



**Framing the World:
Globalization as Representation
框构世界：以全球化为表征**

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2012-06-07**

Argument 核心观点

The reality of globalization is not the same as the reality of the world since globalization is a framing of the world that demarcates a selective field of perceptibility that makes visible and illuminates certain aspects of the world while leaving out or obscuring other aspects.

全球化并不等同于世界的现实，因为全球化是对世界的一种框构，它划分出了一个选择性的感知领域，将世界的某些特定方面加以彰显，而遗漏或遮蔽了其他方面。

The ambiguity of “frame” & “framing” “框架”与“框构”的模糊性

- “To frame” can mean to delimit or to enclose in a border as when one frames a painting, a mirror or a photograph.
“框构”可以指划定界限或以边界圈围，例如框构图画、镜子和照片
- But, colloquially, it can also mean to falsify evidence so as to make an innocent person appear guilty.
但是，通俗地说，它也可以伪造证据、以使无辜者变得有罪

I want to retain the word's ambiguity so that framing as a form of delimitation that regulates or guides perception in a certain way is related to framing as the selective or false use of evidence. Globalization's framing of the world selectively erases even as it selectively presents us with the reality of the world.

我想保留该词的模糊性，这样作为一种划界形式以特定方式对感知加以控制与引导的“框构”，就与对证据的选择性使用或者错误使用联系在了一起。全球化对世界的框构有选择地清除了世界的某些现实，正如它有选择地将另一种现实呈现给我们一样。

Friedman's 10 forces that have 'flattened' the world
弗里德曼提出的“碾平”世界的十种力量

1. The Fall of the Berlin Wall 柏林墙的倒塌	The beginning of the collapse of communism 共产主义阵营开始坍塌
2. The World Wide Web 万维网的出现	The advent of a new age of connectivity 一个新的互联时代的到来
3. Workflow software workflow软件	The integration and standardization of software. 软件的整合与标准化
4. Uploading 信息上传	Internet-based dissemination of information 以互联网为基础的信息传播
5. Outsourcing 外包	Of functions to other companies 将一些功能外包给其他公司

(Continued) 接上

6. Offshoring
离岸生产

Of parts of a business's operations to overseas locations
将企业的部分运作转移到海外

7. Supply chaining
供应链

Horizontal collaboration regardless of borders
跨越边界的横向合作

8. Insourcing
内包

Synchronized commerce solutions
同步的商业解决方案

9. In-forming
信息搜索

Searching for knowledge
寻求知识

10. 新技术中的“类固醇”

Computing, file-sharing, VoIP, videoconferencing
计算机、文件共享、网络电话、视频会议

Thomas Friedman, *The World is Flat*

托马斯·弗里德曼 《世界是平的》

“It is my contention that the fall of the Berlin Wall, the rise of the PC, Netscape, work flow, outsourcing, offshoring, uploading, insourcing, supply-chaining, in-forming, and the steroids reinforced one another, like complementary goods. These flattening forces needed time to start to work together in a mutually enhancing fashion.

“我坚持认为，柏林墙的倒塌、个人电脑的兴起、网络浏览器、工作流、外包、离岸生产、上传、内包、供应链、信息搜索和新科技中的“类固醇”就像互补商品一样，是彼此强化的。这些碾平世界的力量需要一定的时间才能以一种相互强化的方式共同运作。

That tipping point was reached somewhere around the year 2000 when the ten flatteners converged on such a scale and with such intensity that millions of people on different continents suddenly started to feel that something ...was new.

这个临界点大约形成于2000年左右，在那时，这十种力量所聚合而成的规模之大、密度之高，使得生活在不同大陆上的千百万人口突然意识到，某种新的东西出现了。

They couldn't always describe quite what was happening, but by 2000 they sensed that they were in touch with people they'd never been in touch with before, were being challenged by people who had never challenged them before, were competing with people with whom they had never competed before...

对于正在发生的事情，人们并不总能描述得很清楚，但是到2000年的时候，人们感觉到在与一些以前从未发生过联系的人群相联系，被一些以前从未挑战过的人群所挑战，与以前从未与之竞争过的人群相竞争……

What they were feeling as the flattening of the world. The convergence of the ten flatteners had created a whole new platform...This platform now operates without regard to geography, distance, time..."

他们所感受到的就是，世界正在被碾平。这十种碾平力量的汇聚产生了一个全新的平台……现在，这个平台的运行已经超越了地理、距离、时间……

Other interpretive framework 其他解释框架

They see the world differently. Instead of an even spread of globalization, they see a centralization or agglomeration of economic and financial activity in certain key cities and mega city-regions which attract major corporations, innovative firms, and a creative and talented labor pool. As a result, the world is seen not as flat but as uneven or lumpy, as unequally structured.

其他框架对世界的认知有所不同。相对于一个均衡扩散的全球化，他们看到的是经济与金融活动在某些主要城市和超大城市区域的集中化或聚集，这些城市和地区吸引着大型公司、创新企业以及有创造力的优秀劳动力资源。因此，世界并不是平坦的，而是有着高低起伏和结构上的不平等。

The flow of FDIs (Foreign Direct Investments) is generally more domestic than international. Harvard Business School Professor Pankaj Ghemawat points out that in 2003-2004 only about 10 percent of FDIs were global, the other 90 percent being invested domestically or regionally.

一般说来，外国直接投资更多是在国内流动而非国际流动。哈佛商学院的潘卡吉·盖马沃特教授指出，在2003-2004年间只有10%的外国直接投资是全球性的，其余90%是国内或地区性投资。

In the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) report titled *World Investment Prospects Survey 2010-2012*, only 39 percent of TNCs (Transnational Corporations) made more than one half of their investments internationally in 2009. Only 33 percent of TNCs described themselves as global. Financial flows do not seem to move smoothly through a borderless, flat world as Friedman seems to think. Financial capital still resides in a few countries and regions.

联合国贸易和发展会议在题为“2010-2012世界投资前景调查”的报告指出，2009年，国际投资额占其投资总额半数以上的跨国公司只有39%，仅有33%的跨国公司将自己定位为全球性的。金融流动并未像弗里德曼所想的那样在无边界的、平坦的世界范围内顺畅进行。金融资本仍然停留在少数国家和地区。

World Regions 世界地区	Population 人口 (2011 Est.) 2011年估计值	Internet Users 互联网用户 Latest Data 最新数据	Penetration 普及率 (% Population)	Users % 全球用户 中的比例 of Table
Africa 非洲	1,037,524,058	139,875,242	13.5 %	6.2 %
Asia 亚洲	3,879,740,877	1,016,799,076	26.2 %	44.8 %
Europe 欧洲	816,426,346	500,723,686	61.3 %	22.1 %
Middle East 中东	216,258,843	77,020,995	35.6 %	3.4 %
North America 北美	347,394,870	273,067,546	78.6 %	12.0 %
Latin America / Carib. 拉美/加勒比	597,283,165	235,819,740	39.5 %	10.4 %
Oceania / Australia 大洋洲/澳大利亚	35,426,995	23,927,457	67.5 %	1.1 %
WORLD TOTAL 全球	6,930,055,154	2,267,233,742	32.7 %	100.0 %

ASIA INTERNET USE, POPULATION DATA AND FACEBOOK STATISTICS

亚洲的互联网使用、人口数据及“脸谱”统计数据

ASIA 亚洲	Population (2011 Est.) 人口 (2011年估计值)	Internet Users (Year 2000) 互联网用户 (2000年)	Internet Users 互联网用户 31-Dec-2011 (截至2011年底)	Penetration (% Population) 普及率	Users % Asia 占亚洲 用户比例	Facebook Users 脸谱用户 31-Mar-2012 (截至2012年3月31日)
China * 中国	1,336,718,015	22,500,000	513,100,000	38.4 %	50.5 %	447,460
Hong Kong * 香港	7,122,508	2,283,000	4,894,913	68.7 %	0.5 %	3,752,160

Against the myth of a financial globalization that has conquered space and time with its ICT platform, we have this recent report from *The Huffington Post*: “More than 2.5 billion people—or half of all adults around the world—are ‘unbanked,’ meaning they don’t have a bank account, according to data released by the World Bank

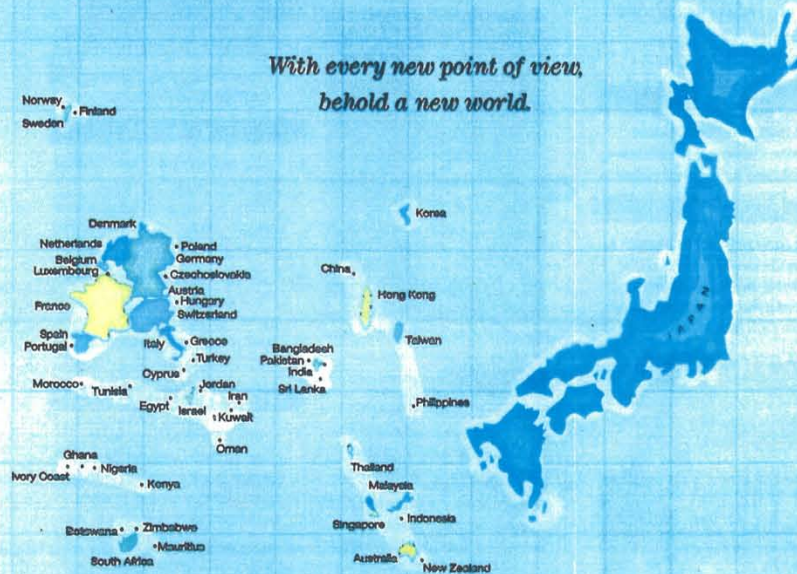
关于金融全球化的神话认为，全球化已经以信息通讯技术为平台征服了时间与空间，与之相悖的是，我们在《赫芬顿邮报》看到的一则近期报道指出：“根据世界银行发布的数据，有超过25亿人口、或者说世界成年人口中的一半是‘尚未开户的’，也就是说他们没有银行账户”。

If half of the world's adult population is “unbanked,” the analytical frame that yields a vision of financial globalization can only be short-sighted if not deliberately blind.

如果全球成年人口中的半数是“尚未开户的”，那么得出金融全球化这一结论的分析框架只能说是目光短浅、甚至是有意遮蔽事实。

根据股票市值绘制的世界地图

THE WORLD according to STOCK MARKET CAPITALIZATION



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Sources: IFC and FT-Actuaries World Indices

In the map's *selection* of what counts as real, we can also detect the work of *deflection* from other realities such as those of the rest of the world bypassed by capital flows. In his illuminating essay, "Terministic Screens," the American literary critic Kenneth Burke points out that any given term functions as a screen directing our attention to certain things while simultaneously directing it away from others.

在这张地图所“选择”的现实中，我们也能观察到对其他现实的歪曲和偏离，例如世界上其余那些被资本流动所忽视的地区。美国文学评论家肯尼斯·伯克在一篇颇具启发性的文章“术语视界”中指出，任何一个给定的术语都发挥着一种视界的功能，它将我们的注意力引向一些特定事物，同时又从另一些事物中转移开来。

As Burke puts it: “We must use terministic screens, since we can’t say anything without the use of terms; whatever terms we use, they necessarily constitute a corresponding kind of screen; and any such screen necessarily directs the attention to one field rather than another.” The map’s framing of the world thus selectively draws our attention to what it magnifies by screening out other existing entities or worlds.

正如伯克所说：“我们必须使用术语视界，因为不使用术语的话我们就什么也不能说；不论我们使用什么术语，它们都必然会构成一个相应的视界；任何这种视界都必然将人们的注意力引向一个特定领域、而不是其他领域。”于是，通过屏蔽掉其他存在的实体或世界，这张地图对世界的框构有选择性地我们的注意力吸引到了它所放大的那个部分。

The map's adoption of a scale may foreground the countries enriched by capital flows, but it also opens the possibility of using other scales, of forwarding other interpretive frames. Thus it becomes possible to reinterpret or reframe the stock market capitalization scale not as representing the real world of wealth but the real world of economic power and domination at the expense of those countries consigned to cartographic and cognitive oblivion.

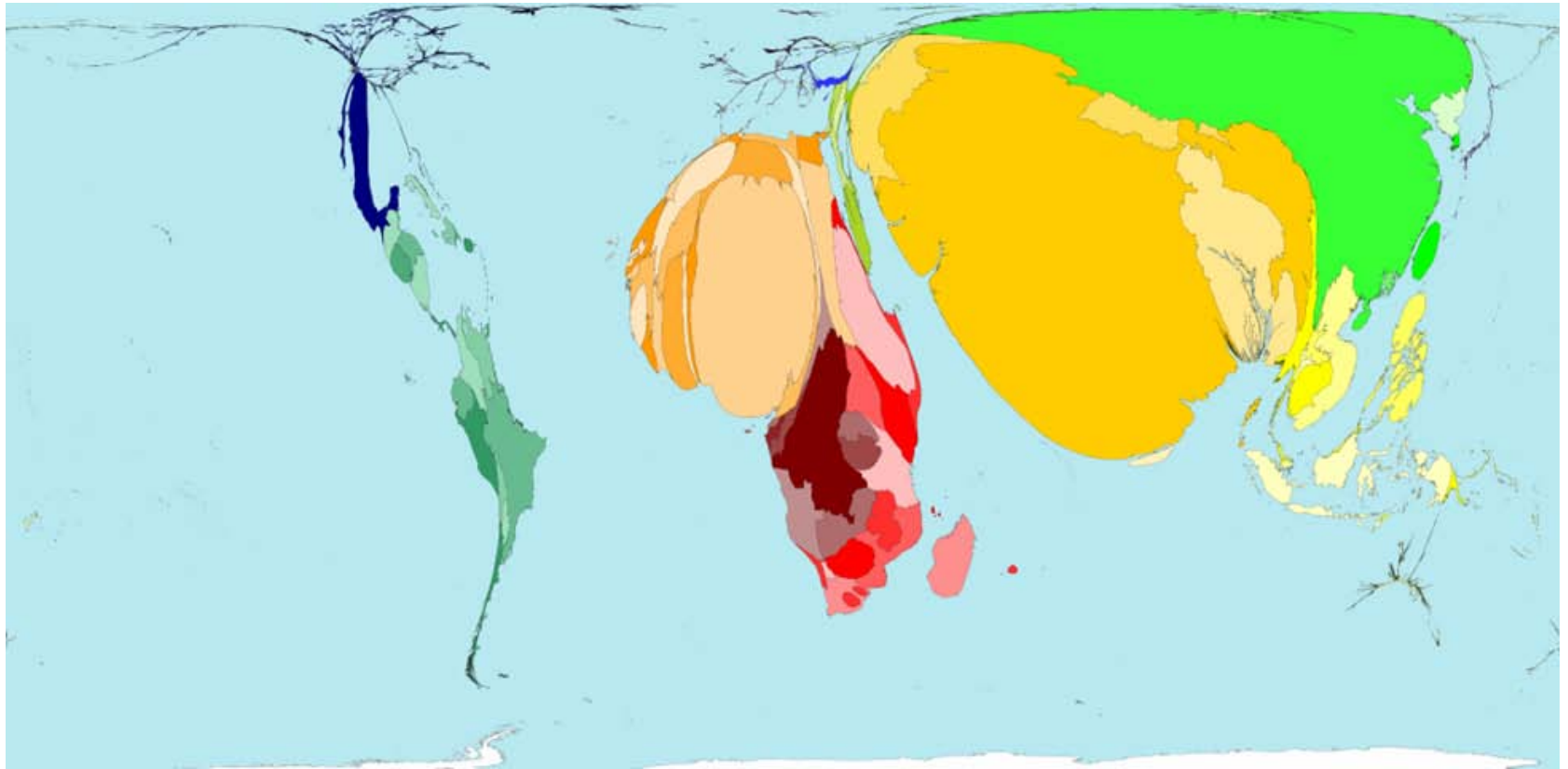
这张地图对标度的使用可以将那些因资本流动而富有的国家置于显著位置，但是它也开启了使用其他标度、产生其他解释框架的可能性。这样就有可能对股票市值这一标度进行重新解释或重新框构，如，不将其视为现实世界中的财富表征，而看成是以那些受到严重的认知忽视的国家为代价所形成的经济力量与统治。

Or we can deploy another scale, another interpretive frame that measures, say, poverty and disease; such a scale will result in a different kind of map that will depict large areas of Africa and Asia while reducing the presence of North America, Europe, and Japan, a map the opposite of that shown in the Royal Trust advertisement.

或者我们可以使用另一种标度、另一种解释框架，例如测量贫困与疾病的标度；这种标度会产生一个完全不同的世界地图，它会凸显出非洲和亚洲的大片地区，而减少对北美、欧洲和日本的呈现，这张地图与皇家信托的广告中所展示的截然不同。

The Wretched Dollar (up to \$1 a day)

可怜的美国（每天不超过 1 美元）



from Worldmapper.com

The Royal Trust map's framing of the world represents one of the cherished beliefs of globalization, namely that in a borderless world economy financial flows may proceed smoothly across the globe. But such a framing of the world can be critically reframed in another way, a reframing that sees unimpeded global financial flows not as evidence of economic growth and prosperity but as evidence of financial wrongdoing

皇家信托的广告地图对世界的框构象征了全球化最珍视的信念之一，即在一个无疆界的世界经济中，金融可以在全球范围内顺畅流动。但是，这种框构还可以用另一种方式进行批判性地重构，在这种重构之下，顺畅的全球金融流动并不是经济增长和繁荣的证据，而恰恰是金融犯罪的明证。

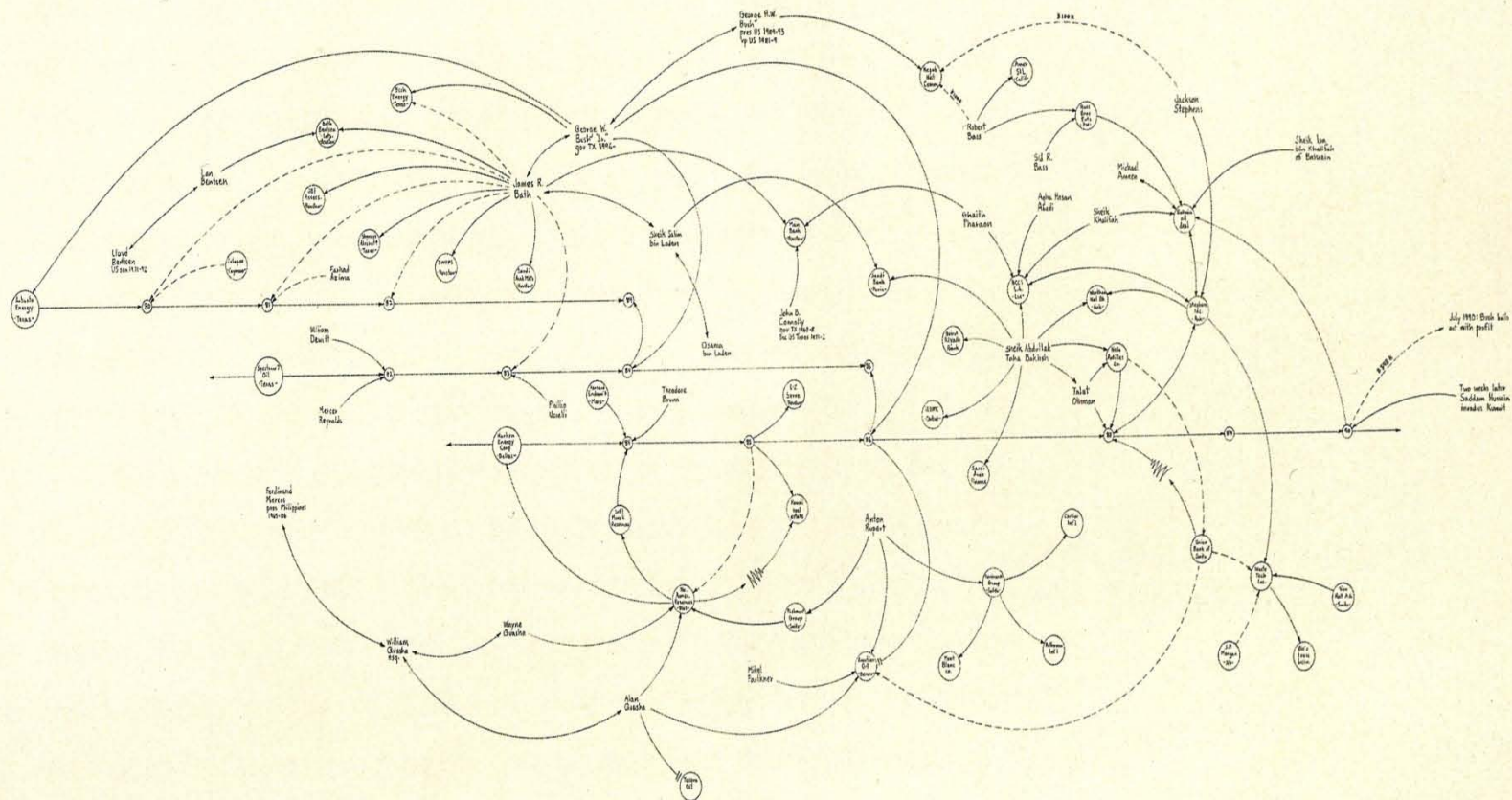
An example of such a reframing of financial globalization can be found in the “Narrative Structure” series of drawings by the American artist, Mark Lombardi.

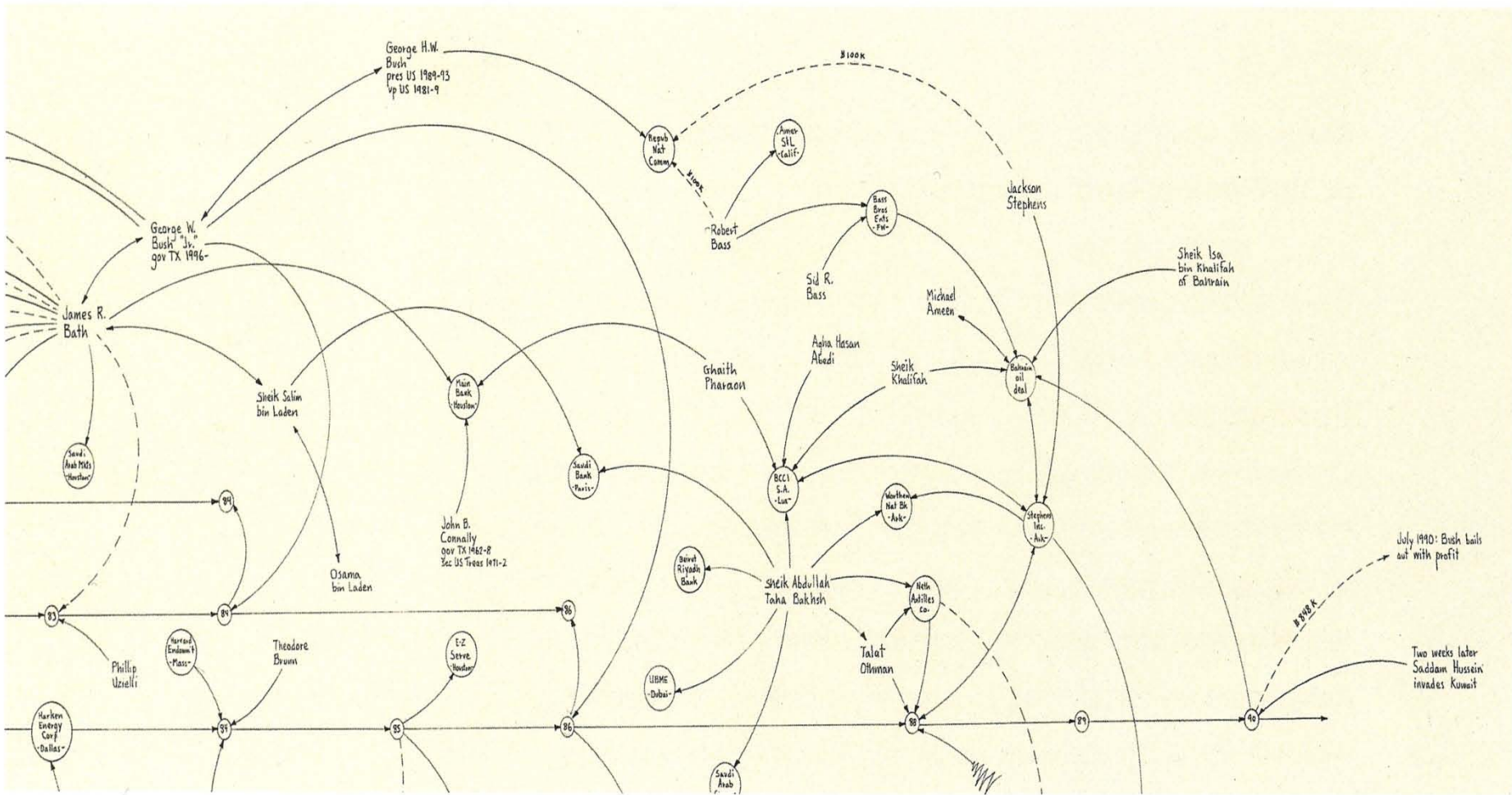
在美国艺术家马克·隆巴迪的题为“叙事结构”的绘画系列中，我们就能发现这种对金融全球化进行重新框构的例子。

乔治 W·布什、哈肯能源公司、杰克逊·斯蒂芬斯，
1979-1990

George W. Bush, Harken
Energy, and Jackson
Stephens, ca. 1979-90

(5th Version), 1999, 24 1/8 x 48 1/4 in.
(cat. no. 19)
(see also detail, p. 100)





George W. Bush, Harken Energy, and Jackson Stephens, ca. 1979-90
 (5th Version), 1999 (cat. no. 19, detail)

乔治 W·布什、哈肯能源公司、杰克逊·斯蒂芬斯，1979-1990

As we can see, the Royal Trust map and Mark Lombardi's global network drawings offer us different framings of the same world. In the map, the world is a place of global financial flows that promise economic growth and wealth; in the drawings the world is criss-crossed by illegal or semi-legal flows of money that reveal networks of corruption and crime.

如我们所见，皇家信托的地图和马克·隆巴迪的全球网络图呈现给我们的是对同一世界的不同图像。在皇家信托的地图中，世界是一个全球金融流动的地方，它寓意着经济增长与财富；而在隆巴迪的画作中，世界则是由非法或者半合法的金钱流动纵横交错而成，它揭示了腐败与犯罪的网络。

Depending on the interpretive framework employed, a different representation of globalization is produced. By noting the presence of the interpretive or representational frame rather than the world that is delimited and depicted in the frame, we begin to recognize that different frames produce different perceptions of the world.

所采用的解释框架不同，就会产生不同的全球化表征。通过关注这个解释框架或者表征框架的存在，而不是这个框架内所划定和描述的世界，我们开始意识到，不同的框架产生了对世界的不同理解。

Globalization's world is constituted as much by what is left out of its frame as by what is included in it. Globalization's framing of the world has allowed us to see much that we may otherwise have missed. But in allowing us to see certain significant changes in our world, globalization has also blinded us to other equally significant developments.

构成全球化世界的不只是它的框架内所包含的部分，同样还有框架所遗漏的部分。全球化对世界的框构使我们看到了很多原本可能会忽略的东西。但是，在让我们看到世界上某些重要变化的同时，全球化又对我们遮蔽了其他一些同样重要的变化。

Globalization's framing of the world is thus also a regulation of our perception. For in globalization's framing of the world the condition for seeing the world is paradoxically to not see it.

因此，全球化对世界的框构也是一种对我们认知上的控制，因为在全球化对世界的框构中，极为讽刺的是，观察世界的前提条件恰恰是不要去看透它。

Subcommandante Marcos, Zapatista leader: “Seen from above the world is very small because it disregards persons and, in their place, there is a bank account number, with no movement other than that of deposits. But if you look at it from below, the world stretches so far that one look is not enough to encompass it, instead many looks are necessary....

萨帕塔民族解放军的领导人马科斯副司令说：“从上面看，这个世界非常小，因为它忽视了人的存在，在人所在之处只有一个银行账号，除了存款往来之外别无其他流动。但是如果你从下往上看，这个世界延伸如此之广，以至于一种视角关注根本不足以涵盖它，而是需要多种视角……”

Seen from below, the world is so big that many worlds fit....Seen from above the world shrinks, and nothing fits in it other than injustice. And, seen from below, the world is so spacious that there is room for joy, music, song, dance, dignified work, justice, everyone's opinions and thoughts..."

从下面看，这个世界如此之大，可以容纳世间万物……从上面看，这个世界在收缩，除了不公正之外难以容下任何事物。而且，从下面看，这个世界是如此宽广，喜悦、音乐、歌曲、舞蹈、体面的工作、公正、每个人的思想与观点都有存在的空间……”