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**COSMOPOLITANISM AND INDIGENEITY IN THE NETWORK SOCIETY:
DETERMINING THE SELF AND SELF DETERMINATION**

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Introduction

The paper is concerned primarily with mapping with the contours of the contradictions surrounding identity and selfhood in late modern times- the network society, especially those posed by the web and global informational capitalism.

I also look briefly at the state absence of attention to legal normative schemes and institutional designs to constitutionalise the governance of the web for promoting public access. My argument is that such a form of governance is crucial for the practice of citizenship by people, Peoples of 'nations within nations', in the government of the state, and in governance at the regional and global level. The emerging alternative is social exclusion of many Peoples and people who are relegated to the black holes of informational capitalism. All people and all Peoples must have the power and freedom to participate in deliberations determining their destiny of in the emerging interdependent cyberpolity.

This paper attempts to draw parallels between the **Internet in late modern** times and **rights discourse in modern times**. Both constitute at the same time liberating and repressive interpretative monopolies for communicating power. Thus both are media that both distort and amplify claims to *freedom*, defined as **autonomous selfhood**.

The Internet, like the land, has become a form of property (communal and private). Like the land in pre-modern and simple modern times, the Internet, in late modern times now centrally determines the life chances and choices of people and Peoples, globally and locally.

Today the project of achieving the realisation of selfhood faces further new challenges. Such challenges are the essence of late modernity, which is the epoch of reflexive modernization. Reflexive modernization profoundly impacts upon the meanings of selfhood. The self may be understood in terms of collectivities such as Indigenous Peoples, manifested in the politics of indigeneity and cultural survival. Alternatively, or at the same time, the self may also be understood in terms of the individualism of people—the reflexive self, manifested in the public, private and hybrid spheres of the formative cosmopolitan global and local (or ‘glocal’) polity.

The contradictory nature of late modern times for the individual cosmopolitan self and for self determination of collectivities is a core theme of this paper. I address the particular instance of Indigenous peoples in the network society because this focus spotlights these contradictions acutely. In the process of reflexive modernization which is a determining attribute of late modernity both the preservation and 'reinvention' of self-identity are dynamic activities of an unprecedented complexity. Such complexity arises from the convergent and contradictory forces of globalization, individualisation and detraditionalization / re-traditionalization.

Individual and collective selves define **freedom** in their own way; and both now use the cyber-commons like they have for centuries used control of the land. Ownership, sovereignty and autonomy were and are the dominant concepts; ideas of belonging to the

land and coexisting with each other in the Commons are mute by contrast. So on the new frontiers of the cyber polity, efforts must be made to avoid repeating the genocidal patterns of territorial acquisition in laying claims to this new resource. Land, access to freedom and the Internet must be shared. Control over the land has traditionally determined power and this has determined class and ethnic hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion and life chances in all corners of the planet.

There are parallels between the alphabetization of communication, the invention and distribution of the printing press, the related struggle for ‘proletarianisation’ of literacy and the ultimate class based distribution of knowledge and power in industrial capitalism and what is now happening as a result of the ICT revolution creating global informational capitalism. The informational black holes of the South and ghettos in the North precisely parallel areas of functional illiteracy and dispossession which are the legacy of imperialism as a world system. History is repeating itself .

New governance forms for democratizing and decommodifying the web must be designed. It is imperative that the human species establish modes of coexistence in which ‘might is not right’, and power is mediated so that the cyber polity does not become divided between the cyberocracy and cyber paupers.

Contours of the network society of the Informational Age

Ethnocide, genocide, and destruction of indigenous people’s life chances have featured in all phases of globalization, while debates about—and, frequently, denial of—the human

rights of indigenous people have dominated the official discourse of empires since Columbian times.

Today indigenous people(s) are becoming their own agents, and increasingly using the web, in campaigns to enforce their human rights. This chapter attempts to theorise these developments through the interrelated conceptual frameworks of reflexive modernization (Giddens, 1990, 1991, and especially 1994), globalization (Martin and Schurmann, 1998; Gray, 1998), the Risk society (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994), and the Network society (Castells, 1997). These frameworks assist analysis of layered complexities which need to be addressed in evaluating problems and prospects for all social movements for advancing human rights in the present age. Specific dimensions of indigenous peoples' involvement in the politics of rights is examined in terms of the following themes:

- genocide, ethnocide, modernization, and the Network society,
- globalization, cultural singularity, and reflexivity,
- agendas for survival: indigeneity and cosmopolitanism,
- sites of power: access, governance, and information and communication technologies (ICTs), and

the scope and limits of ICTs for indigenous peoples' struggles.

The Network society is upon us all; the ICT revolution will continue to change everybody's life. The question is: how? Most indigenous peoples in the North,¹ all human rights international governmental organizations (IGOs), and most human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs)²—and some racist hate groups³—have by now 'built' Web sites. Indigenous peoples' sites include advocacy sites, news sites, information sites, personal home pages, and business/marketing sites.

Tentative conclusions of this chapter are that:

- The new technology is neither good nor bad, per se, but neither is it neutral. Recognition of this is the critical to deploying the new Information and communication technology to liberate the self and empower self-determination.
- The way indigenous peoples and movements appear to be mobilising the ICTs to advocate their rights is more empowering than illusory.
- Some real gains of power are to be had, but access to the ICTs is not enough.
- ICTs concentrate power almost exclusively into the hands of those promoting the new World economic order, and so new modes of public governance and regulation and decommodified access to rights must be central platforms for all social movements concerned with challenging this source of power.

Genocide, Ethnocide and Modernization

The processes of modernization (Giddens, 1994, 78-103), imperialism and the creation of a Western based capitalist world system spanning the 15th to early 20th centuries brought ethnocide and genocide of indigenous peoples at every phase and dimension of the imperial project:

Capitalism via colonization brought the coerced extraction of wealth and labour power and racialized social hierarchies based on class.

The unfettered quest for economic growth and the ruthless conquest of nature brought destruction of indigenous peoples' economies, until then grounded on preservation of the ecosystems upon which sustainable production for use depends.

Coercive evangelical Christians used the Bible to legitimate racialized social hierarchies.

Supposed Enlightenment truths based on scientific rationality (for example, in the form of eugenics) were also used to legitimate racialized social hierarchies and the geographical segregation of peoples and their cultures according to their ethnicity.

Advanced modernization has been accompanied by trends which have compounded and accelerated ethnocide and genocide, such as:

- radical restructuring of capitalism for the globalization of the new economic order, massive polarisation of the rich North and the poor South;
- the acute instability and flexibility of work and the individualisation of labour; continuing global, local, and interpersonal violence;
- the emergence of social reflexivity, hence reflexive modernization, leading to accelerated detraditionalization (coerced and voluntary);
- the emergence of the Risk society, involving the unprecedented capacity to manufacture ecocidal harms;
- the marginalisation of indigenous peoples both by the majoritarian ‘democracy’ of elective dictatorships and by military-industrial totalitarianism;

And notably for our purposes he Information technology revolution - Network (cyber)society: the transformation of the material foundations of life, space and time, through the constitution of a space of flows and of timeless time, as expressions of dominant modes of action determined by controlling elites, and leading to:

- polarisation of ‘infocrats’ and cyber paupers;
- increasing surveillance and information control by unaccountable publicly and privately controlled ICTs;
- the rise of the networking form of organisation and social movements;

- the emergence of a culture of real virtuality constructed by a pervasive, interconnected, diversified media system
- the demise of national citizenship and the rise of supra state citizenship claims;
- the rise of the contracting out of the state and the demise of the welfare state;
- the rise of supra-state forms of governance and of feral transnational corporations (TNCs); and
- the consolidation of hierarchies of power based on ethnicity, gender, region and class and access to the ICTs..

Indigenous peoples' cultural survival has been multiply jeopardised by both simple and advanced (reflexive) modernization. In the 'Fourth World' indigenous peoples inhabit (Manuel and Posluns, 1974; Dyck, 1985), the pace and nature of societal change is peculiarly inimical to their survival as distinct traditional communities based on ascribed ethnic identities. The Risk society continues the atrocities of the imperial past, exacerbated now by humankind's capacity for global ecocide. Innumerable environmental catastrophes are destroying the few places still under the control of the indigenous peoples who inhabit them. There continues to be widespread prohibition of, or denial of respect for, indigenous peoples' esoteric knowledge and the languages which are intrinsic to their cultures. Every dimension of the present age has specific and interrelated negative consequences for indigenous peoples. The need to enhance their life chances through re-balancing of power towards greater symmetry of power for them as individuals and as peoples is unparalleled in urgency. Perhaps this urgency explains their eager embrace of the new ICTs which, on the face of it, seem more likely to be part of the problem than part of the solution.

Indigenous peoples are burdened by what David Held terms ‘nautonomy’ (Held, 1995, 163-172)—lack of autonomy and structured disempowerment resulting from and in the asymmetrical production, distribution and enjoyment of life chances. At the heart of this condition is the absence of empowering possibilities for active participation in the political processes necessary for optimising life chances. The degradation of life chances for indigenous people is directly linked to their systematic exclusion from political participation in dominant polities and their lack of access to control over land, capital, and all other means whereby their cultural and material survival may be secured.

Even within relatively benign power hierarchies, indigenous peoples experience a grossly nautonomic predicament (Saami in Scandinavia, First Nations in Canada, Maori in New Zealand, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples in Australia, and Romany in Europe). In Latin America, the Asias and Africa, genocidal conditions predominate (Moody, 1988).

With the advance of the Network society, nautonomy, risk, reflexivity, life chances and choices and ICTs have all become symbiotically intertwined as key factors in the knowledge--power equation. In the absence of knowledge, people are powerless; without access to ICTs, knowledge and information are denied, and powerlessness results. Access to ICTs is necessary but not sufficient to empower indigenous peoples to participate in the political processes by which they can try to combat the ecocidal and genocidal risks they face.

Beck suggests that, in the age of reflexive modernization, all politics is ultimately risk politics. Risk politics concerns two types of power relations. The first, well understood since Marx, concerns contests for power over the ‘relations of production’. The second

concerns the 'relations of definition' (Beck, 1998) which are now, in the informational age of reflexive modernization, unfolding as a major site of contestation for power. The relations of definition 'include the rules, institutions and capacities that structure the identification and assessment of risks: they are the legal, epistemological and cultural matrix in which risk politics is conducted' (Beck, 1998, 18-19). Globalization driven by transnational capital and employing ICTs is concentrating power over relations of both production and definition into fewer and increasingly unaccountable centres of control. Invariably, indigenous peoples continue to occupy the black holes of both industrial and informational capitalism.

For violently and consistently excluded groups such as indigenous peoples, access to core knowledge as defined by the powerful and freedom to participate in negotiating the relations of definition are crucial to their survival. Indigenous peoples have known this for a long time and consequently had to become enmeshed in the 'White man's' laws, parliaments and courts to assert the right to be! There seems to be a close analogy in this regard between using the liberal legal 'technology' of rights and the new ICTs as political means to survival. Critical analysts of the relevance of 'rights talk' for social movement strategists warn of the need to distinguish between the politics of rights and the myth of rights (Sheingold, 1974). The former may be a valuable form of the politics of embarrassment, whereas the latter is often a disempowering and resource-intensive diversion. Like the liberal rights 'technology', ICTs are also endowed with the dual capacity to mystify or to be used as a potent political resource.

The ICTs have certainly added to the potential of the politics of rights because they enable indigenous peoples and other social movements to go beyond state-controlled law

making bodies and political arenas to disseminate damning information to shame and confront the powerful. The world can be presented instantaneously with information (and disinformation) exposing gaps between the promises of the powerful and the realities of the powerless.

Since World War II a raft of international and national human rights provisions relevant to indigenous peoples has emerged which lends itself to an ICT-assisted politics of rights. It is no coincidence that in the Network or 'informational society' (Castells, 1997, 21) indigenous peoples are investing massively in ICTs. These technologies enable them to network and build sites of counter- hegemonic power which give unprecedented exposure to their politics of naming and shaming to reclaim their traditions and lands through the assertion of rights.

Identity, Reflexivity and Globalization

Castells asserts that 'Our world, and our lives are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalization and identity' (Castells, 1997, vol.I,1). The ideal for would-be stakeholders in the new world economic order seems to be a globalized, homogenised and de-cultured 'Macworld' identity which esteems the ideology of atomistic individualism and the capacity for material consumption. This synthetic identity clashes with traditional conceptions of self and identity founded on minimally re-negotiable cultural conceptions of status or social position. Castells suggests that manifestations of ethno-politics across the world reflect a 'surge of widespread expressions of collective identity that challenges globalization and cosmopolitanism on behalf of cultural singularity' (Castells, 1997b, 1). Such cultural singularity based on ethnicity, for instance, is perceived to be resilient against the corrosive power of globalization through time and space. Indigenous

languages and cultural forms can be integrated into use of the ICTs, making them ideal for networking, movement building and political action. Even where discourse of struggle is dominated by the interpretive monopoly of rights, notions of individual and property rights can be juxtaposed with indigenous peoples' collectivist conceptions of identity which are bound up with stewardship obligations to things and places. Support for indigenous peoples can be garnered by ensuring increased understanding of and sympathy with their values and beliefs from segments of dominant cultures, notably post-materialist social movements such as Greens.

By the same token in the conflict between globalization and identity, the globality of the ICT revolution provides power can undermine the work of movements to salvage traditional identities. Access to ICTs and accelerated social reflexivity threatens to erode traditional values and to facilitate the loss of control over language and sacred and esoteric knowledge (Smith, 1998). Often to secure protection for these treasures they have to be translated into intellectual property rights or cultural rights to be comprehended and protected by laws of the powerful.

ICTs can help to accelerate fundamentally destabilising processes of societal atomisation and cultural assimilation, as well as help consolidate tradition. Social reflexivity (Giddens, 1994, 82-85) provides the individual and the collectivity with increased capacities for detraditionalization and re-traditionalization which can lead to either social cohesion or atomised individualism. The risk is especially high when hitherto naturalised cultural meanings are being called into question and a range of alternatives made easily accessible. Reflexivity inducing a myriad of ambiguities is increasingly evident in indigenous peoples' ethnopolitics. Indigenous communities and organizations are now

continuously challenged with questions about their basic modes of organisation and membership. Typically the axes of cleavage and convergence reflect tensions between:

- primary identities and cosmopolitanism,
- exclusivity and hybridity,
- tribalism and individualism,
- self determination and voluntary assimilation,
- tradition and ‘modernization’,
- eco-indigeneity and capitalist productivism,
- patriarchal gerontocracy and egalitarianism, and
- remote and urban peoples.

Tradition has never been static; hence, detraditionalization includes re-traditionalization involving processes of adapting and refurbishing old traditions and inventing new ones have always occurred (Adam, 1996). For indigenous peoples though, coerced detraditionalization has been experienced in the form of church and state sponsored ethnocide and assimilation. The ICTs perpetuate this process yet are now essential media in the process of voluntary re-traditionalization. ICTs are involved in the building and salvage of indigenous people’s primary identities as a basis for politics.

The enigmatic and Janus like phenomenon of the ICTs is no more evident than in the context of indigenous peoples struggles. ICTs create media for change, producing outcomes which are both virtuous and vicious, empowering and disempowering, as capable of subverting and destabilising command and control hierarchies as they are of augmenting the capacity for surveillance. Paradoxically, by the very nature of the Web, the identifiable centres of control are more diffused and obscured. In human terms

globalized relational sterility now goes hand in glove with globalized transactional intensity (Hewitt, 1998).

In the context of reflexive modernization ICTs are intrinsic to many deeply ambiguous processes for indigenous peoples, enmeshed willy-nilly in the Web. As much as ICTs are a medium for activities inimical to indigenous peoples' cultural survival, any strategy for cultural survival is now inconceivable without ICTs. Paradoxically, while ICTs make the crisis of identity more acute by sparking fission within indigenous people's communities, at the same time they can aid in fusing such communities together around primary identities.

Agendas for Survival: Indigeneity and/versus Cosmopolitanism

Conflict over agendas for survival arises within indigenous communities, with the forces of globalization and with new social movements promoting a cosmopolitan globalism. Some conceptions about which rights are most important are shared by indigenous peoples and their actual and potential allies, the cosmopolitan new social movements; though the latter are more comfortable with rights talk, loose political alliances have regularly been forged when promoting environmental causes and indigenous peoples' rights claims. Nevertheless, though their agendas sometimes converge, the two types of movement are predicated on different types of identity are seen to be emerging as distinctive formations of the Network society (Castells, 1997, 9-12). Castells highlights three categories of identity:

First, a *legitimizing identity*, such as nationality, is conferred or withheld by dominant institutions such as the state, thereby rationalising privilege, domination, and assimilation

into and exclusion from the nation. Indigenous peoples' experience has frequently been that they have been stigmatised with a delegitimated or illegitimate identity.

Second, a *resistance identity* is adopted by communities of resistance made up of those devalued and stigmatised by the dominant order, for instance those people reacting against globalization. Indigenous peoples often form such communities of resistance: indigeneity is their primary identity, constructed by reinforcing the connectedness of kin with places, language and traditions over time.

Third, a *project identity* is generated by cosmopolitan social movements attempting to build new identities by redefining their position in 'glocal' society to transform dominant structures such as patriarchy or capitalist productivism. Post-materialist movements like the Greens, human rights movements, the peace movement and women's movement fall into this third category. They often make up 'Rainbow' coalitions promoting radical democracy. Globalism (Albrow, 1996) rather than globalization is their goal.

For indigenous peoples, however, it is possible that globalism may seem no less assimilationist than globalization.

Indigenous peoples' 'communes of resistance' aim to conserve and if need be redefine tradition to sustain their primary identity. The essence of their primary identity rests in their right to define and perpetuate their traditions, culture and languages, hierarchies, customs, modes of governance and mode of land use. Indigenous peoples base membership on birth.

Project identities, on the other hand, are typified by those individuals constituting cosmopolitan social movements which base membership on choice. These are 'communities of assent' and dissent in which identity is seldom, if ever, ascriptively

defined and membership is negotiable. Their pluralist discourse often reflects liberal tenets such as 'tolerance' of 'minorities'. Any respect for difference is balanced against the quest for universalism and individualism. Ecumenicalism challenges denominationalism and fundamentalism. Women's rights feminism challenges patriarchy. Ecologism and post-material understandings of the relationship between humankind and nature challenge newly asserted indigenous proprietary claims which tend to be based on territoriality and self-determination.

The essentializing tendencies upon which indigeneity stands also create dissonance for some indigenous people whose identity, after a process of diaspora through several generations, is hybrid, less rooted in tradition and place. Cosmopolitans proposing pluralist and universalist human rights and egalitarian modes of governance also question essentialism, since their project identity is constituted by social reflexivity which is based on the assumption that self and identity may be constructed through the deliberate choice of narratives for understanding one's ascribed identity and reconstituting an achieved one. Progress in terms of emancipation is often understood as freedom from tradition and hence the ability to make a destiny of one's own choosing rather than passively submitting to one bestowed by lineage or biology, for instance.

Cosmopolitan movements are made up of individuals whose self-constituting narratives rely upon a process of detraditionalization/re-traditionalization aimed at creating a reflexively modern civil society (Boggs, 1993, 145-180). Detraditionalization is seen as a necessary means to achieve the emancipatory goals of cosmopolitan social movements which must challenge traditional hierarchies to secure social equality. Thus

detraditionalization and retraditionalization are the essence of counter-hegemonic struggles against hegemonic tradition.

Castells suggests (Castells, 1997, 356) that political developments in the Network society will feature disintegrating state apparatuses, increasingly dense global networks, self-centred individual stakeholders in the globalized market and a layer of communes formed around resistance identities. Indigeneity is such a resistance identity based on 'communities of descent'. The rights claimed are for cultural survival, the right to exclude and the right of self-determination as peoples.

Cosmopolitan social movements generate human rights discourses constituting a vision of global and local social citizenship consisting of bundles of rights for accessing a myriad sites of power. They are based on project identities formed by voluntary associations of citizens aimed at making a global 'civil society'. Castells suggests that project identities based on cosmopolitan social movements may be today in the vanguard of re-inventing politics (Lloyd, 1998, 13) and may rival the increasingly powerless state in making the political case for decommodified social relations in local and global public spheres. The transformative project cosmopolitan social movements are often about concerns the 'ethic of humanity'-grounded universalist human rights talk (Davidson, 1993; Heelas, 1996, 207-210). The politics of affinity and the need to reconcile this with respect for difference are stressed. Utopian ideas about 'glocal' concepts of universal, albeit differentiated, citizenship (Kymlicka, 1995) underlie the thinking of many cosmopolitan social movements. Their focus is outward and futuristic rather than inward and historical.

Thus project identities are concerned with the politicisation of everyday life and demand an acute social reflexivity which often makes the automatic compatibility of their agendas with tradition-based indigenous peoples' movements improbable. Resistance identities frequently require what to cosmopolitans appears as the practice of an essentializing, exclusionary, often patriarchal ethnopolitics for constructing primary identity out of the myriad hybrid, self and diasporan identities found among their potential eligible membership.

The politicisation of ecocide and the relations of definition bring cosmopolitan green social movements into potential conflict with some indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples are amongst the most vulnerable of the world's populations to environmental change, so that they have been described as the miner's canary for humanity. A highly visible dimension of their naughtonomy is that they are grossly over-represented amongst people suffering the worst impacts of environmental devastation. Indigenous peoples are often presumed to be endowed with an ethic of stewardship of the ecosystem which will endure, as it has for millennia, regardless of the immediate pressures of the modern political economy. Today, however, indigenous leaders are frequently faced with the invidious choice of being co-opted into development or adding to their own naughtonomy by refusing co-optation or joint venture partnerships. Should they choose development, the result is equally invidious, as they are likely to be accused by some of their own people and some green social movements of "saving" the village by destroying it' and to find their claim to indigeneity is delegitimated.

The ICT Revolution: Enmeshed in the Web or Surfing the Net?

In theory, the Network society might seem to be quite hospitable to 'communes of resistance' and cosmopolitan social movements and the ICTs might seem to be offering new sites of power; in practice, however, the chasm between North and South, First and Fourth World over access to the ICTs is widening. All types of counter-hegemonic movements continue to face hostility from state and market élites. Increasingly, in the Network society, they may also be rendered docile virtual movements occupying a cyberspace black hole without any serious purchase on real sites of power. An inescapable and growing dimension of contemporary globalization is a lack of progress towards empowering peoples of the South, as well as all indigenous peoples, to enable them to overcome their nautonomy and achieve self-determination (Baxi, 1996).

Few indigenous peoples in Latin America are likely be able to surf the Web to discover that the International Labour Organization's home page fact sheet ranks as one of its key issues the fact that 'the Rights of Indigenous People have become central to the resolution of a long civil war in a Latin American country' (ILO, 1998). Few are also likely to discover that an organ of the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, is currently using its Web site to consult the infocracy about revising its environmental and social policies and procedures. Apparently this reform process was provoked by the in-house Hair Report, which was strongly critical of the weakness of the IFC's loan conditions relative to indigenous peoples in Chile. The IFC's current Environmental and Social Policies and Procedures, available on the Web site, is revealing as to why this criticism arose. The manual lists, apparently as categories of the same type, 'involuntary resettlement' (seen to be normal practice without any self-consciousness that this is a code phrase for ethnocide), 'natural habitats', 'pest management' and 'indigenous

peoples'! In fairness they do have one common theme: obstacles to the ecocidal and ethnocidal development practices of many of the IFC's borrowers.

One has to question whether the sort of easy access to information being made possible by the powerful represents evidence of a new transparency or mere window dressing. Are these informational sites signs of politicisation of the relations of definition or merely symbolic distractions to enmesh the naive in the Web? The increased ability of some individuals and groups to surf the Web relatively cheaply and effortlessly into the databases of the powerful appears to offer considerable political possibilities; yet does access equate to power?

The information pie is most unevenly shared between North and South (Kisslinger, 1997; Panos Institute, 1998). Seventy percent of host computers are located in the USA, and 80 per cent of the world's population lacks access to basic telecommunications. E-mail is still virtually the only form of access citizens outside state or market élites enjoy in eastern Europe, South America, south-eastern Asia, southern Asia, central Asia and Africa, adding to North/South polarisation. Knox colourfully characterises the new hierarchy consisting of infocrats on the top, cyber proletarians occupying Cyurbia and the lumpentrash out in Cyberia (Knox, 1995). It both helps and hinders access that most of the ICTs use the English language as their medium: millions of non-English speaking people are excluded from using them even if they could access them. In some states even owning a modem is illegal, and nowhere do rights to access the ICTs appear to be entrenched in enforceable law (Logan, 1995).

Since the Cold War, ICTs have evolved to become new global vehicles for profit making controlled by Northern TNCs like Microsoft. New élites, the infocrats, within the ranks of

old élites have emerged to control the new ICTs and the information they disseminate. Inevitably in the North a new proletariat almost dependent on the ICTs is emerging as well as a 'new' informational poor in both the North and the South. To the poor's material impoverishment (Esping-Andersen, 1993) is now added their exclusion from access to information and participation in defining the relations of definition. Nautonomy has taken on further dimensions of meaning in the context of reflexive modernization . Globalising capital is successfully re-organising itself into new forms of monopoly and oligopoly (for example, airline and telecommunications 'alliances') as well as creating transnational institutional arrangements such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and Asia--Pacific Economic Co-operation conference (APEC) and new normative arrangements based on business-friendly rights. Agreements such as that on Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) and the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), for instance, are aimed at creating a world without borders for the free movement of money and goods, together with the apparatchiks of globalization and some tourists; meanwhile, border fences are getting higher and higher to keep out workers and their families, and political and economic refugees.

The after-Fordist nation state has increasingly been decoupled from the market to become relatively powerless except, possibly, in the North when states are organized into supra-state political--economic blocs like the EU. Public telecommunications broadcasting media are being replaced by ICTs run for profit on contractualist lines. Citizens unable to access commercial user pays systems will be barred from incorporation into the local, let alone global 'cyberproletariat'. (In New Zealand, the Labour Government 1984--1990

sold off Government Print to a private sector retailer with the result that The Knowledge Basket, a user-pays electronic database provider, now holds a licence to control access to the laws of New Zealand which used to be freely available.) Informational and reflexive disenfranchisement will make such citizens the 'lumpentrash' and exile them to 'Cyberia' as powerless non-persons in an age where social reflexivity is the essence of identity.

A Politics of Rights for the Network Society?

The 'community' of nations shows little sign of being able to respond institutionally and normatively to regulate globalization and the Network society in the interests of their citizens. The ineffectualness of US Government attempts to rein in Microsoft frighteningly illustrates how the Network society empowers old entities like TNCs with new and undreamt of power.

Little has yet been done by IGOs to develop normative human rights codes to guarantee access to the Web, to regulate it or to decommodify it. Only limited intellectual property rights or censorship paradigms, with their conceptual framework based in earlier centuries, inform current debates about governance of the ICTs which are, as yet, primarily seen as a private technology for private gain.

Interestingly, there are signs that segments of the market itself are fighting back.

Alternative new 'freeware' or 'shareware' operating systems (OS), such as Linux OS, based on decommodifying principles, are entering into competition with commercial Microsoft OS and Mac OS and being bankrolled by their competitors such as Netscape. This fascinating development may show the way for counter-hegemonic action initiated outside the state and by those on the fringe of the market.

The extent to which ICTs can serve an emancipatory purpose for social movements will depend upon how many free passes are allowed through the toll-gates onto the ICT superhighway. Any hope that ICTs will enhance and universalise the capacity for social reflexivity and political action by social movements depends on radically new modes of governance of the ICTs and on free access. New markets, and NGO players concerned to promote the de-commodification of the relations of definition, must emerge. Indigenous peoples' movements and cosmopolitan social movements should be able to ally on this project. A limited first step, albeit using the liberal legal technology of rights, would be to enact a new International Bill of Rights to Access to Information and to Communication. Rights would include free public access to information, and public supra-national control over the ICTs. The Philippine Greens provided the only electronic resource (Verzola, 1998) I could find at the time of writing, outlining such a normative scheme.

To develop this theme further I have set out a table linking autonomy, contemporary jurisprudential technology and citizenship rights for the realisation of the self in late modern times in the informational age's network society. The Greens' proposal argued that a human rights regime ought to be established to create a non-monopolistic information sector. The rights would include the right to know, the right to privacy, the freedom to share, and recognition of the moral rights of intellectuals, which sound like a good start to me.

A Formative Conclusion

In the last 2--3 years cosmopolitan social movements and indigenous peoples' movements have utilised the ICTs to mobilise exposes of ethnocide, genocide and

ecocide. Numerous battles are being waged via the web (The Economist, 1998a)⁴. There have been victories: for instance, in 1997--8 a most spectacular victory using the Web against globalization has been the derailing of the MAI. A Canadian NGO social movement released the hitherto secret text of the MAI over the Web. Instantaneously the OECD's clandestine attempt to level the playing field by crushing obstacles to untrammelled foreign direct investment was exposed. It was discovered that vital matters such as nation state sovereignty rights, workers' rights, indigenous peoples' rights, and environmental protection were targeted for elimination by OECD's draft MAI. The implications for sovereignty and possibly electoral viability of this plan to create a new world economic order by stealth seemed lost on some governments until the draft agreement was exposed on the Web. This expose enabled social movements, notably OXFAM, and indigenous peoples to promote such effective media exposés and analyses that many governments have been embarrassed into re-evaluating their participation in the MAI in its present form for now.

A Web-based campaign by the Canadian-based Aboriginal Roundtable against the globalization agenda of the Asia--Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) conference is at present being waged. The Aboriginal Roundtable's website carries a detailed analysis of the disastrous impact on indigenous knowledges and intellectual property rights (IPRs) which globalization via the WTO and the TRIPS agreement are likely to have. The critique is radicalising in the information it conveys and because the Roundtable highlights the fact that APEC apparently does not even give locus standi to NGO participants. This lack of standing denies indigenous peoples any opportunity for participation in APEC's far- reaching deliberations despite the fact there are an estimated

25 million indigenous people in the seventeen APEC countries (Aboriginal Policy Roundtable, 1997).

Since the development of the ICTs much more policy documentation and data can be accessed, promises made public and, sometimes, atrocities exposed. State and supra-state entities have been more susceptible to charges of hypocrisy. The reactions of IGOs, TNCs, and states to indigenous peoples' human rights claims are increasingly visible, and they must now at least appear to devise remedial law and policy responses.

In the IGO arena, indigenous peoples' movements have staked a highly visible claim to recognition as subjects of international law and participants in law making and policy and programme standards setting. The collapse of time and space through use of ICTs has contributed to the effectiveness of this form of network politics. Indigenous peoples' movements now actively litigate, network and 'politic' in the UN context, such as in the Committee on Human Rights, and on the International Working Group on Indigenous Populations. Many First Peoples have NGO status at the UN. Today they are probably as prominent as participants in international law making as environmental and women's rights groups, if not more so. A search of the UN (the UNIONS site /unions/nph yielded 40 hits in 30 seconds in the UNESCO file on Indigenous peoples alone).

In First World settler states such as Canada and Australia , indigenous peoples' movements have a major network of websites. In the courts and through the new technology they have been increasingly successful in asserting claims to the recognition of 'lifestyle' rights and modest forms of 'differentiated' citizenship. The official Government of Canada Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) website is a rich one, as is the Australian Commonwealth's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission

(ATSIC) website. Both sites offer access to daily updated data enabling analysts and activists to read policy and to monitor events affecting indigenous peoples on a routine basis.

In authoritarian states in the South where development is often dependent on World Bank support, indigenous peoples' movements use ICTs to campaign against Bank-sponsored state and private sector development inimical to their welfare. One website, for example, carried the desperate threat of mass suicide by the U'Wa indigenous peoples in Columbia if a proposed oilfield on their territory were to be opened up (The Economist, 1998b).

The ICT revolution clearly lies at the centre of the unprecedented pace and scale of transformation we now experience: 'Our technologies surround us, as they have for millennia but never before have they been so powerful. Never before have they brought so many benefits. Never before have they had so much potential for destruction' (Bijker and Law, 1997, 306).

Increasingly by employing ICTs tribal, pan-tribal, regional and global indigenous peoples' alliances have been formed which organise and act in a concerted fashion in supra-state and international fora which seem open to assisting their empowerment. Information concerning legal and political strategies, judicial decisions and human rights victories is now very easily disseminated via ICTs. Such information can be deployed in a localised politics of rights. Rights discourse has emerged as one of the most effective political devices for rendering visible manifold injustices to indigenous peoples and for providing a language for crystallising and legitimating indigenous peoples' human rights. The transactional intensity of the web makes it an ideal amplifier for the politics of rights and

embarrassment despite the apparent interpretative monopoly imposed by liberal rights talk and the alien cultural form represented by the relational sterility of the ICTs. Human rights talk constitutes a basic though imperfect resource which indigenous peoples' movements must deploy to advance and defend their claims in the face of destructive ethnocidal and ecocidal forces. The ICTs can enhance their capacity to use this political resource. The cruel paradox, though, which indigenous peoples and all peoples living in the Network society must face is that the ICTs will make it both easier and harder to combat threats to our life chances. Identity, social citizenship, the decommodified public domain and ecosystems are all under severe threat. Collective and individual life chances are not, though, determined inexorably by technologies, networks nor institutions. To render the Network society habitable for more than an élite infocracy, people enabled in the end by the new ICTs can and must act to tame the technology and make a destiny based on circumstances of their own choosing.

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Notes on web resources

Most indigenous peoples in the North, all human rights international governmental organizations (IGOs), and most human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs) — and some racist hate groups — have by now ‘built’ web sites. Indigenous peoples’ sites include advocacy sites, news sites, information sites, personal home pages, and business/marketing sites.

The USA-based Center for World Indigenous Studies’s Fourth World Documentation Project (at <http://www.halcyon.com/FWDP/cwisinfo.html>) lists sixty-two URLs and email addresses for indigenous peoples’ organizations in the USA, Canada and Australia, for Tibet (one) and for the Netherlands-based Unrepresented Nations and Peoples’ Organization (one). The FWD Project has online 117 basic international documents relating to human rights struggles. Alastair Smith identifies up to twenty Maori-related and maori-controlled sites (see his electronic paper ‘Fishing with new nets: Maori internet information resources and the implications of the internet for indigenous peoples’); the University of Waikato Law School Library Indigenous Peoples link (at <http://www2.waikato.c.z/lawlig/site/ip.html>) provides links to sites in the Americas, East Timor, Europe and the Pacific.

Among the very informationally rich sites are those of the James Bay Cree, Innu and Nisga’a (Canada); National Indigenous Working Group on Native Title (Australia); East Timor Internet Resource Sami People’s site from Scandinavia; Hawaii Independent and Sovereign: New Zealand Maori Legal Resources. The situation of the Chiapas peoples of

Mexico is now widely understood through websites at Guelph University (at <http://www.tdg.uoguelph.ca/>) activities of Sub Commandante Marcos, just key into Yahoo with this name for masses of material; see also the *Economist*, 7 March 1998 pp130 and 133 and for a detailed analysis of the Zapatista Cyber Guerilla movement see Castells, 1997: 72-83.

Greenpeace used its website to publicize the plight of the Ogoni and Ken Saro Wiwa. Amnesty International's databases can make refugee re-unification much simpler and have been used correlate particular tours of duty by Salvadoran military with human rights specific violations.

Human Rights Information Network carries a Reuters report 'Racism in Cyberspace' 11 November 98, identifying numerous USA hate sites with at least 200,000 users in the USA alone. According to *The Economist*, 28 March p59, a Romany site has been developed in the USA to mobilize support for Romany in Eastern Europe.

The Human Rights Information Network website carries a Reuters article 'Rebel Movements Everywhere using the Web to Air their Views' citing the Bougainville Freedom Movement; Peru's Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement responsible for the Japanese Embassy siege in Lima; the Islamic Gateway, Kashmir, and the East Timor National Council for Maubere Resistance.

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