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GOING GLOBAL

"As a society becomes more enlightened, it realizes that it is responsible not to transmit and conserve the whole of its existing achievements, but only such as make for a better future society. The school is the chief agency for the accomplishment of this end." (John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 1916)[1]

"The world is my country; to do good my religion." (Motto of American political theorist and writer Thomas Paine, 1737–1809)[2]

"Humanity is interwoven by many threads, and they grow stronger and longer each day. Professionals increasingly link their fortunes with those from afar, while significant challenges and problems transcend boundary lines. In an age of information overflow, though, it can be difficult to connect the dots and adapt to all that's new. To survive and succeed, individuals must increase their understanding of this interconnected world. And they must embrace global perspectives and viewpoints, for their own sake as much as for the benefit of humanity." (From J. Michael Adams and Angelo Carfagna, *Coming of Age in a Globalized World*)[3]

Learning to Question, Questioning to Learn

- How is global studies similar to/different from other fields?
- What are some of the various definitions of globalization?
- Is globalization a "good" or "bad" thing?
- Is globalization a new phenomenon or is it an extension and acceleration of processes that have been going on throughout human history?
- How does the concept of global citizenship differ from traditional definitions of citizenship?

Introduction

Global Studies. Globalization. Global Citizenship. This chapter explores these three terms in depth, beginning with a discussion of the emergence of global studies as a field of study in academic institutions around the world. Next, the chapter presents a working definition of globalization, describing some of its most prominent characteristics. It then looks at economic, political, and cultural globalization processes separately and in greater depth. The chapter ends with a discussion of global citizenship, comparing it with traditional definitions of citizenship and considering how it might function as a useful category in today's globalizing world.

Why Global Studies?

The word "global" is used a lot these days. From "the global war on terror" to "global climate change," we are growing more accustomed to viewing issues, activities, processes, ideas, problems, and solutions in global rather than in solely local or national terms. For example, today, more than ever before, communication is global. The Internet, email, blogs, RSS feeds, satellites, cell phones, webcams, and various electronic handheld devices allow human beings all over the world to connect with each other instantaneously, breaking down the barriers of time and space that have isolated (to varying degrees) individuals and communities from each other in the past. Today, more than ever before, business is also global. Take Subaru, the car company, as a fairly typical example. A small number of the Japanese cars were first imported into the US in 1968. Today, the company's "Subaru Global" website reveals that, though it is still headquartered in Japan, it now has many facilities all over the globe, including the United States, Canada, Europe, Singapore, and China.[4] And today, more than ever before, health and environmental problems are global. Human beings all over the world are contributing to problems (global climate change being an important example) that affect the entire globe and that can only be effectively responded to by coordinated global action.

The academic field of global studies emerged in this contemporary globalizing context, as scholars increasingly grappled with changes that were rapidly shrinking the globe and intensifying social, political, and economic connections. Initially, scholars seeking to understand these issues tended to do so within the framework of their specific *disciplines*. Even though global issues tend to go beyond the scope of any single discipline, the discipline-specific approach was used because of the way academic institutions are traditionally organized. Academic disciplines are among the most entrenched divisions in colleges and universities, serving as the basis for academic departments, professional associations, and scholarly journals. Scholars who earn a PhD in the discipline of philosophy, for example, have

> **disciplines** Most often used to refer to the division of fields of knowledge at the university or college level.

traditionally tended to apply for jobs in philosophy departments, write articles for publication in philosophy journals using the language and theoretical frameworks accepted by the field of philosophy, and join professional philosophy associations, such as the American Philosophical Association. As such, it makes sense that scholars tended initially to approach globalization solely through the frameworks of their specific disciplines. Over time, however, many began arguing persuasively that globalization involves too many different types of forces and issues for it to be understood adequately through the lens of any single discipline. This realization led scholars to begin reaching across disciplinary boundaries to study global issues in new ways and to develop global studies courses and programs in collaboration with colleagues from various academic departments.

Today, global studies is establishing itself as an academic field of study in its own right, with institutes,[5] associations,[6] academic conferences,[7] and degree-granting programs[8] emerging around the world with increasing frequency since the 1990s. Most academic pursuits that have adopted the "global studies" label are developed around the idea that this is a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary enterprise.[9] That is, global studies attempts to understand the world by looking at it from multiple perspectives (*multidisciplinary*), drawing upon the insights and theoretical frameworks of various academic fields, such as history, political science, international relations, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and economics. In addition, global studies also seeks to make connections between those different perspectives – to understand how they are related and how they might fit together as part of a larger whole (*interdisciplinary*).

> **multidisciplinary**   Drawing upon different disciplinary perspectives without necessarily exploring the connections or blurring the boundaries among them.
>
> **interdisciplinary**   Integrating the theories, methodologies, and insights of various disciplines and exploring the connections and blurring the boundaries among them.

Global studies students and scholars analyze the social, political, and economic processes and transformations that affect not only the world as a whole but also individual localities in particular, complex, and sometimes contradictory ways. Global studies also generally foregrounds an active ethical component that tends not to be as prominent in many other disciplines. In other words, global studies students and scholars often explicitly seek out ways to connect academics with action; their desire to understand global issues is inextricably linked to their desire to discover effective ways of improving the world.[10] Edward Kolodziej, Director of the Center for Global Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, argues that exploring and devising new ways to meet the needs of the world's diverse populations is one of the central concerns of global studies programs. He points to the spread of weapons of mass destruction, viral infections, ecological disasters, and human rights as examples of global issues that are appropriate for both study and action within the global studies framework.[11] Similarly, David Jacobson and Ning Wang, Professor and Assistant Professor of Global Studies respectively at Arizona State University, observe that the questions and problems addressed in global studies classrooms are not simply academic in nature; rather, issues such as the environment and cultural conflict are "pressing global challenges" that demand

global citizens People who see their local actions as having global consequences and who have accepted that they have a responsibility to work to better the conditions of the world and its people.

"more effective policy."[12] In short, global studies is designed to educate people who are interested in finding solutions to these kinds of global problems, or, put another way, in making the world a better place. Many programs make this goal explicit through mission statements that profess a commitment to developing *global citizens*,[13] a term we will return to at the end of the chapter.

What We Talk About When We Talk About Globalization

globalization A complex web of social processes that intensify and expand worldwide economic, cultural, political, and technological exchanges and connections.

Westernization Process whereby non-Western countries and societies adopt social, legal, dietetic, religious, technological, linguistic, political, and economic ideals and norms of countries in the Western world – Western Europe and the US.

Global studies emerged in the context of and in response to *globalization*. But what exactly are we talking about when we talk about globalization? "Globalization" is a relatively new term. Although it made its dictionary debut in 1961,[14] it was rarely used until the 1980s, when it began appearing in academic literature with increasing frequency.[15] The term entered into common parlance in the 1990s, and today is "deployed across disciplines, across the world, across theoretical approaches, and across the political spectrum."[16] Despite the pervasiveness of the term today, it remains ambiguous and contested, perhaps because it is used in many different ways to support a variety of competing interests. Some believe globalization is intrinsically "good," others believe it is inherently "bad," and still others assert that while it is intrinsically neither good nor bad, it can have both positive and negative effects. Some conflate globalization with internationalization, while others equate it with *Westernization*. Some view globalization as a new phenomenon driven primarily by new technologies, such as satellites, cell phones, and the Internet, while others see it as an extension of ongoing processes that encompass all of human history. Scholars from a variety of disciplines have weighed in on the term, developing their own definitions of, and theories about, globalization. Manfred B. Steger, a Professor of Global Studies at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, has developed a particularly useful definition that synthesizes the definitions of a number of prominent scholars.[17] According to Steger: "Globalization refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant."[18] Because Steger's definition is complex and multifaceted, it is useful to explore some its component parts in greater depth.

Globalization as series of social processes

The first important part of Steger's definition is that globalization is not an event, a singular process, or monolithic entity; rather, globalization consists of multiple,

ongoing, interdependent actions and operations. It's also important to note that these processes are *social* (i.e., they relate to human society, its members, organizational patterns, and relationships). Additionally, these social processes are generative, meaning that they create and expand networks of connections. Steger points out that these networks "increasingly overcome traditional political, economic, cultural, and geographical boundaries."[19]

social   Refers to the way humans interact and organize.

Deterritorialization

Other scholars use the term *deterritorialization* to refer to the ways that networks of connections are transcending traditional boundaries. The term foregrounds the idea that in a globalized world, many social activities and exchanges can take place without geography functioning as a constraint. In other words, territory, defined as a geographically identifiable space, is no longer the only locale in which social activity can occur.[20] Roland Robertson, for example, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, has described globalization as "the compression of the world,"[21] and Malcolm Waters, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of Tasmania, Australia, has referred to it as "a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede."[22] The Internet is a classic example of a deterritorializing technology, allowing people to communicate in real time with other individuals and groups around the world via text, audio, and video.

deterritorialization   Geographical territory, or place, becomes less of a constraint on social interactions.

Deterritorialization also means that "people, services and goods are available to each other across the globe through a variety of means and in increasingly immediate ways."[23] For example, you might go online to purchase a laptop that was originally designed in Cupertino, California, but mass-produced in Changshu, China. A call to the company to learn more about the product might connect you with a customer service representative located in Bangalore, India. If you were to decide to purchase the laptop, your order would likely print out in a warehouse half a world away only minutes or even seconds after clicking the "Buy Now" button. Within two or three days, the laptop would arrive on your doorstep. From the consumer perspective, the process seems quick and easy, but that "simple" consumer experience is the product of a complex worldwide network of technologies, processes, and exchanges that are deterritorializing the globe.

Interconnectedness: the local and the global

Steger's definition of globalization also highlights connections between the local and the global. In an interconnected world, distant events and forces can have a profound impact on local endeavors.[24] Unexpected connections frequently emerge, some of which may be experienced positively by most who are affected by the connection, and others of which have devastating consequences for one or more affected groups. The link between consumer demand for electronic devices and a bloody

civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is one such tragic example. This connection between war and electronics emerged because the DRC holds 80 percent of the world's coltan reserves. Though not a household word, columbite-tantalite, or coltan for short, has become one of the world's most valued materials. Refined coltan produces tantalum, a metal powder used in the production of capacitors, which are critical components in electronic devices like cell phones and laptop computers. One might think that the abundance of such a valuable mineral would benefit the DRC, but, unfortunately, coltan has been mined by warring rebel groups and used to finance a devastating civil war. The conflict, which started in 1998, has claimed more than 4 million lives.[25] Although peace was proclaimed in 2003 with the establishment of a transitional government, much of the east of the country has remained insecure, contributing to the continuation of what researchers have called "the world's deadliest humanitarian crisis."[26]

In addition to shocking death rates, the pursuit of coltan has led to mass displacements, as rebels attacked villages and drove families from their homes in order to exploit their coltan-rich land. Coltan mining has also contributed to environmental destruction, including the massacre of endangered gorillas and the destruction of habitat in the DRC's national parks.[27] The chaos within the DRC has also allowed neighboring countries to violate the DRC's borders in order to mine the mineral for themselves. Rwanda, for example, has been strongly criticized for its role in plundering the DRC's valuable asset.[28] It is difficult to trace coltan mined by rebels and foreign militaries in the DRC on its convoluted route through coltan processing companies, capacitor manufacturers, and high-tech assembly factories. As a result, it is generally impossible to ascertain whether the electronic device you currently use everyday or the one you are thinking about purchasing is in any way related to the human rights abuses in the DRC. There can be no doubt, however, that consumer demand for these high-tech products has helped rebels to fund conflicts that have had many devastating consequences for the DRC's people, animals, and environment.

Researching to Learn   *The Conflict in the DRC*

Sample Keyword Searches

Broad search: war AND DRC

Narrower searches:
- coltan AND DRC AND environment
- "rebel groups" AND DRC AND electronics

Advanced search: ("Democratic Republic of Congo" OR DRC) AND (coltan OR columbite-tantalite) AND (electronics OR "cell phones")

Note:
- *Use quotation marks to search for terms as a phrase.*
- *Use AND to find documents with all terms listed.*
- *Use OR to find documents that contains at least one of the terms.*
- *Use parentheses to combine AND and OR statements in creative ways.*

Free Web Resources

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Compressing time

Moore's Law Observation made by Gordon E. Moore, co-founder of Intel, that the number of transistors that can be placed on a circuit will double approximately every two years. It is also used more generally to refer to the rapid pace of technological change in the late 20th century.

Another common theme frequently discussed by globalization scholars is the compression of time. Globalization disrupts not only traditional spatial boundaries but also temporal ones, increasing the velocity of social activity. For example, high-speed communication and transportation technologies compress time, enabling "fast flows and movements of people, information, capital, and goods."[29] *Moore's Law* provides an example of this acceleration, illustrating how the compression of space and time are often linked. In 1965, Intel co-founder Gordon Moore predicted that the number of transistors that could be put on a chip would double every year. In 1975, he updated his prediction to every two years, and it has remained a guiding principle for the semiconductor industry.[30] The effort to put more transistors on a chip meant that the transistors themselves would have continually to get smaller, but it also meant that processing power would continually increase, making computers faster. Indeed, computers have continued to get smaller and faster at an astonishing rate, allowing information to circle the globe in seconds. News, personal communication, and the exchange of goods and services have all been speeding up as well.

New phenomena or old news?

Clearly, the accelerations discussed above were made possible by the development of new technologies. The Internet in particular has intensified and extended global connections and interdependencies since coming to prominence in the 1990s. Many scholars are quick to point out, however, that although the technologies that have accelerated globalization in recent years are new, the processes of globalization have a much longer history. How far back can we trace the processes of globalization? This remains an open question. The answer depends upon how far back one is interested in tracing the history of human migration, social networks, and technological innovation. One early globalization milestone was the settling of all five continents, a feat accomplished approximately 12,000 years ago when hunter-gatherers first reached the tip of South America, thus accomplishing "the truly global dispersion of our species."[31] The invention of writing between 3500 and 2000 BCE[32] and the invention of the wheel around 3000 BCE are also frequently cited as important moments in the history of globalization, as they were crucial developments that facilitated technological progress and social exchanges. Other significant globalization developments include the establishment of trading routes, such as the Silk Road, which linked the Chinese and Roman Empires, and the development of boats that could withstand long ocean voyages, establishing trade networks among some of the most populous regions of Europe, Asia, and Africa. These trade routes in turn triggered waves of migration, leading to population increases in urban centers.[33]

Other scholars point to the Early Modern Period, from 1500 to 1750, as particularly important in the history of globalization. During this period, European monarchs financed the exploration of "new worlds" and the development of trading posts, laying the groundwork for *colonialism*. The Early Modern Period also was marked by the development of the *nation-state system* and connections among these states.[34] Later, the European settling of the Americas paved the way for industry and expanded trade.

Nineteenth-century innovations in transportation and communication, such as the railroad and the telegraph, further extended and accelerated globalization. Eventually, twentieth-century forms of *mass media*, including newspapers, movies, radio, television, and magazines, developed the capacity to deliver information to millions of people, radically compressing time and space. In addition to dramatic technological advances, devastating world wars also marked the twentieth century and heightened our sense of connectedness, albeit in a much darker way. The *Cold War* that followed World War II further dramatized our interconnectedness through the introduction of the specter of planet-wide annihilation. Never before had political and ideological tensions between two countries, in this case the United States and the Soviet Union, posed such a threat to the future of humanity and the health of the planet.[35]

Clearly, globalization processes can be traced back as far as one is willing to follow the migratory flows and technological inventions that have played a role in enhancing, multiplying, and extending social connections and compressing space and time. The perspective adopted by some scholars, then, that globalization is as old as humanity, is important, because it acknowledges that globalization processes are gradual and that they have a long history. However, it is also important to note that an increasing social awareness of processes now associated with the term globalization began to emerge with the advent of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Writers as diverse as Karl Marx, Henry Adams, and John Dewey commented on the ways in which distance, space, time, and communication were being transformed by new technologies.[36] By the 1960s, this awareness had intensified, as evidenced in Marshall McLuhan's popularization of the term "global village." In his 1962 book *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, McLuhan argued that the electronic mass media collapses space and time and engenders social interaction on a global scale, thus metaphorically shrinking the globe to the size of a village. Although many have since used the term "global village" positively, McLuhan took a darker view, warning that the interdependent nature of the technologically driven global village has the potential to lead to terror and totalitarianism.[37]

Awareness of and theorization about the processes of globalization clearly are not unique to this current historical moment. However, most scholars would agree that

colonialism   One territorial sovereign exerting control and sovereignty over another land by usurping control from local leaders, thereby destroying indigenous culture, economies, and political structures.

nation-state system   Refers to the division of the world into sovereign territories over which local rulers maintain the power to govern. Also known as the Westphalian model.

mass media   Media that is designed to reach a mass audience, such as the population of a nation-state. The term has traditionally referred to nationwide television and radio networks and mass-circulation newspapers and magazines.

Cold War   Refers to the ideological stand-off between two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, from 1945 to 1989. While not directly fighting one another, each side sought to expand its influence by keeping the other from spreading its form of government and political system, resulting in many proxy wars throughout the world.

globalization processes have accelerated dramatically since the 1980s. Many scholars would also agree that this acceleration has led to a marked intensification of our awareness of the world as a whole and the connections between the distant and the local. Important dates in this more contemporary view of globalization include IBM's release of the first personal computer on August 12, 1981[38] and the invention of the World Wide Web in 1989 by Sir Tim Berners-Lee.[39]

Dimensions of Globalization

In order to extend our understanding of globalization, we'll now move away from general definitions to take a closer look at some of the different processes that the term encompasses. The following sections provide an overview of some of the theoretical frameworks, issues, and terms that are characteristic of economic, political, and cultural analyses of globalization. Although each facet of globalization is linked to the general components of globalization described above, isolating and examining the economic, political, and cultural dimensions of globalization will help us to understand better the ways in which these complex forces operate both autonomously and in concert with each other.[40]

Economics

On November 30, 1999, thousands of protesters descended upon the streets of Seattle, Washington near the Washington State Convention and Trade Center. Activists from around the world representing diverse causes, ideologies, and local, national, and international organizations (including labor, environmental, consumer protection, student, and religious groups) marched toward the convention center from various directions. Others took control of downtown intersections. The goal? To protest and disrupt the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference, preventing the approximately 5,000 delegates from more than 135 nations from getting from their hotels to the Convention Center.[41] The protest soon turned violent, as police fired pepper spray, tear gas, stun grenades, and eventually rubber bullets at protesters in an effort to reopen the streets and usher the WTO delegates through the block-ades. The situation descended into chaos as black-clothed youths, reported to be anarchists, began smashing windows and vandalizing storefronts. Some protesters tried to stop the vandalism while other people joined in, pushing dumpsters into the middle of the street and lighting them on fire. Mayor Paul Schell imposed a curfew and a 50-block No-Protest Zone. Protests continued for days, however, cul-minating in 600 arrests and an estimated three million dollars in property damage.[42]

It was not only the size of the protests – more than 40,000 people – and the violence that ensued that came as a surprise to many people in the United States; it was also the object of protest, the WTO, that caused many to scratch their heads. As *Newsweek* magazine observed in the days following the riots, "until last week, not so many Americans had even heard of the WTO. Fewer still could have

identified it as the small, Geneva-based bureaucracy that the United States and 134 other nations set up five years ago to referee global commerce."[43] Media coverage of the riots brought the economic aspects of globalization into the American popular consciousness for the first time, causing many to wonder, "What is globalization exactly, and why are the protesters so against it?" "What are those mysterious institutions – the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank – that the media keep mentioning?" "And what could be so problematic about free trade?"

Historical roots of contemporary economic globalization
Although the activists in Seattle were a diverse group, many were protesting the forces of economic globalization, including multinational corporations, global economic institutions like the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank, and the global economic policies, such as *free trade*, that these institutions promulgated, often at the expense, critics would argue, of developing nations, the environment, and the poor. Economic globalization as we know it today can be traced back to decisions made at a US- and British-led economic conference that took place during the final months of World War II. The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, which is now more commonly known as the *Bretton Woods Conference*, was held at a mountain resort in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire from July 1 to July 22, 1944. The economic conference, which welcomed more than 700 representatives from 44 Allied countries, was designed to create a system of rules, institutions, and procedures that would rebuild and regulate the international economy, preventing the monetary chaos of the interwar period (the period between the two world wars) from occurring again. Architects of the conference believed that interwar economic policies contributed to World War II. They argued that the privileging of national goals and the dismissal of international collaboration as a means of achieving those goals led to high *tariffs* and the devaluation of currencies in an effort to make goods more competitive on the international market. These policies in turn contributed not only to domestic economic and political instability but also to international war. According to American economist and senior US Treasury department official Harry Dexter White, who together with John Maynard Keynes dominated the Bretton Woods conference, the interwar period showed that "the absence of a high degree of economic collaboration among the leading nations will . . . inevitably result in economic warfare that will be but the prelude and instigator of military warfare on an even vaster scale."[44]

The countries participating in the conference agreed that a new "open" international economic system needed to be developed. This "open" system would be characterized by lower tariffs and the creation of an international monetary system that would reduce barriers to trade. However, they also agreed that the new system should not be a *laissez-faire* form of economic liberalism in

free trade   The promotion of trade in goods and services by reducing tariffs and other trade barriers.

Bretton Woods Conference   An attempt to establish common rules for financial and commercial global transactions. By regulating the international monetary system, the industrial powers that met in 1944 in Bretton Woods sought to prevent the economic policies that led to the global depression of the 1920s–30s.

tariffs   Taxes placed on imported goods.

laissez-faire   An economic philosophy that suggests economies work best with limited government involvement.

which governments do not oversee/intervene in the market economy. Rather, Keynes's popular school of economic thought promoted a mixed economy, in which both the state and the private sector have roles to play. The new system thus included the establishment of rules regulating international economic activities. Conference members also agreed upon a more stable monetary exchange system that defined all currencies in relation to the US dollar.

Bretton Woods laid the foundation for three new international economic institutions that would exert tremendous influence over the international economy. The first, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now one of five institutions in the World Bank Group), was initially designed to loan money to promote Europe's reconstruction after the war. Later, it took on the role of loaning money to developing countries to bolster economic development. The second, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), was created to take charge of the international monetary system, or, more specifically, to regulate and stabilize currency exchange rates. In the 1970s, the IMF expanded its role and began extending short-term loans to countries with *balance-of-payment* problems. The third, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (which evolved into the *World Trade Organization* in 1995), established and enforced the rules governing international trade agreements.

balance-of-payment Refers to the total exports and imports of a given country in a given time period.

World Trade Organization (WTO) An international organization designed to promote free and uniform trade and banking and finance rules and regulations.

Neoliberalism

The Bretton Woods system created a controlled form of capitalism that lasted until the early 1970s. In 1971, in an effort to counteract forces that were undermining the economic competitiveness of the US, President Nixon abandoned the *gold standard*, allowing the dollar to fluctuate in value. The 1970s were characterized by global instability, including inflation, low levels of economic growth, high unemployment, and energy crises. In the 1980s, the Bretton Woods system, which had been influenced by Keynesian interventionism, was further challenged in England and the US by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan, both strong proponents of what is often described as *neoliberalism*. The term neoliberalism refers to a political movement, influenced by classical liberal economic theories, that pairs economic liberalism with economic development and political liberty. Neoliberalism portrays government control over the economy as inefficient and corrupt. Characteristic neoliberal policies include downsizing government, privatizing public or state-owned enterprises, deregulating the economy, cutting taxes, expanding international markets, and removing barriers to global trade.[45]

gold standard A monetary system that issues currency that is backed up by gold whereby the holder of the currency can redeem that note for an equivalent amount of gold.

neoliberalism A rejection of Keynesian economic theory, which posited that the state must play an active role in a capitalist economy in order to level out the inevitable boom and bust cycles. Neoliberals argue that deregulation and privatization of state-owned enterprises and limited government involvement in the economy as the best ways for countries' economies to grow and individual freedoms to flourish.

Free trade and multinational corporations

Neoliberal policies, with their emphasis on free trade, contributed to the globalization of trade and finance that we see today. Indeed, free trade has become one of the most common economic buzzwords associated with economic globalization. Regional and international trade-liberalization agreements, like *NAFTA* and *GATT*, reduced trade barriers among nations. Proponents of free trade argue that eliminating trade barriers increases global wealth, consumer choice, and international security and peace. However, while some economists maintain that free trade increases the standard of living throughout the world, free trade critics point to studies that indicate that the gap between rich and poor countries is actually widening rather than shrinking. They claim that free trade allows developed nations to exploit developing countries, destroying local industry and undoing the "vital health, safety, and environmental protections won by citizen movements across the globe in recent decades."[46] Other critics maintain that free trade hurts developed nations as well, encouraging corporations to cut costs and increase profits by moving jobs to countries where they can pay workers less, avoid environmental and worker safety protections, and eliminate costly health and retirement benefits.

> **NAFTA** A free trade agreement between the US, Canada, and Mexico that sought to encourage trade between the three countries.
>
> **GATT** The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was a treaty whose functions were taken over by the WTO.

Central to the controversies revolving around free trade is the rise of multinational or transnational corporations (MNC/TNC). An MNC is a corporation that produces or delivers services in at least two countries. Their numbers have increased dramatically, from 7,000 in 1970s to approximately 50,000 in 2000.[47] Their economic power is extensive; some MNCs have budgets that are larger than those of many countries. As a result of the pervasive, international power of MNCs, some have referred to economic globalization as "corporate globalization."

Although MNCs are motivated by profit rather than altruism,[48] some studies suggest that multinationals generally pay an average wage that exceeds the average rate in the local area.[49] Other economists suggest that multinational companies help domestic companies learn how to be more effective and efficient, pushing all companies in an area where multinationals are operating to be more productive.[50] In contrast, critics of MNCs and free trade argue that MNCs have used international trade organizations and agreements to undermine the ability of local, state, and national governments to impose safety, environmental, and wage controls on business, thus limiting governments' abilities to protect their citizens and their environment from harm.[51] Specifically, MNCs are accused of crafting trade agreements in such a way that they pit countries against each other in "a race to the bottom." Poor countries want to attract corporations that will create jobs for their citizens, but the trade-off can be severe, as corporations are attracted to the countries that "set the lowest wage levels, the lowest environmental standards, [and] the lowest consumer safety standards."[52] As free trade critic Ralph Nader puts it, "it is a tragic 'incentives' lure . . . workers, consumers, and communities in all countries lose; short-term profits soar and big business 'wins.' "[53]

International economic institutions

The three economic institutions most commonly associated with economic glob-alization are the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO, all of which emerged or evolved from the Bretton Woods system. The IMF and the World Bank provided loans for developing countries, but by the 1970s, they adopted a neoliberal agenda and started integrating and deregulating markets around the globe. By the 1980s, they began implementing structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in developing countries. These programs were designed to make it more likely that debtor nations would be able to repay their loans. In order to obtain a loan or restructure an existing one, countries would have to reduce the amount of money they spent on public services, including subsidies for basic food items, health care, and education. Countries would also be required to promote foreign investment, privatize state enterprises, devalue their currencies, promote export-led economic growth, and deregulate their economies. In many countries, these new policies led to fewer social programs for the poor. In some countries, the ending of subsidies for basic items, such as bread, led to riots. For example, in Caracas, Venezuela in 1989, anti-IMF riots were sparked as a result of a 200 percent increase in the price of bread. President Carlos Andres Perez accused the IMF of practicing "an economic totalitarianism which kills not with bullets but with famine," but in order to quell the riots, he sent the military into the slums on the hills overlooking the capital, where they fired upon people indiscriminately. According to unofficial estimates, more than 1,000 people were killed.[54]

Additionally, SAPs contributed to increases in pollution and the degradation of the environment in many countries due to the removal of environmental regula-tions and the unbridled extraction of natural resources for foreign markets. In many cases, SAPs not only failed to help develop debtor countries but also increased the poverty of their people.[55] It was these kinds of IMF and World Bank policies and programs that brought so many protesters together in Seattle in November of 1999 to raise awareness and rally for change.

Politics

Although the term "politics" is most commonly associated with government, it can be used more generally to refer to the processes through which groups of people make decisions. Politics consist of social relations, then, but because decision-making is involved, politics are also about authority and power. How will a given decision be made? Whose view of a situation and what should be done about it will be adopted? How will the decision be applied and enforced? When viewed in this way, it becomes evident that politics form a part of all group interactions, from governments, to corporations, to clubs. However, at academic institutions, political scientists tend to focus their analysis and research on politics at the larger governmental level, examining political behavior and organization, systems of governance, public policy, and the acquisition, allocation, application, and transfer of power. When looking at globalization through a political science lens, the focus

Researching to Learn   *Investigating the effects of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) on developing nations*

Sample Keyword Searches

Broad searches:
- Debt AND developing nations
- Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)

Narrower searches:
- Debt AND development AND conditionalities
- Debt AND international aid AND developing nations

Advanced searches:
- ("Structural Adjustment Programs" OR SAPs) AND ("World Bank") AND ("developing nations")
- ("Structural Adjustment Programs" OR SAPs) AND (Argentina OR South America)

Note:
- *Use quotation marks to search for terms as a phrase.*
- *Use AND to find documents with all terms listed.*
- *Use OR to find documents that contain at least one of the terms.*
- *Use parentheses to combine AND and OR statements in creative ways.*

Free Web Resources

Dollar, David, and Jakob Svensson. "What Explains the Success or Failure of Structural Adjustment Programs?" *World Bank.*
www.worldbank.org/html/dec/Publications/Workpapers/WPS1900series/wps1938/wps1938-abstract.html

Imam, Patrick. "Effect of IMF Structural Adjustment Programs on Expectations: The Case of Transition."
www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2007/wp07261.pdf

Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network.
www.saprin.org/

University of California, Santa Cruz.
"Does Structural Adjustment work?" *UC Atlas of Global Inequality.*
http://ucatlas.ucsc.edu/sap/does_it_work.php

Books: Find Them @ Your Library

Bello, Walden F., Bill Rau, and Shea Cunningham. *Dark Victory: The United States, Structural Adjustment and Global Poverty.* Oakland, CA: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1994.

Danaher, Kevin. *50 Years is Enough: The Case Against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.* Boston, MA: South End Press, 1994.

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SAPRIN. *Structural Adjustment: The Policy Roots of Economic Crisis, Poverty, and Inequality.* London, UK: Zed Books, 2004.

Articles: Find Them @ Your Library

Brawley, Mark R. and Nicole Baerg. "Structural Adjustment, Development, and Democracy," *International Studies Review* 9.4 (December 2007): 601–15.

Lele, Uma. "The Gendered Impacts of Structural Adjustment Programs in Africa: Discussion." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 73.5 (December 1991): 1452–5.

Prendergrast, John. "Blood Money for Sudan: World Bank and IMF to the 'Rescue.'" *Africa Today* 36 (Fall 1989): 43–53.

tends to be on issues revolving around the demarcation of the globe into nation-states, shifting territorial configurations, global governance, and other forms of supranational social and economic regulation.

The nation-state

Traditionally, political scientists have distinguished between the terms *nation* and *state*, using the former to describe an ethnic or cultural community and the latter to refer to a *sovereign* political entity. As such, some states may have many nations living within them, and, conversely, some nations are not sovereign states. For example, the Native American Iroquois are a nation but not a state, since they do not have sovereign authority over their internal and external affairs.[56] The term "nation-state" implies that the nation, the cultural/ethnic group, coincides with the state, the geopolitical entity. In theory, then, citizens of the nation-state share a common language, culture, and values, commonalities which historically often were not characteristic of the "state." For example, prior to our current nation-state system, Europe was divided into multiethnic empires, including the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, Ottoman, and British Empires.

> **nation**   Refers to a shared cultural or ethnic identity rather than to a legally recognized geographic territory.
>
> **state**   Refers to the actual governing apparatus of a geographically defined territory called a country.
>
> **sovereign/sovereignty**   The principle that emerged from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which suggests that a political entity has the sole authority to make decisions about policy, procedure, and institutions within a given geographic territory.

In today's nation-state system, global migration and the presence of ethnic minorities disrupt the implied unity of the nation-state. In the absence of common descent, language, and ethnic identity, nation-states often try to create cultural uniformity via national language policies and compulsory education with a uniform curriculum. While some nation-states create state-enforced cultural assimilation policies, other reactions to the presence of ethnic minorities have historically included expulsion, persecution, and violence. Indeed, nation-states have been responsible for some of the worst examples of violence against people living within the nation-state's borders who were not considered part of the nation. However, many nation-states do accept some minorities, protecting and guaranteeing their rights. Some states have adopted *multiculturalism* as an official policy in an effort to establish peaceful relations between the multiple ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups living within the state.

> **multiculturalism**   Belief that different cultures can coexist peacefully within a given territory.

Whatever their responses to multiculturalism might be, nation-states are increasingly forced to address the issue, as the forces of globalization have led to a growth in human mobility, making it easier for people to migrate around the world. Some argue that increased migration has disrupted the coherency of the nation-state, eroding the commonalities of language, culture, and values upon which it depends. Others argue that the nation-state is in decline due to the general deterritorialization effects of globalization, which render bounded territory an increasingly less meaningful concept for understanding global power. Political power, they maintain, resides in global networks, eroding the ability of states to control social, political, and economic life within their borders. However, other scholars disagree,

pointing out that it was the nation-states themselves that initiated the policies that unleashed the forces of globalization. Governments, they argue, remain important political entities on the global landscape, retaining various degrees of control over education, infrastructure, and migration.[57]

Global governance

Discussions of political globalization also often focus on *supra-national* organizations and forms of regulation. These structures include local governments within nations, regional groups of nation-states, international organizations (IOs), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). For example, "global cities," like Tokyo, New York, London, and Kuala Lumpur, sometimes have political interests that are more in common with other global cities than with cities within their nation-states. Additionally, regional groupings of nations, such as the European Union, have taken over some of the nation-state's traditional functions. Inter-national organizations, like the UN and the WTO, spread decision-making among member nation-states, and NGOs, such as Greenpeace, bring together millions of citizens from around the world to challenge decisions made by nation-states and IOs.[58] Political scientists are not in agreement about whether the expansion of supranational organizations is a positive development. Some believe that sup-ranational organizations will evolve into more inclusive and advanced forms of self-government, while critics claim that local and national governments are being replaced by remote forms of government that are neither democratic nor respon-sive to people's needs.[59] Many of the Seattle protesters were also concerned about this issue; they attempted to make people aware that many economic policies that have a global impact are made by IOs that are neither democratic nor transparent in their decision-making.

> **supranational** A supranational organization is one that has been given the authority by its member nations to make decisions that take precedence over individual member nations' policies. The supranational organization relies on nations to carry out its decisions because it usually lacks any enforcement powers of its own.

Culture

Popular culture, youth culture, Chilean culture, academic culture, European culture, consumer culture, culture shock, cultural rev-olution, subcultures. *Culture* is a term that is used so often and in so many contexts that it sometimes seems to mean everything and nothing. Academic definitions of the term are also numerous and often quite broad as well. Influential anthropologist Edward B. Taylor, for example, wrote in 1871 that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[60] Clifford Geertz, another important anthropologist, takes a symbolic view of culture. Geertz states that "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun." He takes "culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning."[61] In Geertz's framework, culture provides

> **culture** Refers to the beliefs, values, norms, ideals, symbols, and lifestyles of a specified entity.

unity and regularity to a society, allowing people to frame their thoughts and experiences in intelligible ways and to communicate with one another. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) describes culture as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group. . . . [I]t encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs."[62]

Manfred Steger's definition of culture brings some of the aforementioned definitions together. He claims that the "cultural" refers to "the symbolic construction, articulation, and dissemination of meaning." He goes on to explain, "given that language, music, and images constitute the major forms of symbolic expression, they assume special significance in the sphere of culture."[63] Although culture involves production, including the creation of things like music and art, it also involves constraint, in that it establishes "a set of limits within which social behavior must be contained, a repertoire of models to which individuals must conform."[64] Transgressing cultural norms may evoke disciplinary responses from a society, the most extreme of which include imprisonment and execution. However, social cues, such as glares, ridicule, or looks of pity, are a far more common way of encouraging adherence to cultural norms. Culture, then, is a set of beliefs, values, and practices that are learned through processes of *enculturation* and *socialization*.

> **enculturation** Process through which one becomes a member of a culture demonstrating an understanding of its rules, norms, and expectations.
>
> **socialization** The process through which one learns the accepted rules of behavior for a culture or society.

Many scholars (though certainly not all!) who study culture are professors of anthropology. Broadly speaking, anthropology is the study of humanity. It takes as its object of analysis both present and past human biological, linguistic, social, and cultural variations. Anthropology has four major subfields: archaeology, physical anthropology, cultural anthropology, and anthropological linguistics. Cultural anthropologists study cultural variations among humans, paying careful attention to the ways in which distinct peoples in different locales understand their own lives. Traditionally, they viewed culture as "something that differentiated one group from another, an identification of otherness."[65] Today, however, cultural anthropologists also study the ways that global economic and political forces affect local cultures, arguing that one cannot adequately understand a specific culture by looking at it solely through a local perspective. Rather, the local must be understood within a larger political, economic, and cultural framework, since these larger forces impact local realities.

Local and global cultures
Globalization processes, including the rise of transnational corporations, the ubiquity of Western popular culture, and the ease of long-distance, high-speed travel, have transformed societies, erasing some of the differences among them and creating similar environments in many places around the globe. As anthropologist Ted Lewellen observes, "On the surface, the life of a middle-class advertising executive working in midtown Sao Paulo or Singapore may not be that different from that of a similarly employed New Yorker."[66] Indeed, most major cities around the world share more similarities than ever before, and many of these similarities are

Western, such as the pervasiveness of American fast food, Western business suits, Hollywood movies, and the English language.

Many scholars point out that global cultural shifts toward *homogeneity*, or sameness, were hastened in the early 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. As the world's sole remaining superpower, the United States' ability to purvey its products, images, ideas, and values around the world increased. Also, as more governments became democratic, more countries became increasingly open to outside influences. Technological innovations, such as computer networks and fiber optic cables, also increased the speed at which products and ideologies spread around the world. The companies, values, and ideas that circle around the globe on these fast networks are largely Western and often American. Multinational corporations, such as Starbucks, McDonald's, Disney, the Gap, and Microsoft, spread not only their products, but also the values embedded within them, such as "speed and ease of use," an emphasis on leisure time, and "a desire for increasing material wealth and comfort."[67] Some critics describe this trend as American or Western *cultural imperialism*, a term that refers to "the control of cultural space and the imposition of a dominant culture – by either coercive or indirect means."[68] While some Westerners may view the spread of Western culture and values as natural, inevitable, and positive, other people see it as a threat to cultures around the world. Some critics of cultural globalization describe Western culture as a homogenizing force that is erasing local cultures, replacing cultural differences with a single world culture based on American values. For example, when Starbucks opened its first coffee shop in Zurich in 2003, critics warned that it was another example of the homogenization of global culture, which would culminate in a monoculture characterized by the replacement of local stores and restaurants with international chains.

> **homogeneity**   Sameness, or lacking difference.
>
> **cultural imperialism**   A form of domination that involves privileging one culture (usually that of a large, powerful nation) over less powerful ones or imposing/injecting the cultural practices of a dominant culture into other cultures, often culminating in the adoption of the cultural practices of the imperial power.

Others argue that to position American or Western culture as an absolute, unstoppable force that erases local cultures is to miss the ways that local cultures negotiate Western products and values, incorporating some, rejecting others, and sometimes transforming them in new ways. Although it is true that elements of American culture can be found in almost every corner of the globe, those elements do not always have the same cultural meanings as they do in the United States, nor should the presence of American products in cultures around the world be confused with the adoption of an American cultural identity. As British economist Philippe Legrain points out, "You can choose to drink Coke and eat at McDonald's without becoming American in any meaningful sense."[69] Moreover, cultural flows don't just move in one direction, from the United States to the rest of the world, but rather "from the rest of the world to the rest of the world."[70] Writer Jackson Kuhl, for example, points out the complex cultural exchanges and transformations that ultimately led to the opening of the aforementioned Starbucks in Zurich. Tracing the history of coffee drinking though Africa, Islamic cultures, Europe, and the United States, Kuhl highlights the fact that the Starbucks phenomenon is not a one-way

cultural flow from the US to the rest of the world. Rather, Starbucks itself is a product of diverse global cultures: "Starbuck's customers, whether in Zurich or Beirut, are drinking an American version of an Italian evolution of a beverage invented by Arabs brewed from a bean discovered by Africans."[71]

Cultural cross-fertilizations have always occurred, and they do change cultures, sometimes in small ways and other times in larger ways. However, these exchanges do not necessarily turn less powerful cultures into replicas of a dominant culture. Legrain argues that "new hybrid cultures are emerging, and regional ones re-emerging" that are producing both greater singularity and diversity within societies.[72] The ubiquity of American food chains, for example, does not necessarily erase specific regional cuisines. In fact, the presence of American restaurants can actually incite a resurgence of interest in preserving local cuisines. These local and global food choices may coexist and/or contribute to the creation of culinary fusions that are neither one nor the other, but rather something altogether new. Likewise the explosion of Mexican, Indian, Thai, and other 'foreign' restaurants in the US suggests that US eating habits are also open to change and global influence. Most Americans who are over 40 years of age in the US can remember, for example, when the spice aisle of the local grocery store contained a dozen or so spices. Today, the average supermarket in the US may have an entire aisle devoted to spices.

While there are many cultures that take part in some of the facets of today's globalizing world without abandoning their own cultural practices and values, there are also those that attempt to isolate themselves from a global Western culture in order to protect their culture from outside forces that might change or "contaminate" it. Lewellen, for example, points out that consumerism is a dominant cultural force of globalization and, as such, people with money are the ones most likely to participate, to varying degrees, in global culture. Those without the financial ability to participate in the global consumer culture as well as those whose religious beliefs prevent such participation are more likely to see global culture as a threat. Indeed, the perceived threat of global culture can increase their sense of difference.[73]

American political theorist Benjamin Barber also discusses these different responses to global culture, arguing that two dominant forces are clashing on the world stage. He calls the first "McWorld," which he describes as the product of "the onrush of economic and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity and that mesmerize the world with fast music, fast computers, and fast food – with MTV, Macintosh, and McDonald's, pressing nations into one commercially homogenous global network: one McWorld tied together by technology, ecology, communications, and commerce."[74] Barber argues that the forces of uniformity also produce cultural and political forces of resistance, which he calls "Jihad." In contrast to the homogenizing forces of McWorld, Jihad is a fragmenting force that pits culture against culture and rejects any kind of interdependence and cooperation. Barber sees both Jihad and McWorld as antidemocratic forces that undermine civil liberties. He advocates for a form of government that protects and accommodates local communities, while also helping them to become more tolerant and participatory.

Clearly, scholars take different positions regarding the effects and forces of cultural globalization. These disagreements are due in part to the fact that cultural flows are complex, and, as such, their results are often uneven and contradictory. As Steger points out, in some contexts, local cultures may largely be replaced by Western cultural products, practices, and values. In other cases, global pressures may lead to a resurgence of attention to and celebration of local cultures. In still others, cultural exchanges result in new forms of cultural hybridity.[75]

Although cultural, political, and economic globalizing forces can be discussed in isolation, they do not operate completely independently from one another. They are connected, though not in a uniform way. Together they affect and are affected by the actions of individuals, organizations, and governments, and these effects are distributed unevenly across the globe.

In Focus: Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations"

In 1993, prominent Harvard scholar Samuel Huntington published an article in *Foreign Affairs*, a leading scholarly journal, in which he argued that culture would be the cause of future global conflicts:

> It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.[76]

In 1996, Huntington expanded upon this argument with the publication of his book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Huntington's worldview does not allow for productive forms of cultural hybridity nor the idea that cultural exchange can facilitate better relations among states. For Huntington, the more different civilizations interact with one another, the more they will clash. His ideas incited a vigorous debate within the academic community as well as among practitioners in the global policy arena that continues to run a decade and a half after the publication of his book.

In order to understand the debate that was triggered by Huntington's work, it is necessary to look at his arguments more closely. Huntington views civilizations as cultural entities that are defined "both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people." He posits that there are seven or eight civilizations in the world: Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavi-orthodox, Latin American, Western, and perhaps African. Huntington argues that civilization is central to our sense of self, and that these identities are much more important and last longer than ideological or economic attachments. Because of the strength of our attachment to our respective civilizations, fault lines inevitably emerge. The more we trade

and interact with other civilizations, the more aware we become of the differences between "us" and "them." For Huntington, these differences lead to conflict. Huntington then builds upon these assumptions by arguing that because the West is at the peak of its military, economic, and political power, it should adopt a "West vs. the Rest" approach to world politics. In other words, he maintains that the West should construct foreign policy aimed at nurturing Western relationships and promoting cooperation with other cultures that are similar to it. Western cultural dominance should be promoted, international institutions that undergrid that dominance should be supported, and institutions that "that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values" should be strengthened.

Huntington is not without his critics.[77] Some have responded by positing a series of questions. Are identities ancient and unchanging? Do these identities motivate people to persecute and kill those of another civilization? Does ethnic diversity itself inevitably lead to violence? If Huntington is correct, then how do we explain Algeria, Afghanistan (both predominantly Muslim), and Northern Ireland (predominantly Christian), to name a few countries where civil wars erupted between peoples of the same religions? Why hasn't the US, with its multiplicity of civilizations, been torn apart? Are all cultures pure, or can we talk about subcultures within cultures? How do we explain mixed marriages and the resulting hybridization of their offspring? If we live in an interdependent world, what is the advantage of having conflict over concepts such as civilization? For example, nearly 90 percent of Saudi Arabia's export earnings come from oil,[78] the bulk of which is sold to Japan.[79] Were it to engage in conflict with Japan, or its allies, the entire Saudi economy would be ruined. Likewise, the US is becoming increasingly dependent upon China for trade, as well as for financial assistance. In 2008, 25 percent of the United States' debt ($8.5 trillion) was owned by foreign governments. Japan topped the list, owning $644 billion of US debt, and China owned $350 billion.[80] In short, *autarky*, or complete economic independence, is not possible in a world where global economic patterns are driving countries to interact with increased frequency. So while we may be attached to our cultures or "civilizations," such attachments tend not to override other concerns. Finally, Huntington's critics argue that he seems to be assuming that the more that countries trade and interact, the more likely they are to go to war. This idea conflicts with "liberal peace theory" research, which concludes that the more that nations trade with each other, the more interdependent they become, and the less likely they are to go to war.[81]

autarky   Complete economic independence.

Global Citizenship: Rights, Responsibility, Inequalities, and Connections

Since the 1990s, there has been renewed interest in the concept of citizenship, generated at least in part by the pressures brought to bear on the concept by globalization.[82] What, after all, does it mean to be a citizen in a globalized world?

What exactly do academic programs in global studies mean when they say they want to facilitate the development of global citizens? What might global citizenship look like, and how might the concept disrupt traditional ideas about citizenship? Any coherent understanding of global citizenship must take into account the dominant discourses on citizenship that have influenced Western thought for centuries.

The term "citizenship," broadly defined, refers to membership in a political community and the attendant rights and responsibilities that this membership entails. The "rights and responsibilities" part of this general definition implicitly points to two competing conceptions of citizenship, both of which have long histories: (1) citizenship-as-activity and (2) citizenship-as-status.[83] The citizenship-as-activity model foregrounds the importance of political agency, defining the "citizen" as one who actively participates in a society's political institutions. This understanding of citizenship goes back to Aristotle and is inscribed in the writings of Cicero, Machiavelli, and Rousseau as well. Aristotle, for example, described the citizen as one capable of both ruling and being ruled. Similarly, Rousseau's notion of the *social contract* positions active participation in civic society as that which ensures that individuals are citizens and not *subjects*.[84]

Writers like Aristotle and Rousseau have contributed to the delineation of what has become known as the *republican model of citizenship* (or classical or civic humanist model). In the republican model, the best form of state is based on (1) a virtuous citizenry and (2) a constitutionally governed polity – a republic and not tyranny. These two preconditions for an ideal state are also viewed as interdependent; a free citizenry is impossible under tyranny and a republic is impossible without the active participation of a virtuous citizenry.[85] As a result, citizenship in the republican model is viewed as a desirable and valuable activity (rather than a state of being contingent upon one's legal status) that enriches both the self and the com-munity. Indeed, "the extent and quality of one's citizenship can shift and change, since it is a function of one's participation in that community."[86]

The second conception of citizenship, citizenship-as-status, focuses on legal rights, specifically the freedom both to act in accordance with the law and to claim the law's protection. Citizenship-as-legal-status is not so much about what you do, as it is in the republican model, but about who you are – specifically, your membership in a particular political community. Citizenship understood in terms of legal status rather than political participation is often referred to as the *liberal model of citizenship*. The liberal model focuses on the protection of individual freedoms from interference by both other individuals and the government. Although it emerged in the seventeenth century and grew stronger in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its origins are traceable back to the Roman Empire. As the empire expanded, it granted citizenship rights to conquered

social contract   A political philosophy that suggests rulers and those they rule over have a contract whereby the ruled allow the rulers to reign as long as they act in the interests of the ruled. When a ruler no longer is seen to do so, the ruled reserve the right to replace the ruler.

subjects   Historically, a term used in monarchical societies to refer to those whose lives were controlled by the king or queen. Modern usage refers to citizens of a monarchical society.

republican model of citizenship A model of rule that places the individual at the center suggesting he or she is capable of being ruled and of ruling. This view of citizenship focuses on the person as a political agent.

liberal model of citizenship Sees citizenship as a legal status, while stressing political liberty and freedom from interference by other citizens and political authority.

males, transforming in the process the definition of citizenship from participation in the formulation or execution of the law to protection by the law. While more passive than the republican model's "citizenship of virtue,"[87] the liberal legal model was also, at least potentially, more inclusive and expansive.[88]

By the twentieth century, citizenship, in the liberal model, came to be defined almost entirely in terms of the citizen's possession of rights. T. H. Marshall's influential *Citizenship and Social Class* (1949) argued that citizenship is primarily about ensuring that everyone is treated as an equal member of the society. The best way to do this is by granting an increasing number of citizenship rights, which Marshall identified as civil, political, and social. Marshall argued that in England, *civil rights* (equality before the law) arose in the eighteenth century, political rights (the vote) arose in the nineteenth century, and social rights (welfare state institutions, such as public education and health care) arose in the twentieth century.[89]

civil rights   Rights that individuals possess by virtue of their citizenship – for example, the right to free speech.

Expanded citizenship rights were accompanied by an expansion of the classes of people who were considered citizens. For example, civil and political rights had long been restricted to white, property-owning, Protestant men, but gradually they were extended to others as well, including women, the working class, Jews, and other previously excluded groups. Although this extension of rights is generally viewed positively today, the view of citizenship espoused by Marshall is sometimes criticized for "its emphasis on passive entitlements and the absence of any obligation."[90]

The framework for citizenship as both legal status and as an activity has long been the sovereign, territorial state. In other words, states have specific territorial boundaries, within which citizens may enjoy legal rights and may participate politically. The borders of the state also mark the boundaries of the political community and the rights and responsibilities extended by that community. Various globalizing forces, including new communication technologies, the mass media, transnational economic exchanges, and mass migrations, have highlighted how artificial and porous borders between states can be, calling into question whether there is a necessary relationship between citizenship and the territorially bounded political community.[91] Others point out that the nation-state's sovereignty can function as an impediment to global justice, arguing that it does not have the capacity to adequately address global economic, social, and environmental problems. As a result, they argue, we should explore possibilities beyond its boundaries.[92]

One proposed alternative to state-based citizenship is the notion of "global citizenship" or "world citizenship." The concept of world citizenship has a long history. For example, when Socrates was asked to what country he belonged, he reportedly responded: "I am a citizen of the universe."[93] The concept expressed in Socrates' statement can be traced back to a school of philosophy called *stoicism*, a Greek and Roman movement that enjoyed popularity and influence in waves roughly corresponding to 300 BCE, 100 BCE, and 100 CE.[94] The stoics taught that individuals should be loyal members of

stoicism   A philosophy, prevalent in ancient Greece and Rome, that maintains that freedom and universal understanding can be obtained by self-control and freeing oneself from mundane desires.

both the "polis," or state, and the "cosmopolis," or world city, which they understood as a universal moral community and not as a world government.[95] The notion of world citizenship emerged again during both the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Over time, it evolved into the concept of *cosmopolitanism*, which has been held up as an ideal and described in a variety of different ways by moral and sociopolitical philosophers. An idea that most definitions of cosmopolitanism share is that all human beings, regardless of their state affiliations, belong to a single community. However, some view this community as essentially a moral one, while others view it in political, economic, or cultural terms.[96]

> **cosmopolitanism** Belief that all humans are connected and belong to one humanity.

In her book *The Political Theory of Global Citizenship*, April Carter states that today cosmopolitanism is generally understood in political and international relations theory as "a model of global politics in which relations between individuals transcend state boundaries, and in which an order based on relations between states is giving way to an order based at least partly on universal laws and institutions."[97] According to Carter, cosmopolitanism is still associated with the moral position advanced initially by the stoics that each individual should be valued as an autonomous being. Carter points out that while cosmopolitanism is linked to humanitarianism by its active concern for others in need, it differs from humanitarianism in that it stresses the dignity of those receiving aid. Cosmopolitanism is also linked to the liberal belief in basic human rights, but it goes further to posit an ideal of a world community that unites us all while simultaneously respecting the differences among us.

Since the 1990s, the term "global citizenship" has been gaining popularity, and it is used far more frequently in common parlance than is the term cosmopolitanism. Current conceptions of "global citizenship" share many of the basic tenets of cosmopolitanism discussed above; however, the phrase also evokes the distinct history of the term "citizenship." The concept of global citizenship can be viewed as relying upon elements of both the republican and liberal models of citizenship. For example, both global citizenship and the republican model of citizenship are shaped by notions of active participation, responsibility, and civic virtue. Global citizenship discourses often emphasize the importance of actively working to make the world a better place, an idea that hearkens back to the republican notion of citizenship as a desirable and valuable activity that enriches both the self and the community. However, in the case of global citizenship, the community extends far beyond the boundaries of the state. Self-identified global citizens who actively participate in movements that address global issues clearly share some beliefs and values that were important in the republican model. However, the notion of global citizenship also retains the liberal model's emphasis on the protection of individual rights via its emphasis on protecting basic human rights. Historically, the liberal model was often more inclusive and expansive than the republican model, allowing, for example, for the extension of citizenship rights to conquered peoples, as in the case of the Roman empire. Global citizenship takes inclusiveness and expansiveness beyond the empire to include all of humanity. So, on the one hand, one

could act as a global citizen by working to protect human rights. On the other, one could also be considered a global citizen in the liberal sense simply by virtue of being a human being whose human rights therefore deserve to be protected.

Despite points of similarity with both the republican and the liberal models of citizenship, critics of the term global citizenship argue that it is not a coherent category, since citizenship is generally understood as a legal relationship to a specific sovereign state.[98] In contrast, Carter argues that "the development of international law and the pressures of migration have challenged the exclusivity of the nation-state and therefore the old concept of citizenship."[99] The newer notion of global citizenship (1) recognizes emerging international laws and institutions and (2) broadens and extends the rights and responsibilities that have traditionally been a part of citizenship. As the planet shrinks under the forces of globalization, new institutions and media continue to emerge that foster the growth of a global civil society that transcends national boundaries. This book takes Carter's position that the term "global citizenship" is a useful category that makes connections among human rights, human duties, and cosmopolitan beliefs. The term also denotes the complex linkages among individuals, international laws, and political institutions that emerge in a globalizing world.[100]

Active global citizens, then, are those who seek to understand the links between human rights, human duties, and cosmopolitan beliefs. They are people who attempt to stay abreast of the complex connections between the local and the global and to understand the webs that link local actions (such as consumption patterns) to international outcomes (such as resource-based conflicts). They also attempt to transform their knowledge into responsible action, such as working for peace, human rights, environmental preservation, and economic equality.[101] In other words, global citizens seek out information about the world so that they can act in informed, ethical, and responsible ways.

Global studies courses and programs are often explicit in their goal of facilitating students' development into active global citizens. In addition to offering students the opportunity to learn about the world from a variety of academic perspectives and to make connections among them, global studies programs challenge them to learn about themselves, to question who they want to become, and to discover how they can actively participate in their world. Global studies, then, not only introduces students to the study of global issues but also encourages them to think about how to leverage that knowledge effectively and responsibly into meaningful action in a globalizing world.

Conclusion

Global studies takes as its object of analysis the global social, political, and economic processes and transformations that affect not only the world as a whole but also individual localities in particular, complex, and sometimes contradictory ways. It is an interdisciplinary field of study that emerged in response to the forces of

globalization, which are multiplying and intensifying worldwide social "inter-dependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant."[102] Some of the dominant global forces that global studies scholars focus on include economic, political, and social forces and the complex connections and interplay among them. Globalization is also expanding traditional notions of citizenship, leading some to suggest that the concept of "global citizenship" may be a potentially productive way of responding to the growing reach and power of international organizations, corporations, and governmental bodies that are increasingly challenging the primacy of the nation-state as the primary player on the international stage.

What global political, cultural, economic, and environmental issues interest you? In what ways are you connected to larger global issues and forces? What kinds of organizations might you like to join or jobs might you like to pursue that would allow you to link your education and interests with active participation in movements to shape and improve life on this ever-shrinking planet?

Notes

1 John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), 24.

2 Calvin Blanchard, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York, NY: Calvin Blanchard, 1860).

3 J. Michael Adams and Angelo Carfagna, *Coming of Age in a Globalized World: The Next Generation* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, Inc., 2008), www.nextgenerationbook.com/.

4 Overseas Facilities, Corporate Information, Fuji Heavy Industries, www.fhi.co.jp/english/outline/inoutline/overseas/index.html.

5 Some examples include: The Global Studies Institute Indiana, www.gsiculver.org/; University of Minnesota, http://igs.cla.umn.edu/; Global Studies Institute-Massachusetts, www.gsinstitute.net/; Johns Hopkins University Institute for Global Studies in Culture, Power, and History, http://web.jhu.edu/igs; University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, www.uwm.edu/Dept/IGS/; The Lawrence D. Starr Global Studies Institute, http://gsi.stmary.edu/; Global Studies Institute Australia, www.gsiaustralia.com/.

6 See, for example, The Global Studies Association (GSA), www.globalstudiesassociation.org/main/.

7 See, for example, the annual Global Studies Association Conference webpage at www.global-studiesassociation.org/main/conference.html.

8 Some examples of universities that offer global studies-related degrees in this category include: University of Wisconsin-Madison, University of California-Santa Barbara, University of New York, University of West Georgia, University of Pittsburgh, San Jose State University, University of California Riverside, Duke University, Meiji Gakuin University, University of Illinois, University of Windsor, York University, Tama University, California State University Monterey Bay, Hamline University, Penn State Berks College, St Lawrence University, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of Liverpool, University of Hawaii.

9 See, for example, Michael Bowler, "The Disciplined Undiscipline of Global Studies," *global-e* 1, no. 2 (September 21, 2007).

10 Ibid.

11 Edward Kolodziej, "What Should Be the Central Concerns of Global Studies?" *global-e* 1, no. 2 (September 21, 2007).

12 David Jacobson and Ning Wang, "The Intellectual Foundations of Global Studies," *global-e* 1, no. 1 (May 17, 2007).

13 For example, Mark Juergensmeyer, Director of the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies at the University of California-Santa

Barbara claims that at the heart of the UC-Santa Barbara program is a "commitment to creating global citizens." See Mark Juergensmeyer, "Going Global the Santa Barbara Way," *global-e* 1, no. 2 (September 21, 2007).

14 *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: Merriam, 1961).

15 Guy Lachapelle and Stéphane Paquin, *Mastering Globalization: New Sub-States' Governance and Strategies* (New York: Routledge 2005), 14; Roland Robertson, *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992), 8.

16 Lachapelle and Paquin, *Mastering Globalization*, 14.

17 Steger developed his definition of globalization by pulling out key themes in the following five influential definitions of globalization:

1 Globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. (Anthony Giddens, ex-Director of the London School of Economics)

2 The concept of globalization reflects the sense of an immense enlargement of world communication, as well as of the horizon of a world market, both of which seem far more tangible and immediate than in earlier stages of modernity. (Fredric Jameson, Professor of Literature at Duke University)

3 Globalization may be thought of as a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power. (David Held, Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics)

4 Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. (Roland Robertson, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh)

5 Globalization compresses the time and space aspects of social relations. (James Mittelman, Professor of International Relations at American University)

See Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

18 Ibid., 13.

19 Ibid., 9.

20 William Scheuerman, "Globalization," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (June 16, 2006), http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/globalization.

21 Robertson, *Globalisation*, 8.

22 Malcolm Waters, *Globalization* (London: Routledge, 1995), 3.

23 Richard Edwards and Robin Usher, *Globalisation and Pedagogy* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 13.

24 Scheuerman, "Globalization."

25 Mvemba Phezo Dizolele, "Millions have Died for Our Cell Phones," *St Louis Post-Dispatch* (October 5, 2006), www.pulitzercenter.org/openitem.cfm?id=276.

26 Benjamin Coghlan, Richard J Brennan, Pascal Ngoy, David Dofara, Brad Otto, Mark Clements, and Tony Stewart, "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Nationwide Survey," *The Lancet* 367 (January 7, 2006), 44, www.thelancet.com.

27 Kristi Essick, "Guns, Money and Cell Phones." *The Industry Standard Magazine* (June 11, 2001), www.thestandard.com/article/0,1902,26784,00.html.

28 UN Security Council (UNSC), "Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo" (April 12, 2001), www.un.org/Docs/sc/letters/2001/357e.pdf.

29 Scheuerman, "Globalization."

30 "Gordon E. Moore." Intel Executive Biography, www.intel.com/pressroom/kits/bios/moore.htm.

31 Steger, *Globalization*, 20.

32 Throughout this book, the terms BCE and CE will be used in place of BC and AD. The notation BCE means Before the Common Era. BCE is an alternative notation for BC (before Christ), and CE is an alternative for AD (anno Domini, Latin for "In the year of Our Lord.") The Common Era (CE) is the period of measured time beginning with the

year 1 on the Gregorian calendar. The CE/BCE system of notation is chronologically equivalent to dates in the AD/BC system, but it is preferred by many because of the absence of religious references.

33 For a more in-depth discussion about whether globalization is old or new, see Steger, *Globalization*.

34 Ibid., 28–9.

35 Ibid., 33–5.

36 Scheuerman, "Globalization."

37 Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 23, 31.

38 "Press Release: Personal Computer Announced by IBM" (August 12, 1982), IBM Archives, www.03.ibm.com/ibm/history/exhibits/pc25/pc25_press.html.

39 "Welcome to info.cern.ch: The Website of the World's First-ever Web Server," CERN: European Organization for Nuclear Research, http://info.cern.ch/.

40 The discussion that follows on the economic, political, and cultural dimensions of globalization relies upon many of the categories identified by Steger in *Globalization*. For a more in-depth analysis of these topics, see chs. 3–5 in his book.

41 Susan Ariel Aaronson, *Taking Trade to the Streets: The Lost History of Public Efforts to Shape Globalization* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 1.

42 Silja Talvi, "Seattle, One Year Later," *Mother Jones* (December 2, 2000), www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2000/12/seattle_anniversary.html.

43 Kenneth Klee, Patricia King, and Katrina Woznicki, "The Siege of Seattle," *Newsweek* (December 13, 1999), 6, 30; Jawara and Kwa maintain that "Until 1999, relatively few people outside the ranks of economists, diplomats and political analysts and commentators had heard of the WTO, or even knew that the initials stood for the World Trade Organization. That changed dramatically in November 1999, with the Third Ministerial Conference in Seattle – not because of the conference itself, but because of what went on outside it." Fatoumata Jawara and Aileen Kwa, *Behind the Scenes at the WTO: The Real World of International Trade Negotiation* (London: Zed Books, 2003), 1.

44 Quoted in Robert A. Pollard, *Economic Security and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 8.

45 Steger, *Globalization*, 39–41.

46 Ralph Nader, "Introduction: Free Trade and the Decline of Democracy," in Ralph Nader et al., *The Case Against Free Trade: GATT, NAFTA, and the Globalization of Corporate Power* (San Francisco, CA: Earth Island Press, 1993), 1.

47 Steger, *Globalization*, 48.

48 "Postscript: Do International Financial Institutions and Multinational Corporations Exploit the Developing World?" in James E. Harf and Mark Owen Lombardi (eds.), *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Global Issues*, 3rd edn. (Dubuque, IA: McGraw Hill, 2005), 265.

49 Jagdish Bhagwati, "Do Multinational Corporations Hurt Poor Countries?" in Harf and Owen (eds.), *Taking Sides*, 262.

50 Ibid., 263.

51 Nader, "Introduction: Free Trade and the Decline of Democracy," 2.

52 Ibid., 6.

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54 Michel Chossudovsky, "The Globalisation of Poverty," in Warwick Organizational Behavior Staff (eds.), *Organizational Studies: Critical Perspectives on Business and Management*, vol. IV (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 1962–3.

55 Steger, *Globalization*, 52–3.

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57 Steger, *Globalization*, 61–3.

58 Ibid., 66–7.

59 Scheuerman, "Globalization."

60 Edward B. Tyler, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: John Murray, 1871), 1.

61 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 2000; originally published 1973), 5.

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64   Stephen Greenblatt, "Culture," in Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (eds.), *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 225.

65   Ted C. Lewellen, *The Anthropology of Globalization: Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21st Century* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 50.

66   Ibid., 54.

67   James E. Harf and Mark Owen Lombardi, "Is the World a Victim of American Cultural Imperialism?" in Harf and Owen (eds.), *Taking Sides*, 237.

68   Richard E. Lee, *Globalization, Language, and Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Chelsea House, 2006), 42.

69   Philippe Legrain, "In Defense of Globalization: Why Cultural Exchange Is Still an Overwhelming Force for Good," The International Economy (Summer 2003), http://findarticles-com/p/articles/mi_m2633/is_3_17/ai_106423909/.

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72   Legrain, "In Defense of Globalization."

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99   Ibid., 6–7.

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