters is not only the effort to capture constitutive and transformative processes, but also concerns with design and social purpose.

#### Locating a New Field of Inquiry

One of the distinct capabilities of these technologies when it comes to the communication and information structures that concern us in this volume is the rescaling of social relations and domains. What has tended to operate or be nested at local scales can now move to global scales, and global relations and domains can now, in turn, more easily become directly articulated with thick local settings. In both types of dynamics, the rescaling can bypass the administrative and institutional apparatus of the national level, still the most developed scalar condition. As a result of the growing presence and use of these technologies, an increasing range of social relations and domains have become de facto transboundary. It need not be this way, and indeed many of these digital formations are not, but the trend is definitely toward expanding the world of transboundary re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Another significant historical analysis that is U.S. focused is Chandler and Cortada (2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> One noticeable omission is the security sphere. But see the related SSRC-sponsored volume, *Bombs and Bandwidth* (Latham 2003), which focuses exclusively on this realm. Further, a new SSRC volume on global civil society and the Internet is in progress (edited by Jon Anderson, Jodi Dean, and Geert Lovink).