INTRODUCTION TO GLOBAL STUDIES



Dino Bozonelos et al.
ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)

LibreTexts™

Introduction to Global Studies

Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D., Charlotte Lee, Ph.D., Austen Thelen, Ph.D. Lauren Blanchard,
Steven Cauchon, Ph.D., Masahiro Omae, Ph.D., Elizabeth Walker, Ph.D., edited by Travis Ritt, Ph.D.

Academic Senate for California Community Colleges Open Educational Resources Initiative

Adobe PDF ISBN: 978-1-7351980-3-3

This text is disseminated via the Open Education Resource (OER) LibreTexts Project (https://LibreTexts.org) and like the thousands of other texts available within this powerful platform, it is freely available for reading, printing, and "consuming."

The LibreTexts mission is to bring together students, faculty, and scholars in a collaborative effort to provide an accessible, and comprehensive platform that empowers our community to develop, curate, adapt, and adopt openly licensed resources and technologies; through these efforts we can reduce the financial burden borne from traditional educational resource costs, ensuring education is more accessible for students and communities worldwide.

Most, but not all, pages in the library have licenses that may allow individuals to make changes, save, and print this book. Carefully consult the applicable license(s) before pursuing such effects. Instructors can adopt existing LibreTexts texts or Remix them to quickly build course-specific resources to meet the needs of their students. Unlike traditional textbooks, LibreTexts' web based origins allow powerful integration of advanced features and new technologies to support learning.



LibreTexts is the adaptable, user-friendly non-profit open education resource platform that educators trust for creating, customizing, and sharing accessible, interactive textbooks, adaptive homework, and ancillary materials. We collaborate with individuals and organizations to champion open education initiatives, support institutional publishing programs, drive curriculum development projects, and more.

The LibreTexts libraries are Powered by NICE CXone Expert and were supported by the Department of Education Open Textbook Pilot Project, the California Education Learning Lab, the UC Davis Office of the Provost, the UC Davis Library, the California State University Affordable Learning Solutions Program, and Merlot. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1246120, 1525057, and 1413739.

Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation nor the US Department of Education.

Have questions or comments? For information about adoptions or adaptions contact info@LibreTexts.org or visit our main website at https://LibreTexts.org.

The LibreTexts name, logo, and book covers are trademarked by LibreTexts, Inc. (a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization) and protected against unauthorized use.

This text was compiled on 08/29/2026

Program Page



An Open Educational Resource Supported by the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges Open Educational Resources Initiative

The Academic Senate for California Community Colleges Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI) was funded by the California legislature in trailer bill language during the summer of 2018. The OERI's mission is to reduce the cost of educational resources for students by expanding the availability and adoption of high quality Open Educational Resources (OER). The OERI facilitates and coordinates the curation and development of OER texts, ancillaries, and support systems. In addition, the OERI supports local OER implementation efforts through the provision of professional development, technical support, and technical resources.

The information in this resource is intended solely for use by the user who accepts full responsibility for its use. Although the author(s) and ASCCC OERI have made every effort to ensure that the information in this resource is accurate, openly licensed, and accessible at press time, the author(s) and ASCCC OERI do not assume and hereby disclaim any liability to any party for any loss, damage, or disruption caused by errors or omissions, whether such errors or omissions result from negligence, accident, or any other cause.

Please bring all such errors and changes to the attention of Academic Senate of California Community Colleges OER Initiative via e-mail (oeri@asccc.org).

Academic Senate for California Community Colleges
One Capitol Mall, Suite 230
Sacramento, CA 95814

This page titled Program Page is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Program Page

Licensing

Instructor Resources

Preface

About the Authors

1: Introduction

1.1: Welcome to Global Studies!

1.2: How did the Field of Global Studies Develop?

1.3: The Essence of Global Studies - Globalization

1.4: How to Approach Global Studies

1.5: Organization of the Book

1.6: References

1.7: Student Resources

2: History of Globalization

2.1: Introduction

2.2: A Brief History of Globalization

2.3: Theories - Motivations for Globalization

2.4: At Home and Abroad - The Rise of the Liberal International Order (LIO)

2.5: References

2.6: Student Resources

3: Economic Globalization

3.1: Introduction - Our Global Economy

3.2: Background - Five Decades of Economic Globalization

3.3: Theories and Concepts - Global Capitalism and Neoliberalism

3.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Effects of Neoliberalism through the Case of NAFTA/USMCA

3.5: References

3.6: Student Resources

4: Politics of Globalization

4.1: Introduction - Politics of Globalization

4.2: Background - Reaching the "End of History"

4.3: Theories and Concepts - Competing Visions of the Global Order

4.4: At Home and Abroad - World Society or Rising Nationalism?

4.5: References

4.6: Student Resources

5: Cultural Globalization

5.1: Introduction - Culture in a Global Context

5.2: Background - The Diffusion of Culture
5.3: Theories - Cultural Diffusion
5.4: At Home and Abroad - A Hypothetical Friendship
5.5: References
5.6: Student Resources

6: Global Inequality

6.1: Introduction to Global Inequality
6.2: Background - What Does Global Inequality Look Like?
6.3: Theories and Concepts - Contemporary Drivers of Global Inequality
6.4: At Home and Abroad - If Globalization is the Answer, then Why are So Many People Still Poor?
6.5: References
6.6: Student Resources

7: Global Insecurity and Conflict

7.1: Introduction to Global Security
7.2: Background - The History of Global Security
7.3: Theories and Approaches to Global Security
7.4: At Home and Abroad - Global Insecurity and the War in Ukraine; Why it Matters for Everyone
7.5: References
7.6: Student Resources

8: Global Food Disruption and Hunger

8.1: Introduction
8.2: Background - Responses to Food Crises
8.3: Theories - The Causes and Consequences of Persitent Global Hunger
8.4: At Home and Abroad - The Hunger Season
8.5: References
8.6: Student Resources

9: Global Health Disparities

9.1: Introduction - What is Global Health?
9.2: Background - Historical Global Health Crises
9.3: Theories and Concepts - Approaching Global Health Inequities from a Variety of Theoretical Perspectives
9.4: At Home and Abroad- How COVID-19 Changed All of Our Lives
9.5: References
9.6: Student Resources

10: Global Energy

10.1: Introduction - The Changing Map of Energy
10.2: Background - From Fossil Fuel Boom to Energy Transition
10.3: Theories and Concepts - Geopolitics, Energy Security, and Climate Justice
10.4: At Home and Abroad - The Politics of Pipelines
10.5: References

10.6: Student Resources

11: Global Environmental Challenges

11.1: Introduction - Core Environmental Concerns

11.2: Background - A History of Environmental Challenges- From the Industrial Revolution to Climate Change

11.3: Theories and Concepts - Understanding the Tragedy of the Commons and the Anthropocene

11.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Waste from the Bottom, Up

11.5: References

11.6: Student Resources

12: The Future of Globalization?

12.1: Is Globalization Over?

12.2: What is Alter-Globalization?

12.3: De-Globalization and What Might Follow

12.4: What Can You Do with a Global Studies Degree?

12.5: References

12.6: Student Resources

Index

Glossary

Detailed Licensing

Detailed Licensing

This page titled Introduction to Global Studies (Bozonelos et al.) is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos et al..

Licensing

A detailed breakdown of this resource's licensing can be found in ***Back Matter/Detailed Licensing***.

This page titled Licensing is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

Instructor Resources

This page titled Instructor Resources is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

Preface

Introduction to Global Studies is the first open educational resource (OER) on the topic of Global Studies, and the first OER textbook in Global Studies funded by ASCCC OERI, and what we hope will become the first of two OER textbooks for the discipline. This textbook aligns with the C-ID Course Descriptor for Introduction to Global Studies in content and objectives.

With chapter contributions from Dr. Charlotte Lee at Berkeley City College, Dr. Austen Thelen at Imperial Valley College, Lauren Blanchard at Monterey Peninsula College, Dr. Steven Cauchon at Imperial Valley College, Dr. Masahiro Omae at San Diego City College, Dr. Elizabeth Walker at College of the Desert, and myself, the purpose of this open education resource is to provide students interested in or majoring in Global Studies.

It is organized thematically, with ten content chapters accompanied by an At Home and Abroad section, which contextualizes the concepts presented in each chapter, and bookended with an introduction and a final chapter in which we explore the future of globalization. As Global Studies is inherently multidisciplinary, we understand that definitions might vary from one field to the next. Thus, we have worked hard to make sure that the key terms are similar throughout the text. We are thankful to Dr. Travis Ritt from Palomar College for his editing of this OER textbook. He helped to provide a unifying voice across the chapters.

With the rising costs of education and textbooks, community college students may be deterred from exploring Global Studies courses. After many years of teaching at a community college, my colleagues and I realize the need existed for a zero-cost textbook. I chose to pursue this project as I felt that an OER textbook in Global Studies would otherwise never have been written. This is a grassroots textbook, written with current and future community college students in mind. I believe that this is where the next world leader needs to come from.

This open education resource is free to students and faculty and available under the Creative Commons - Attribution - Noncommercial (CC BY-NC) license. We hope that it will encourage them to further their studies in both Global Studies and its related fields.

Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D.



Victor Valley College
August 2024

This page titled Preface is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

About the Authors

Dino Bozonelos

Dr. Dino Bozonelos, Victor Valley College, Political Science: Dino Bozonelos is a Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Department of Social Sciences at Victor Valley College. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Riverside. His research interests revolve around global issues, including geopolitics, religious tourism and pilgrimage, religion and politics, comparative political economy and pedagogy in political science. He has published in several journals, including *Politics & Religion*, the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, the *Journal of Political Science Education*, and in several edited volumes. He has coauthored two other open-source textbooks, Introduction to Political Science Research Methods and Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics, and co-edited The Politics of Religious Tourism.

Charlotte Lee

Dr. Charlotte Lee, Berkeley City College, Social Sciences: Charlotte Lee teaches topics in Comparative Politics, International Relations, and Global Studies. With support from the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges, she was a contributing author of Open Educational Resources (OER) textbooks in comparative politics and political science research methods. She has published original research in peer-reviewed journals and edited volumes and is the author of Training the Party: Adaptation and Elite Training in Reform-era China (Cambridge University Press, 2015). As a 2022-23 Mellon/ACLS Community College Fellow, she created OER for teaching contemporary China and the China Dream. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University, where she was a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow. Prior to that, she was a US Peace Corps Volunteer (assigned to Romania).

Austen Thelen

Dr. Austen Thelen is a professor of Geography and Global Studies at Imperial Valley College in Imperial, CA, where he also serves as the chair of the Behavioral and Social Science department. Dr. Thelen holds a Ph. D. in Geography from the University of Kansas, where he became a regional specialist, focusing on issues of place and identity in the Former Soviet Union. For the past ten years, Dr. Thelen has focused on teaching Geography and Global Studies at the community college level, emphasizing the vital importance of geography literacy in his courses. Additionally, he has worked to teach and develop curricula centered on Political, Economic, Urban, and Regional Geography at the university level.

Lauren Blanchard

Lauren Blanchard serves as chair of the Political Science, Global Studies, and Law, Public Policy and Society programs at Monterey Peninsula College, where she has been a member of the faculty since 2010. She completed her Masters degree in Political Science at the University of Massachusetts- Amherst, where her focus was the ways that democratic societies seek to mediate the human experience of need.

Steven Cauchon

Dr. Steven Paul Cauchon holds a Ph.D.in Political Science from UC Riverside and is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Imperial Valley College. Dr. Cauchon specializes in International Relations and Political Theory, with a focus on environmental justice and transnational social movements. His research examines the inequities associated with the international movement of waste and the different processes by which transnational environmental non-governmental organizations (TENGOs) support frontline communities pursuing justice. In addition to his chapter, “Openness to Critical Reflection: Gandhi Beyond Gadamer,” in Inheriting Gadamer, he has coauthored one other open-source textbook, Introduction to Political Science Research Methods.

Masahiro Omae

Dr. Masahiro Omae, San Diego City College, Political Science: Dr. Omae is a Dean for the School of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Consumer and Family Studies at San Diego City College. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Riverside. Additionally, Dr. Omae served as a staff researcher for the Children´s Service Division at Riverside County Department of Public Social Services where he designed and evaluated various services and programs to improve child welfare.

Elizabeth Walker

Dr. Elizabeth A. Walker, College of the Desert, Political Science and Global Studies Professor. For two decades, Dr. Walker has worked within California 2-year and 4-year institutions as an English and Political Science professor. With a history of working within politics and government, she has a specialty in intersectionality of American political behavior, African American studies, and the history of education. She has published a number of articles based on women in higher education, the history of education, and political behavior. She is currently working on two projects: Politics in Higher Education: A Case Study of Pepperdine University 1968-1974; The Divine Nine (Black Sororities and Fraternities) and Politics.

Travis Ritt

Dr. Travis Ritt, Palomar College, History: Travis Ritt is a Professor of History at Palomar College. He holds a Ph.D. in History from Florida State University. His research interests revolve around cross-cultural communication in post-conflict zones. Specializing in the medieval world and in interactions between Muslim and Christian communities, he has applied his research to the broader global environment. He teaches courses on World history, European history, Middle Eastern history, and Global Studies.

This page titled About the Authors is shared under a license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Welcome to Global Studies!
1.2: How did the Field of Global Studies Develop?
1.3: The Essence of Global Studies - Globalization
1.4: How to Approach Global Studies
1.5: Organization of the Book
1.6: References
1.7: Student Resources

This page titled 1: Introduction is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1.1: Welcome to Global Studies!

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand that you are welcomed to become a part of an increasingly diverse global community

Welcome to Global Studies, a field of study that has grown exponentially over the past three decades. **Global Studies** is a comprehensive research area aimed at fostering a deep understanding of the effects of globalization on societies, cultures, and environments worldwide. Students in a Global Studies major and/or those enrolled in Global Studies courses, gain insights into critical global issues that influence their lives, communities, and the broader world. This knowledge encompasses global social, political, economic, and environmental systems, emphasizing their growing interdependence. Additionally, Global Studies itself promotes tolerance, through an appreciation of the diversity that is humanity, or as noted political philosopher Edward Said explained, “coexistence with the preservation of difference”. In sum, Global Studies curriculum equip students with the mindsets necessary to excel in the global political economy and make informed decisions as responsible global citizens.

The primary objective of this Introduction to Global Studies OER textbook is to prepare students for future endeavors in global activities. This is achieved through comprehensive exploration of various subjects, including other cultures, world history, political and economic systems, global geography and environment, cross-cultural communication, and conflict resolution. Emphasis is placed on cultivating global civic engagement, where citizens of any state develop a sense of global awareness. They become global actors who can relate their knowledge of specific regions to overarching trends and issues affecting all societies. Our hope is that you emerge with a profound understanding of diverse cultures, global history, and interconnected systems and that this textbook prepares you to contribute meaningfully to a rapidly changing world, tackle complex global challenges, and engage effectively with people from diverse backgrounds and perspectives.

This page titled 1.1: Welcome to Global Studies! is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1.2: How did the Field of Global Studies Develop?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Comprehend how the field of Global Studies developed.
- Differentiate between global and transnational.
- Review the Global Studies offerings in the California education system.

Introduction

Scholars began talking of Global Studies in the years that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The conclusion of the Cold War abruptly ended the bipolar framework that had existed since the defeat of the Axis powers in the Second World War. In its place was a new organizing framework for international affairs, though at that time no one was quite sure what this new system would be called. This blossoming system had its roots in the political and economic struggles in the 1970s and it was in the 1980s where the structures began to take shape. However, the convergence, or coming together, of a Global Studies discourse took place at the end of the 1990s (Steger and James, 2019). In the past twenty years, there has been a dramatic growth in Global Studies programs and departments. Steger (2015) writes that quite a few universities and colleges transitioned their departments of 'international studies' or 'area studies' into Global Studies programs. Nevertheless, some campuses have still maintained these traditional departmental titles.

In Global Studies, the emphasis is on the global, and is guided by the question: Does it relate to the whole world? (See Figure 1.2.1). The term **global** denotes a broader and a more comprehensive perspective of the world. In contrast, **international studies** programs involve courses that examine the interactions between two or more states, which includes comparing and identifying commonalities among these states. We are using the term state here to refer to countries, not regional political units that combine to form a greater political state (such as California being a state in the U.S.) While students, courses, and scholars in international studies would study and research problems and issues that would be considered global, the Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union prevented truly global approaches or global solutions to pressing world concerns. This is most evident with the United Nations (UN), arguably considered one of the most global institutions. During the Cold War, the UN could not move its global agenda forward. due to the competition between the two global powers. However, since the end of the Cold War, UN leaders have been able to address the dramatic rise in global challenges that had remained dormant during the Cold War, from overpopulation, to access, to ethnic conflict, to the status of women.

Area studies programs are like international studies, though it is considered a more traditional academic approach where the comparison of countries is organized geographically. It often involves the concept of **cultural regions**, which refer to groups of individuals united by shared language, religion, and heritage within a specific geographic zone. These regions might not necessarily correspond to existing state boundaries, and indeed they could have existed prior to the application of the concept of a modern state. Area studies scholars are experts in particular regions of the world, often hailing from that region. Courses often come from various departments and address fields such as economics, geography, language, history, and culture. Examples include the field of Latin American Studies where students take courses that focus on Latin American countries taught by faulty who research cross-nationally in the region. Additional area studies programs include African Studies and Middle Eastern Studies (see Bozonelos and Wendt, 2022, for a comprehensive list of area studies).

Additionally, you might have heard of the field of **international relations**, which is the realm of political engagements among states, centered on diplomacy and foreign policy considerations. The guiding question here is: Does it relate to two or more states? (See Figure 1.2.1). International relations is a subfield of political science which focuses on how states and/or international organizations or bodies interact with each other. Those interested in international relations consider questions like: What causes war between states? How does international trade affect relationships between states? How do international bodies, like non-governmental organizations, work with various states? What is the best balance of power for the global system? Individuals interested in this field of political science may be looking for careers with non-governmental organizations, the UN, and governmental think-tanks focused on U.S. foreign policy, or in teaching (Bozonelos & Wendt, 2022).

Finally, there is the academic research area of **transnational studies**, which is focused on the movement of people, ideas and

goods across state boundaries and cultural regions. For transnational studies the guiding question is: Does it cross national borders? (See Figure 1.2.1). This area of study generally encompasses phenomena involving states from more than just one region. A good example is transnational terrorism, where organizations commit acts of violence in multiple parts of the world. The Islamic State (IS), a transnational terrorist organization, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven, operates in many states ranging from the Sahel region in Africa, such as Mali to Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia. Transnational studies as a field is less popular than global, international or area studies.

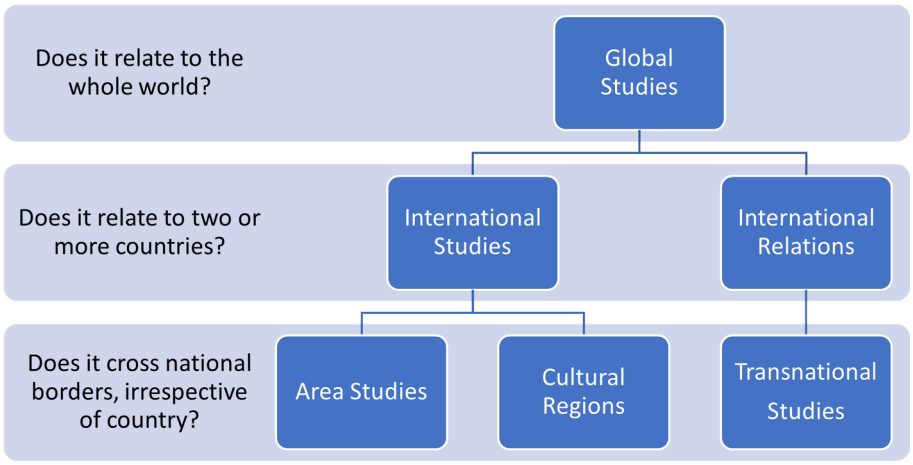


Figure 1.2.1: How to distinguish between global studies from other fields of study. (Author's Own Creation)

Distinguishing Global from Transnational

Distinguishing what is transnational from what is global is important, as an activity that is defined as transnational transcends national borders but might predominantly pertain to a specific world region, rather than the entire globe. Conversely, all global phenomena are inherently transnational, as they manifest beyond the confines of state boundaries or control. A great example is the difference between the phenomena of global warming and pollution, such as acid rain. **Global warming** is defined as the heating of the planet through the rise in greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere. This phenomenon is considered global as every region of the earth has or will be affected. **Acid rain** is a result of pollution, it is defined as toxic rain that consists of nitrogen oxide, sulfur dioxide, and volatile organic compounds, which is generally derived from burning coal. Acid rain is mostly considered as a transnational environmental pollution problem, where the emissions from one state affect rain patterns in a neighboring state.

This discernment between what is international, what is transnational and what is global is not just for academics. It has real and serious ramifications for policymakers. Take for example the previous discussion on terrorism. How should a terrorist attack be analyzed? Is it an activity limited to several adjoining states (international relations), does it occur across multiple states spanning across various regions (transnational), or is it a global phenomenon that impacted all states in the world (global)? The response will depend on how the terrorist attack is understood. If the attack is international in nature, then the relations between those two or three states will matter the most. If the states are hostile to each other, then the response will not be same as if the states are allies. If the attack is transnational in nature, then the response may best be handled by a larger regional organization, such as the European Union, or through a smaller regional effort, such as the G5 Sahel Joint Force, as organization that was developed to support counter-terrorism operations in the African countries of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger. Finally, global efforts include the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism, where Member-States coordinate efforts to prevent and respond to future terrorist attacks.



Figure 1.2.2 Logo for the United Nations Office for Counter-Terrorism. (Wikipedia Commons by Itachou is licensed under CC BY 4.0)

Globalizing the Curricula: The Trend in Higher Education

As this Open Educational Resource (OER) textbook is funded by the Academic Senate of California Community Colleges (ASCCC), we will take a quick look at the state of Global Studies within higher education in California. The information provided below should help community college students who are planning to transfer to the California State University or University of California systems. We will also provide an overview of graduate programs in Global Studies for those who might be interested in pursuing post-secondary education. All data is accurate as of 2023.

According to the Chancellor's Office Curriculum Inventory System (COCI), there are 39 California Community Colleges (CCC) that offer an Associate's Degree (A.A.), an Associate's Degree for Transfer (AD-T), or a Certificate of Achievement for a total of 52 different programs. The overwhelming majority of these degrees/certificates are in Global Studies, with a few titled Global and International Studies, Global Citizenship Studies, and Global Competency. In addition, there are nine campuses that offer a degree/certificate in International Studies, and five campuses still offer a degree/certificate in Area Studies, with focuses in Africa, Asia, Latin America or the Middle East. These degrees are housed in various departments and divisions, ranging from Political Science to Business Administration. Finally, there are a total of 61 Global Studies courses that are offered across these campuses. Most of the courses are either Introduction to Global Studies or Global Issues, though there are a few differing classes, such as Globalization and Peoples and Cultures of the World, The United Nations and Global Cooperation, Globalization and Social Change, and Global Citizenship Civics.

When looking at the California State University (CSU) system, 17 of the 23 campuses have incorporated a global studies component. For example, there are eight Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) in Global Studies programs at the CSUs. Of those eight, four are housed in their own departments – California Maritime Academy, CSU Monterey Bay, CSU San Marcos, and San Jose State. The other four campuses have their B.A. programs in other departments. These include CSU Channel Islands, Cal State East Bay, Cal State San Bernardino, and Sonoma State. There are also four B.A. programs in International Studies, including California State Polytechnic University (Cal Poly), Humboldt, Cal State Long Beach, and San Diego State University.. These programs do not have GLST/GBST course prefixes but could still be considered Global Studies. Finally, there are six Global Studies tracks/concentrations housed within other majors at the CSUs. These include Interdisciplinary Studies at CSU Dominguez Hills, Liberal Studies at Cal State Fullerton, General Education at CSU Northridge, Anthropology at Cal Poly San Luis Obispo, and Social Sciences at Stanislaus State. Table 1.2.1 organizes the Global Studies offerings in the CSU system.

Table 1.2.1: Global Studies Offerings in the CSU System

CSU Campus	Department w/B.A. in Global Studies	Program w/B.A. in Global Studies	Global Studies Tracks/ Concentrations
CSU Bakersfield			
CSU Channel Islands		B.A. in Global Studies	

CSU Campus	Department w/B.A. in Global Studies	Program w/B.A. in Global Studies	Global Studies Tracks/ Concentrations
Chico State			
CSU Dominguez Hills			B.A. in Interdisciplinary Studies
Cal State East Bay		B.A. in Global Studies	
Fresno State			
Cal State Fullerton			B.A. in Liberal Studies
Cal Poly Humboldt		B.A. in International Studies	
Cal State Long Beach		B.A. in International Studies	
Cal State Los Angeles			
Cal Maritime Academy	B.A. in Global Studies		
CSU Monterey Bay	B.A. in Global Studies		
CSU Northridge			B.A. in General Education
Cal Poly Pomona			
Sacramento State			
Cal State San Bernardino		B.A. in Global Studies	
San Diego State		B.A. in International Studies	
San Francisco State			
San Jose State	B.A. in Global Studies		
Cal Poly San Luis Obispo			B.A. in Anthropology
CSU San Marcos	B.A. in Global Studies		
Sonoma State		B.A. in Global Studies	
Stanislaus State			B.A. in Social Sciences

Within the University of California (UC) system, eight of the ten campuses have a Global Studies component. Four of the UCs have stand-alone departments of Global Studies – UC Berkeley, UC Los Angeles, UC Merced, and UC Santa Barbara. UC Irvine has a department of Global and International Studies, whereas UC San Diego has a department of International Studies. Five UC Campuses offer a Minor and a B.A. in Global Studies – UC Berkeley, UC Merced, UC Los Angeles, UC Riverside, and UC Santa Barbara. One campus, UC Davis, only offers a minor. Two campuses offer an Master of Arts (M.A.) in Global Studies – UC Berkeley and UC Santa Barbara. UC Santa Barbara is the one campus with a department of Global Studies that also offers a Ph.D. UC Irvine's M.A. is in International Studies, as is their Ph.D. In contrast UC San Diego offers a Master's in International Affairs (MIA), but a Ph.D. in Global Studies. Table 1.2.2 organizes the Global Studies offerings in the UC system.

Table 1.2.2: Global Studies Offerings in the UC System

UC Campus	Department w/B.A. in Global Studies	Program w/B.A. in Global Studies	Minor	M.A.	Ph.D.
UC Berkeley	B.A. in Global Studies		Minor in Global Studies	M.A. in Global Studies	
UC Davis		B.A. in Global Studies	Minor in Global Studies		

UC Campus	Department w/B.A. in Global Studies	Program w/B.A. in Global Studies	Minor	M.A.	Ph.D.
UC Irvine	B.A. in International Studies		Minor in International Studies	Global Studies, Graduate Emphasis in Global Studies	Ph.D. Emphasis in Global Studies
UC Los Angeles	B.A. in Global Studies		Minor in Global Studies		
UC Merced	B.A. in Global Studies		Minor in Global Studies		
UC Riverside		B.A. in Global Studies	Minor in Global Studies		
UC San Diego	B.A. in International Studies		Minor in International Studies	Masters of International Affairs (MIA)	Ph.D. in Political Science and International Affairs
UC San Francisco					
UC Santa Barbara	B.A. in Global Studies		Minor in Global Studies	M.A. in Global Studies	Ph.D. in Global Studies
UC Santa Cruz					

This page titled 1.2: How did the Field of Global Studies Develop? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1.3: The Essence of Global Studies - Globalization

Learning Objectives

- Understand that you are welcomed to become a part of an increasingly diverse global community.

Introduction

At its essence, Global Studies is the study of the effects of globalization. Globalization can be defined in several ways, but generally the concept involves certain terms: connectivity, interdependence, and integration. **Connectivity** is defined as the characteristic, condition, or capacity of being linked or interconnected. **Interdependence** is described as a condition where two or more entities, individuals, or systems rely on each other. Finally, **integration** is understood as to shape, synchronize, or merge into a functional or cohesive entirety. Each of these concepts is important to the understanding of globalization as all three processes occur simultaneously, though each process's presence, speed, and intensity varies by location. For example, a region, such as the Europe, may be more globally integrated economically because of globalization, yet may not be as interdependent culturally, choosing to resist this element of globalization. Given the complexity that accompanies globalization, it would be good to turn to some of the definitions that have already been embraced by the field.

Steger (2015) provides a succinct definition of globalization, as intensifying connectivity amongst people. Not only are these connections becoming stronger, but the people involved have become more aware of these connections. Sparke (2013) has a similar approach, where globalization is about global interconnections that have accelerated. Others, such as Payne (2011) understand globalization as the integration of various structures, such as markets, politics, and value systems. Smallman and Brown (2015) define globalization as "the rise of sociopolitical and economic networks that dominate local and regional interactions" (p. 24). Other scholars prefer to use metaphors to describe globalization. For example, Ritzer and Dean (2022) use liquidity to describe global affairs, explaining how the world has gone from solids, where barriers exist to freedom of movement, to one of liquid and gases where there is increasing ease of movement and ultimately hyper-mobility.

Others are less convinced that we can define globalization as growing global connectivity or interdependence. Mansbach (2013) writes that properly defining globalization can be challenging as it is inherently a complex phenomenon. For example, most definitions of globalization focus on the 'global' aspect. Yet just as important are the local dynamics. The global affects the local, and the local also impacts the global. Steger (2017) refers to this as the 'global-local' nexus and scholars have used the term glocalization to capture this process. Originally coined by Robertson in a 1980 *Harvard Business Review* article, **glocalization** refers to the concurrent manifestation of universalism and particularism, where an idea, product or service may be global, but often changes to fit the local context. A good example includes food products that originate in one country and are then adapted when consumed in another. This is evident with McDonald's, a quintessential American fast-food establishment that is world renowned for selling American style hamburgers. Over the years, McDonald's has expanded to more than 38,000 stores in over 100 countries. While Big Macs are available at almost every McDonald's, stores in each country have localized their menus. For example, pork is generally not available at McDonald's locations in certain Middle Eastern countries, whereas in India, McDonald's restaurants do not serve beef.


P'TIT
McARABIA
Tirez ici
HALAL
INSTITUT MAROCAIN DE NORMALISATION
imanor.ma


PRINGLES
DESI
MASALA TADKA
FLAVOUR



Figure 1.3.1: Examples of glocalized food products (Sources from Left to Right, The McArabia Grilled Chicken/Grilled Kofta is a popular Arabic-themed sandwich available at all McDonald's outlets throughout the Middle East, Wikipedia Commons by Richard Allaway is licensed under CC BY 2.0; Pringles with Masala seasoning in an Indian grocery store by Dino Bozonelos, own image; Burger King menu at a store in Delhi, India by Dino Bozonelos, own image)

Another example involves sushi, a traditional Japanese dish. Sushi can now be purchased and eaten in major cities around the world. In fact, sushi as a cuisine has seamlessly integrated itself into everyday culinary practices in numerous regions worldwide. Historically, sushi restaurants located abroad were predominantly managed by Japanese proprietors, serving the needs of expatriate Japanese populations, and staffed entirely by Japanese personnel. However, this scenario has undergone a significant transformation. Nowadays, a substantial portion of these establishments are now operated by individuals of non-Japanese origin. Additionally, the customer base has evolved to consist primarily of non-Japanese patrons. The adaptation of sushi eateries to local contexts has become essential, encompassing aspects like architectural designs, seating layouts, illumination, musical ambiance, and, naturally, menu offerings. A rising count of sushi establishments beyond Japan presently feature menu items that have evolved from the local culture, exemplified by creations like the "California Roll" or the "Victoria Roll."



Figure 1.3.2: Mango chicken sushi from a U.S.-based restaurant. (Flickr by Daniel Lee is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

Defining Globalization

For this textbook, we will define **globalization** as the acceleration and intensification of global interconnectivity, interdependence, and integration processes. Within this definition, special attention must be placed on the last word processes. Globalization is a process and not necessarily a condition. Steger (2017) writes that it is important to differentiate between process and condition as often the two concepts are confused, which can lead to sloppy definitions. A good example is how the author notes that the "often-repeated truism that globalization (the process) leads to more globalization (the condition)" (p. 11). Failure to distinguish between the two prevents scholars from making meaningful analytical differentiations between the origins and consequences of globalization, which could cause more confusion.

To help separate the process of globalization from the condition, scholars prefer to use the terms globalism and globality. Globalization is a process, which upon reaching its logical conclusion leads to a condition of globalism or globality. For Keohane and Nye (2000) **globalism** is when the world is characterized as being in a state of interdependence that crosses continents, fueled by linkages that emerge from the flow of goods, services, money, ideas, and information. Globality is like globalism, but its definition is a bit closer to a condition, or endgame. **Globality** is when a global society exists that is marked by intricate worldwide economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and movements, rendering many of the existing borders and limits as largely inconsequential. In a truly global world, we would see the development of a **global consciousness**, or a global mindset where the welfare of individuals far away should garner the same attention from ordinary individuals as the welfare of their immediate neighbors.

Cosmopolitanism

Any discussion of a global consciousness eventually leads to comments about a **world government**, which is the concept of a unified global human community governed by a shared political authority. While the dream of **world federalism**, or a movement with the objective of establishing a federal world government, may not materialize anytime soon, there has been a centuries-long cosmopolitan tradition. Cosmopolitanism is a composite Greek word that refers to κόσμος (cosmos), the Greek for universe, and Πολίτης (politis) or citizen. Schattle (2009) notes that cosmopolitanism can come in various forms, including the aforementioned ideology of world federalism. There is also the notion of **cosmopolitan governance**, where individuals embrace the concept of holding multiple citizenships, signifying their affiliation with various political entities that hold substantial influence over them. In essence, they would hold citizenship in their local political communities as well as within the broader regional and global networks that exert an influence on their existence. This can be seen through the European Union, were a person living in the city of Barcelona may have regional citizenship in Catalonia, national citizenship in Spain and supranational citizenship within the European Union. These multiple levels of citizenship may be more of what the future holds, rather than a formal world government.

The other approach to cosmopolitanism is through **mass migration**, which involves the movement of substantial populations from one geographical region to another. In this mindset, migrants should be given at least partial membership rights in the host society, based on residency, in addition to citizenship provided to them from their home state. Thus, a migrant, depending on their movement, could be considered cosmopolitan, if not potentially a world citizen. Of course, many migrants are not provided rights in their host society, particularly **irregular migrants**, or people who travel to a state outside regular rules or norms, or without permission of the host government. Also referred to as undocumented migration, many societies do not permit irregular or undocumented migrants a pathway to rights and/or citizenship.

Still, even if a world government or cosmopolitan notions never make it into law, the notion of a global citizenship has strong appeal. **Global citizenship** closely follows having a global consciousness and involves the belief that individuals possess an obligation to individuals beyond their own nation due to their common humanity. Schattle (2009) defines a global citizen as an individual who makes choices with an awareness of how those choices affect the planet. Thus, a global citizen will have a global responsibility, consisting of two components. The first is self-awareness, where the global citizen realizes that their place in the world matters, and the second is outward awareness, which implies that the global citizen has a realization of humanity's 'shared fate,' that all life on the planet is interdependent.

This page titled 1.3: The Essence of Global Studies - Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1.4: How to Approach Global Studies

Learning Objectives

- Learn how to approach global studies through multiple disciplines

Does one need to be a Global Studies major to be in a Global Studies class? Not at all! Indeed, the wonderful feature about Global Studies courses is that students in any major can take them. Global Studies has its roots in several disciplines, most notably economics and business, political science and international relations, history, sociology and cultural anthropology, and educational psychology. This gives the field a wide perspective. Yet Global Studies is not limited to just its origins in these fields. Scholars, researchers, students, and even casual readers from all corners of the world can become involved. For example, if globalization is about growing interconnectivity, both at the global dimension and in the local context, those in the environmental sciences, biology, and medicine are also part of this Global Studies discourse. To illustrate, environmental scientists and biologists are interested in the effect of human behavior on ecosystems and on the biosphere. Whereas, medical researchers care deeply about the global effects of subjects such as disease. We can see this connection to Global Studies with the recent spread of COVID-19 (covered in Chapter 9). By March 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID-19 to be a pandemic, or an epidemic that has extended its reach across numerous nations or continents. This distinction of whether COVID-19 was a pandemic or an epidemic goes back to the previous discussion of transnational versus global and highlights why it matters for research and analysis.

We can borrow Choi and Pak's (2006) discussion from health research to explain how Global Studies can involve many different disciplines, not only concurrently, where researchers study the same phenomenon, but also collectively, where the research may be collaborative. Choi and Pak offer three approaches to understanding global research, multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary. These three terms are helpful as they describe varying levels of involvement that may occur on the same continuum. First, Global Studies is inherently **multidisciplinary**. This is when professors *incorporate* multiple perspectives, concepts, frameworks, and methodological approaches to study complex global phenomena. We can say that a multidisciplinary approach is *additive*, where different disciplines are brought together to answer a research question. Second, Global Studies is **interdisciplinary**. This is when researchers *align* connections across disciplines to create a unified and cohesive field of study. We can say that an interdisciplinary approach is *interactive*, where elements of various disciplines are combined to answer a research question. Finally, Global Studies is **transdisciplinary**. This is when scholars *embed* a perspective, concept, framework, or methodological approach from one discipline into another. We can say that a transdisciplinary approach is *holistic*, where conventional boundaries between disciplines are removed to answer a research question.

These approaches to Global Studies can help us when reading about various global issues, problems, and challenges. For example, in Chapter 8, we delve into global food disruption and hunger and ask, why in a connected world, do some people still go hungry? As the world economy is now valued at over $100 trillion, this is an excellent question to ask. Maybe the best approach is to understand global hunger through a multidisciplinary perspective where different disciplines are incorporated. Thus, we may look at the economics of global food distribution based on market principles, such as supply and demand. We could then add an analysis of the geopolitics between countries, as allies tend to favor each other in trade. Finally, we could add in a sociological perspective as societies tastes in food shift over time. Thus, each dimension of globalization is seen as additive. A multidisciplinary approach could best be understood as 1+1+1=3.

In keeping with the theme of global hunger, an interdisciplinary approach would align connections across disciplines to provide a more cohesive response. For example, we would combine the political and economic dimensions to discuss the political-economy of global hunger. Political economy focuses on the interaction between the state and the market and the institutions that are produced by this interaction. Given that the discussion of hunger is at the global level, we can refer to this as International Political Economy (IPE) (Friedan, Lake, and Broz, 2017). An interdisciplinary approach could be best expressed as 2x2=4. We are not simply adding in new disciplines, we are creating a new frame of reference to examine the problem.

Finally, a transdisciplinary approach would embed a perspective, concept, framework, or methodological tool. This is a holistic approach, where conventional boundaries between disciplines are removed to create a more unified approach or even a new field of studies. Continuing our example, we could refer to this new field as global hunger studies, which would have its own discourse and measurements. For example, the International Food Policy Research Institute has created a Global Hunger Index (GHI), where they try to measure and track hunger at all levels. A transdisciplinary approach is understood as (2x2)+1=5. The equation is getting more complex, has more moving parts, and can help us come to a conclusion that may be markedly different

if we had only simply added in other viewpoints, or continued to use their established measurements. The GHI was developed as a transdisciplinary tool and has been effective in informing global policymakers. It is subdivided into three parts. The first part examines inadequate food supply as an important indicator of hunger. The second component involves child mortality, which is measured by looking at the death rate of children under the age of five. The third part includes two overlapping dimensions: wasting and stunting. Taken together this data can help policymakers decide where best to direct their resources. The topic of global hunger is further discussed in Chapter 8.

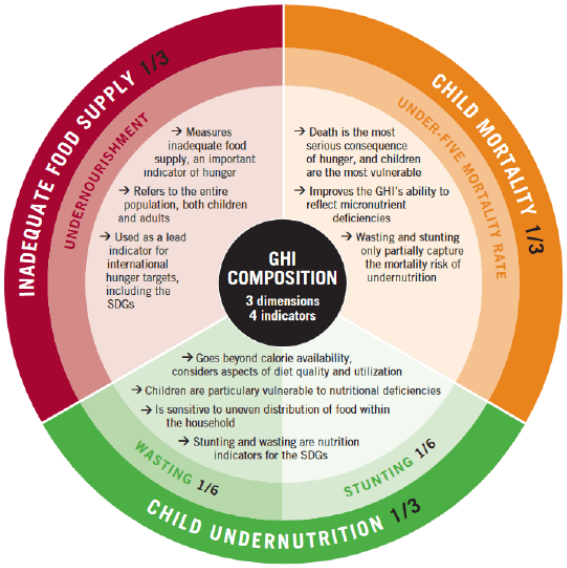


Figure 1.4.1: The Global Hunger Index created by the International Food Policy Research Institute. The index measures and tracks hunger at all levels. (Source: Global Hunger Index by International Food Policy Research Institute is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND-4.0)

Notice that the summation increases with each approach. This is because each approach deepens the analysis. A multidisciplinary approach, that is additive, should be the initial step, where the incorporation of various perspectives will provide a comprehensive overview. This then should be accompanied by an interdisciplinary study, where various disciplines interact to provide a stronger framework from which to analyze the topic. The final step then is the transdisciplinary approach, where a holistic, unified approach would provide the deepest analysis. In creating a new subfield, students and scholars can begin to specialize in the subject, bringing new research and expertise to global problems. Table 1.4.1 below summarizes the three approaches to Global Studies.

Table 1.4.1: Approaching Global Studies

Approach to Global Studies	Action	Effect	Example
Multidiscplinary	Incorporate	Additive	1+1+1=3
Interdisciplinary	Align	Interactive	2x2=4
Transdisciplinary	Embed	Holistic	(2x2)+1=5

Another good example is the concept of **intersectionality**, or how various systems of inequality can converge to create distinct and intertwined outcomes. These systems include but are not limited to race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, religion, and disability. Global Studies scholars recognize the importance of intersectionality when it comes to the discussions of the processes and impacts of globalization. Thus, intersectionality can be researched from a multidisciplinary perspective, where scholars seek to incorporate perspectives and experiences from each system. This would include bringing together scholars, researchers and practitioners from various disciplines, such as sociology, gender studies, political science, law, and social justice to explore the relationships between the fields, with an eye towards collaboration.

The term intersectionality was introduced and developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a professor law at the University of California, Los Angeles. Professor Crenshaw contended that the analysis of multiple systems of oppression was necessary to understand how members of any group are affected by their simultaneous positions of disadvantage and privilege. Crenshaw had criticized a series of legal cases where judges were treating Black women solely as women or solely as Black. These legal practices consistently overlooked the unique challenges faced by Black women as a distinct group. Intersectionality theory became

mainstream in the late 2010s with the Women's March, where demonstrators marching for social justice recognized the additional barriers that women of color faced. Crenshaw's work is a good example of intersectionality as interdisciplinary as the effect of being both Black and a woman is interactive, meaning that any potential disadvantages could be greater than if the person was solely Black or solely a woman.

Ritzer and Dean (2022) contend that at some level, all people in the world could in theory be seen as being enmeshed in a "matrix of oppression". A person's gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, social class, and the region of the world (Global North or South) where they live in could disadvantage them. The authors refer to these as "vectors of oppression" and use them to explain how discrimination can vary from one location to another. A matrix of oppression could be considered a transdisciplinary approach, where a new methodological tool is employed to better understand the effects and impacts of intersectionality. Indeed, a new scholarship, that of intersectionality studies has begun evolving. A good example is the Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies at the Columbia School of Law, which "serve(s) as a global focal point for the development, articulation, and application of intersectionality as both a theoretical framework and a cogent practice in law, human rights, and social justice advocacy."

Another good example of intersectionality theory that allows researchers to understand the disadvantages of particular groups of people throughout the world is that of refugees, or people that flee a country for fear of persecution. While refugees all share the same experience of having fled their country, not all refugees are treated the same. Being a refugee from Syria is different from being a refugee from Ukraine. Syrians are from the Middle East, whereas Ukrainians are from Eastern Europe. While both groups have escaped conflict, the plight of Ukrainian refugees is often framed more in humanitarian language in comparison to Syrian refugees, who are framed more in securitization language, where they are described as being potential national security threats (el-Nawawy and Elmasry, 2024). Additionally, women refugees from both Syria and Ukraine faced challenges not encountered by their male counterparts. Women refugees often face more pressure to secure their families' basic needs and well-being. This makes it harder for refugee women to integrate socially and economically. The flexibility of intersectionality theories and frameworks, whether through multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, or transdisciplinary approach, makes it quite useful in Global Studies.

This page titled 1.4: How to Approach Global Studies is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1.5: Organization of the Book

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Develop a plan on how to read this OER textbook

Introduction

This OER textbook, *Introduction to Global Studies*, consists of twelve chapters. A team of seven scholars, consisting of six political scientists and one geographer at six different community colleges in California co-authored this Open Educational Resource, while a historian at a seventh served as the general editor. Each chapter is structured to include the following seven elements: Chapter Outline, Chapter Sections, Key Terms/Glossary, Summary of each Chapter Section, Review Questions, Critical Thinking Questions, and Suggestions for Further Study. The Chapter Outline furnishes a compilation of the chapter's segments. By clicking on a section's name, you can navigate directly to it. This outline holds significance as it swiftly and succinctly offers you a chapter overview, granting a lucid understanding of its contents.

The Chapter Sections are the body of the chapter because they collectively include most of the substantive content. Chapters Two through Eleven will be structured similarly, each with the following sections: Introduction/Definitions, Background/History, Theories, and an At Home and Abroad. Chapter One and Twelve serve as 'bookends', introducing and concluding the textbook respectively. Each At Home and Abroad section will tackle real global issues that affect our students at home. We will use examples from the U.S., and in particular California, and discuss them in their global context. The goal is to make global studies more accessible to California Community College students and help to develop their global competency.

The Key Terms/Glossary functions as a collection of explanations for important terms utilized across the chapter sections. These terms are organized alphabetically. The Summary segment within the chapter offers a concise, one-paragraph overview of each section. The aim is to condense each section into an easily digestible format for quick reference. Each synopsis underscores a primary concept of the section and serves as a point of reference. It's important to note that these summaries do not substitute for reading the actual chapter sections. The Review Questions encompass a minimum of 5 queries designed for purposes like pop quizzes, clicker interactions, self-assessment by students, or as components within a question pool for comprehensive evaluations like midterms or finals. Likewise, the Critical Thinking Questions comprise a minimum of 3 prompts suitable for short or extended essay responses in-class or for assessments conducted either in-person or remotely. Lastly, the Recommendations for Additional Study comprise a reference list to journal articles and books and hyperlinks to websites pertinent to the chapter's subject matter. The aim is to construct a comprehensive collection of resources accessible to both students and faculty for exploration. While we strive to include OER and open access materials, it's important to acknowledge that certain resources might not be freely accessible at present. As the textbook evolves, this section will expand over time.

It is advised to follow the chapters in sequence. By reading this textbook in a linear way, students will be given a progressively wider understanding of the broad scope of topics and issues within Global Studies, as much of the content builds upon the previous sections and chapter. However, we acknowledge and support the fact that certain faculty may opt to assign particular chapters to supplement an already adopted textbook. We anticipate that post-adoption and usage, input from both faculty and students will assist us in enhancing the content of each chapter and the arrangement of materials.

Organization of the Book

This book is divided into four major sections, with Part One outlining an introduction to the discipline of global studies and a thorough discussion of the history of globalization Following is Part Two: Dimensions of Globalization, which address the three traditional dimensions within Global Studies: economic, political, and cultural. In Global Studies, scholars often start with the economic dimension of globalization as it is the discipline that has been the most utilized to understand the processes of connectivity, interdependence, and integration. This is followed by a discussion of political perspectives of globalization, including the role of international organizations in global governance. Part Two concludes with a look into cultural globalization and the flows of people, ideas, and information that affect how people view themselves, their societies, and cultures.

Part Three: The Experiences of Globalization, will introduce additional areas of interest for inquiry, beginning with global inequality, which will provide a foundation for comprehending global insecurity, global hunger and global health disparities. Part Three begins by examining how inequalities in the global systems have fueled conflicts across the world. It then looks at how high levels of inequality, both within societies and between societies, have left some individuals and peoples vulnerable to global food disruptions. This section ends with the impact of global inequalities on the health of global communities, particularly on how COVID-19 affected peoples of color. Part Four: Future Challenges of Globalization focuses on some of the potential contests that will come from globalization. The first two chapters of this section are best read together as new flows of global energy and global environmental challenges are interrelated. Whereas the concluding chapter will look at the future of globalization and whether we have entered a phase of deglobalization and decoupling, which has been suggested by some scholars. We end the book with a discussion on careers in Global Studies, which readers of this book may find useful for future professions.

Part One: Introduction to Global Studies and Globalization

- Chapter One: Introduction to Global Studies and Globalization
- Chapter Two: History of Globalization

Part Two: Dimensions of Globalization

- Chapter Three: Economic Globalization
- Chapter Four: Politics of Globalization
- Chapter Five: Cultural Globalization

Part Three: The Experiences of Globalization

- Chapter Six: Global Inequality
- Chapter Seven: Global Insecurity & Conflict
- Chapter Eight: Global Food Disruptions & Hunger
- Chapter Nine: Global Health Disparities

Part Four: Future Challenges of Globalization

- Chapter Ten: Global Energy
- Chapter Eleven: Global Environmental Challenges
- Chapter Twelve: The Future of Globalization?

This page titled 1.5: Organization of the Book is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1.6: References

Bozonelos, D. and Wendt, J. (2022). Why Study Comparative Politics?. In D. Bozonelos, J. Franco, M. Omae, C. Lee, J. Wendt, J. Scarfe, S. Veldhuis, & B. Martin. *Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics*. Academic Senate for California Community Colleges. http://introcp.com/. CC-BY-NC.

Choi, B. C., and Pak, A. W. (2006). Multidisciplinarity, Interdisciplinarity and Transdisciplinarity in Health Research, Services, Education and Policy: 1. Definitions, Objectives, and Evidence of Effectiveness. Clinical and Investigative Medicine. *Medecine Clinique et Experimentale*, 29(6), 351–364.

el-Nawawy, M., and Elmasry, M. H. (2024). Worthy and Unworthy Refugees: Framing the Ukrainian and Syrian Refugee Crises in Elite American Newspapers. *Journalism Practice*, 1–21.

Friedan, J.A., Lake, D.A., and Broz, J.L. (2017). *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth* (6th ed.). W.W. Norton & Company.

Keohane, R.O. and Nye, J.S. (2000). Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And So What?). *Foreign Policy*, 118:104-119.

Mansbach, R.W. (2013). The Many Meanings of Globalization. In R.W. Mansbach & E. Rhodes (Eds.), *Introducing Globalization*. CQ Press.

Payne, R.J. (2011). *Global Issues* (3rd ed.). Pearson.

Ritzer, G. and Dean, P. (2022). *Globalization: A Basic Text* (3rd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.

Schattle, H. (2009). Global Citizenship in Theory and Practice. In H. Lewin (ed.). *The Handbook of Practice and Research in Study Abroad: Higher Education and the Quest for Global Citizenship*. Routledge.

Smallman, S. and Brown, K. (2015). *Introduction to International & Global Studies* (2nd ed.). The University of North Carolina Press.

Sparke, M. (2013). *Introducing Globalization: Ties, Tensions, and Uneven Integration*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Steger, M.B. (2015). *The Global Studies Reader* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Steger, M.B. (2017). *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Steger, M.B. and James, P. (2019). *Globalization Matters: Engaging the Global in Unsettled Times*. Cambridge University Press.

This page titled 1.6: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

1.7: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Acid rain:** toxic rain that consists of nitrogen oxide, sulfur dioxide, and volatile organic compounds, which is generally derived from burning coal.
- **Area studies:** similar to International Studies, though it is a more traditional method where the comparison of countries is organized geographically.
- **Connectivity:** the characteristic, condition, or capacity of being linked or interconnected.
- **Cosmopolitan governance:** where individuals embrace the concept of holding multiple citizenships, signifying their affiliation with various political entities that hold substantial influence over them.
- **Cultural regions:** refer to groups of individuals united by shared language, religion, and heritage within a specific geographic zone.
- **Global:** denotes a broader and a more comprehensive perspective of the world
- **Global citizenship:** the belief that individuals possess an obligation to individuals beyond their own nation due to their common humanity.
- **Global consciousness**: A global mindset where the welfare of individuals far away should garner the same attention from ordinary individuals as the welfare of their immediate neighbors.
- **Globalism:** the world is characterized as being in a state of interdependence that crosses continents, fueled by linkages that emerge from the flow of goods, services, money, ideas, and information.
- **Globality:** when a global society exists marked by intricate worldwide economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and movements, rendering many of the existing borders and limits largely inconsequential.
- **Globalization:** the acceleration and intensification of global interconnectivity, interdependence, and integration processes.
- **Global Studies:** a comprehensive research area aimed at fostering a deep understanding of the effects of globalization on societies, cultures, and environments worldwide.
- **Glocalization:** the adaptation of global products, services, or ideas to suit local contexts, resulting in a fusion of global and local elements.
- **Integration:** to shape, synchronize, or merge into a functional or cohesive entirety.
- **Interdependence:** a condition where two or more entities, individuals, or systems rely on each other.
- **Interdisciplinary (approach):** aligns connections across disciplines to create a unified and cohesive field of study.
- **International Relations:** the study of political engagements among countries, centered on diplomacy and foreign policy considerations.
- **International Studies:** the examinations of the interactions between two or more states, as well as comparing and identifying commonalities among these states.
- **Intersectionality:** how various systems of inequality can converge to create distinct and intertwined outcomes.
- **Irregular migrants:** people who travel to a country outside regular rules or norms, or without permission of the host government.
- **Mass migration:** the movement of substantial populations from one geographical region to another.
- **Multidisciplinary (approach):** incorporates multiple perspectives, concepts, frameworks, and methodological approaches to study complex global phenomena.
- **Transdisciplinary (approach):** embeds a perspective, concept, framework, or methodological approach from one discipline into another.
- **Transnational Studies:** focused on the movement of people, ideas and goods across national boundaries and cultural regions.
- **World federalism:** a movement with the objective of establishing a federal world government.
- **World government:** the concept of a unified global human community governed by a shared common political authority.

Summaries

1.1: Introduction to Global Studies and Globalization

Global Studies is a comprehensive research area aimed at fostering a deeper understanding of the effects of globalization. This encompasses global social, political, economic, and environmental systems. The primary objective of this Introduction to Global

Studies OER textbook is to prepare students for future endeavors in global activities. This is achieved through comprehensive exploration of various subjects, including other cultures, world history, political and economic systems, global geography and environment, cross-cultural communication, and conflict resolution.

1.2: How did the Field of Global Studies Develop?

In Global Studies, the emphasis is on the global, or a broader and more comprehensive perspective of the world. Additionally, there exists the field of international studies, which is not necessarily global in its examinations. Likewise, there are area studies programs which incorporate comparisons of states often organized geographically. Global Studies differs from International Relations, which involves political interactions between two or more countries. International Relations centers on diplomacy and foreign policy. Finally, there is transnational studies, which focuses more on the movement of people, goods, and ideas across borders. This then necessitates distinguishing 'global' from 'transnational'. Essentially, anything that is global is inherently transnational, whereas not everything that is transnational is global. This distinction is not just academic as classifying an event, such as the spread of COVID-19, as a global or transnational event has important consequences. This discussion contextualizes the globalizing of curricula in higher education, where the California State University and University of California systems now offer advanced degrees in Global Studies, or at have at least incorporated a Global Studies component into various degrees.

1.3: The Essence of Global Studies - Globalization

Globalization in its essence involves three characteristics: connectivity, interdependence, and integration. Each of these concepts is integral to the understanding of globalization as all three processes are occurring, though each process's presence, speed and intensity vary by location. Thus, globalization is defined as the acceleration and intensification of global interconnectivity, interdependence, and integration processes. This differs from globality or globalism, which is a logical conclusion or condition of the processes of globalization. A condition of globality would see the development of a global consciousness, which then engenders discussions about world federalism and cosmopolitan governance. It also includes conversations about mass migration and how migrants, both regular and irregular, could be part of a growing identity of global citizenship.

1.4: How to Approach Global Studies

Global Studies can be approached from three different approaches - multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary. These approaches to Global Studies can help us when reading about various global issues, problems, and challenges. A multidisciplinary approach is *additive*, where different disciplines are brought together to answer a research question. An interdisciplinary approach is *interactive*, where elements of various disciplines are combined to answer a research question. A transdisciplinary approach is *holistic*, where conventional boundaries between disciplines are removed to answer a research question.

1.5: Organization of the Book

This textbook, *Introduction to Global Studies*, is an Open Education Resource (OER) and consists of 12 chapters. A team of seven scholars, consisting of six political scientists and one geographer at six different community colleges in California co-authored this Open Education Resource. Each chapter is structured to include the following seven elements: Chapter Outline, Chapter Sections, Key Terms/Glossary, Summary of each Chapter Section, Review Questions, Critical Thinking Questions, and Suggestions for Further Study. The Chapter Sections are the body of the chapter because they collectively include most of the substantive content. Chapters Two through Eleven will be structured similarly, each with the following sections: Introduction/ Definitions, Background/History, Theories, and an At Home and Abroad. Chapter One and Twelve serve as 'bookends', introducing and concluding the textbook respectively. Each Home and Abroad section will tackle real global issues that affect our students at home. We will use examples from the U.S., and in particular California, and discuss them in their global context. The goal is to make global studies more accessible to California Community College students and help to develop their global competency.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Council on Foreign Relations, World101: Globalization (Online resource featuring modules, some of which are interactive, that highlight various aspects of economic globalization)

- CSU Channel Islands, What is Global Studies? (Quick overview of Global Studies provided by CSU Channel Islands)
- National Geographic, Globalization (More detailed resource on understanding globalization)

Books

- Friedman T. (1997). *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Ritzer, G. and Dean, P. (2022). *Globalization: A Basic Text* (3rd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Steger, M.B. (2017). *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (4thed.). Oxford University Press.
- Steger, M.B. and James, P. (2019). *Globalization Matters: Engaging the Global in Unsettled Times*. Cambridge University Press.

Journal Articles

- Juergensmeyer, M. (2013). What is Global Studies?, Globalizations, 10(6): 765-769.
- Pieterse, J.N. (2013). What is Global Studies?, *Globalizations*, 10(4): 499-514.
- Steger, M.B. (2013). It's About Globalization, After All: Four Framings of Global Studies. A Response to Jan Nederveen Pieterse's 'What is Global Studies?', Globalizations, 10(6): 771-777.

Review Questions

1. What is Global Studies?
    1. Global Studies programs involve courses that examine the interactions between two or more countries, as well as comparing and identifying commonalities among these countries.
    2. Global Studies programs are a more traditional academic approach where the comparison of countries is organized geographically.
    3. Global Studies is the realm of political engagements among countries, centered on diplomacy and foreign policy considerations.
    4. Global Studies is a comprehensive research area aimed at fostering a deep understanding of the effects of globalization on societies, cultures, and environments worldwide.
2. How does global differ from transnational?
    1. Transnational is an activity that transcends national borders but might predominantly pertain to a specific world region.
    2. Global is an activity that manifests beyond the confines of national boundaries or control.
    3. All global phenomena are transnational, whereas not all transnational phenomena are global.
    4. All of these answers are correct.
3. Which answer below is not one of the terms associations with globalization?
    1. Connectivity
    2. Interdependence
    3. Integration
    4. Glocalization
4. What are some of the approaches of cosmopolitanism that could lead to a great global consciousness?
    1. World Federalism
    2. Cosmopolitan Governance
    3. Mass Migration
    4. All of these answers are correct.
5. Which answer below is not one of the approaches from which to study Global Studies?
    1. Multidisciplinary
    2. Interdisciplinary
    3. Transdisciplinary
    4. Heterodisciplinary

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Consider sushi. Do you agree that sushi has been *globalized*? Or, do you think that sushi has been *glocalized*? Which term better describes the global spread of sushi.
2. Why is it better to understand globalization as a process, rather than a condition?

3. Have you considered majoring in Global Studies? If so, why would it interest you? What career do you think it would hopefully lead to?

This page titled 1.7: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

2: HISTORY OF GLOBALIZATION

2.1: Introduction
2.2: A Brief History of Globalization
2.3: Theories - Motivations for Globalization
2.4: At Home and Abroad - The Rise of the Liberal International Order (LIO)
2.5: References
2.6: Student Resources

This page titled 2: History of Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

2.1: Introduction

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize the importance of increased connectivity among populations for promoting globalization
- Understand major historical precursors to modern globalization in terms of time-space compression

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a general view of globalization and some of its precursors over time and space. There have been numerous historical events and periods that have impacted globalization, all of which involved places, peoples, technological factors, and ideologies that have worked to increase connectivity among populations, often organized as civilizations. In basic terms, a **civilization** is a sociocultural construct in which individuals form a community based on a cohesive set of institutions over a given area (Kaplan & Holloway, 2014). By no means does this chapter include all the important moments, processes and characters involved in the history of globalization. Instead, it seeks to provide a brief look at several key points in historical geography and highlight several social paradigms that have made significant impacts in terms of improving people's ability to migrate, communicate, and interact with others who were previously inaccessible. This chapter is not a history text, per se. Rather it seeks to focus on motivating factors of globalization, and its acceleration via **time-space compression**, which is the concept that advancements in technology, especially in transportation and communication, have reduced the perceived time and distance between people and places, leading to a sense of the world becoming smaller and more interconnected (Warf, 2008). People have long been driven to interact with each other across large distances, and have been driven to do so by a variety of factors. Whether this be for trade, conquest, or simple curiosity, the desire of humanity to connect with one another have long been active in the world.

This page titled 2.1: Introduction is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

2.2: A Brief History of Globalization

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the conditions needed for people to form civilizations and the role technology plays in their development
- Recognize some of the major periods in world history that have promoted globalization and the main motivations behind the process
- Critically analyze the systems of trade and governance associated with these periods and understand the legacy these processes left in the contemporary world
- Appreciate how important moments in technology, paired with political will and organization, can lead to comparative trading advantages, alliances, institutions, and power relations that impact people beyond state borders

Historical Precursors to Globalization

Having established the concept of time-space compression and suggested some motivations for increased inter connectivity among populations, we will focus on some specific historical cases that show how these concepts can be applied as precursors to our modern understanding of globalization. Although, archeological evidence suggests that the earliest settlements in Mesopotamia, located primarily in present day Iraq and Syria, date back to around 10,000 BCE, during a period known as the Neolithic Revolution, we are going to chose closer to the year 3100 BCE as our starting point, when we begin to see more robust written historical records (Flannery, et al., 1965).

The culture of Ancient Mesopotamia is significant for a variety of reasons. Inventions such as the wheel, a major technological advancement in terms of time-space compression come from this area, as did some of the earliest forms of standardized mathematics (Faiella, 2006). Some of the first literary works, such as the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, come from this **civilization,** a complex society based on settlements in which inhabitants function via a collective sense of community. Urbanization and agricultural advancement are also critical moments in history associated with Ancient Mesopotamia. This is the area where cereal crops and grains first become domesticated, and mass produced (Ellison, 1981). It is also the region where we see some of the world's first cities, such as Nineveh, Ur, Uruk, and Babylon arise (Kaplan & Holloway, 2014).

The establishment of settlements, leading to cities, is a noteworthy precursor to globalization for several reasons. Firstly, building and sustaining urban populations only becomes possible when a surplus of food can be achieved. Prior to the **Neolithic Revolution**, humans tended to live in relatively small groups, practicing a traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle (Latham, 2013). People who lived in these times spent most of their energy obtaining calories, consuming what they could kill, scavenge, or gather. These conditions often meant that people were highly migratory, especially when living in areas with seasonal changes that impacted the assortment of food options at various times of the year.

The total human population at the time of the Neolithic Revolution was quite small, as starvation tended to be a constant threat. However, technological advancements that were first seen in Ancient Mesopotamia changed this scenario drastically. Around this time, some humans began to transition into what is known as a sedentary lifestyle, as opposed to constantly migrating. Their focus shifted to overcoming limitations posed by site and situation factors, which involved changing those factors by moving to new areas, or meeting their needs by modifying their local environments. This change involved deforestation to use wood for building materials and fuel, the domestication of animals and the implementation of irrigation technologies, which allowed for consistent planting and harvesting of crops (Marston, 2017). As more land was clearer, more crops could be planted. As more of those crops were harvested, they could support a larger population. The larger population could clear more land, and so the cycle continued.

Advancements in agricultural technology provided the people of Ancient Mesopotamia with the ability to create an agricultural surplus. With enough food to nourish its populations, fewer people had to be directly involved with procuring calories, meaning they were free to pursue other tasks. Here we see the makings of a **division of labor**, whereby specific tasks could be organized and specialized, thereby leading to more efficiency. Economic specialization meant that people could become highly skilled at producing a limited set of goods, thus increasing the quality of these goods, and decreasing the time needed to produce them. Some worked in agriculture, while others became potters, carpenters, bakers or took on other types of artisan professions. Advanced productivity and surplus meant that people were able to trade their products among settlements (Kaplan & Holloway,

2014), thus creating networks of trade and accelerating time-space compression.

Politically, conditions in Ancient Mesopotamia eventually led to the establishment of **city-states**, which were based on a relationship between the cities themselves, which served as centers of power, institutions, culture, and religion, and their **hinterlands**, the agricultural areas adjacent to the cities that provided food for themselves and the urbanized population (Kaplan & Holloway, 2014). Key elements in this relationship were the organization of defense and the management of surplus food, as cities would field armies to defend themselves and their hinterlands. Cities also housed markets, where the exchange of goods took place. Key religious officials and buildings were also located in the cities, as religious power was deeply connected to social power (Kaplan & Holloway, 2014).

Eventually, political motivation to expand and consolidate power resulted in the formation of early empires in Ancient Mesopotamia, as city-states combined, or were taken over by force via the armies of other city-states. This process resulted in the formation of empires such as Sumer, Babylon and Assyria. Again, technology was involved, vis-à-vis advancements in metal working that allowed for new kinds of armaments. In these cases, cultural elements were diffused by **hierarchical diffusion**. In this process, ideas, innovations, or cultural traits spread in a structured, top-down manner, typically from a central source to other locations, or via political dominance. Diffusion also occurred with the movement of people for non-political reasons. People traveled to and from these empires for economic purposes, diffusing cultural elements through trade networks or permanent migration. This trade was facilitated by the specialized division of labor which resulted in high quantities of quality goods (Edens, 1992). Once more, technologies introduced in this region, such as wheel-based transportation and growing grain had an impact on time-space compression. Therefore, cultural elements from Ancient Mesopotamia were thus diffused by trade, migration, or by hierarchical diffusion as new areas were conquered and incorporated into the region's various empires.

The successes of Ancient Mesopotamia have landed it the title as one of the major **cultural hearths** of the ancient world, meaning that it was a place from which cultural elements originated and subsequently diffused (Smith, 2016). Other major cultural hearths include Meso-America, civilizations in the Andes Mountains of South America, the Nile River Valley, the Indus River Valley, Northern China, Southeast Asia, and West Africa. Although each of these regions has its own unique history, the basic process of development shared many similarities. In all these places we observe an agricultural surplus obtained via new technologies, settlement leading to civilization, with cities and their hinterlands eventually being subsumed into larger empires. Cultural elements are then diffused via trade, migration, and hierarchical diffusion.

Classical Greece and Rome

Moving forward to around 1200 BCE, we begin to see the establishment and expansion of Greek culture, which would lay the foundations for Western Civilization. Much like ancient Sumer, the Greeks organized themselves into a series of city-states, which would eventually expand throughout the Balkan Peninsula and beyond, especially to the East. This largely involved sending groups of settlers to new areas to establish new settlements and communities. We might think of this as a process of colonization; however, it differs from later efforts of **European Colonialism** during the Fifteenth through the Seventeenth Centuries. The focus was generally on the expansion of Classical Greece itself, incorporating new people and new territories into a network of city-states that shared important cultural commonalities and actively traded with one another, whereas European Colonialism would come to encompass a firm reliance on political subjugation between the colonizer and the colonized.

The Greeks were motivated to expand for several reasons. First, the larger successful centers of Greek culture, like Athens, saw a significant increase in population. More people to feed meant that the Greeks needed to secure more resources and territory to lessen environmental pressures from their local region, which was prone to issues like drought. Successful expansion meant having a reliable network of trade throughout the Eastern Mediterranean World, making the flow of goods and people among the Greek city-states more feasible. On occasion, the city-states also formed military alliances for protection against rival civilizations, such as from the Persian Empire in the East.

Greek expansion relied heavily on seafaring technology, and they also introduced advances in mathematics, geographic awareness and representation, and navigation. For example, the Greeks invented a device known as the astrolabe, which allowed them to better understand the stars and other celestial bodies, leading to better maps and more accurate navigation. Mechanical odometers were also a meaningful Greek technology, making it possible to more accurately measure distances traveled. The Greeks focused on building wooden ships with metal fastenings (for transport and for protection), all of which relied on a combination of sail and oar power. The cargo ships were larger and better equipped to hold goods, while the war ships were longer and narrower, built more for speed.

Politically, the city-states of ancient Greece did not function with a top-down hierarchy, but rather as autonomous entities with their own local systems of governance. However, they had a few cultural commonalities that were vital for maintaining

communication and connection, notably the use of the Greek language, along with the adherence to the Greek religion. The history of the Greek city-states was one of tumultuous relationships, they needed each other for the purpose of trade, but they also often went to war with one another during the late Classical Period. However, this did not mean an end of Greek cultural influence, as following the conquests of Alexander of Macedon (336-323 BCE) that influence was spread even more. Indeed, it was following the death of Alexander that the Greeks had their most influence. During a time known as the **Hellenistic Period** (323-30 BCE) the use of the Greek language could be found from India in the East to the Western Mediterranean (primarily in areas that Alexander had conquered), allowing for the easier movement of goods and ideas throughout the entire region.

There is a saying that history does not like a vacuum. As we will see, the decline of Classical Greece and Alexander's Empire created space for the rise of new political entities to take their places. In the East, this gave birth to the Mauryan Empire of India (322-184 BCE) and the Seleucid Empire centered in Persia (312-63 BCE). In the West, a city-state known as Rome, located centrally on the Italian peninsula, eventually emerged as a new dominant cultural force, transitioning from a city-state, to a kingdom, to a republic, and then to an empire. Rome had some advantages over other city-states in terms of site and situation factors. It featured a protected harbor on the coast, a river and fertile lands that were good for growing crops, protection in the form of hilly terrain, and a central location, both on the peninsula and in the Mediterranean, that allowed for control of trade and ease of communication within its growing territory. Its more western location also meant that Rome was able to avoid some of the pressures from competitors in the East.

While Greek expansion was mostly focused on trade, the Romans were more interested in imperial expansion through conquest. Throughout the Roman Empire's pursuits, the concept of **Romanization,** the process by which non-Roman people were incorporated into the Roman Empire and assimilated into Roman culture, became very important (MacMullen, 2000). As Rome extended its reach into new territories, it set out to essentially convert conquered people into Romans. This process was done by encouraging conquered and incorporated people to adopt Latin, learn Roman law, and convert to the Roman religion. To facilitate this, once Rome conquered a region, for example the Iberian Peninsula (modern day Spain and Portugal), members of the local population would join the Roman legions. It was important for Rome to then send these soldiers to different parts of the empire. By taking them away from their native populations, these new recruits were forced to culturally assimilate to function. Thousands of people went through this process to eventually become Romanized, where they in turn would oversee people that were not of their own ethnic backgrounds, and thus they had to rely on Roman identity as their primary sense of allegiance. This service would also gain them status in Roman society. This process not only worked for native Roman ideas, but also external concepts that the Romans embraced. For example, in 380 CE, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. Not only did this cement the Christian faith in Roman society, but it also laid the groundwork for eventual global expansion of the faith (Ehler and Morrall, 1967).



Figure 2.2.1: Map of the Roman Empire Indicated East and West. (Wikipedia Commons; by Doll91939 is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

The spread of Latin as a **lingua franca** (the common spoken language) in the Roman Empire was a major advancement in time-space compression, as it gave people the ability to communicate with others over a vast distance. Romanization and the adoption of Christianity further worked as centrifugal forces to bring increasing amounts of people together into a shared identity. Other

important advancements came by way of Roman technology. A vast system of roads connected the far corners of the Roman Empire and facilitated efficient overland transportation, allowing Rome to expand inland. At the height of the Roman Empire, it had constructed over 250,000 miles of roads, 50,000 miles of which were paved with stone (Grant, 1978). The road system was complemented with maritime advancements that allowed Rome to further expand into the greater Mediterrean as well. The Romans also constructed a great system of aqueducts, which brought water into cities and were also useful to irrigate crops, making its populations less susceptible to issues of drought.

At its peak in the first and second centuries CE, the Roman Empire had a population of around 75 million people (Harper, 2017), which may have constituted 15 percent of the estimated global population. With so many people in potential contact, Rome was able to build an economic system based on **local functional specialization**, whereby various regions of the Empire produced specialized goods, and traded those goods throughout the Empire, using Latin and the road network to facilitate trade. As new areas were incorporated, they were connected via expansions to the existing infrastructure and took on an economic identity by which they were able to focus on producing specific, higher quality goods, which they were then able to trade for other high-quality goods around the Empire. Eventually though, centripetal political forces took hold, as Rome overextended its empire, and became susceptible to attacks from populations around its periphery. The Empire itself was partitioned into Eastern and Western divisions between the Fourth and Fifth centuries CE, with the Eastern Roman Empire, continuing on as the Byzantine Empire, eventually falling to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 (Bartusis, 1997).

The Silk Road and the Mongol Empire

After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, Europe entered a period broadly known as the Middle Ages, generally understood to run from about 500 to 1500 CE (also known as the Medieval period). For the West, this was a stage when centripetal forces were quite powerful. Europe went through times of increasing isolation, **counterurbanization** (a demographic process whereby populations migrate from cities to rural areas), and population decline (Heikkilä & Kashinoro, 2009). However, efforts to improve time-space compression and interconnectivity were still going on in the East, mainly in the form of efforts to cross Eurasia and connect Eastern Europe to China. Roman rulers had seen the potential value in promoting economic exchange with East Asia. Initially interested in trading their goods for textiles produced in Asia, in particular silk, the Romans began establishing trade routes to the East, via Southwest and Central Asia. This series of trade routes eventually became known as the **Silk Road**, which ran from cities like Constantinople and Alexandria in the Eastern Roman Empire, through the Eurasian Steppes, all the way to China (Christian, 2000).

While traveling along the various paths of the Silk Road opened numerous opportunities for economic and cultural exchanges, individual travelers seldom, if ever, made the entire overland trek. Traveling on the Silk Road often proved dangerous due to lack of security and harsh environmental conditions. Rather, goods were exchanged in markets and bazaars along the route. These goods changed hands many times along the way, and although some were inevitably lost before reaching the end, some did arrive, and the routes continued to flourish well into the Fifteenth Century. This regular exchange of goods brought many different groups of people into contact with one another, thus promoting both cultural and economic integration.



Figure 2.2.2: Silk Road in the 1st Century. (Wikimedia by Kaidor is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

The routes along the Silk Road were critical not only for the movement of goods, but also for the diffusion of culture, ideas, philosophies, and ultimately belief systems. Notably, the prominence of the Silk Road, which crossed through Southwest Asia, coincided with the Islamic Golden Age. With Europe in the so-called Dark Ages following the decline of the intellectualism that had been brought by the Roman Empire, much of the scientific and intellectual advancement from this period came out of Southwest Asia. The Silk Road continued to serve as a conduit for political, cultural, and economic diffusion, though now centered on the Islamic World. As those who has come before them, Islamic traders established bazaars and outposts along the routes. In some cases, these traders favored doing business with other Muslims over people of other faiths. This preference, along with innovations in commerce and transit, quickly prompted the spread of the Islamic faith outside of the Arabian Peninsula and on into Central Asia, eventually reaching South Asia and Southeast Asia as well (Liu, 2011). Great Islamic centers of culture were established along the Silk Road, such as Bukhara, Khiva, and Samarkand, all of which exist to this day.

During the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, another very important Empire also existed in Eurasia, the Mongol Empire. Founded by Genghis Khan in the early Thirteenth Century, via the unification of various nomadic groups on the steppes of Central Asia, the Mongol Empire eventually encompassed more total land area than any other political movement in world history, stretching from Vienna in the west all the way to Southeast Asia (Turnbull, 2003). For the first time, the core of the Silk Road was controlled by one political entity. This promoted increased use, as taxation was regularized and the merchants felt some level of protection within the Great Khan's Empire. While violence was associated with their reign, the Mongols had a massive impact on early globalization as they worked to promote their empire, showing that it was possible to control huge amounts of territory under one central authority.

Mongol technology comes from a tradition of pastoral nomadism, which focused on horsemanship. The Mongols utilized the horse extremely effectively. It was common for the Mongols to travel with herds of horses, trading out for a fresh mount whenever the one they were riding tired. This strategy meant that the Mongols were able to travel long overland distances extremely quickly. Mobility, along with their political system, which was quite tolerant (at least post-conquest), also meant that the Mongols were able to act as a vehicle of cultural and economic diffusion.

Unlike the Romans, the Mongols were not interested in dominating the populations they conquered in a cultural sense. Rather, they were interested in taking tribute from their subjects. When the various peoples under Mongol rule paid their taxes and other tributes to the rulers, they were allowed to practice local religions and their cultures and way of life was tolerated (Zieme, 2016). Additionally, Mongols traveling from place to place, collecting these tributes, would also work to facilitate trade, and provide security along the trade routes. Regions paying tribute were thus afforded protection, making trade routes safer. Crime was disincentivized, and trade was heavily encouraged in the Mongol Empire because stealing from traders meant that one was essentially stealing from the Khan. Investors and traders found it easier to move from place to place throughout the Mongol Empire because participants knew the legal and cultural norms would be consistent. Mongol trade routes included not only silk and textiles, but also spices, metals, and pottery. Artisans and intellectuals were also able to spread ideas across the Empire, leading to important elements such as gun power, the compass, paper making, and even important **foodways** (the cultural, social, and economic practices related to food production and consumption) to make their way from East Asia across the empire to Europe (Kalra, 2018).

As was the case with previous examples, the Mongol Empire met its demise when centrifugal forces took over. After the death of Genghis Khan, the Mongol Empire, which had been divided into a loose network of polities called Khanates, began to compete internally rather than cooperate. The Khanates eventually succumbed to internal collapse or became too weak to maintain control under external pressure for competing powers. By 1783, the last Mongol stronghold in the West, the Crimean Khanate, was subsumed into the Russian Empire (Morgan, 2009).

The "Age of Discovery," European Colonialism, and Mercantilism

A massively important moment in time-space compression happened in the late Fifteenth Century when explorers from Western Europe, men like Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, set out by sea in search of new trade routes to Asia. Da Gama was the first European to make the sea voyage around the southern tip of Africa and arrive in the Indian Ocean. Columbus took a different route, setting off to the west across the Atlantic Ocean. Although Columbus was not actually the first to posit that the Earth was spherical in shape, his voyages did ultimately suggest to the sea-faring powers of Europe that new lands in the Western Hemisphere existed, and that these lands were worth exploring and ultimately claiming and settling, thus beginning the so-called "Age of Discovery" and with it the era of European Colonialism.

Important figures in the Age of Discovery, which in addition to Columbus include figures like Ferdinand Magellan, James Cook, and Amerigo Vespucci (for whom the Americas are named), were very much products of the Renaissance in Europe. The Renaissance can be understood as a time of intellectual awakening, whereby Europe embraced a rediscovery of the knowledge,

scholarship, and philosophy that had largely been ignored since antiquity. Science and the arts in Europe flourished during this time, leading once again to the development of new technologies that would be used to pursue time-space compression. Among them were newly designed ships that were large enough to carry substantial cargo and crews and that were capable of long voyages via sailing, not relying on manpower for propulsion. Notable ships of the time were the caravel, which was light, maneuverable, and able to be sailed effectively against the wind, along with the galleon, which was larger than the caravel, but could handle more cargo and could be more heavily armed (Gardiner and Unger, 1994). Advances in cartography were also rapidly developing at this time. Portolan charts, for example, served as navigational maps based on compass directions and estimated observed distance (Klien, 2011). As the number of expeditions increased, more knowledge was gathered, reported, and compared, leading to navigational tools like globes and atlases.

In the years following their arrival in the Western Hemisphere, several European powers went about establishing colonies there, and elsewhere throughout the world. While many attempted colonization to some degree, the powers that were most successful included Spain, France, Portugal, Britain, and the Netherlands. These colonial projects differed to some degree in terms of their overall administration and the tactics of conquest, but the congruent theme for all of them was to claim new lands, thus establishing Empires which would work to create new wealth for the colonizers (Janssens & Yun-Casalilla, 2017).

These colonial powers became known as Sea-borne Empires because their core areas were not contiguous with their colonies. In each case, settlers came from Europe to establish the new territories. In most cases, these European settlers met resistance from the indigenous populations upon arrival in the New World. However, the Europeans had several important technological and epidemiological advantages over the indigenous peoples. Not only did the Europeans possess superior weapons and military technology, but they also carried diseases, for which the indigenous peoples had no natural immune defense. The general term associated with these interactions, coined by Alfred Crosby in 1972, is the **Columbian Exchange.** While today most focus is on the movement of people, disease, food, plants and animals from Europe, Africa and Asia to the Americas, it is important to recognize there was also important goods that moved in the opposite direction. For example, the potato has its origins in the Inca civilization, who were the first to cultivate it. Spanish conquistadors brought the potato back to Europe in the late 16th century, but it did not become popular there until the next century.



Figure 2.2.3: Potatoes for sale in Southern Peru. (Wikimedia by Eric Hunt is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0)

The reason the movement from Old World to New is highlighted the most though, is the detrimental impact that it had on the indigenous population. Indeed, just a few decades after initial contact, the indigenous population of the Americas suffered severe losses due to disease in one of the greatest demographic disasters in human history (McNeill, 2019). With the indigenous populations severely weakened, the colonizers were able to establish firm control over their new lands, both politically and culturally. In many cases, the indigenous peoples who survived were taken over by the Europeans and put to work gathering resources and producing raw materials that would be taken back to Europe, providing the colonial powers with great wealth (Fessenden, 2016). When the remaining indigenous labor proved insufficient to meet the colonizers' goals, the Europeans turned to chattel slavery to further expand their colonial operations (Smallwood, 2019). This involved purchasing enslaved peoples primarily from West Africa and forcing them to cross the Atlantic Ocean against their will, suffering severely inhumane conditions in the process.

The economic system practiced during the colonial period has come to be known as **mercantilism**. This theory aimed at regulating the economy as a means of augmenting state power. Each empire would derive resources and materials from its colonies, which were then shipped across the Atlantic back to Europe to be made into value added goods. These goods were then sold back to the colonies, generating huge amounts of wealth for the core in Europe. The introduction of new foodstuffs, textiles, and goods that were produced with raw materials from the colonies drastically changed the economies and ways of life for people living in the core areas (Boivin et al., 2012). These changes demonstrated the nature of the relationship as a two-way street in terms of exchange, all be it with more wealth ending up in Europe than in the colonies.

Competition among the colonial empires was another feature of mercantilism. The basic idea was to maximize exports and minimize imports among the empires, encouraging the major powers to treat their economies as zero-sum, and engage in **rent seeking** behavior, an attempt to gain economic advantage via the manipulation of the social or political environment rather than through trade and production of goods and services. Mercantilist logic posited that the total value in the global economy was a set sum, whereby the gains of one party had to be offset by the losses of another. Therefore, the colonial empires sought to maximize their holdings at the expense of their competitors through **protectionism**, although not exactly in the modern economic sense (Magnusson, 2003). The empires would charge high tariffs on imported goods, thus heavily encouraging the people in Europe and their colonies to do business primarily within the empire, favoring internal trade.

Mercantilists understood precious metals to be a critical measure of wealth, and they sought to accumulate as much of these resources as possible. If a country was able to engage in a trade surplus, it would, in theory, be able to ensure an inflow of value. This type of economic system is rent seeking, in that the priority in managing the economy lies in controlling and manipulating use and exchange, rather than focusing on efficiency and innovation. Therefore, monopoly control over production was a priority, and economic growth and diversification was quite limited.

Despite the drawbacks of mercantilism and the obvious moral indignation regarding the treatment of those it subjugated, European colonialism was critical for setting the stage for contemporary globalization. The efforts of the empires had several profound effects on populations globally that made efforts of economic, cultural, and political integration more feasible. Beyond the obvious economic motivations, there were also significant cultural and political impacts for both the colonizers and their colonies. Europeans utilized various **artifacts** (physical objects), **sociofacts** (ways of behavior), and **mentifacts** (values and belief systems) in their colonial projects. For example, we see English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French (the languages of our major colonial powers) as the official language in areas far away from those countries, as it was often a good career move for local officials to adopt the language of ther colonial bosses. Cultural dominance can be observed in terms of belief systems as well. Various dominations of Christianity were practiced by these colonial empires. The authority of colonial governments was bolstered when indigenous populations practiced the same faith as themselves, especially when the European monarch was supported by the idea of a divine right to rule. Therefore, the spread of Christianity via colonialism was vast.

The European colonial empires were motivated to expand further across the globe, spreading to Asia, and eventually to Africa. By the late colonial period, several new countries had attempted to establish overseas colonies of their own, with countries like Germany and Belgium claiming and colonizing territory in Africa (Conrad, 2011). Japan also joined the ranks, as it ended centuries of isolation and began to colonize East and Southeast Asia. In addition to the sea-borne empires previously mentioned, there were also few notable land-borne empires that expanded overland. These included the Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman Empires.

Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution

The Enlightenment period in Europe during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries saw the rise of new political and scientific thinking that favored ideals of such as logic and reason over religious dogma, and democratic governments over monarchies and empires (Williams, 1999). Mercantilism was replaced by **capitalism**, an economic system based on the idea of private ownership of the means of production, whereby firms produce goods which are then exchanged in markets. Firms, or companies, are the main forces of production, who distribute their goods to consumers. These firms hire labor to add value to their inputs, turning primary materials into **value-added products**. For compensation, workers are paid wages or salaries for their time and effort, money which they in turn use to purchase goods and services within the economy. Although workers are never able to realize the full value of their labor, as surplus value is extracted by firms (the capitalists), the compensation workers received was notably better than what they had been able to earn working in the primary sector. With more people able to participate in the economy with increasing purchasing power, they became known as the middle class (Morris, 1979).

Under capitalism, the concept of the free market became important, where firms can compete with one another for market share. This being said, truly free markets have never really existed, as the state plays the role of a regulator that establishes norms and laws to keep the system running smoothly. The state also provides infrastructure and takes on projects that are either too large

or too risky for individual capitalists to pursue. Building a national system of roads, a postal system, or a public education system are good examples of the state's traditional role within capitalist economies.

Capitalism is also associated with innovation and competition. Firms that can gain a comparative advantage over their rivals will ultimately prove more successful in the market. An important example can be seen with the **Industrial Revolution** in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, which facilitated time-space compression at a rapid rate and helped lay the groundwork for contemporary globalizing efforts. The Industrial Revolution also had profound effects on cultural, economic, and political relations writ large, drastically reshaping the way people lived, the agency they possessed within the economy, their material goods and built environment, healthcare, and radical advancements in terms of technological change (Ashton, 1997). Economies were shifted away from primary sector activities and reoriented to pursuing higher order activities, like manufacturing. Much of the population shifted from rural to urban environments, and mass waves of immigration from Europe to North America were spurred on by new opportunities. Quality of life improved, overall life expectancy increased, and the population began to increase exponentially. From its origins in the Midlands of England, the Industrial Revolution spread across Europe and Eurasia, eventually reaching Japan by the mid-Nineteenth Century (Stearns, 1969).

The Industrial Revolution is often subdivided into four parts, with the First Industrial Revolution being focused primarily on the production of textiles and industrial goods. It was sparked by innovations in engineering, especially in the areas of mechanical production. Rural economies, which for millennia had relied predominantly on the labor of humans and animals to produce food and harvest resources, were radically transformed as mechanized agriculture drastically reduced the amount of labor needed to produce the same output. Much agricultural work became redundant, and workers migrated to cities, where factories began demanding a greater and greater labor force. Eventually, the factory system began to dominate capitalist economies, serving as places for centralized production. It became increasingly standardized and efficient. Mass distribution of these goods and mobility of people were made possible via advancements in transportation technology, namely the use of steam power to drive trains and steam ships. Steam power was also employed in the factory system itself, allowing further facilitation of mass production.

The Second Industrial Revolution, which took hold in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries, further accelerated capitalist economies. Mass electrification, made possible by fossil fuels, allowed for more factories to open, and for them to operate more effectively. The telegraph was invented, and physical lines of communication were laid to allow people in different cities to communicate in real time. The completion of the Panama Canal drastically cut shipping times between the Atlantic and Pacific. Additionally, advancements in steel and civil engineering meant that the cities, which were still growing rapidly, could now build up instead of out, utilizing vertical space, maximizing potential occupancy, and minimizing transport times around urban areas. Innovations in production procedures paired with reliable energy saw the assembly line drastically improve the time it took to manufacture durable goods, such as the personal automobile (Wilson & McKinlay, 2010).

The Eighteenth Century and beyond also saw numerous political revolutions, namely events such as the American and French Revolutions, which posed serious threats to the validity of imperial rule. Romantic nationalist movements also arose in Europe, which sought self-determination for individual ethno-national groups who harbored discontent with the exploitative nature of the imperial ruling structure. Often tied to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the concept of the nation-state, by which people of the same national group would have territorial sovereignty and self-determination, became an ideal sought after by many groups in Europe and later globally (Hannsan, 2006). Many of these movements became increasingly organized and violent, culminating in the World Wars. Following World War II, the nation-state has come to typify the major type of polity in the world. This, coupled with capitalism and the innovations of the Industrial Revolutions, have set the stage for contemporary efforts of globalization.

This page titled 2.2: A Brief History of Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

2.3: Theories - Motivations for Globalization

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify political motivations that lead societies to seek greater degrees of interconnectivity
- Understand the importance of centripetal and centrifugal social forces in terms of their impact on the expansion of civilizations
- Describe cultural elements and explain how they can be diffused

Introduction and Motivations for Globalization

Technologies and ideologies that promote time-space compression have been key factors in connecting different populations throughout history. In this section, we will consider three important types of motivation that have led to innovations and strategies that are significant in terms of their importance for contemporary efforts of globalization. While many motivations for expansion exist, we will focus on political, economic, and cultural factors. It is important to consider that increased connectivity among populations is not inevitable, and that these changes and projects are brought on by people who value the advantage they might bring.

In Global Studies, the focus tends to be on viewing globalization and increased interconnectivity among people as an ongoing process, and as a process that is likely to continue. However, it is also important to recognize that the advances in globalization do not ascend upward without ever pulling back. There have been several attempts at what we now view as globalization in the past, and in every case, there are always challenges to the process. Just as we observe today, there are winners and losers in globalization, as some members of the populus will make gains and others will come out worse off economically, socially, or politically (Teney, et al., 2013).

The positive aspects of globalization and increased connectivity have largely created advantages for those leading the efforts. For example, increased freedom of movement and exchange, more efficient production and transportation, and improvements in technology have worked to raise standards of living around the globe. Before discussing specific cases, it is important to remember that not all participants in the process of globalization are willing, nor do they have a particular say in the matter, at least at the individual level. Throughout history, the systems and actions that lead to increased connectivity have often been imposed on one group by another. The parties in control must have the desire and the organizational ability to act out an agenda to bring globalizing projects to bear. Therefore, to initiate time-space compression, and eventual globalization, three motivating factors become critically important: economics, culture, and political ideology.

When it comes to analyzing key moments in globalization, time-space compression advances when a society is committed to policies, institutions, and goals that promote common identity and interdependence among populations. These social forces are called **centripetal forces**, coming from the idea that spinning toward the center will pull society together. Conversely, there are also **centrifugal forces** that have the potential to discourage interconnectivity, and thus promote isolation and division within the population. Therefore, time-space compression is advanced when centripetal forces outweigh centrifugal ones.

Economic Motivations

Civilizations advance via increased access to resources, capital, and labor, which provide the potential for economic growth. When considering whether a civilization will be able to thrive, its specific site factors and situation factors become important (Kaplan & Holloway, 2014). **Site factors** refer to the resources available to a civilization directly, along with its ability to work with the specific natural resources via labor and technology. For example, having a mild climate with fertile soil would be viewed as a positive site factor, as would having forests, abundant fresh water, or oil.

Trade becomes an attractive option when a civilization is limited by its site factors, so **situation factors** become increasingly important to its potential long-term success. Situation factors concern the relative location of a place in relation to other places in terms of potential accessibility and ability to connect. Being located near a major river would allow for easier transport than having to travel overland, or over a mountain range for example. When different civilizations trade with one another, they can focus

on their own resources more efficiently, exchanging the value of those resources for others that are unavailable within their local site factors. As more civilizations are connected, trade networks are created. The larger the trade network, the more diverse the assortment of goods and services available, thus creating motivation to expand markets and opportunities for exchange (Wright, 2010).

Challenges related to limited site and situation factors can be overcome through improving the built environment, especially by focusing on developing infrastructure, which constitutes a critical precursor to enhancing interconnectivity (Fatiguso, et al., 2017). Paths and roads can be constructed to make overland travel quicker and easier to navigate and facilitate trade. Ship building technology makes faring the high seas an option. Therefore, understanding major improvements in the development of transport technologies and related infrastructure are critical when it comes to analyzing potential for exchange between and among civilizations.

Political Motivations

Throughout history, there have been cases in which people have become interconnected voluntarily. However, there are other times when interconnectivity and interdependence between and among civilizations have resulted in an imbalance in power relations, where one side forces the relationship on the other, as was the case with **European colonialism** (Lodigiani, 2020). In this process, European states obtained full or partial political control over other territories, occupying them with settlers, and exploiting their people and resources for the benefit of the colonizer. In terms of political ideology, leaders and regimes have often chosen to focus on strengthening their own situations, while bringing outsiders into their sphere of control. In many cases, populations become economically interdependent on one another. They might choose to enter collective security agreements, or they could agree to open borders and allow for the free exchange of movement through their own sovereign territories.

Political ideologies that favor standardization of legal and social norms have the potential to advance efforts at globalization. For example, insisting that all members of a polity speak, read, or understand the same language facilitates communication over vast distances and the building of common institutions. Using a common currency, typically one that is state-sanctioned, as an accepted means of exchange helps establish and maintain cohesion in an economy (Mundell, 1997). A common currency makes it easier to keep track of financial activity, and even facilitates taxation and collective efforts to fund a government. Finally, promoting a common measurement system also works to facilitate cohesion among people over long distances.

Cultural Motivations

Culture can be thought of as a set of recognizable elements that are shared or practiced by a group of people. Interconnectivity among populations involves the diffusion of cultural elements. As introduced in Section 2.2, these elements can be thought of in three basic categories, consisting of artifacts (physical objects), sociofacts (ways of behavior), and mentifacts (values and belief systems). The more cultural elements are shared between and among populations, the greater the potential for interconnectivity. Time-space compression allows for the diffusion of cultural elements to progress at an accelerated rate. This process in turn leads to easier facilitation of globalization. As is the case with economic motivations and political ideology, cultural diffusion can be viewed in terms of centripetal and centrifugal forces.

This page titled 2.3: Theories - Motivations for Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

2.4: At Home and Abroad - The Rise of the Liberal International Order (LIO)

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Appreciate how the Bretton Woods Agreement provides a framework for current global institutions
- Understand the goals and advantages of pursuing contemporary efforts of globalization
- Identify important supra-national institutions
- Consider some important counter-points within the discourse on globalization

Introduction: Contemporary Periods of Globalization

In this section, we will cover a brief overview of contemporary globalization in terms of the major players and institutions that seek to promote it. This contemporary system has been referred to as the **Liberal International Order (LIO)**, defined as global a system of rules and norms driven by the West through world politics and international relations (Kundnani, 2017). To participate, countries are encouraged to have democratic governments with open economies and trade policies, they generally agree to means of peaceful conflict resolution, and they are engaged with international institutions, like the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The U.S. and its allies offer foreign aid in exchange for compliance, and can apply economic pressure, and in some cases military force, to ensure that the norms of the order are maintained. **Supra-nationalism** is a key concept to consider here, as this concept is important for globalization because it provides an avenue for sovereign states to enter into cooperative agreements and join organizations to address collective problems and conduct international relations. In this states states often give up some degree of sovereignty in exchange for mutual benefit, and do so voluntarily. We will consider the major geopolitical alliances of the Twentieth Century and discuss their relations in terms of geopolitical strategy. Finally, we further consider the economy, discussing the importance of monetary policy, and considering new innovations in technology that are further accelerating time-space compression.

As the Second World War came to a close, several key geopolitical points were becoming clear. First, the nation-state was going to dominate as a political entity, whereby the countries of the world would act as their own sovereign entities. They would decide internal matters within their own borders and interact with one another through the process of international relations. Second, the countries of the world would largely be divided into three groups separated by ideological, political, and economic systems. Some states would practice democratic governance with market economies (countries aligned with the United States, also known as “The West,” or “The First World”) The second group were socialist states with command economies (countries aligned with the Soviet Union, or “The Second World”). The third group belong to what is known as the **Non-aligned movement** (the "Third World"). These were primarily former colonies that did not want to be under the sway of either the United States or the Soviet Union, though there were also more established nation-states such as Switzerland and Ireland that would fit the Cold War definition of Third World.

Following the demise of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the term Second World has fallen out of use, while First World and Third World saw shifts in how they were defined. First World came to be associated with advanced economies that had gone through the Industrial Revolution, while Third World was defined as developing economies. Many of those states in First and Second Worlds, especially those in Europe, with the addition of Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were placed together in the First World, while the Third World categorized countries remained largely the same. This post-Cold War categorization has fallen out of use as well and has been replaced by the terms Global North and Global South. **Global North** represents exactly what it sounds like, the states north of the equator, with some notable exceptions, while **Global South** refers to states south of the equator, again, with some notable exceptions. This is more a change in the naming convention rather than any sort of substantive change, as states formally known as First World tend to be in the Global North, and the former Third World denoted states are primarily in the Global South.

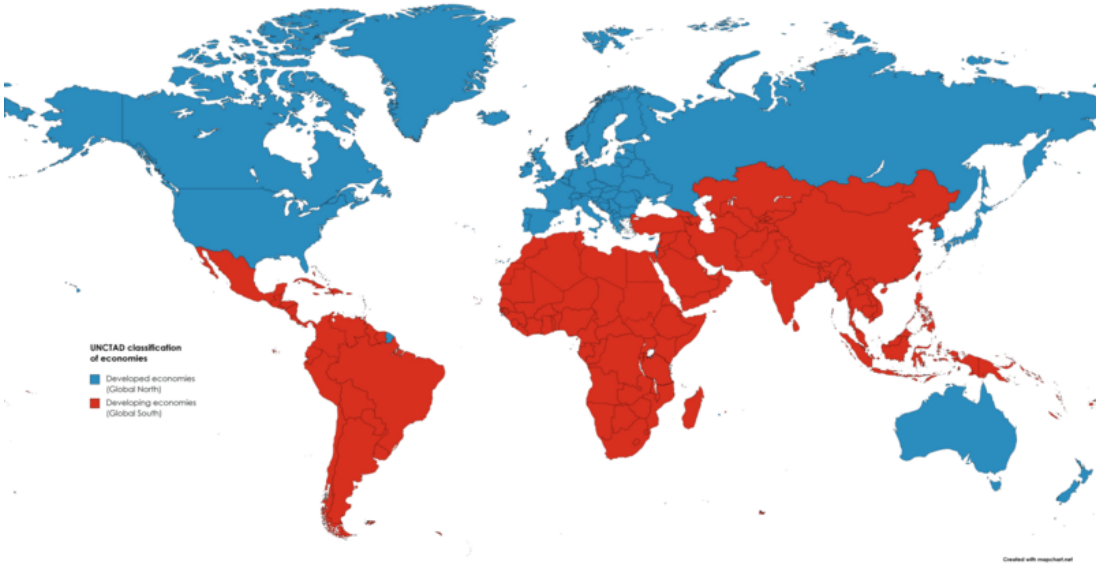


Figure 2.4.1: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)'s classification of economies. (Wikimedia by Specialgst is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

For the market economies, a foundational agreement was adopted in 1944. The **Bretton Woods Agreement**, named for the town where the conference took place, accomplished several critical points that would bring people in the various countries closer together. It essentially set the stage for economic policies that would allow for more trade and exchange between and among the participants. After Bretton Woods, countries were required to adopt monetary policy to set rules and regulations and intervene in times of economic crisis. They were also required to maintain exchange rates within one percent, what is called a fixed exchange rate. The currencies of each participating state was initially pegged to the U.S. dollar, which itself was backed by gold.

Bretton Woods was also important because it called for the founding of two major supra-national institutions with major influence in the finance world. These institutions were the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The IMF is an organization that functions to surveil the global economy. It has the power to issue loans to avoid economic crises. The main purpose of the World Bank is to issue loans to low and middle-income states to aid in economic development. Its loans can be applied to projects related to infrastructure, education, healthcare, and poverty reduction, among others. Along with the IMF, the World Bank is a supra-national organization that works to bring economies closer together, favoring economic integration, and working toward a more global approach to solving economic problems (Boockmann & Dreher, 2003). Though there are also critiques that these institutions primarily serve the agendas of the Global North states, as these are the primary funders of the IMF and the World Bank. This has led to the formation of other institutions primarily driven by the wealthier Global South states.

Other supra-national organizations and institutions have also been founded since Bretton Woods. Some, like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are military defense alliances. Others, like the European Union and the United Nations, are focused on political cooperation, which has obvious implications for security and development. Free trade agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and its successor the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), seek to limit the amount to which a country can protect its domestic products, thus promoting more trade among its signatory countries. While all these organizations bring countries together into common interest groups, some are more global in nature, while others are regional. However, these and other supra-national institutions have worked to bring economies together, encouraging global supply changes and regional specialization within the global economy.

The Cold War

During the **Cold War** era (1947-1991), the world was essentially divided into blocs of influence that each wanted to expand their geopolitical influence and functioned in supra-national organizations in opposition to each other. It is from this situation that we derive the terms “First World,” “Second World,” and “Third World” described above. The Cold War hinged on the First World, functioning at odds with the Second World, both of which sought to bring countries from the Third World into their respective spheres of influence (Guan-Fu, 1983). Although the United States and the Soviet Union managed to avoid direct armed conflict during this time, there were several proxy conflicts over the course of the Cold War, notably the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Hammond, 2006).

The First World was led by the United States and included most of Western Europe and Japan. This group of industrialized countries featured multi-party democratic governments and practiced market economies. The Second World, led by the Soviet Union, held influence over Eastern Europe and parts of Eurasia. The countries aligned with the Soviet Union tended to be governed by Communist Parties and practiced command economies, where the state oversaw most aspects of production and distribution of goods and services. The two groups tended to avoid trade with the other and sought to expand their trade potential by encouraging countries in the Third World to adopt their systems (Guan-Fu, 1983). In most cases, former colonies tended to remain tacitly connected to others in their former colonial networks, including their former colonizers. While these countries were no longer ruled by colonial empires politically, they still tended to provide natural resources and practice primary sector activities and were thus considered quite valuable to have in the fold, suggesting continued dependence on their former colonizers (Bradshaw & Huang, 1991).

The Second World was able to make headway in the Third World, particularly in East Africa with countries like Ethiopia, in the Caribbean with the notable example of Cuba, and throughout Southeast Asia (Guan-Fu, 1983). Supra-nationalism happened on both sides of the Cold War. NATO was countered by the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. The European Community, which eventually led to the European Union was countered by Comecon, a trading pact which encouraged trade between and among the command economies of the Second World. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Western institutions continued, while the Soviet-focused institutions were either dissolved, or drastically changed. Some of the countries in the former Warsaw Pact have since joined NATO, but a few have continued operating their command economies, mostly in isolation.

Contemporary Globalization

In terms of finance and monetary policy, many of the ideals instilled by Bretton Woods have been abandoned in favor of an approach known as **neoliberalism**, which encourages international trade by reducing barriers to the movement of people, goods, and capital, thus making investment increasingly feasible in new markets, and stimulating business growth, and in the process increasing globalization. In 1971, the U.S. dissociated the dollar from the gold standard, resulting in floating currencies. Under the leadership of figures like U.S. President Ronald Regan, state policy began to focus on free market trade, deregulation, and privatization. Subsequent administrations in the United States and Western Europe have continued to advocate for such policies writ large. In addition, the end of the Cold War marked a new period in global political relations exemplified by the dominance of the United States and its allies, which has come to be known as the **unipolar order** (Brands, 2016). With no direct rival, and with the First World feeling triumphant, these mostly Western countries touted the Liberal International Order as the only alternative. Former Second World countries have been encouraged to join under these norms, with some embracing liberal capitalism at lightening speed, referred to as Shock Therapy programs in the 1990s.

Following the end of the Second World War, Western European states worked towards integration through trade as a means of bolstering economies that had been damaged during the war. The various treaties have led up to the current manifestation of integration, the European Union. The **European Union** (EU) is perhaps the best example of neoliberal ideals put into action. The EU has 27 member states, all of which have agreed to meet certain standards requisite for membership, notably opening their borders with other member states and abiding by common trade regulations. Headquartered in Brussels, Belgium, the European Union conducts policy as a group, essentially combining the economies of its member states to function as one integrated entity, in part to compete with economies like the United States and Japan. Increased levels of integration have led to greater efficiency within the European economy, promoting stability and cooperation. Nineteen countries within the EU (and six outside of it) have gone a step further in terms of integration and adopted a common currency, the Euro, further increasing levels of interconnectivity, although recent events, such as the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union (known as **Brexit**) suggest that neoliberalism may see some resistance in the future.

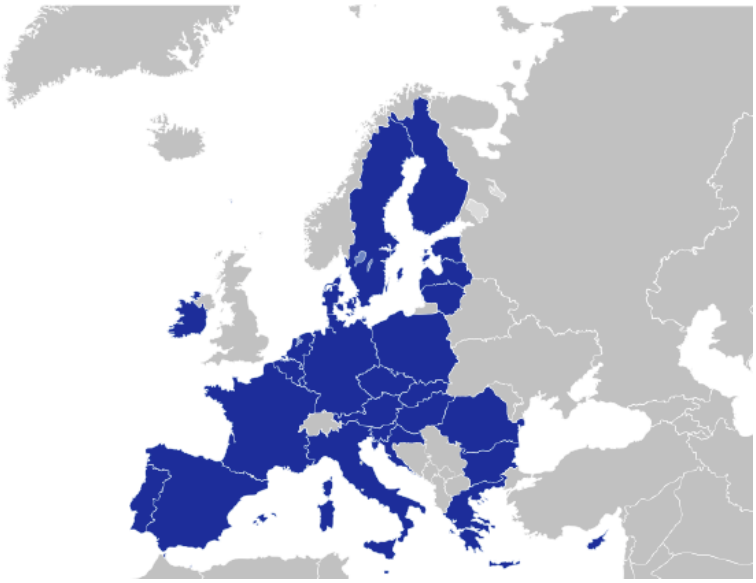


Figure 2.4.2: A map of Europe showing EU member states in blue and non-member states in gray. (Wikimedia by Kolja21 is licensed under CC BY 3.0)

During the second half of the Twentieth Century, economies in the West underwent the Third Industrial Revolution. As was the case with the first two subdivisions of the Industrial Revolution discussed in Section 2.2, the Third Industrial Revolution featured great advancements in technology and facilitated further degrees of time-space compression. The Third Industrial Revolution was focused on the transition from analog to digital technology, and information technology became a signification factor within the economy. Computing advanced rapidly, and innovations like the personal computer and the internet drastically changed people's ability to work, socialize, and communicate. The demand for services rose sharply at this time as well, and developed economies tended to focus heavily on their service sectors. The infrastructure that had supported the Second Industrial Revolution, particularly heavy industry, was often abandoned in favor of new investments in places and countries where labor was less expensive. Major infrastructural achievements were involved with the Third Industrial Revolution as well, such as investments in commercial air travel and massive amounts of internet infrastructure which included running undersea cables to connect hubs on different continents. Wireless communications also advanced rapidly, allowing for developing countries to essentially bypass the need for older telecom technology and cross the digital divide with less intensive investments than it took to initially establish this kind of interconnectivity during the Second Industrial Revolution.

Over the past few decades, the global economy has further advanced to the point of what some refer to as the Fourth Industrial Revolution, notably led by the United States and China. The term was coined by Klaus Schawb, chairman of the World Economic Forum, in reference to an economy where online and offline domains have merged (Miller and Wendt, 2021). The Fourth Industrial Revolution focuses mainly on fourth order economic sector activities, such as consulting, business services, information technology, digital finance, big data analysis, biotechnology, automation, and artificial intelligence. A good example of a Fourth Industrial Revolution concept is the Internet of Things (IoT), whereby devices can easily collect data and communicate among themselves via the Internet. Just like innovations that preceded them, new possibilities presented by the Fourth Industrial Revolution have the potential to further increase levels of efficiency and drive down costs, making the economy more accessible to more and more people across the globe.

The Liberal International Order, along with advancements from the Third and Fourth Industrial Revolutions, have worked to undermine the power of the nation-state to a large degree. As efforts toward increased integration and deregulation continue, so does the general process known as **deterritorialization**. Access to the economy, culture, and in some cases politics, is becoming decreasingly dependent on geographic context. This condition was made clearly apparent during the COVID-19 pandemic and the shift to remote work. Also, firms are no longer tied to a single country, hence the emergence of trans-national corporations (TNCs). Also referred to as multi-national corporations, some TNCs are massive in terms of their market share and economic output. For example, companies like Coca-Cola, Apple, Microsoft, and Toyota all have valuations larger than the gross domestic products of some countries. TNCs operate in multiple countries, allowing them to modify their operations to fit into the most hospitable sets of regulations possible, including tax avoidance (Picciotto, 2018). They take advantage of global supply chains and infrastructure while not being held accountable to the laws and regulations of any single state.

Critics of neoliberalism and the Liberal International Order make note of several downsides that have resulted from these policies. The Bretton Woods Agreement was largely an attempt to provide stability in market economies, and eliminating some

of its protections has made markets more volatile and uncertain, increasing the likelihood of economic crises. There are also environmental concerns, as deregulation is often associated with negative ecological impacts, as TNCs can find places with lax environmental regulations to conduct activities that can be detrimental to the environment. Increased levels of economic inequality are also associated with neoliberal regimes, as is a decline in the overall standard of living for the working class and poor, brought on by cuts to government spending, which make opportunities for social mobility less available.

Globalization as a Mentifact in Contemporary Society

Although the examples provided in this chapter provide just a few selected moments in history, they have all been important for advancing time-space compression and promoting economic, political, and cultural interconnectivity. It is also important to note that there are also periods in time that worked to lessen these trends. Therefore, it is important to see globalization not as a liner concept that only progresses through time and space. Rather, globalization should be viewed as a dynamic, on-going, process.

Challenges to the U.S.-based Liberal International Order are evident today. Russia defied the Liberal International Order with its 2022 special military operation in Ukraine, based partly on Russia's fear of NATO expansion. Efforts led by Saudi Arabia and other petrol states to eliminate the use of the U.S. dollar as the exclusive currency for oil suggests their discontent with the global monetary system. Disagreements between the U.S. and China over the status of intellectual property rights and trade policy, along with the status of Taiwan, pose a treat to global supply chains and trade between Asia and North America. Criticism of the effectiveness of the United Nation when it comes to its ability to prevent and or resolve international conflicts have also been expressed.

Despite these challenges, people all over the world are more connected than ever before, and technology plays an ever-increasing role in their day-to-day lives. While it is important to acknowledge that the direct impact of globalization benefits some at the expense of others, its overall impacts on quality of life and opportunities for economic development are undeniable. As long as TNCs continue to dominate international trade, global institutions continue to maintain order and provide security, and consumers benefit from less expensive and often higher quality goods and services, it is unlikely that efforts promoting globalization will totally cease to exit. Going forward, workers, investors, and consumers can expect to engage with the global economy and have access to people and places far from where they reside. Just as people have experienced major changes in terms of access in the past, the political, social, and economic norms that we observe today are also in flux. Time-space compression will continue to impact our lives into the future as well. This means globalization itself is a mentifact in contemporary society.

This page titled 2.4: At Home and Abroad - The Rise of the Liberal International Order (LIO) is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

2.5: References

Ashton, T. S. (1997). *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830*. Oxford University Press.

Bartusis, M. C. (1997). *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204-1453*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Boivin, N., Fuller, D. Q., & Crowther, A. (2012). Old World globalization and the Columbian Exchange: Comparison and contrast. *World Archaeology*, 44(3), 452-469.

Boockmann, B., & Dreher, A. (2003). The contribution of the IMF and the World Bank to economic freedom. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 19(3), 633-649.

Brands, H. (2016). *Making the Unipolar Moment. In Making the Unipolar Moment*. Cornell University Press.

Bradshaw, Y. W., & Huang, J. (1991). Intensifying global dependency: Foreign debt, structural adjustment, and third world underdevelopment. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 32(3), 321-342.

Christian, D. (2000). Silk Roads or steppe roads? The Silk Roads in world history. *Journal of World History*, 1-26.

Conrad, S. (2011). *German Colonialism: A Short History*. Cambridge University Press.

Edens, C. (1992). Dynamics of trade in the ancient Mesopotamian "world system". *American Anthropologist*, 94(1), 118-139.

Ehler, S. Z., & Morrall, J. B. (Eds.). (1967). *Church and State Through the Centuries: A Collection of Historic Documents with Commentaries*. Biblo & Tannen Publishers.

Ellison, R. (1981). Diet in Mesopotamia: the evidence of the barley ration texts (c. 3000–1400 BC). *Iraq*, 43(1), 35-45.

Faiella, G. (2006). *The Technology of Mesopotamia*. The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc.

Fatiguso, F., De Fino, M., Cantatore, E., & Caponio, V. (2017). Resilience of historic built environments: inherent qualities and potential strategies. *Procedia engineering*, 180, 1024-1033.

Fessenden, M. (2016). Colonial America Depended on the Enslavement of Indigenous People. *Smithsonian Magazine*.

Flannery, K. V. (1965). The Ecology of Early Food Production in Mesopotamia: Prehistoric farmers and herders exploited a series of adjacent but contrasting climatic zones. *Science*, 147(3663), 1247-1256.

Gardiner, R., & Unger, R. W. (1994). Cogs, caravels, and galleons: the sailing ship, 1000-1650. (No Title).

Grant, M. (1978). *History of Rome*. Charles Scribner Press.

Guan-Fu, G. (1983). Soviet aid to the Third World, An analysis of its strategy. *Soviet Studies*, 35(1), 71-89.

Hammond, A. (2006). From rhetoric to rollback: introductory thoughts on Cold War writing. *In Cold War Literature* (pp. 13-26). Routledge.

Hassan, D. (2006). The rise of the territorial state and the Treaty of Westphalia. *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence*, 9, 62-70.

Harper, K. (2017). *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire*. Princeton Press.

Heikkilä, E., & Kashinoro, H. (2009). Differential urbanization trends in Europe: the European case. *International handbook of urban policy*, 2, 25-45.

Janssens, P., & Yun-Casalilla, B. (2017). *European Aristocracies and Colonial Elites: Patrimonial Management Strategies and Economic Development, 15th–18th centuries*. Routledge.

Kalra, P. (2018). *The Silk Road and the Political Economy of the Mongol Empire*. Routledge.

Kaplan, D. H., & Holloway, S. (2014). *Urban geography*. Wiley Global Education.

Klein, B. (2011). Mapping the waters: Sea charts, navigation, and Camões's *Os Lusíadas*. *Renaissance Studies*, 25(2), 228-247.

Kundnani, H. (2017). What is the Liberal International order? *German Marshall Fund of the United States*.

Latham, K. J. (2013). Human health and the Neolithic revolution: An overview of impacts of the agricultural transition on oral health, epidemiology, and the human body. *Nebraska Anthropologist*, 28.95-102.

Liu, X. (2011). A Silk Road legacy: The spread of Buddhism and Islam. *Journal of World History*, 55-81.

Lodigiani, I. R. (2020). From colonialism to globalization: How history has shaped unequal power relations between post-colonial countries. *Glocalism: Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation*, 2.

MacMullen, R. (2000). *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. Yale University Press.

Magnusson, L. G. (2003). *Mercantilism. A Companion to the history of economic thought* (pp. 46-60). Blackwell Publishing.

Marston, J. M. (2017). Consequences of agriculture in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Levant. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Environmental Science*.

Miller, K., & Wendt, K. (2021). *The Fourth Industrial Revolution and Its Impact on Ethics*. Springer International Publishing.

Morgan, D. (2009). The decline and fall of the Mongol Empire. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 19(4), 427-437.

Morris, R. J. (1979). *The middle class and the property cycle during the Industrial Revolution* (pp. 91-113). Macmillan Education UK.

McNeill, J. R. (2019). The Columbian Exchange. *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 30.

Mundell, R. A. (1997). Currency areas, common currencies, and EMU. *The American Economic Review*, 87(2), 214-216.

Picciotto, S. (2018). International tax, regulatory arbitrage and the growth of transnational corporations. *Transnational corporations,* 25(3), 27-53.

Smallwood, S. E. (2019). Reflections on settler colonialism, the hemispheric Americas, and chattel slavery. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 76(3), 407-416.

Smith, J. S. (2016). Historical settlement. *International Encyclopedia of Geography: People, the Earth, Environment and Technology: People, the Earth, Environment and Technology*, 1-8.

Stearns, P. N. (1969). Britain and the Spread of the Industrial Revolution. *Britain pre-eminent: studies of British world influence in the nineteenth century*, 7-30.

Teney, C., Lacewell, O. P., & De Wilde, P. (2014). Winners and losers of globalization in Europe: attitudes and ideologies. *European Political Science Review*, 6(4), 575-595.

Turnbull, S. (2003). *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Conquests 1190-1400*. Routledge.

Warf, B. (2008). *Time-space Compression: Historical Geographies* (Vol. 23). Routledge.

Williams, D. (Ed.). (1999). *The Enlightenment* (Vol. 1). Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, J. M., & McKinlay, A. (2010). Rethinking the assembly line: Organization, performance and productivity in Ford Motor Company, c. 1908–27. *Business History*, 52(5), 760-778.

Wright, R. P. (2010). *The Ancient Indus: Urbanism, Economy, and Society* (p. 1). Cambridge University Press.

Zieme, P. (2016). Notes on the Religions in the Mongol Empire. In *Islam and Tibet–Interactions along the Musk Routes* (pp. 191-202). Routledge.

This page titled 2.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

2.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Artifact**: an object or item created or modified by humans, often with cultural, historical, or archeological significance, that provides insight into the practices and beliefs of a particular group of people.
- **Bretton Woods Agreement:** an agreement that set the stage for economic policies that would allow for more trade and exchange between and among the participants.
- **Brexit**: term combines "British" and “exit" in reference to the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union.
- **Capitalism**: a profit driven economic system based on market competition in which the means of production are owned by private actors.
- **Centrifugal forces**: Socio-economic, cultural, and or political factors that divide a population and pose threats to a common sense of identity.
- **Centripetal forces**: Socio-economic, cultural, and or political factors that promote a commonsense of identity among a population, or that bring different populations together
- **City-states**: urban areas and their hinterlands that exhibit their own sovereign systems of government, exchange, and identity.
- **Civilization**: a complex society based on settlements in which inhabitants function via a collective sense of community.
- **Cold War**: a time of political and military tension between United States and its allies on one side, and the Soviet Union and its allies on the other, lasting from the end of the Second World War (WWII) to the 1990s.
- **Columbian Exchange:** the interaction between Old and New World populations following European entrance into the Americas, characterized by the exchange of people, disease, food, plants and animals across the Atlantic
- **Counterurbanization**: a demographic process whereby populations migrate from cities to rural areas.
- **Cultural hearth**: a place or region where a particular cultural element is believed to have originated.
- **Deterritorialization**: the weakening of ties among economic, political, or cultural practices and/or entities and the places where they originate and/or operate.
- **Division of labor**: the separation of tasks among different parts of a workforce, typically focused on enhancing specialization and efficiency in production.
- **European colonialism**: the process of European states obtaining full or partial political control over another territory, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting its people and resources for the benefit of the colonizer.
- **European Union (EU)**: a supra-national arrangement of member states who have formed a political and economic union to pursue common interests.
- **Foodways:** the cultural, social, and economic practices related to food production and consumption.
- **Global North**: countries that are highly economically developed, primarily located in the Norther Hemisphere, once referred to as “First World.”
- **Global South**: countries that are less economically developed, primarily located in the Southern Hemisphere, once referred to as "Third World" or "developing world.”
- **Hellenism**: the spread of ancient Greek culture, and influence, beginning in the Fourth Century BCE.
- **Hierarchical diffusion**: a type of cultural diffusion where an idea, innovation, or cultural trait spreads in a structured, top-down manner, typically from a central source to other locations, or via political dominance.
- **Hinterlands**: the area surrounding a city, typically practicing agriculture.
- **Industrial Revolution**: a process of technological innovation and mechanization beginning in Eighteenth-Century Britain and subsequently spreading throughout the world.
- **Liberal International Order**: a set of institutions, norms, and rules, largely established after the Second World War, with the goal of organizing international relations around liberal democracies and cooperative security.
- **Lingua franca**: a common language adopted to allow communication among people whose native languages are different.
- **Local functional specialization**: an economic strategy by which regions develop specialized functions and roles within larger economic systems.
- **Mentifact**: an element of culture that encompasses non-material aspects such as beliefs, values, customs, rituals, and ideologies.
- **Mercantilism**: an economic theory commonly put in to practice by European colonial empires that promoted regulation of the economy to augment state power, often at the expense of competitors.
- **Neoliberalism**: an ideology which draws on classical liberal ideas regarding the value of individual freedoms and extends these globally, with a supportive suite of international institutions and domestic policies
- **Neolithic Revolution**: the transition from a lifestyle of hunting and gathering to one of agriculture and settlement.

- **Non-aligned movement**: also known as the Third World. These countries were not interested in coming under the control of, or under the policy decisions, of either the U.S. or Soviet Union.
- **Protectionism**: promoting policies which reduce the access of international actors to a domestic market, for example raising tariffs (taxes) on imported goods in order to give an advantage to domestic producers.
- **Rent seeking behavior**: an attempt to gain economic advantage via the manipulation of the social or political environment rather than through trade and production of goods and services.
- **Romanization**: the process by which non-Roman people were incorporated into the Roman Empire and assimilated into Roman culture.
- **Silk Road**: a network of trade routes in the ancient world that facilitated economic and cultural exchange through Eurasia, connecting East and West.
- **Site factor**: physical attributes of a location that influence its potential use in terms of human activity.
- **Situation factor**: relative location of a place in relation to other places in terms of potential accessibility and ability to connect.
- **Sociofact**: an element of culture that encompasses accepted behaviors and social practices of a group.
- **Supra-nationalism**: a process whereby states join together in political union, giving up some degree of sovereignty in exchange for collective benefits.
- **Time-Space compression**: the concept that advancements in technology, especially in transportation and communication have reduced the perceived time and distance between people and places, leading to a sense of the world becoming smaller and more interconnected.
- **Unipolar order**: the post-Cold War geopolitical scenario in which the United States emerged as the world's only superpower.
- **Value-added products**: goods that have been improved or enhanced by way of labor, resulting in increased market value.

- # Summaries

2.1 Introduction: Welcome to Global Studies

This chapter offers a brief overview of globalization's evolution and some of its key drivers across history. While not exhaustive, it touches upon pivotal events and figures whose efforts increased levels of connectivity among previously separated populations. The emphasis is on the role of technology in enhancing interactions and communication over distances, encapsulated by the concept of time-space compression.

2.2 Background: A Brief History of Globalization

The historical precursors to globalization can be see in the example of ancient Mesopotamia (around 3100 BCE), where advancements in technology, such as the wheel and standardized mathematics arose alongside an agricultural surplus and urbanization, all of which provided the foundation for interconnected trade networks and a division of labor. Moving forward, Classical Greece (around 1200 BCE) gained influence through the establishment of city-states and seafaring trade, leading to the diffusion of Greek culture throughout the Mediterranean. The rise of the Roman Empire further enhanced global connectivity through Romanization, the spread of the Latin language, and advancements in the built environment, which featured infrastructure like roads and aqueducts. While the collapse of the Western Roman Empire led to the Middle Ages, the Silk Road facilitated cultural and economic exchange between Europe and Asia, notably during the Mongol Empire's reign in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. In the late Fifteenth Century, the "Age of Discovery" marked a significant leap in globalization as European powers like Spain, Portugal, and Britain established colonies in the Americas, Asia, and Africa, driven by mercantilism and the quest for new trade routes. The spread of European languages, Christianity, and new economic systems through colonialism, while highly destructive to colonized peoples, established many of the precursors of modern globalization. The Enlightenment and subsequent Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries further accelerated globalization through advancements in technology, transportation, and communication, leading to the development of capitalist economies and the increasingly interconnected world we know today.

2.3 Theories: Motivations for Globalization

Technologies and ideologies promoting time-space compression have worked to increase connectivity among populations historically, driven by political, economic, and cultural motivations. Globalization, which is understood to be an ongoing process, does not progress linearly nor equitably, with some populations benefiting while others may suffer. Economic motivations for globalization include enhancing access to resources, capital, and labor, and improving infrastructure to facilitate trade and increase levels of connectivity. Politically, interconnectivity can result from voluntary cooperation and/or enforced relationships,

often involving standardization of legal, linguistic, and economic norms used to establish and uphold cohesion. Culturally, globalization is driven by the diffusion of artifacts, sociofacts, and mentifacts, with increased shared cultural elements fostering greater interconnectivity. The balance between centripetal forces (promoting unity) and centrifugal forces (promoting division) works to either promote or inhabit the advancement of globalization.

2.4 At Home and Abroad: The Rise of Neoliberalism

Contemporary globalization is advancing due to a variety of key concepts, promoted by various institutions. A central concept is supra-nationalism, which allows sovereign states to cooperate on collective issues and engage in international relations. After the Second World War, nation-states became dominant political entities, categorized into market economies (the First World), socialist states (the Second World), and former European colonies (the Third World). These terms have since taken on new meanings and have further been eclipsed by the categorizations of Global North and Global South. The Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 established economic policies for trade and led to the creation of influential supra-national institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Other organizations, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union (EU), and various free trade agreements, further expedited the globalization process. During the Cold War, geopolitical blocs influenced global dynamics, with the West and the Soviet Bloc, along with allied countries, vying for influence over the Global South. The post-Cold War era saw the rise of the Liberal International Order, driven by neoliberal policies promoting free markets, deregulation, and privatization. Technological advancements from the Third and Fourth Industrial Revolutions have further accelerated time-space compression, integrating economies and fostering global connectivity. Despite challenges to the current global order, globalization continues to impact quality of life, economic development, and access to global markets, solidifying its role as a key aspect of contemporary society.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Yale Global Online
- The National Geographic Society
- Library of Congress

Books

- Antunes, C., & Fatah-Black, K. (Eds.). (2016). *Explorations in History and Globalization*. Routledge.
- Osterhammel, J., & Petersson, N. P. (2005). *Globalization: A Short History.* Princeton University Press.
- Warf, B. (2008). *Time-space Compression: Historical Geographies* (Vol. 23). Routledge.

Journal Articles

- Ferreira, P. C., Pessoa, S., & Dos Santos, M. R. (2016). Globalization and the Industrial Revolution. *Macroeconomic Dynamics, 20*(3), 643-666.
- Lang, M. (2006). Globalization and its history. *The Journal of Modern History, 78*(4), 899-931.
- Liebert, H. (2011). Alexander the Great and the History of Globalization. *The Review of Politics*, 73(4), 533-560.

Review Questions

1. The Mongol Empire might be considered an important precursor to globalization because...
    1. the Mongols forced the various peoples it subsumed into their empire to become Mongol.
    2. the Mongols were instrumental in promoting the written word and therefore mass written communication.
    3. the Mongols were the first to practice a capitalist economy, similar to the modern economy.
    4. the Mongols proved that a system of norms and laws could be practiced over a vast distance, which was important for expanded trade routes along the Silk Road.
2. Which of the following was not a direct impact of European Colonialism?
    1. People in the colonies received equal rights and representation within the various empires.
    2. European languages, such as English, were diffused at the global scale.

3. European law and institutions heavily influenced the governing systems in post-colonial countries.
4. Former colonies still trade heavily with their colonizers, and still tend to provide resources as their primary economic function within these economic relationships.

3. Which of the following factors is necessary for maintaining cities and promoting urbanization?
    1. An agricultural surplus.
    2. A capitalist economy.
    3. Membership in common defense pacts.
    4. The ability to secure large reserves of precious metals.
4. Which of the following was a direct result of the Industrial Revolution?
    1. Mass immigration to Britain and France from North America.
    2. More jobs were created in the agricultural sector.
    3. Increased levels of urbanization.
    4. The creation of an upper (ruling) class in European societies.
5. The Bretton Woods Agreement was important because it...
    1. brokered peace, ending the Second World War.
    2. provided a framework for international finance and promoted international financial institutions.
    3. gave the Soviet Union and its allies the ability to form their own supra-national organizations, in opposition to Western institutions.
    4. ensured common defense among the United States and its allies.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What are some of the major supra-national organizations that exist today? How might the world function differently if these organizations did not exist?
2. How might the introduction of new technologies in computing, information technologies, and telecommunications affect time-space compression? How might their impact differ from technologies that worked to accelerate time-space compression in the past?
3. Historically, which centripetal social forces have had the greatest impact in terms of promoting interconnectivity among people in different areas of the world?

This page titled 2.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

3: ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

3.1: Introduction - Our Global Economy
3.2: Background - Five Decades of Economic Globalization
3.3: Theories and Concepts - Global Capitalism and Neoliberalism
3.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Effects of Neoliberalism through the Case of NAFTA/USMCA
3.5: References
3.6: Student Resources

This page titled 3: Economic Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

3.1: Introduction - Our Global Economy

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize global dimensions of contemporary economic life, including the global circulation of goods, people, services, and finance

Introduction

Think about your most recent meal, perhaps the lunch that you packed this morning before leaving for work or the cold sandwich that you pulled from the refrigerator at a local convenience store before logging into class. Perhaps it was the breakfast that you ate on the go on your commute to campus. Or maybe your most recent meal was the dinner that you prepared for your family before driving to an evening class on Introduction to Global Studies. Whatever your meal looked like, there are global dimensions to it. These include the sourcing of ingredients, the international origins of the components in the cookware used to prepare the food, even the packaging of the food portions. To break things down even further, the molecules of energy which brought the food to you have global origins. There is the diesel fuel powering long-haul trucks, natural gas pumping through restaurant ovens, electricity running through home stovetops. The money that you used to purchase your food circulated through a bank, which in turn was likely invested in global financial markets to earn people money for financial services rendered.

Something as fundamental and basic as the food we eat is one way to begin thinking about the many aspects of the global economy which pervade and penetrate our lives. Consider, for example, a humble bowl of noodles. Wheat was first cultivated in the Fertile Crescent, which today comprises Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran, approximately 12,000 years ago (c. 10,000 BCE). During the Columbian Exchange of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, when the world first experienced sustained global contact across the continental masses of Afro-Eurasia and the Americas, European colonizers brought wheat from the Fertile Crescent to the Americas for cultivation. Today, wheat competes with rice as the most commonly consumed food worldwide (Nunn & Qian, 2010). Wheat is a truly global crop, with production throughout the world.

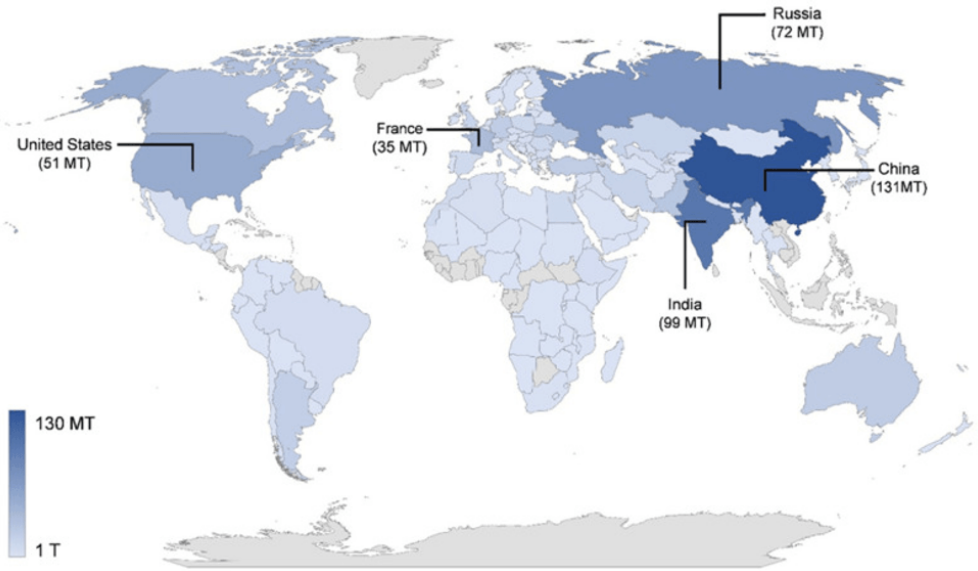


Figure 3.1.1: Worldwide wheat production. Data indicates the total wheat production in megaton (MT) in 2018 per FAOSTAT, United States: 51 MT, France: 35 MT, Russia: 72 MT, China: 31 MT, India: 99 MT. Per this image, the largest wheat producer by MT is China. (CC BY 4.0; de Sousa et al. 2021 via NIH NLM)

Looking beyond the global production and circulation of wheat, the bowl of noodles was made via the labor of many individuals. This labor is the product of the global circulation of people, often in search of better jobs and economic security. If you are

consuming the noodles in the United States, and they are served with a tomato sauce or diced vegetables, the agriculture workers who cultivated, harvested, and packaged these ingredients were likely not born in the United States; an estimated 3 out of every 4 agriculture workers in the country are immigrants (National Center for Farmworker Health, 2022). Even if you cooked the noodles at home, the noodles were transported to you by some of the 1.2 million long-haul truck drivers in the United States, of which 1 in 5 are immigrants (Kahaner, 2017). When you bought the bowl of noodles, the credit or debit card that you used was part of a global financial services sector estimated to be one-fifth to one-fourth of the global economy, valued in the tens of trillions of dollars.

Even though there is much more to explore about the global dimensions of this meal, let's abstract away from our bowl of noodles and describe in more general terms the forces of economic globalization. **Economic globalization** refers to any economic activity that is global in scope. We begin by exploring four distinct but related aspects of the global economy: the global circulation of goods (trade), labor, services, and finance. While all of these forces are truly global in scope and may seem too distant and abstract at times, it is important to remember that they affect our daily lives in concrete ways, down to fundamental aspects of our existence.

Global Trade in Goods

Trade volume in goods has increased markedly in recent decades. World trade volume increased 45 times (or a whopping 4,500 percent) from 1950 to 2022. Note that trade volume grew gradually following the Second World War, then began picking up and growing sharply from the 1990s onward. This upward trajectory was interrupted twice, during the 2008 global financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic that consumed much of 2020 and 2021. In 2022, global trade was estimated to reach a record valuation of 32 trillion USD (United States dollars). To put this in perspective, the total size of the U.S. economy in 2022 was 25.5 trillion USD, so the value of global trade was about 25 percent greater than the largest national economy in the world.

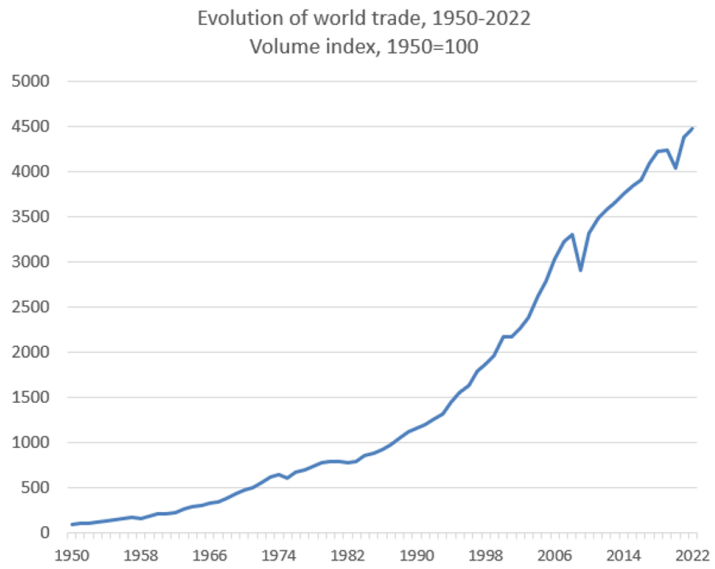


Figure 3.1.2: Trends in world trade volume (public domain; WTO via WTO)

The above trendline (see Figure 3.1.1) indicates that an increasing amount of goods in our lives have been produced outside of the United States and imported for domestic consumption. Everything from cars to computers circulate globally today, not to mention the individual components of these complex consumer goods. Supply chains have become increasingly global. Apple Inc., among the largest companies in the world, relies on workers in more than 50 countries to make its eponymous iPhone and Mac computers.

The politics surrounding the globalization of trade are fraught with contradictions. While some argue that global trade results in lower costs for consumers, others note that outsourcing production results in job loss for domestic workers, especially those in higher income countries. There are also important debates regarding the violation of labor rights and environmental standards in places where production costs are relatively low. In a globally competitive marketplace, with pressures to produce the cheapest product, firms may locate their businesses, and consumers may purchase goods, from workplaces where there is a **"race to the bottom"** in which working conditions and environmental stewardship are of secondary importance to maximizing profits.

Globalization of Labor

There is a positive correlation between economic growth and the movement of people across borders. When the global economy grows, as has been the general trend since the tracking of world Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by the World Bank, people have been on the move in search of economic opportunity. In 2019, the estimated number of migrant workers worldwide was 169 million, equivalent to about 2.2 percent of the world population at the time (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). The top five sending countries of global migrants in 2020 were India, Mexico, Russia, China, and Bangladesh. The top five destination countries were the United States, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Russia, and the United Kingdom. Top destination countries are all high income (or score "very high" on the Human Development Index), which highlights how economic considerations are a key part of the mix of motivations behind international migration.

Many forces shape the global migration of workers, not least global population and income trends. Workers migrate abroad when they are able to bear the costs of migration and when they believe that they can enjoy higher wages and a higher quality of life in a host country. Compounding this are demographic trends. Since the populations of lower income countries are growing more quickly than the populations of higher income countries, especially working-age segments of the population, there is pressure for migration from lower- to higher-income countries. This pressure decreases as wages rise in lower income countries. India, for example, is predicted to experience robust economic growth through 2050, which will likely decrease labor migration from this populous country.

With migration on the rise, there is often backlash against migrant labor in receiving countries. Conservative politicians in top immigrant destination countries, from Donald Trump in the United States to Boris Johnson in the United Kingdom, have whipped up popular anger against immigrant workers despite robust evidence that immigration benefits host country economies in both the short and medium terms (Piazza et al., 2020). As with the politics of trade, the politics of immigration are heated and deeply felt due to the sense of livelihood and identity at stake for those on all sides of the issue.

Globalization of Services

While trade in goods and the migration of workers are more observable aspects of the global economy, there has also been a significant globalization of services. With the advent of new communication technologies, lower communication costs, and the rise of the internet since the 1990s, various services have been unmoored from geographic constraints. One particularly visible example is the rise of international customer service call centers. Consumers who require assistance with a broken appliance or credit card-related inquiry might call a toll-free customer service number and reach a "customer care" associate on the other side of the world. India became the global leader of such services in the 1990s. Entrepreneur Pramod Bhasin, who established India's first international call center in 1998, recalled, "You know, I think when you're in the throes of it, you don't realize what you've got. And what we had was a tiger by the tail. Many cities have been built around this industry," (quoted in Burns, 2015). By the mid-2000s, India's call centers employed over 170,000 workers, many of whom were trained to speak in American-accented English and who adopted new call center work names so as not to seem too "foreign" to callers in North America and Europe. The Philippines, where labor costs are low and youth learn English from an early age, has also become a major call center hub, with over one million employed in the "business process outsourcing (BPO)" industry, a global industry valued in the billions of dollars (Bajaj, 2011).



Figure 3.1.3: Call center workers in Cainta municipality, Rizal province, Philippines (CC BY-SA 3.0; TitanOne via Wikipedia)

The controversies discussed previously with regard to global trade and labor are also evident in the outsourcing of services. When leveraging lower labor costs abroad, global entrepreneurs are able to connect relatively wealthy firms and consumers in high income countries with skilled, but low cost, labor abroad. Indian call center entrepreneur Pramod Bhasin reminisced, "It seemed so obvious that it was almost surprising nobody had started it earlier. … Its economics was so compelling that the skill and the costs at which you could hire people were incredibly low compared to international salaries for the same qualifications. … You could hire [someone with] a master's degree for 5,000 [to] 6,000 dollars. You know, it's like being able to walk around on the streets and find gold dust," (quoted in Burns, 2015). Some are quick to critique this attitude, noting that these global workers are subject to poor workplace conditions, with little protections, in dead-end careers (Reeves, 2005).

Beyond call centers, many other professional services can now be sourced globally, including services such as accounting, design, software coding, and tutoring, to name just a few. There is the quip that everything can be outsourced except for a haircut. New technologies are forcing adjustments, however. Artificial intelligence (AI) and machine learning are challenging many industries and reshaping the geography of global labor and services. The customer service at the core of the global call center industry is increasingly handled by AI systems. A wide range of industries are affected by AI and other technologies, including those requiring significant professional training, such as airline piloting, and those predicated on human creativity, such as design and writing. Global labor will no doubt adjust, but the implications remain murky.

Global Finance

Finance refers to the management of money and investments, and this has been an expanding, global industry since the birth of capitalism. The interconnectedness of global financial markets and institutions gained public attention in 2008, when the collapse of the U.S. subprime mortgage industry (which had begun in 2006) reverberated globally as international banks and hedge funds were exposed to the U.S. crisis. With the collapse of major global investment banks such as Bear Stearns, central banks such as the U.S. Federal Reserve and European Central Bank moved quickly to contain the fallout. China's government attempted to reverse the economic downturn at home through major infusions of public monies, equivalent to 4 trillion yuan (12.5 percent of China's GDP in 2008), which amounted to the largest stimulus package in the world at the time (Wong, 2011).

More recently, financial flows have rebounded and reached unprecedented volumes. Though the United States was ground zero for the 2008 global financial crisis, by the early 2020s the top five global investment banks were all U.S.-based. In 2022, for example, global investment bank JPMorgan reported revenues of 6.2 billion USD, just ahead of number two Goldman Sachs (investment banking revenues of 6.0 billion USD). Turning to trade in equities, the total world value of stocks traded has increased from 298 billion USD in 1975 to an astounding 61 trillion USD in 2019 (World Bank, 2020b). This is represents an increase from 6.1 percent of world GDP in 1975 to 83.9 percent of world GDP in 2019 (World Bank, 2020a).

This page titled 3.1: Introduction - Our Global Economy is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

3.2: Background - Five Decades of Economic Globalization

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize key historical trends which created our contemporary global economy
- Identify major institutions supporting economic globalization
- Survey major technological breakthroughs that have shaped the global economy

Two Historic Turns

Economic globalization gained significant momentum during the final decades of the Twentieth Century. Two major developments fueled these changes. The first was China's shift away from a planned national economy and embrace of a market economy. During this period of dynamic economic transformation, China's integration with the global economy has led some to wonder whether China's economic reforms drove globalization or vice versa. In other words, the significance of China to the story of economic globalization cannot be overstated. The second major historic development was the collapse of communist party-led regimes throughout the world, notably the Soviet Union, over several tumultuous years from 1989-1991. This heralded the end of the Cold War and ushered in the near-universal embrace of a global economy, one that was liberal and capitalist (as discussed in Chapter 2). Let's explore each of these historic turns and their implications for understanding economic globalization.

China's momentous decision in 1978 to engage in "reform and opening up" led to changes that have reverberated worldwide since. Its shift to liberalize its economy ("reform") and embrace market mechanisms of supply, demand, and profit motivation generated an economic boom of unprecedented, historic proportions. During its initial four decades of reform, an astounding 800 million people were lifted out of extreme poverty, accounting for nearly 75 percent of the global reduction in extreme poverty (World Bank & PRC State Council Development Research Center, 2022). This was accompanied by a turn toward external trade ("opening up") and export-led development.

Goods made in China, the "factory to the world" made their way into the lives of billions of people around the globe and made China the world's top trading country, measured in terms of total imports and exports. By 2018, China had surpassed the United States as the world's biggest trader, accounting for 13.5 percent of global exports, followed by the U.S. at 9 percent and Germany at 8.5 percent (China Power Team, 2019). In 2023, China was the top trader to over 120 countries around the world (China International Import Expo, 2021).



Figure 3.2.1: Revelry in Shenzhen during a light show in 2019. Shenzhen became an urban hub for exports and foreign investment during China's "reform and opening up" (CC BY-SA 4.0; Sparktour via Wikipedia)

A second major global event shook the world economy a decade after China's reforms. Globalization of economic life gained momentum following the collapse of the **Soviet Bloc** (also known as the Eastern Bloc, Communist Bloc, or Socialist Bloc) at the end of the 1980s. Countries within this bloc were led by communist parties under the patronage and protection of the Soviet Union. Communist party rule lasted over four decades in many of these countries, compared with seven decades in the Soviet Union. The rapid, and largely peaceful, revolutions which overthrew communist regimes in half a dozen countries of Eastern and Central Europe signaled the end of their command economies. (These revolutions were followed by the bloodier and much more fractious dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, but by then Yugoslavia was no longer a satellite state of the Soviet Union.)

The Soviet Union itself imploded soon thereafter and broke into fifteen separate countries. The causes for this are myriad and interrelated, ranging from military and economic overextension to brittle bureaucracies unwilling to adapt to new realities. All post-Soviet countries embraced, to varying degrees, a market turn in their national economies. This meant privatization of public or state-owned industries and the introduction of market-determined prices. Importantly, all began to integrate with the larger world economy as the Soviet trade bloc, Comecon, faded away.

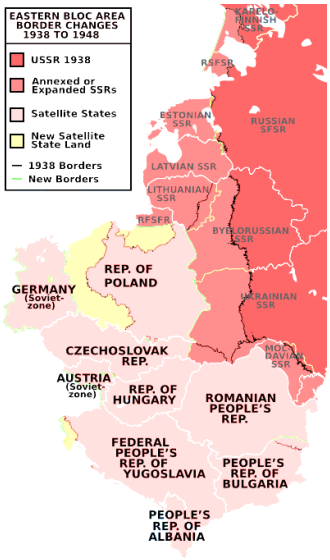


Figure 3.2.2: Countries led by Communist Parties (prior to the Tito-Stalin split of 1948) (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Mosedschurte via Wikipedia)

Together these two historic turns heralded a period of economic globalization that has persisted for decades, from 1978 to the present. The integration of China, the former Soviet Union, and countries of the Soviet Bloc into the global economy led many to

theorize that the world had converged on the market economy as a common organizing principle.

The Supporting Cast: Global Economic Institutions

Several major **intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)** support and enable economic globalization. Typically their membership consists of governments which provide funding and other resources to the IGOs. Member governments also shape IGO policy through member-state representation. The United Nations is the most prominent IGO, and it serves as the umbrella organization for additional IGOs which have encouraged global economic growth and regulated the global economy. The most significant among these IGOs are the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization (previously the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). All have roots in the 1940s and have persisted into the present. As with virtually all other aspects of globalization, IGOs are a topic of heated debates about the merits and perils of economic globalization.

The stated mission of the World Bank is to "end extreme poverty and promote shared prosperity in a sustainable way." It represents the world's largest international development bank, with 189 member states and projects in over 170 countries. Countries apply for World Bank funding to support development projects. The World Bank's portfolio is wide-ranging, with projects in the following sectors: agriculture, education, energy, finance, health, industry, communication, public administration, transportation, water, and waste management.



Figure 3.2.3: Attendees at the Western and Central Africa Ministerial Roundtable on Gender Equality, convened during the Spring 2023 Meetings of the World Bank and IMF (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 DEED; World Bank Photo Collection via Flickr)

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), in contrast, is an IGO focused on global financial stability. It issues loans to governments, typically when they are experiencing a financial crisis. Financial crises can take many forms. A government may have trouble servicing its external debts or engage in excessive deficit spending. Its currency may collapse due to currency speculation. These and other crises may require external bailouts by the IMF in order to stabilize the national economy and keep the crisis from spreading internationally. In addition to crisis assistance, the IMF also provides economic policy advice and technical assistance to governments. The IMF has a membership of 190 countries, with member-states contributing to the Fund and voting on Fund policies.

The newest of these IGOs, the World Trade Organization (WTO), began as an international agreement to lower tariffs, or taxes on imports, and encourage international trade. WTO member-states engage in negotiation "rounds" to discuss and agree on international trade law. The WTO also contains a trade dispute mechanism; tribunals help to settle trade disputes between various member-states. In 2022, for example, China initiated a WTO dispute settlement case against the United States regarding U.S. trade restrictions on exports of advanced semiconductor chips to China, claiming that this violated several WTO agreements.

Complementing these UN-affiliated IGOs are several newer IGOs, some of which have moved away from the transatlantic focus of the World Bank, IMF, and WTO. China founded the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2016 as a global development institution similar to the World Bank. Its membership stands at just over 100 state members. It is headquartered in Beijing, representing a shift away from the North American and European focus of other IGOs.

Debates swirl around all of these organizations. One central question is whether they have advanced global prosperity in a just and sustainable way. The concept of prosperity is multi-faceted and there does not exist a single accepted measure for it. Critiques of economic globalization, and the IGOs which support it, often focus on questions of power, fairness, and justice. The IGOs surveyed here concentrate economic and political power – on an international scale – in wealthy countries, especially the United States. It is no coincidence that Washington, DC, is the headquarters of both the World Bank and IMF, while WTO headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. The Group of 77 (G77), an organization of developing countries, has publicly decried the unequal negotiating terms of the WTO. In the 1990s, anti-globalization protests against the World Bank, IMF, and WTO drew attention to how these organizations further entrench the power of wealthy countries of the Global North while countries of the Global South fall further behind, even though all have registered economic growth in the era of economic globalization. Other critiques have honed in on weak protections for labor and continued marginalization of minority groups. Still others have focused on exploitation of indigenous resources. Climate justice groups have called for stronger environmental laws and environmental reviews across all of these organizations.



Figure 3.2.4: Anti-globalization protesters converged on Seattle in 1999 to disrupt ministerial meetings of the WTO (CC BY-SA 2.0; Steve Kaiser via Wikipedia)

Technological Change

Technology is a major driver of human prosperity, and technological frontiers expanded in several significant ways to enable this current period of economic globalization. The Third Industrial Revolution mentioned in the previous chapter comprises the computer age, which was well underway during the Twentieth Century. It was the advent of the digital age, combined with the rise of the internet and World Wide Web, that created the conditions for a new kind of economic globalization. E-mail, video telephony, e-commerce, and online platforms for all manner of communication and information-sharing emerged during the internet age. The internet itself was borne of a desire by U.S. military scientists and researchers to share computing power during the Cold War (Science+Media Museum, 2020). Since then, it has become as integral a part of contemporary life as electricity or indoor plumbing.

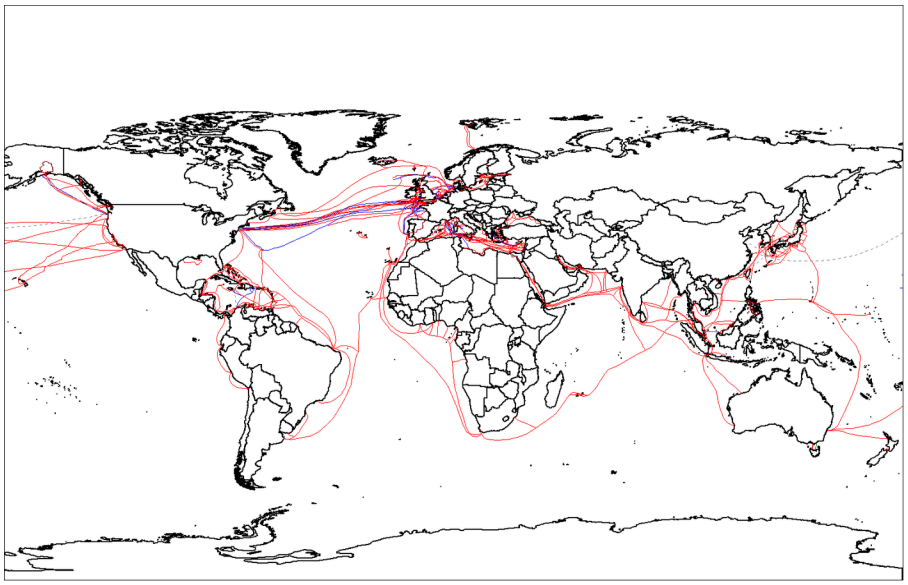


Figure 3.2.5: Copy and Paste Caption here. (Copyright; author via source)

Older technologies which drove previous periods of economic globalization, and earlier Industrial Revolutions, such as breakthroughs in shipping and communications, have also been updated. The containerization and standardization of trade in goods dramatically reduced the costs of trade and supply chain management. While the economic globalization before the First World War saw mass consumption of transoceanic transport and dramatic increases in the speed of communications, there were repeats of these breakthroughs in the late Twentieth Century as well. Flight times and costs continued to plummet, along with the costs of long-distance communication. Trade volume grew exponentially as shipbuilding advanced. The largest container ship in 2017 had a maximum capacity of 21,413 twenty-foot containers, compared to a capacity of 1,000 in 1964, representing a more than twenty-fold increase in capacity (Saxon & Stone, 2017). All of these breakthroughs, which have seemingly undone the constraints of geography, have led some scholars to theorize that the “world had become flat” (Friedman, 2005).

This page titled 3.2: Background - Five Decades of Economic Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

3.3: Theories and Concepts - Global Capitalism and Neoliberalism

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize key components of global capitalism
- Identify central principles of neoliberalism

Global Capitalism

Global capitalism is an economic, political, and sociocultural system which is deeply immersive and intertwined with virtually every aspect of contemporary life. It has transformed our physical world and is the cause of tremendous human productivity as well as suffering. In defining global capitalism, one starting point is thinking about it as a complete system for organizing human behavior. It is not just a prescription for economic relations, such as between sellers, buyers, and investors, but rather an ecosystem in which there are complex relationships between humans and their environment.

One important observation about capitalism is its rapid geographical spread. It is a truly global system, one that "has spread from covering some 20 percent of the world population in the 1970s to some 90 percent in the 1990s," (Hamelink, 1999, p. 1). Considering the progression of capitalism in the decades since the 1990s, there are very few isolated pockets of humankind that are untouched by this ecosystem.

To be more precise in thinking about capitalism as an ecosystem, one helpful concept is to think of it as a "world-economy". We can define a world-economy as "a large geographic zone within which there is a division of labor and hence significant internal exchange of basic or essential goods as well as flows of capital and labor," (Wallerstein, 2004). In global capitalism today, the geographic zone is the entire world – and near space as well, once we count commercial satellite systems.

In unpacking the ecology of global capitalism, it is helpful to focus on seven key components:

First, it is grounded in a **market-based economy**. This is a system in which buyers and sellers meet in marketplaces, real or virtual, and exchange goods and services. That exchange may be voluntary or coerced. Prices for goods and services rise and fall in response to demand and supply. A market-based economy contrasts with command economies, such as those of the Soviet Bloc noted previously, in which markets are eliminated and all supply, demand, and prices are dictated by government planners. (The Soviet Union was a prime example of a command economy.)

Second, capitalism is characterized by a **division of labor**. This means that separate tasks in the production of a good are carried out by different people. This implies that individuals in this production chain can specialize in their role in the larger process. Specialization implies greater efficiency and also investments in expertise.

Third, as the moniker "capitalism" might imply, capital is a critical ingredient in this ecosystem. **Capital** denotes those assets which are used to generate money, or more meaningfully, wealth. Capital can take the form of machines for harvesting wheat or technologies such as the bioengineering that might make certain wheat varieties pest resistant. Or it can take the form of the finance that a farmer needs in order to plant their crop. Without capital it is difficult to generate value – and therefore profit.

Fourth, **private ownership** is a pillar of capitalism. This means that individuals or firms own key economic inputs such as land and the capital needed to transform that land into something that will generate wealth. There can be private ownership of other inputs such as equipment or factory buildings. Importantly, capitalism is compatible and has co-existed with slavery, or the treatment of people as private property.

Fifth, capitalism relies on the circulation and accumulation of money. Money is a medium which enables us to store value. It also offers a common measure of value so exchange can happen over greater and greater distances and include more and more parties. Just like trade and communication are facilitated when everyone uses standard measures of time (something as basic as

seconds, minutes, hours), so money also facilitates trade and communication.

Sixth, capitalism creates commodities. A **commodity** is anything that can be bought and sold in a market. Land, for example, is a commodity in capitalism. Most other commodities are produced through the combination of labor, capital, and raw materials. Some have noted that capitalism results in the "commodification of everything".

Seventh, and what ties together all of this, is the profit motivation underlying all capitalistic behavior. Perhaps even prior to this is an acquisitive impulse that some might argue is innate to human nature. Wherever you may stand on this debate about human nature, capitalism incentivizes individuals to get as much as they can of whatever they believe has value. This often translates in practice to accumulating as much money as possible, without end.



Figure \PageIndex3\PageIndex1: Global capitalism includes centers for financial exchange and capital accumulation such as stock markets (BY NC-ND 2.0; Ahmad Nawawi via Flickr)

What follows from this is that capitalism has an expansionary imperative built into it. The key figure of the **entrepreneur** is someone who takes risks and establishes new enterprises, explores new markets, and breaks new frontiers. It is on the frontier that the most exciting work of capitalism is taking place, for example the creation of new commodities and new markets – all to generate profit.

There exist different forms of capitalism, some of which have risen and fallen over time, others which continue to shape the present-day world. With the exploration of new frontiers, new forms of capitalism have emerged. Beginning in the Fifteenth Century, plantation capitalism was predicated on the enslavement of colonized or conquered peoples, whose labor was appropriated to cultivate the land. The resulting products, such as processed sugar or cotton fiber, were then traded globally and converted into commodities purchased in markets worldwide. Organizational innovations such as the creation of joint-stock and international trading companies created more wealth and concentrated it geographically in colonizing powers. The industrial capitalism that emerged during the Nineteenth Century – and overlapped with plantation capitalism – relied on further innovations such as factory life, modern limited liability corporations, and technological innovations in mechanization and mass production. In the Twenty-first Century, surveillance capitalism is characterized by the collection and commodification of individual behavior on the internet (and internet of things), with the goal of shaping future behavior such as consumption decisions (Zuboff, 2019).

Powerful critics of global capitalism have drawn attention to the perpetuation of racial capitalism. The history of capitalism is rooted in race-based slavery as an institution, both as ideology and practice (Robinson, 2021 [1983]). The enslavement of people, and resulting creation of a hierarchy of races, also challenges the artificial boundary that is drawn between capital and labor as economic inputs. Enslaved people of color were not only the productive labor on which the gears of capitalism turned, but they were also a source of capital for this system. Those that were enslaved were the collateral for much of the debt that enslavers took on in order for their plantations to function. In the present, racial capitalism is evident in a broad range of capitalist economic activities, from fights over the land and natural resource rights of indigenous people to the disproportionate number of people of color who labor for cents on the hour in privately-owned prisons (Jenkins & Leroy, 2021).

Neoliberalism

Global capitalism is compatible with a second major ideology, neoliberalism, which eventually encompassed the world in the 1990s and characterizes present-day economic life. This world of pervasive neoliberalism is sometimes referred to as the New Liberal Order. **Neoliberalism** draws from classical liberal ideas but extends them globally and supports them with a suite of international institutions and domestic policies. Classical liberalism begins with several key assertions. First is the centrality of the individual. Second is the desire for, and naturally given right of, individuals to be free. This is captured by classical liberal thinkers such as John Locke, who wrote that humans exist in "a State of perfect Freedom to order their Actions … as they think fit … without asking leave, or depending on the Will of any other Man," (as quoted in Courtland et al., 2022, 1960[1689], p. 287). There were and remain deep contradictions between the beliefs and writings of liberal thinkers, as these ideas sprang from the pens of many enslavers, imperialists, colonizers, and individuals who did not believe in equal rights for many people, including women and people of color. Keeping this in mind, a third tenet of liberalism is a defense of the individual right to private property.

Neoliberalism emerged in the early Twentieth Century and drew from the classical liberal emphasis on individual freedom, but it articulated a more aggressive template for state authority. Neoliberals called for specific delineation in the relationship between political authority and economic activity: "[Neoliberalism comprises]… political economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. … The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defense, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary," (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).

These ideas in practice translated to three major policy directions: deregulation, liberalization, and privatization, which has been referred to as the **D-L-P formula** (Steger and Roy, 2021). All three relate to economic reforms in favor of strengthening access to markets and withdrawing the state from economic life. Deregulation implies the dismantling of rules and legislation that governs private market actors, from corporations to small businesses and entrepreneurs. Privatization is the conversion of public services to private ownership, often through the sale of public utilities and state-owned enterprises. Liberalization involves the elimination of price controls in domestic markets and opening up the domestic market to international competition.

Neoliberal politicians gained high office in powerful countries in the 1980s, notably U.S. President Ronald Reagan (in office 1980-1988) and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (in office 1979-1990). Policies enacted during their administrations have reverberated into the present, from support of neoliberal politicians in other countries to deregulation and privatization of many public services in their own countries. The deregulation of transportation industries in the United States, such as air and rail transport, resulted in greater market competition and lower prices, but detractors point to the weakening of labor protections and downward pressure on wages.

Many of the IGOs supporting economic globalization, such as the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank, promote neoliberal policies on an international scale. In the name of encouraging economic freedom and redirecting state power toward market-based economic exchange, these organizations support policies such as the reduction of trade barriers, privatization of state-owned firms and public services, and deregulation. Countries in financial distress which receive IMF loans are often advised to balance government budgets through reductions in public spending. This can mean the elimination of subsidies for basic goods such as gas or unemployment for public servants, which has the perverse effect of harming the individuals that neoliberalism in theory strives to support.



Figure 3.3.2: Cochabamba, located in central Bolivia, is nestled in a valley in the Andes. The World Bank recommended privatization of its water supply, which community protesters opposed (CC BY-SA 4.0; JH PLATA Filmmaker via Wikipedia)

In one example of neoliberal policies gone awry, the World Bank recommended the privatization of water in the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia, and its environs. City officials complied. When the city's water system was auctioned in 1999, the sole bidder was a global consortium, Aguas del Tunari, which represented various British, U.S., Spanish, and Bolivian firms. The sale was followed by price hikes that were felt most keenly by the poor, who organized a grassroots movement opposing the consortium. Protests broke out in 2000. The government responded with force, resulting in hundreds of arrests and the death of a teenage protester. Eventually the consortium withdrew and a settlement was finally reached, but Cochabamba's 2000 Water War highlights the simmering conflicts over neoliberal policies.

This page titled 3.3: Theories and Concepts - Global Capitalism and Neoliberalism is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

3.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Effects of Neoliberalism through the Case of NAFTA/USMCA

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize the influence of neoliberal ideas on a major North American regional trade agreement
- Evaluate the impact of trade liberalization on different constituents such as workers and consumers

The Rise of Regional Trade Agreements

One characteristic of the neoliberal world that emerged in the 1990s was the emergence of many **regional trade agreements (RTAs).** Signed by two or more governments, such agreements advance the neoliberal goal of global prosperity through free(r) trade. Examples include the Central American Common Market (CACM), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and European Economic Area (EEA). Worldwide, there were only 50 RTAs in force in 1990, but by 2017 this number had jumped to over 280 (World Bank, 2018).

There is no single template for RTAs. They may cover a large number of countries, such as the 30 countries which are party to the EEA, or the seven which are part of the Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement (APTA). RTAs may focus narrowly on the lowering of tariffs, which are taxes on imports, or they may be more comprehensive agreements comprising dozens of trade-related policy areas. Yet by attempting to smooth the flow of goods and services over borders, RTAs all share a common goal: economic integration.

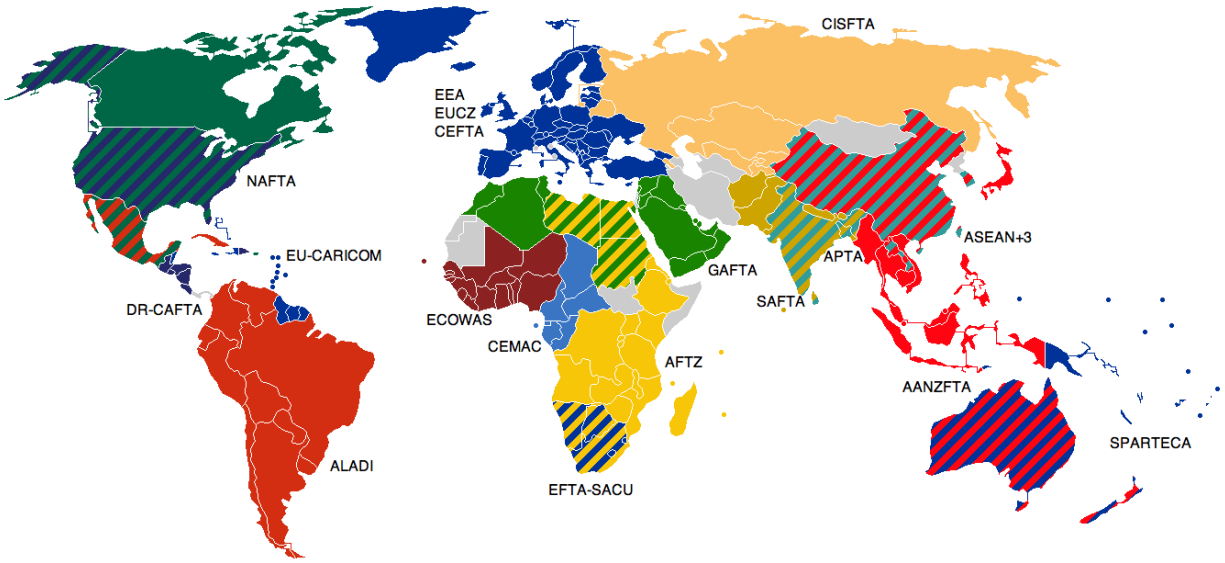


Figure 3.4.1: A few of the world's free trade areas in 2009, which are governed by regional trade agreements (public domain; Emilfaro via Wikimedia Commons)

A significant RTA which affects the countries and inhabitants of North America is the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), previously known as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). (Hereafter the term NAFTA will be used.) The debates over its merits and flaws highlight the broader debates about trade agreements worldwide and, by extension, the reign of neoliberal ideas.

Negotiations for NAFTA began in 1991, and the trade agreement entered into force just three years later, in 1994. Its big achievement was bringing Mexico into a trade zone with the United States and Canada, which had already struck a trade agreement during the previous decade. In a 1992 U.S. presidential candidate debate, Ross Perot made a famous argument

against NAFTA, warning that if, “You implement that NAFTA, the Mexican trade agreement, where they pay people a dollar an hour, have no health care, no retirement, no pollution controls, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, and you’re going to hear a giant sucking sound of jobs being pulled out of this country” (in the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates, 1992).

This position was rebutted by U.S. Democratic Party candidate Bill Clinton, who argued, “On balance [NAFTA] does more good than harm if, if we can get some protection for the environment so that the Mexicans have to follow their own environmental standards, their own labor law standards, and if we have a genuine commitment to reeducate and retrain the American workers who lose their jobs and reinvest in this economy,” (Ibid.)

President Clinton then went on to sign NAFTA into law in 1994, heralding decades of trade integration on the continent. Trade volume between the three countries ticked steadily upward following the signing of NAFTA, more than tripling over the early years of the trade agreement (1993 to 2007) from 297 billion USD to 930 billion USD (Office of the United States Trade Representative). The rise in trade volume is not debated, but there remain many other areas of contention. Decades into the NAFTA era, let’s consider the impact of this agreement on three areas: employment, economic growth, and the environment.

Employment

Perhaps the most emotional, and tangible, aspect of the debate over any trade agreement is its effect on the worker. For the vast majority of people, a job is one’s livelihood and the foundation for supporting others such as children, elders, and life partners. Hence the effect of NAFTA on employment has been closely watched, while at the same time has been challenging to pin down. The impact of a trade agreement on jobs must take into account many factors, from its effect on specific industries to whether displaced workers gain the skills to find new and perhaps better employment. The auto industry is one area where NAFTA-related shifts in jobs is evident: the U.S. auto sector lost about thirty percent of its jobs during the first twenty years of NAFTA (from 1994 to 2013), while Mexico saw jobs in its auto sector more than triple during the same period (Hufbauer et al., 2014). Canada also saw a bump in auto and manufacturing-related employment during the first decade of NAFTA (Schott, 2006).



Figure 3.4.2: The Chevrolet Silverado Crew Cab has been made in Mexico since 2005. During the NAFTA era, Mexico became a global power in auto manufacturing. (CC BY-SA 2.0; RL GNZLZ via Flickr)

In all, the United States experienced net job losses due to NAFTA. In the two decades after NAFTA went into force, about 203,000 job losses annually were attributed to increased trade with Mexico, compared with an annual jobs gain of 188,000 (Hufbauer et al., 2014). This represents a net job loss of about 15,000 jobs annually. Those U.S. jobs which were gained reported higher wages, on average 7 to 15 percent more, but this was in a context of overall wage stagnation. In Mexico, the employment market bifurcated. Some workers experienced wage gains, but these depended on proximity to northern markets and workers’ skill levels. Higher skilled workers who found jobs in northern Mexico, closer to trade activity, fared much better than those with lower education levels living in southern Mexico (Hanson, 2003).

Economic Growth

Neoliberals posit that more trade brings greater prosperity. This appears not to have been the case for NAFTA and poverty in Mexico, where poverty levels have remained the same since 1994 (Chatzky et al., 2020). Due to NAFTA the United States saw some very small gains in its overall economy, equal to approximately 0.001 to 0.041 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), or 0.1 to 3.6 billion USD (Congressional Budget Office, 2003, p. 22).

One hope for NAFTA was that it would bring about wage convergence and lessen overall economic inequalities across Canada, Mexico, and the United States. This has not been the case. In 2022, U.S. GDP per capita was about 65,000 USD, compared to 45,000 USD in Canada and 10,000 in Mexico. If anything, GDP per capita across the countries have diverged over time. GDP per capita in the United States was about five times greater than Mexico's in 1994, and this broadened to over six times greater by 2022.

Country	GDP per capita in 1994 (in constant 2015 USD)	GDP per capita in 2022 (in constant 2015 USD)
Canada	32,087.00	44,910.40
Mexico	8,186.00	9,755.60
United States	41,215.30	62,866.70

Table 3.4.1: Comparison of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of NAFTA/USMCA countries, in 1994 and 2022 (public domain; Data source: World Bank via Congressional Research Service, The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), 2023)

Environment

NAFTA was significant as the first RTA signed by the United States to include an environment chapter. However, one critique is that the language in this chapter is vague and non-binding. For example, neither NAFTA nor the USMCA include language regarding climate change. When NAFTA was being renegotiated as the USMCA, prominent environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and 350.org protested various environmental shortcomings in the draft agreement, such as weak enforcement measures and pathways for fossil fuel industries (oil, gas, auto) to lobby for weaker environmental regulations.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the environmental record of NAFTA has been mixed. While the trade agreement created a Commission for Environmental Cooperation and a process for claims to be made against violators of environmental regulations, public participation has waned over time. In one survey of NAFTA's environmental legacy, "Available data suggest that urban air quality, potable water access, and access to sanitation have all shown improvements since 1990. Less positively, we conclude that groundwater depletion and degradation has resulted," (Gladstone et al., 2021, p. 29). Within the NAFTA framework, disputes may only be initiated if an environmental violation is thought to bring a trade benefit to one country over others, hence larger global concerns such as climate change remain unaddressed.

The Future of NAFTA/USMCA

In considering the effect of NAFTA/USMCA on member countries, it is impossible to ignore the broader context in which these countries are embedded. The 1990s until the present have been a time of dynamic change in the global economy, most notably with the rise of China. Workers in many industries – auto, textiles, manufacturing – across the United States, Canada, and Mexico were impacted by Chinese competition. Rising tensions in U.S.-China economic relations, along with the COVID-19 pandemic, have also affected NAFTA in complex ways. There is much discussion in the United States of "friendshoring", or substituting Chinese trade partners with U.S. allies. The disruptions of COVID-19 have also pushed producers to consider supply chain resilience, with many diversifying and considering the merits of "nearshoring" to closer locales. In both of these scenarios, Canada and Mexico stand to benefit.

This page titled 3.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Effects of Neoliberalism through the Case of NAFTA/USMCA is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

3.5: References

Bajaj, V. (2011). *A New Capital of Call Centers*. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/26/business/philippines-overtakes-india-as-hub-of-call-centers.html?ref=vikasbajaj.

Burns, L. (2015). *The man who opened India's first call centre*. BBC. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/magazine-30729450.

Chatzky, A., McBride, J., & Sergie, M. A. (2020). *NAFTA and the USMCA: Weighing the Impact of North American Trade*. Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/naftas-economic-impact.

China International Import Expo. (2021). *China's booming foreign trade brings benefits to the world*. https://www.ciie.org/zbh/en/news/exhibition/news/20210324/27370.html.

China Power Team. (2019). *Is China the World's Top Trader?* Center for Strategic and International Studies. https://chinapower.csis.org/trade-partner/.

Commission on Presidential Debates. (1992). *Third Clinton-Bush-Perot Presidential Debate: October 19, 1992 Debate Transcript*. https://www.debates.org/voter-education/debate-transcripts/october-19-1992-debate-transcript/.

Congressional Budget Office. (2003). *The Effects of NAFTA on US.-Mexican Trade and GDP*. Retrieved on August 28, 2023 from https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/108th-congress-2003-2004/reports/report_0.pdf.

Courtland, S. D., Gaus, G., & Schmidtz, D. (2022). Liberalism. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

Friedman, T. (2005). *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Gladstone, F., Liverman, D., Rodríguez, R. A. S., & Santos, A. E. M. (2021). NAFTA and environment after 25 years: A retrospective analysis of the US-Mexico border. *Environmental Science and Policy*, *119*, 18-33. https://liverman.faculty.arizona.edu/sites/liverman.faculty.arizona.edu/files/2021-06/Gladstone%20Liverman%20Sanchez%20and%20Morales%202020%20NAFTA.pdf.

Hamelink, C. J. (1999). The Elusive Concept of Globalisation. *Global Dialogue*, *1*(1), 1-9.

Hanson, G. H. (2003). *What has happened to wages in Mexico since NAFTA?* National Bureau of Economic Research. https://www.nber.org/papers/w9563.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Hufbauer, G. C., Cimino-Isaacs, C., & Moran, T. (2014). *NAFTA at 20: Misleading Charges and Positive Achievements*. https://www.piie.com/publications/policy-briefs/nafta-20-misleading-charges-and-positive-achievements.

Jenkins, D., & Leroy, J. C. (2021). *Histories of Racial Capitalism*. Columbia University Press.

Kahaner, L. (2017, June 11). Immigrant truck drivers: Shhhh. We don't talk about it. *FleetOwner*. https://www.fleetowner.com/operations/drivers/article/21696194/immigrant-truck-drivers-shhhh-we-dont-talk-about-it.

McAuliffe, M., & Triandafyllidou, A. (Eds.). (2021). *World Migration Report 2022*. *International Organization for Migration*. https://publications.iom.int/books/world-migration-report-2022.

National Air and Space Museum. (2023). The Evolution of the Commercial Flying Experience. *Smithsonian Institution*. https://airandspace.si.edu/explore/s...ing-experience.

National Center for Farmworker Health. (2022). *Facts About Agricultural Workers*. http://www.ncfh.org/facts-about-agricultural-workers-fact-sheet.html.

Nunn, N., & Qian, N. (Spring 2010). The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food, and Ideas. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *24,* 163-188. https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/nunn/files/nunn_qian_jep_2010.pdf.

Office of the United States Trade Representative. *NAFTA Facts*. https://ustr.gov/callout/nafta-facts.

Piazza, R., Engler, P., Honjo, K., MacDonald, M., & Sher, G. (2020). The Macroeconomic Effects of Global Migration. In *World Economic Outlook: The Great Lockdown*. International Monetary Fund. https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2020/04/14/weo-april-2020.

Reeves, P. (2005). Debate over Conditions in India's Call Centers. *NPR*. https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5027761.

Robinson, C. J. (2021 [1983]). *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Third ed.). University of North Carolina Press.

Saxon, S., & Stone, M. (2017). *Container shipping: The next 50 years*. McKinsey&Company. https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/mckinsey/industries/travel%20logistics%20and%20infrastructure/our%20insights/how%20container%20shipping%20could%20reinvent%20itself%20for%20the%20digital%20age/container-shipping-the-next-50-years-103017.pdf.

Schott, J. J. (2006). NAFTA and Autos. *Peterson Institute for International Economics*. https://www.piie.com/commentary/testimonies/nafta-and-autos.

Science+Media Museum. (2020). *A Short History of the Internet*. https://www.scienceandmediamuseum.org.uk/objects-and-stories/short-history-internet.

Wallerstein, I. (2004). The Modern World-System as a Capitalist World-Economy. In *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (pp. 23-30). Duke University Press.

Wong, C. (2011). The Fiscal Stimulus Programme and Public Governance Issues in China. *OECD Journal on Budgeting*, *11*(3). https://www.oecd.org/gov/budgeting/public%20governance%20issues%20in%20china.pdf.

World Bank. (2018). *About the World Bank*. https://www.worldbank.org/en/about.

World Bank. (2018). *Regional Trade Agreements*. https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/regional-integration/brief/regional-trade-agreements.

World Bank. (2020a). *Stocks traded, total value (% of GDP)*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/CM.MKT.TRAD.GD.ZS.

World Bank. (2020b). *Stocks traded, total value (current US$)*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/CM.MKT.TRAD.CD.

World Bank, & PRC State Council Development Research Center. (2022). *Four Decades of Poverty Reduction in China*. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/e9a5bc3c-718d-57d8-9558-ce325407f737/content.

Zuboff, S. (2019). *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. PublicAffairs.

This page titled 3.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

3.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Capital**: assets which are used to generate money or wealth
- **Commodity**: Anything which can be bought and sold in a market
- **Division of labor**: The separation of tasks among different parts of a workforce, typically focused on enhancing specialization and efficiency in production
- **D-L-P formula** The combined policies of deregulation, liberalization, and privatization
- **Economic globalization**: When economic activities become global in scope, for example the global circulation of goods and services or global migration of labor
- **Entrepreneur:** Someone who takes risks and establishes new enterprises, explores new markets, and breaks new frontiers
- **Intergovernmental organization (IGO)**: An international organization comprising governments as members
- **Market-based economy**: A system in which buyers and sellers meet in marketplaces, real or virtual, and exchange goods and services. That exchange may be voluntary or coerced. Prices for goods and services rise and fall in response to demand and supply
- **Neoliberalism**: An ideology which draws on classical liberal ideas regarding the value of individual freedoms and extends these globally, with a supportive suite of international institutions and domestic policies
- **Private ownership**: Aspect of an economic system in which individuals or privately-held firms own key economic inputs
- **Regional trade agreement (RTA)**: Treaty signed by countries to promote the free flow of goods, services, capital, and/or currency across international borders
- **Soviet Bloc**: Also known as the Eastern Bloc, Communist Bloc or Socialist Bloc, this group of Eurasian countries was led by socialist or communist parties and rejected capitalist institutions. Beginning in 1989, these countries experienced a series of revolutions and have since integrated with the international market-based economy

Summaries

3.1 Introduction: Our Global Economy

Economic globalization shapes many aspects of contemporary economic life. Many of the goods in our material lives, as well as less tangible but nonetheless impactful economic activity such as services, are now global in scope and source. Various components of the global economy include worldwide flows of goods, labor, services, and finance. There are serious critiques and controversies surrounding each, but none of these global forces appear to be diminishing anytime soon.

3.2 Background: Five Decades of Economic Globalization

Economic globalization took off with two major events: China's integration with the global economy, beginning in 1978, and the collapse of the Soviet Bloc (1989-1991). Along with these events, various international organizations have supported economic globalization. This has all been complemented by technological breakthroughs, most notably the emergence of the internet.

3.3 Theories and Concepts: Global Capitalism, Neoliberalism

Two major ideologies animate present-day economic globalization, capitalism and neoliberalism. The spread of global capitalism is animated by the profit motive and a frontier mentality, where firms and individuals strive to create new commodities and markets while exploiting existing ones. Neoliberalism, which supports private property rights and market exchange, complements global capitalism and offers prescriptions for state policy and international economic organizations.

3.4 At Home and Abroad: Understanding Effects of Neoliberalism through the Case of NAFTA/USMCA

Regional trade agreements are one aspect of the free trade world envisioned by neoliberals. One prominent example of such

agreements is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), now the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), which has a mixed record with regard to its effect on employment, economic growth, and environmental impact.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Council on Foreign Relations, World101: Globalization (Online resource featuring modules, some of which are interactive, that highlight various aspects of economic globalization)
- Group of 77, About the Group of 77 (Information about the largest IGO of developing countries in the world)
- International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics (IFS) (IMF's repository of data related to international finance)
- World Bank, Open Data (World Bank's open access portal to global development data)
- World Trade Organization, Regional Trade Agreements (Gateway webpage to the WTO's resources on RTAs in force)
- World Trade Organization, Trade Dispute Settlement Mechanism (Description and repository of files related to trade disputes filed at the WTO)

Documentaries

- American Factory, a 2019 documentary film by Steven Bognar and Julia Reichert, on the lives of workers at a Chinese-owned auto glass factory in Moraine, Ohio, USA
- Maquilapolis: city of factories, a documentary film by Vicy Funari and Sergio de la Torre, focusing on the experiences of women who work in the factories in the border region of northern Mexico

Books

- Friedman, T. (2005). *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Patel, R. and Moore, J. (2018). *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things*. University of California Press

Review Questions

1. Which of the following did NOT contribute to the integration of the global economy?
    1. Invention of the internet
    2. Collapse of the Soviet Union
    3. Founding of Comecon
    4. China's "reform and opening up"
2. Which of the following organizations provides loans to governments, typically when they are in financial crisis?
    1. World Trade Organization
    2. International Monetary Fund
    3. Federal Reserve
    4. World Bank
3. A commodity is:
    1. A kind of high-volume container ship
    2. Anything that crosses at least one international border
    3. Another term for banking regulations
    4. Anything that can be bought and sold in a market
4. Neoliberals tend to favor which of the following?
    1. Deregulation
    2. Free trade (in goods, services, currencies, etc.)
    3. Privatization
    4. All of the above
5. The most significant regional trade agreement affecting North American countries is:
    1. NAFTA/USMCA
    2. EEA
    3. SAFTA
    4. ASEAN

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Consider your favorite food. In what ways does it reflect the forces of economic globalization? Is this food available globally? If so, where and how?
2. Recall the major components of global capitalism. Provide examples of each to show that global capitalism is a “really existing” system. What are some of the newest frontiers of global capitalism, and how do they impact you?
3. Consider the effect of international trade agreements such as NAFTA/USMCA on one of the following: your past or current job(s), what you buy, or the environment. What are some of the ways in which a trade agreement might affect your selected topic? What data would you need to collect to come to a fact-based conclusion about these effects?

This page titled 3.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

4: POLITICS OF GLOBALIZATION

4.1: Introduction - Politics of Globalization

4.2: Background - Reaching the "End of History"

4.3: Theories and Concepts - Competing Visions of the Global Order

4.4: At Home and Abroad - World Society or Rising Nationalism?

4.5: References

4.6: Student Resources

This page titled 4: Politics of Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

4.1: Introduction - Politics of Globalization

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize the contested nature of globalization, including debates over policies in areas such as trade and immigration

Introduction

Helsinki, Finland, March 29, 2001. Inside a packed press conference room, World Bank President James Wolfensohn prepares his remarks. He sits at a speakers' table at the head of the room. Two audience members stride toward him. It looks like they might be preparing to raise points about the importance of stakeholder outreach or stronger World Bank sustainability review. Everything about them befits the sober, professional atmosphere of the venue, except for the cream pies in hand. They continue walking to the speakers' table. The first to reach Wolfensohn rubs pie in his face. Wolfensohn, startled, throws up his arms in defense but takes a quick read of the situation and lowers them. He proceeds to take a taste. The second pie thrower, a few steps behind, unceremoniously flings her pie in a follow-up smear. Wolfensohn takes a lick, then remarks, "Mmm. Tastes good but I'm on a diet," (as quoted in Agent Apple for the BBB, 2001). The pie-throwers are rounded up and promptly hustled out of the room. Wolfensohn declines to press charges, but in the meantime the journalists in the room type up their copy and recount the incident to global audiences.



Figure 4.1.1: Global activist groups such as the Biotic Baking Brigade have used pie-throwing to humiliate their targets, often powerful corporate and political leaders, and to draw attention to progressive global causes. (CC BY 2.0; m01229 via Flickr)

Replayed in a 2002 documentary, *Commanding Heights*, this pie-throwing scene is one of many that unfolded in the early days of the Twenty-first Century, during a wave of anti-globalization protests which stretched back to 1999 and even earlier (PBS, 2002). This vignette highlights the contentious nature of the politics of globalization. As goods, people, ideas, and technology all circulate globally, in greater volumes and velocities, political movements have sprung up to lobby for the interests of various groups and issues. Anti-globalizers often frame their position in terms of fairness or justice. Pro-globalizers emphasize the gains that all have experienced from a more integrated world, one in which "a rising tide lifts all boats".

A mix of actors populate this global landscape, and they can be divided into three major categories. The most powerful are the state governments that exist at the national level. **States** possess sovereign rights to set policies, domestic and foreign, over

their territory and population. Importantly, state (national-level) governments have the capacity to enact border and immigration policies and collect taxes to enforce those policies. Governments deploy representatives worldwide, including diplomats and national representatives that sit in international bodies such as the United Nations. These envoys seek to negotiate agreements and implement policies which advance their state's interests.

Second, there are important non-state actors that drive the politics of globalization, many of whom are part of civil society. **Civil society** comprises non-state organizations engaged in collective action and, in many cases, advocacy for certain policies and underlying values. Many civil society groups have connected globally to form transnational advocacy networks (TANs) (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). These groups, which may be loosely connected or tightly organized, seek to shape public opinion and state policies that accord with their vision. They may utilize a variety of tactics, from street protests to social media campaigns, to achieve their goals. The repertoire of tactics utilized by global civil society groups has been continually evolving and will continue to do so.

A third group of actors are **intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)**, or international associations composed of state members. The United Nations is the most well-known of these. With headquarters in New York City, the UN is the most comprehensive international organization in the world, with representatives from nearly every country of the world sitting on the UN General Assembly. UN representatives vote on global issues ranging from poverty alleviation to international military interventions. Within the UN system are many other, more specialized international organizations such as the World Bank and International Atomic Energy Agency. Owing to the COVID-19 pandemic, the World Health Organization – also a part of the UN system – is now more widely recognized by the general populace. Many intergovernmental organizations such as the UN are dependent on state governments or private firms and individuals for funding. An example is the International Monetary Fund, which bails out governments in financial crisis and draws from funds contributed by member governments.

In addition to these international organizations are various "groups" of governments which convene heads of state or other government representatives to discuss international matters. Examples include the Group of Seven (G7), Group of Twenty (G20), Group of 77 (G77), and BRICS (a consortium including Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, all major economies of the Twenty-first Century). To gain a sense of the work of these groups, let's consider the G7. Founded in 1975, the G7 includes several high-income democracies: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the UK, and the United States. When the G7 met in Hiroshima, Japan for its 2023 summit, the invitee list was expanded to include leaders of countries not part of the G7 core, namely, India, Brazil, the Comoros, and South Korea, among others. On the agenda were global issues such as climate change and nuclear nonproliferation. These and other issues discussed in such international settings are often complex and interconnected, with little consensus on which policy path to tread.



Figure 4.1.2: Attendees at a working session of the 2023 G7 summit in Hiroshima, Japan (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Simon Dawson for No 10 Downing Street via Flickr)

One further way to break down the politics of globalization is to focus on some key policy areas and the contestation within each. Let's take a look at the politics of globalization as they relate to trade, immigration, and corporate taxation.

Trade

International trade refers to the movement of goods and services across international borders. Trade volume has increased sharply in the post-Second World War period (1945-present) and especially since the integration of the global economy after the collapse of the Soviet-led socialist bloc in 1989-1991. On average, world trade volume has increased by 4 percent each year since 1995, which translates to a doubling of world trade volume over the period 1995 to 2013.

One of the classic arguments supporting international trade hinges on the concept of **comparative advantage**. Comparative advantage focuses on specialization and efficiency, or the lowering of relative costs. Note that comparative advantage applies at the individual and firm level, though this example will focus on national economies. When countries specialize in producing those goods and/or services which they can produce most efficiently, or at lower relative cost, in comparison to others, then they have a comparative advantage in that good. The United States, for example, has a comparative advantage in the production of agricultural commodities such as corn and wheat. It also has a comparative advantage in financial services. Norway has a comparative advantage in salmon production. Mexico has a comparative advantage in automobile manufacturing. In a world of international trade, a country should specialize in making those goods or services in which it has a comparative advantage, then trade with others. This results in an overall lowering of production costs. Those savings are passed along to consumers, who end up paying less for goods which are traded in international markets, from rice to smart phones. Moreover, a world of **free trade** is one in which countries erect minimal barriers to trade. This means reducing taxes at the border (tariffs), synchronizing international standards, and otherwise reducing friction that comes with moving things across borders. Opposing free trade are **protectionist measures**, which seek to provide advantages to domestic producers by raising tariffs or other barriers to a domestic market.

In turning to the politics of trade, there are many interests at play in a world of exchange and comparative advantage. Free trade and the principle of comparative advantage benefits many groups. Consumers are a key beneficiary, as they pay lower prices for goods that are produced from the specialization and exchange implied by focusing on comparative advantage and free trade, respectively. Firms with global products also benefit from free trade, for example Meta Platforms, Inc., or General Motors. Such firms may pressure politicians around the world to loosen regulations on the trade related to their products or form industry organizations to lobby for favorable government policies. They might also pressure international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, for favorable trade laws or seek to shape international standards related to their products.

There is a broad array of groups which oppose free trade and favor protectionism. In some cases, these groups perceive a threat from international producers or corporations. Labor unions in the United States have organized against lower-cost goods made in countries with lower labor costs, such as consumer electronics made in China or cars made in Mexico. In other cases, groups may protest the harm done in the name of free trade. Environmental groups have organized transnational movements to oppose deforestation, for example by drawing attention to deforestation associated with the production of palm oil or overharvesting of tropical hardwoods. Human rights organizations have sought to shed light on labor violations in international supply chains. Some of these campaigns call for consumer action and boycotting of goods or pressure on international corporations. Others have called for bans on the importation of goods produced by child labor and forced labor. Even governments have gotten involved. For example, the U.S. Department of Labor has invested in public education campaigns about the environmental harms and labor violations that are part of the global palm oil industry. Such educational campaigns can spark consumer awareness as well as generate pressure for producers in the United States to switch to more sustainable and ethical palm oil suppliers.

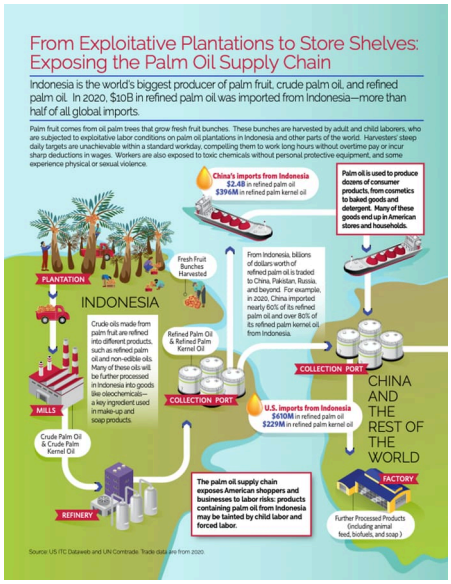


Figure 4.1.3: The global palm oil supply chain includes environmental harm and labor violations, as detailed in this infographic created by the US Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs (public domain; US Department of Labor via US Department of Labor)

Immigration

The movement of people across international borders, or **international migration**, is another deeply political aspect of our globalizing world. Nearly four in 100 people on the planet is an international migrant, and this number is projected to increase as the global economy grows and climate change reshapes the habitable and arable regions of the world. Migration increases with global economic integration but also as a result of militarized conflict and crisis. Whether immigrants are welcomed by host countries, or allowed to migrate from their home countries, is a function of many political forces: public opinion, the policy decisions of elites, the efforts of national and transnational advocacy groups, and the work of international organizations.

The power of these political forces become evident when examining a specific subset of international migrants, those who leave their home countries to seek employment as domestic workers in host countries. Migrant domestic workers (MDWs) are predominantly female and often hail from the Global South, from countries such as Nepal, the Philippines, and Guatemala. MDWs number in the millions worldwide, and they are estimated to be over 80 percent of all domestic workers in the Middle East and over 70 percent of all domestic workers in North America (International Labour Organization, 2021). Their labor is invisible insofar as they are confined to the private spaces of a host family's home, often with little to no organizational support. Within these working conditions, MDWs are vulnerable to abuse by employers. This has sometimes reached a crisis point, galvanizing action by many political actors. In 2018, in response to the deaths of seven Filipino domestic workers in Kuwait, an outraged public supported a ban by the Philippine government on emigration of Filipino workers to Kuwait. International organizations and advocacy groups, such as Human Rights Watch, joined the fray with policy recommendations. The Philippine government lifted this ban after negotiations with the government of Kuwait to improve labor conditions, but enforcement proved difficult (Shivakoti et al., 2021). Advocacy continues. The International Labour Organization has sought, since the passage of a Domestic Workers Convention in 2011, to provide greater legal protections to these particularly hidden migrant workers worldwide.



Figure 4.1.3: A domestic worker in Indonesia. Migrant domestic workers, which number in the millions worldwide, are often unseen as they labor in private homes (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; ILO/A.Mirza via flickr)

Zooming out from this specific example, the politics of immigration encompass many groups, all seeking to shape the movement of people across borders. These groups fall into the three categories explored above: state (national) governments, nongovernmental organizations, and international (state-based) organizations. Some governments have relatively open borders, as in the case of the European Union's Schengen Zone. Other governments have highly restrictive immigration policies, such as Japan.

Anti-immigration groups have mobilized to influence public opinion and legislation against open borders. Some have highlighted the strain on public services, especially on border regions. In the European Union, countries such as Greece and Italy have been thrust into the role of first responders when migrants pushing northward from Africa and westward from Asia have sought first landing in the EU on Mediterranean shores. These population pressures have strained local services, requiring transfers and other responses from the EU.

Pro-immigration groups focus on the rights of migrants to seek safer living conditions and more gainful employment, emphasizing the economic contributions of immigrants and socio-cultural gains that stem from a diverse society. They highlight how migrants fill needs in the domestic labor market, especially in countries with an aging workforce, and add to the innovative capacity of a society. The United States is one prime example: according to one study, as of 2022, over half of startups valued at over one billion USD were founded by immigrants (Anderson, 2022).

The politics of immigration are contentious, touching on both material well-being as well as conceptions of national identity. International migration has tended to rise during times of global economic prosperity and integration, but also in the face of conflict and crisis. To the degree that all of this characterizes a globalizing world, people will continue to be on the move.

Corporate taxation

Scholars have debated whether the rise of the **multinational corporation** (MNC) has eroded state power in a time of globalization (Strange, 1996; Wolf, 2001). When the world's largest firms are valued in the trillions of dollars, they have more financial assets at their disposal than many low- and even middle-income states. At the same time, states have the sovereign authority to set policies affecting MNC behavior. National governments establish trade and labor policies, environmental standards, and much more. The law of the land can be enforced through courts and other coercive bodies. Importantly, national governments have the authority of taxation, which is foundational in the provision of public goods.

A corporate income tax is imposed by federal and state governments on the profits earned by businesses. Corporate taxes vary greatly across national jurisdictions, with governments levying taxes ranging from zero to fifty percent of corporate profits (Enache, 2022). In 2022, sixteen jurisdictions, mostly island countries, had zero general corporate taxes. So-called "corporate tax havens" are often well-governed jurisdictions that wish to attract corporations in order to benefit from their investments in the broader national economy. Even if a corporation's profits are untaxed by a given government, that country's lawyers, accountants,

bankers, and others benefit from the corporation's activities. In other words, there are private interests behind what may seem like a counterintuitive policy for a national government. MNCs are nimble actors, and they search internationally for ways to reduce their overall tax rate. One estimate places the income losses from corporate tax havens at 500 to 600 billion USD annually, with low income countries bearing a disproportionate share of these losses (Shaxson, 2019).



Figure 4.1.4: Many island countries, such as the Bahamas, levy zero general corporate income taxes. Taino Beach, pictured above, is on Grand Bahama Island and such paradises inspired the name of leaked tax haven documents, the Paradise Papers (CC BY-SA 4.0; Didier Moïse via wikipedia)

There has been growing popular awareness of tax havens, due in part to the leaking of millions of financial and legal documents to global media outlets. These have included terabytes' worth of leaked documents known as the Panama Papers (2015), Paradise Papers (2017), Pandora Papers (2021), and others (International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, 2023). The documents themselves highlight the complex web of shell companies, offshore trusts, and other instruments used to reduce the tax burden and obscure the true wealth of corporations and individuals. A major media organization that has been analyzing the Panama Papers, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), demonstrates how global civil society can spur worldwide networks of groups into action. One of the first political figures to face fallout for their use of tax havens was Iceland's Prime Minister Sigmundur David Gunnlaugsson, who resigned in the face of public protests over his family's use of tax havens. In the realm of MNCs, the Paradise Papers revealed how Apple Inc., the world's largest technology corporation, had employed a firm based in Bermuda, known as Appleby, to shift assets and ultimately reduce Apple Inc.'s tax burden by billions of dollars.

Since these revelations, there have been international calls to reform. The G20 and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have worked on hammering out a global tax agreement. This would create a global minimum tax with an effective rate of 15 percent. Over one hundred countries and other jurisdictions have signaled willingness to agree to these terms, but there have been delays and as of the publishing of this textbook in late 2024, the agreement has still not gone into effect.

This page titled 4.1: Introduction - Politics of Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

4.2: Background - Reaching the "End of History"

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Evaluate arguments that the world has reached the “end of history” and converged on liberal democracy as a political system

Liberal Democracy as the End of History?

The politics of globalization pivot on more than policy debates, as important as those may be to lived experience. Some have argued that the reach of modern democracy, as reflected by classical liberal ideas about individual freedoms, had become truly global by the end of the Twentieth Century. Even more, the argument goes, this was a global political preference, not imposed on others by force. Such arguments were most famously captured in an essay by political philosopher Francis Fukuyama, which asked whether we had reached the “end of history” (Fukuyama, 1989).

Fukuyama and many others saw the inexorable march of liberal democracy as the central political force of the globalizing world. This was viewed as complementary to trends in economic globalization, which were falling along pro-market, (neo)liberal lines. Neoliberalism, as described in more depth in Chapter 3: Economic Globalization, emphasizes institutional support for individual freedoms in economic life. Practically speaking, this translates to the adoption of a market economy within countries and a suite of international organizations to support the unfettered flow of goods, services, capital, and money across international borders. Barriers to trade still exist in this neoliberal world, but the ongoing project is to reduce them as much as possible.

The political correlate to this economic reality is the possibility of a universal embracing of liberal democracy. “Liberal” here is not to be confused with the popular usage of the term in U.S. politics, that is, as referring to someone who supports progressive social policies. Instead, the term “liberal democracy” is rooted in intellectual traditions associated with political thinkers such as John Locke. Such classical liberalism was interested in treating individual freedom as a natural right and foundational to political life. Government authority of any kind thus required justification.

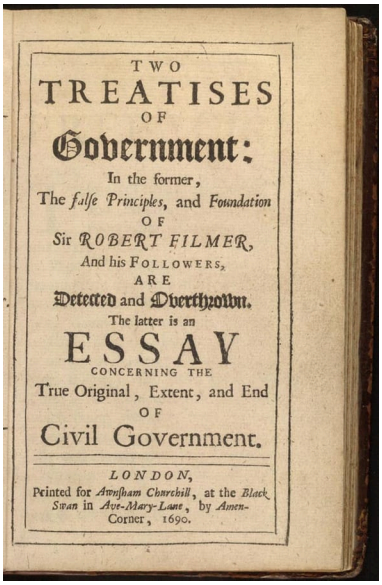

TWO
TREATISES
OF
Government:
In the former,
The false Principles, and Foundation
OF
Sir ROBERT FILMER,
And his FOLLOWERS,
ARE
Detected and Overthrown.
The latter is an
ESSAY
CONCERNING THE
True Original, Extent, and End
OF
Civil Government.
LONDON,
Printed for Awnsham Churchill, at the Black Swan in Ave-Mary-Lane, by Amen-Corner, 1690.

Figure 4.2.1: Classical liberal ideas, as developed in early books such as John Locke’s *Two Treaties of Government* (this version published in 1690) shaped the form of modern liberal democracy (public domain; Library of Congress via wikimedia)

In its contemporary form, **liberal democracy** describes a political system of representative government in which there is broad

enfranchisement of the population and robust liberal institutions such as the rule of law and civil society. Government reach is limited by formal checks on institutional power, including independent judiciaries and divided branches of government. Societal pressures present a critical constraint on government power. In a liberal democracy, individuals enjoy many civil liberties. Many of these, such as freedom of speech, religion, and association, among others, are often enshrined in constitutions. The free flow of information, another critical institution, is supported by an independent media.

In reaching the “end of history,” Fukuyama argued that liberal democracy had demonstrated decisively its superiority as a set of ideas and “really existing” institutions. Competing political systems, such as fascism, communism, or socialism, were relegated to the “dustbin of history”. Soon after the publication of Fukuyama’s essay in the summer of 1989, the socialist bloc of Central and Eastern Europe collapsed, followed by the implosion of the vast Soviet Union. By 2012, a total of 42 countries in the world were liberal democracies. An additional 60 were electoral democracies on the path to becoming liberal democracies (V-Dem Institute, 2022). It appeared that history was moving toward its endpoint.

Yet history and human civilization did not converge on liberal democracy in the years since. China’s global rise offers a powerful refutation that the world had reached the “end of political history”. As one of the largest economies in the world and most populous countries on the planet, China remains under the control of a single ruling party, the Chinese Communist Party. Its economy, while capitalist, is not a free market economy. China’s example demonstrates that an authoritarian country could rise to global influence in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries and attract a global following among the leaders of many countries. The Soviet Union’s successor, Russia, has also moved decisively in an authoritarian direction since the 1990s, and it, too, serves as a patron to many non-democratic countries across Afro-Eurasia. In short, political globalization has been a messy process, refuting the prediction of the triumph of liberal democracy.

This page titled 4.2: Background - Reaching the "End of History" is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

4.3: Theories and Concepts - Competing Visions of the Global Order

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Analyze frameworks that highlight various political trends in the globalizing world

Competing Visions of the Globalizing World

Politics in our globalizing world are as unruly as ever. Scholars continue to debate the directions that political winds are blowing, with different sides of the debate highlighting different aspects of a complex world. These scholarly conversations help to identify the political forces which might be most important to understand and monitor in order to make sense of overall global trends. Debates focus on differing visions for the globalizing world, and these fall along two major axes. The first axis focuses on the nature of political forces and whether globalization should be viewed as ultimately benign or threatening. A second axis explores the direction of global political forces, specifically whether they are pushing the world towards greater conformity (convergence) or heterogeneity (divergence). Combining these axes in a two-by-two table, four different visions for the political future of a globalizing world emerge.

One argument holds that global political forces are ultimately benign and pushing toward convergence. Fukuyama's "end of history" is one prominent example of this view. The extraordinary economic and political influence of many liberal democracies would seem to support this vision. Many countries hope to join the EU and liberal democratic alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which supports the argument that the global tide has turned in favor of convergence on democratic institutions within countries and internationally. Pushing against this are decidedly illiberal expansionist powers. As mentioned previously, these include Russia, which invaded neighboring Ukraine in 2022 as part of an effort to reclaim territory that Russian President Vladimir Putin believes is part of historical Russia. Russia's rigged elections have ensured Putin's leadership for decades, and the government's muzzling of a free press and free association are all markers that liberal ideas have not taken root in all in major post-communist countries. China is also an important case to watch as a test of the claim that liberalism might be universally embraced. Since its violent crackdown on peaceful pro-democracy protesters in 1989, the Chinese Communist Party has brooked no opposition to its rule and has actively contained any hint of political liberalization through the construction of a comprehensive surveillance state. Significant regions of the world are also far from a liberal end of history: many countries of the Middle East remain stubbornly authoritarian, along with vast swaths of Africa and Central Asia.

Some might see globalization as a benign process but argue that divergence, rather than convergence, is the most salient trendline. Such arguments focus on the variety of political systems that persist in the international system, with no indication that any single political form has emerged triumphant. This is a refutation of the "end of history" argument in some ways, but there is agreement that globalization on balance is a desirable process and shouldn't be rolled back. Proponents of this view might support the current United Nations system, where countries of the world gather in general assemblies and convene to address major global challenges such as climate change and poverty alleviation. This view is also echoed in the efforts of intercultural exchange organizations such as People To People and in the work of diplomatic corps worldwide. One critique of this position is that the UN system is toothless and lacks the resources to make meaningful progress in a fractious international system.

A third position sees globalization as much more threatening and oppressive. This view focuses on how globalization is the latest version of the expansionary and conquering impulses underlying colonialism and imperial projects of the past. Globalization from this perspective is a euphemism for political and cultural imperialism by the most powerful players on the global stage, notably the countries of North America and Western Europe. Globalization threatens to wipe out local practices and replace them with a common capitalist consumerist culture. National governments in this narrative tend to be too weak or captured by external interests to protect domestic constituents. Some labels for this view of the world include "McWorld" and "Coca-Colonization" in reference to major global brands originating from a too-dominant United States (Barber, 1992; Wagnleitner, 1994). One argument against this view is that it treats the end consumers of global goods as passive victims succumbing to broader structural forces. Critics would rather draw attention to individual and collective agency in the face of these forces.



Figure 4.3.1: A Coca-Cola sign in the Atlas Mountains of Morocco (CC BY 2.0; ciukes via wikipedia)

A fourth view holds that the dominant trend in our globalizing world is divergence and fragmentation; different societal groups will react violently to globalizing forces. For many people around the world, globalization threatens their "traditional" way of life, and their response is to fight back to assert their identity and territorial claims. Political scientist Samuel Huntington invoked such an argument with his concept of a "clash of civilizations" (Huntington, 1993). According to this view, global convergence is unattainable. Instead, the world will remain fragmented across civilizational divides and, even more, continue to be conflict prone. Many have critiqued Huntington's concept of a civilization, which he defines as a population united by common cultural practices and beliefs. Civilizations of any kind are dynamic and evolving; whether the world might evolve into a more harmonious civilization, or civilizations, and whether that civilization (or those civilizations) will move in the direction of greater assimilation versus diversity remain outstanding questions.

Though scholars continue to debate these various aspects of globalization, ultimately, these debates have framed globalization as benign rather than threatening and contend that the globalizing world is moving in the direction of convergence versus divergence.

This page titled 4.3: Theories and Concepts - Competing Visions of the Global Order is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

4.4: At Home and Abroad - World Society or Rising Nationalism?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize tensions between nationalism and global society

Nation v. Global Society

"I am a citizen of the world." This is a popular refrain heard among university students studying abroad, often reflecting a cosmopolitan outlook and the cumulative experiences of living in different countries. It reflects a borderless world view and expansive life horizons. Being a citizen of the world draws attention to and even critiques modern ideas about a key concept in the study of politics, the nation. A **nation** refers to a population of people with a shared sense of identity. This often derives from a common language, historical narratives, faith traditions, foodways, and cultural practices, among other factors. The nation is a powerful concept, evoking strong emotions such as loyalty, love, and even contempt (for other nations). Nations are social constructs, meaning they exist only as conceived of by human beings. In the words of political scientist Benedict Anderson, nations are "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983). Since the emergence of the modern international state system, nations have sought self-determination through statehood. As a state, a nation enjoys sovereign rights over a territory and a certain degree of autonomy. Nationalism refers to the attachment that an individual may feel toward a certain national identity; collectively, there may be strong nationalist forces within and across countries. The Kurdish nation, for example, encompasses a global diaspora that at present does not have state recognition – but among Kurds there may be a strong attachment to Kurdish identity and by extension Kurdish nationalism.



Figure 4.4.1: This page from the first Muslim atlas of the world, the Cedid Atlas, Kurdistan is depicted in the two blue areas. Today the Kurdish nation is stateless. (public domain; Library of Congress via wikipedia)

A nation is sometimes at odds with the forces in a globalizing world. International organizations, especially those which seek to assert identities beyond and above nations, exist in tension with the nationalist impulses within a given country. The European Union (EU), for example, has sought to build a European identity and attract the allegiances of people who identify as French or Italian or German. There have also been pan-African and pan-Arab organization-building efforts, though none have been as deeply integrated as the EU. Looking beyond the creation of regional identities, some would argue that globalization has pushed everyone to consume the same foods and wear the same global brands. Global forces have exerted pressure on governments

to adopt, however superficially, the institutions associated with democracy such as elections and legislatures. The homogenizing pressures of globalization push against the assertion of a distinct identity that is the hallmark of a nation.

The tug-of-war between nationalism and globalization is evident in rising nationalist movements in various countries around the world. While nationalism is difficult to measure, especially across countries, there are some indications that nationalism gained momentum during the early decades of the Twenty-first Century. Trends in nationalism might be measured in terms of the rise of nationalist political parties or endorsement of nationalist policies, along with a rise in hate crimes (Bieber, 2018). Specific examples also highlight nationalism in the world: politicians such as Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi rose to prominence with declarations of Hindu nationalism, while the campaign within the United Kingdom to leave the EU, the so-called Brexit campaign, rode to victory on nationalist rhetoric. Far-right political parties and candidates across Eurasia gained vote shares through the 2020s.

The United States is illustrative and a significant case. During the presidency of Donald Trump (2016-2020), many Trump followers chanted “America First” rally slogans and pushed to withdraw the U.S. from international commitments such as the Paris Climate Accords. This nationalism was accompanied by xenophobic statements against immigrants, many made by Trump himself during his presidential campaign. There were calls for stronger security measures along the southern U.S. border, notably the building of a wall and stronger enforcement of immigration laws to intimidate undocumented migrants. Donald Trump was not re-elected in 2020, but the nationalist movement that he galvanized demonstrates the ways in which nationalism can drive a people toward exclusionary and anti-globalization positions. All of this is to highlight the contentious politics of globalization, refuting simple narratives of unhindered global integration.

This page titled 4.4: At Home and Abroad - World Society or Rising Nationalism? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

4.5: References

Agent Apple for the BBB. (2001). Wolfensohn Creamed! *Pie Times News Digest #1*. https://www.nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-l-0105/msg00044.html.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.

Anderson, S. (2022). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs and U.S. Billion-Dollar Companies*. https://nfap.com/research/new-nfap-policy-brief-immigrant-entrepreneurs-and-u-s-billion-dollar-companies/.

Appelrouth, S., & Edles, L. D. (2008). The Global Society. In S. Appelrouth & L. D. Edles (Eds.), *Classical and Contemporary Sociological Theory* (pp. 788-797). Sage.

Barber, B. R. (1992). Jihad vs. McWorld: the two axial principles of our age--tribalism and globalism--clash at every point except one: they may both be threatening to democracy. *The Atlantic*, *269*(3), 53.

Bieber, F. (2018). Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends. *Ethnopolitics*, *17*(5), 519-540. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2018.1532633.

Enache, C. (2022). *Corporate Tax Rates around the World, 2022*. https://taxfoundation.org/data/all/global/corporate-tax-rates-by-country-2022/#Highest.

Fukuyama, F. (1989). The End of History? *The National Interest*(16), 3-18.

Huntington, S. P. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, *72*(3), 22-49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20045621.

International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. (2023). *Offshore Leaks Database*. https://offshoreleaks.icij.org/.

International Labour Organization. (2021). *Making decent work a reality for domestic workers: Progress and prospects ten years after the adoption of the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)*. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_802551.pdf.

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press.

PBS. (2002). *Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy*. *https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/*.

Shaxson, N. (2019). Tackling Tax Havens. *IMF Finance & Development*. https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/fandd/issues/2019/09/tackling-global-tax-havens-shaxon.

Shivakoti, R., Henderson, S., & Withers, M. (2021). The migration ban policy cycle: a comparative analysis of restrictions on the emigration of women domestic workers. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *9*(1), 36. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00250-4.

Strange, S. (1996). *The Retreat of the State*. Cambridge University Press.

V-Dem Institute. (2022). *Democracy Report 2022: Autocratization Changing Nature?* https://v-dem.net/media/publications/dr_2022.pdf.

Wagnleitner, R. (1994). *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War : The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Wolf, M. (2001). Will the Nation-State Survive Globalization? *Foreign Affairs*, *80*(1), 178-190. https://doi.org/10.2307/20050051.

This page titled 4.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

4.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Civil society**: The political space comprising organizations engaged in advocacy and collective action
- **Comparative advantage**: Specializing in those goods and/or services which can be produced at lower relative cost
- **Free trade**: Minimizing barriers to the movement of goods and services, often over international borders
- **Intergovernmental organization (IGO)**: An international organization comprising governments as members
- **International migration**: Movement of people across international borders, forced or voluntary
- **International trade**: Movement of goods and services over international borders
- **Liberal democracy**: A political system of representative government in which there is broad enfranchisement of the population and robust liberal institutions such as the rule of law and independent civil society
- **Multinational corporation (MNC):** Also known as transnational corporations (TNCs), these are privately-owned entities engaged in economic activities in more than one country
- **Nation**: A group of people with a shared sense of identity, often deriving from a common language, history, faith traditions, foodways, and cultural practices, among other factors
- **Neoliberalism**: An ideology which draws on classical liberal ideas regarding the value of individual freedoms and extends these globally, with a supportive suite of international institutions and domestic policies
- **Protectionism**: Promoting policies which reduce the access of international actors to a domestic market, for example raising tariffs (taxes) on imported goods in order to give an advantage to domestic producers
- **State**: Internationally recognized entity possessing political authority – or sovereign rights – over a territory and its population

Summaries

4.1 Introduction: Politics of Globalization

The politics of globalization involve contestation over material gains and losses as well as deeper values such as national identity and fairness. State (national) governments, civil society, and international organizations all represent powerful, organized actors that shape the trajectory of globalization. All of these groups have influenced policies related to trade, immigration, and finance, among other international topics.

4.2 Background: Reaching the "End of History"

Beginning in the late 1980s, some argued that political globalization was characterized by global convergence around the idea of liberal democracy. However, alternatives to liberal democracy continue to exist and attract followers in the early decades of the Twenty-first Century.

4.3 Theories and Concepts: Competing Visions of the Global Order

Scholars continue to debate various aspects of globalization such as the nature and direction of global political forces. These debates frame globalization as benign versus threatening and contend that the globalizing world is moving in the direction of convergence versus divergence.

4.4 At Home and Abroad: World Society or Rising Nationalism?

There are tensions between nationalism and globalization. While nationalism reflects the attachment of an individual to the particular collective identity of the nation, globalization pushes individuals to embrace a broader sense of self in the world. Some countries, such as the United States, have exhibited strong nationalist movements, which push against the forces of globalization.

Suggestions for further study

Websites:

- Council on Foreign Relations, World101: Globalization
- Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics: Nationalism (Renaud-Philippe Garner)
- US Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor
- V-Dem Institute, Democracy Reports

Documentaries:

- 30 Frames a Second: The WTO in Seattle, a 2000 documentary film by Rustin Thompson on the 1999 anti-globalization protests in Seattle, Washington
- Trump's American Carnage, a 2022 documentary by PBS Frontline on the populist tactics employed by politician Donald Trump, leading to an armed insurrection on the US Capitol on Jan. 6, 2022

Books

- Huntington, S. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*. Yale University Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. Free Press.
- Sabanadze, N. (2010). *Globalization and Nationalism: The Cases of Georgia and the Basque Country*. Central European U Press. https://books.openedition.org/ceup/556

Review Questions

1. Free trade implies:
    1. Trade that is free of cost to exporters
    2. International trade in which countries seek to minimize barriers to the flow of goods and services
    3. Trade which benefits only domestic producers
    4. International trade focused on increasing corporate taxation
2. Liberal democracy comprises all of the following institutions EXCEPT:
    1. Rule of law
    2. Independent media
    3. Civil liberties
    4. Lack of accountability for public officials
3. Debates over the politics of globalization include whether:
    1. The world is moving toward convergence versus divergence
    2. Globalization is ultimately a threatening or benign process
    3. National policies should focus on integration with the global system versus isolation
    4. All of the above
4. All of the following are terms used to describe aspects of globalization EXCEPT:
    1. McWorld
    2. Clash of civilizations
    3. Comecon
    4. Coca-colonization
5. There are tensions between nationalism and globalization because:
    1. Nationalism emphasizes attachment to a narrower national identity rather than embrace of global ideas
    2. Global forces, such as global brands and global media products, are perceived as threatening to national identities
    3. Nationalists fear the loss of distinct national identities to a global system dominated by wealthy liberal democracies
    4. All of the above

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Consider the various views of globalization presented in section 4.3. Which do you find most compelling? Which do you find least convincing? Explain your reasoning and the evidence that you would need to locate to support or refute your selected views.
2. What are some of the things that a nationalist might find threatening about globalization? Cite specific examples. In what ways are nationalism and globalization compatible?
3. Imagine you were in the room in 2001 when two pie-wielding activists approached the World Bank President. How would you have reacted to the situation? Would you have been an ally of the activists, the World Bank President, both, or neither? Write an op-ed about the event which reveals your own politics regarding globalization.

This page titled 4.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

5: CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION

5.1: Introduction - Culture in a Global Context
5.2: Background - The Diffusion of Culture
5.3: Theories - Cultural Diffusion
5.4: At Home and Abroad - A Hypothetical Friendship
5.5: References
5.6: Student Resources

This page titled 5: Cultural Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

5.1: Introduction - Culture in a Global Context

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand the various elements of cultural globalization
- Recognize the three basic categories that apply to elements of culture: artifacts, sociofacts, and mentifacts

Introduction

As presented in this textbook thus far, the process of globalization broadly concerns increasing levels of contact, access, and connectivity among groups of people who were previously separated. As time-space compression continues to occur across the world, flows of information, capital, and ideas have increased. Often, social scientists are inclined to focus on the economic and political aspects of globalization first and foremost, which is a logical approach as these arenas contain numerous motivating factors for brining people into common frameworks that allow for greater access to flows of goods and services with stable systems of governance that encourage collaboration and growth (Sheppard, 2002). This approach is especially valid in the case of ever-expanding global capitalism, multi-national and trans-national corporations, and **neoliberal governance** agendas. At the heart of these processes though lie the people who participate within them, and therefore a thorough analysis of globalization should include questions concerning how the process impacts people's daily lives in terms of their own lived experiences. The focus of these questions has been centered on measuring cultural differences and impacts on distinct identities, which are discernable at the group level. In a truly globalized world, the group in question would be the entire human population, therefore suggesting that the process of globalization is leading to the formation of a global culture. While the notion of all people espousing the same cultural beliefs, norms, and customs seems rather unlikely, simply due to the high level of diversity within the human population, some cultural elements are undoubtedly presented to, and accepted by, new populations throughout the process. Thus, the adaptation of new cultural elements, and the incorporation of, or mass participation in, these elements by new populations in new areas encapsulates cultural globalization in a general sense (Crane, 2008).

Before discussing some of the specific and finer points of **cultural globalization**, some basic definitions are in order. First, for the purposes of this chapter, culture is defined as set of particular elements, whose application comes to define customs, behaviors, ways of life, and social norms, so as to be understood in terms of cohesive identity. To expand on a discussion first introduced in Chapter 2.2, cultural elements can generally be understood in three categories, **artifacts**, **sociofacts**, and **mentifacts** (Huxley, 1955). Artifacts refer to objects, goods, or traits that function within a technical system (Davis, 2020). For example, books, laptops, exams, presentations and papers are all artifacts of college culture because they represent tools or tasks that students use to complete the college process. Sociofacts are defined as behavioral norms, constructed or accepted by members of a group that are used to guide those people through social interactions and processes in their lives (Sanders, 1958). Examples of sociofacts include greeting customs, like shaking hands, nodding one's head, or waving one's hand. Getting married is another example of a sociofact. Looking at marriage in American culture over the last few decades is a good example of how cultural elements can change and adapt over time and place, with accepted definitions shifting from a union between one man and one woman, to allow for individuals of the same sex, or gender, to get married. Therefore, it is important to view sociofacts as contextually specific, although that context can widen or narrow over time and space as a particular sociofact is diffused. Mentifacts are cultural elements that represent values, ideology, belief systems, or ways of thinking that are present in a given society (Posner, 2004). For example, belief in God constitutes a principal mentifact for many forms of religious identity, as well as for constructing a world view. Behaviors and processes that are considered virtuous in each society are typically supported via mentifacts, such as the value of donating to charity or volunteering for a cause. Mentifacts have an impact on social and political institutions as well. For example, the belief in the importance of democratic government tends to be a salient cultural value for most societies in Europe and North America.

As we saw in Chapter 2.2, social systems that produce and reinforce elements of culture generally have a starting point, known as **cultural hearths**, from which these elements diffuse outward to new areas when inhabitants started to migrate and interact with people who were previously separated from the hearth (Voigt-Craf, 2004). Though we often focus on the diffusion of sets of technologies, social practices, and belief systems from ancient cultural hearths, such as Meso-America or the Greco-Roman world, this process of cultural hearth formation and the diffusion of artifacts, sociofacts, and mentifacts is still happening in the modern world.

This page titled 5.1: Introduction - Culture in a Global Context is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

5.2: Background - The Diffusion of Culture

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand the essential methods by which cultural elements diffuse to new populations
- Identify regions of the world that have served as the main drivers of cultural globalization
- Engage with ongoing debates on the role of American culture as a driver of cultural globalization

Cultural Diffusion

Cultural diffusion, whereby elements of culture reach new populations, often occurs via three basic processes, contagious diffusion, relocation diffusion, and hierarchical diffusion (Campanella, 2013). The simplest medium for diffusion is **contagious diffusion**, which happens when cultural elements are shared and adapted at the interpersonal level, or via close contact with others who have adapted to new cultural elements. Using new slang terms, new hair styles, fashion statements, or participation in various types of leisure activities is often the result of contagious diffusion.

Relocation diffusion involves bringing cultural elements to new areas, via migration. Immigrant communities inherently bring some cultural elements with them to their destination, and when a community of immigrants is large enough, its cultural elements can be practiced and reproduced in a new environment. People living near immigrant communities can access these cultural elements, vis a vis contagious diffusion, and some elements may be adapted into the wider culture. Generally, outsiders will consider various cultural elements from a new group, evaluate these new elements in terms of the prevailing value system, and if the elements do not conflict and are seen as positive, they will continue to be reproduced. New elements that are accepted are said to be culturally "**sticky**," and become normalized in the greater cultural context, while those elements that are not sticky tend to eventually fade out of practice.

The other major type of cultural diffusion is **hierarchical diffusion**, whereby cultural elements diffuse from larger populations to smaller populations, or via power dynamics in a top-down fashion. For example, it is common to see cultural trends begin in large cities and spread outward. In the United States, trends tend to be set on either the East Coast, usually from the Tri-State Area (greater New York City), or from the West Coast, typically Southern California, the Bay Area (greater San Francisco), or the Pacific Northwest. Cultural elements work their way out from these points of origin, ending up in smaller cities in their respective regions, as well as larger cities in adjacent regions. The trends then appear in smaller communities adjacent to those cities and, as long as the elements are sticky, continue to spread outward. Conversely, culture can be diffused hierarchically via a leader/follower dynamic, or through the process of governance. The prohibition of alcohol in the United States, spurred on by the temperance movement in the 1930s, constituted an attempt to diffuse sobriety, a sociofact, through the American population hierarchically.

Folk Culture versus Popular Culture

An important distinction can be drawn between two main classifications of culture, namely folk culture and popular culture. **Folk culture** tends to be more localized and specific to small populations, often rooted in rural or isolated areas. Transmission of these elements happen most often via contagious diffusion or relocation diffusion (Jordan-Bychkov, 2005). In most cases, the exact locations where folk culture originates are unclear to some degree, with elements lacking concrete authors or known adapters. Therefore, there is often a lack of ownership over elements of folk culture, as its specific originators tend to be unknown. Hearths, where folk culture is originally produced, tend to exist in isolation to some degree, leading to the development of distinct technological systems and social practices that are based on local environmental factors and previously established social norms. It is important to note that distance between and among populations and their respective cultures can exist either physically or socially (Weinfurt and Moghaddam, 2001). Populations that are physically separated might have barriers such as mountain ranges, or large bodies of water keeping groups from contacting one another. **Social barriers** often have to do with sets of mentifacts in practice, especially those that espouse preferences for in-group exclusivity. For example, members of a particular community may choose to limit their exposure to cultural influences which they deem to be from outside the community, such as Evangelical Christian communities rejecting elements of secularism.

Popular culture tends to be diffused hierarchically and has the ability to spread quickly and extensively via networks of communication, especially as time-space compression progresses with increasingly efficient transportation infrastructure and telecommunications. Elements of popular culture are generally associated with specific starting points, or a concrete author. Popular culture might be thought of in terms of commercialization and is generally the product of work done in developed economies, where elements derived in a certain region come to be associated with that region in particular (Otmazgin, 2005). Popular culture is created with the intention of generating revenue, or authored for sale or performance value and tends to involve technical skill that is initially hard to reproduce. In terms of limitations on diffusion, elements of popular culture generally spread to places with access to people who are willing and capable of purchasing them. Therefore, popular culture is highly impacted by globalization and typically sees elements created in North America, Europe, or highly developed economies in East Asia, diffuse among these regions and beyond, to the extent that consumers can pay to access them. Although elements of popular culture certainly spread via contagious and relocation diffusion, hierarchical diffusion is the main avenue for popular culture to expand, thus making popular culture more accessible to previously separated populations as the process of globalization plays out and conditions favoring accelerated time-space compression are encouraged.

When it comes to addressing cultural diffusion in the context of globalization and **global capitalism**, it makes sense to assume that all elements of culture and their application have the potential to spread and take hold among new populations. However, in order to analyze which elements will be successful, it is important to understand the various challenges and limitations that they face. In general, globalized conditions create various challenges for sustaining elements of folk culture, and favor conditions that work to promote elements of popular culture (Rubenstein and Healy, 2014). Globalization generally favors standardization and promotes diffusion of cultural elements that are homogenized and can be distributed easily via highly accessible supply chains. Popular culture is promoted via advertising and marketing, and in some cases, potential adapters are presented with new elements instantaneously via telecommunications infrastructure on digital devices. This media dominance combined with the economic motivations of corporations and media conglomerates to reach and establish new markets leads to economies of scale, which in turn result in lower costs and fewer barriers to access. In contrast, elements of folk culture are reliant on specific and contextualized resources and landscapes to be sustained. They also require the willingness and dedication of a population to continue incorporating them into practice. Popular culture favors more uniform landscapes, as such conditions make it easier to generate product recognition and increase market share. As homogenized materials become more accessible, at lower costs, people in local environments are more easily able to purchase and utilize them, thus threatening previously established patterns of material consumption.

Globalization Favors Popular Culture Over Folk Culture

A quick analysis of foodways provides an example of popular culture challenging folk culture. Prior to the establishment of mass transit infrastructure, like highways, railroads, and air travel, populations consumed products that were grown and processed by local and regional actors. Therefore, the local environmental, technological systems, and labor conditions placed limitations on the types of food that certain populations could access. Farmers produced crops that could be grown in their local climates, and with limited ability to ship those products over long distances, people ate the food that could be produced nearby. A classic example of these conditions can be seen with the Von Thunen Model, which seeks to explain location and land use trends for self-sufficient urban clusters prior to industrialization (Capello, 2021). In the model, transport is done by farmers, looking to maximize profit, who produce and sell their own products in centralized city markets, transporting the products overland via carts and paths. Von Thunen theorized that such systems would develop four distinct rings of activity, spreading out from urban centers. The first ring produced products that spoiled quickly and thus needed to be brought to market as quickly as possible, such as dairy products. The next ring consisted of fuel sources and building materials, like timber, which were heavy and thus needed more effort to transport. The third ring was focused on stable crops, like wheat and corn, which could be converted into flour and stored for longer periods of time and could therefore take longer to be delivered. Finally, the fourth ring focused on livestock and meat production, as cattle and other animals could transport themselves and be herded to slaughterhouses close by markets. Beyond the fourth ring, transport costs become greater than potential market profits, and the area remained undeveloped.

The type of localized economic systems that existed during Von Thunen's time led to local and regionally produced products that were somewhat unique to their specific location. Farmers grew varietals that performed the best in their particular climates, and the types of livestock available were also environmentally dependent. Populations that lived inland did not consume seafood for example, as there was no way to transport it effectively overland. Under these conditions, transport costs were the main limiting factor. However, after the Industrial Revolution and the establishment of faster and more reliable transport infrastructure and networks, along with new technologies that worked to mechanize agriculture and better preserve food, the cost of transport decreased, as did the cost to produce food in general. Farmers in a given area would continue to specialize producing the crops that grew best locally, but now they could ship those crops over long distances to far away markets. This shift in production and distribution resulted in less local variation in foodways and meant that more and more people were consuming identical food stuffs that were less expensive due to the advantages of specialization and lowered costs of transport. It also meant that people

were able to access foods that had previously been unavailable in their local markets, leading to adaptations to new types of products.

While Von Thunen's principles can be observed today in the case of local farmers' markets, most people living in developed areas get the majority of their food via corporate networks. That is, they consume materials that are mass produced, packaged, and then distributed over great distances. Shopping at chain grocery stores is both convenient and cost effective. This is primarily due to **economies of scale.** As the scale of production or operation increases, per-unit costs are lowered making the item less expensive and more available. Consumers are therefore getting the assortment of products provided via corporations and their supply chains, rather than a set of specific localized products. Because grocery chains have become widespread and feature higher levels of standardization, like Walmart for example, populations in different areas that used to have unique products now have the like products. People migrating intraregionally, within the same country, are often presented with the same, or extremely similar food options no matter where they go. The resulting homogenization dictates the specific artifacts (food items) and sociofacts (ways of cooking these items) will be utilized over a wider range of landscapes and be adapted by populations who previously had unique foodways. Production sites and methods become standardized and specialized, and distribution and processes do as well, leading to conditions where corporations have economies of scale, and will therefore out compete and eventually replace smaller more localized competitors. In a twist, local food has now become a specialty industry, with a focus on quality, leading to higher costs and lower levels of accessibility.

Looking outward, to the international level, we can observe similar trends when it comes to the roles and statuses of various cities around the world. Research on migration shows that people generally move to larger population centers from smaller ones, and rural to urban migration is a process happening world-wide, as in-migration to cities tends to account for higher population growth than natural increase in most of the world (Becker, 2007). Globalization favors urbanization, and when it comes to creating and distributing elements of popular culture, cities drive the process. Just as we can think of developed countries leading the way in terms of cultural globalization, we can also highlight the role of cities in broad networks and schemes for transferring information and cultural elements. Cities have long been understood as the setting for the creation and implementation of new culture, especially popular culture (Kaplan and Holloway, 2014). Because popular culture diffuses hierarchically, from larger populations to smaller ones, or from more connected and more influential populations to areas with less influence, it makes sense to consider the importance of certain cities as leaders in the process of cultural globalization.

This page titled 5.2: Background - The Diffusion of Culture is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

5.3: Theories - Cultural Diffusion

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand the role of global cities in cultural diffusion
- Analyze 'McWorld' and America's role in globalization

Global Cities and the Role of Urbanization in Cultural Diffusion

When it comes to cities with major cultural influence, several factors are requisite to be at the top of the hierarchy, or in other words, to become a **global city**. A global city is a major urban center that not only plays a significant role in the global economy and serves as a hub for international business, finance, and politics, but also plays a large role in the diffusion of culture. Infrastructure is obviously a huge factor in the development of a global city, and in the contemporary era, that means being highly connected with both transportation infrastructure and also via telecommunications. Additionally, because popular culture is intrinsically linked to global capitalism, global cities need to house the drivers of culture, specifically the entities and actors who promote the distribution of cultural elements (Kaplan and Holloway, 2014). Today, three cities are generally considered to be at the top of the system, London, New York, and Tokyo.

As suggested by Kaplan and Holloway (2014), it is logical to view these three as global cities because of the breadth of activities centered in and around them. We would expect leading areas to house the headquarters of important multinational and transnational corporations and financial institutions involved in the process. Indeed, all of them are home to major financial institutions and exchanges, as well as commercial banking firms and activities, which attracts large amounts of investment from both domestic and international actors. For the individual, the economies in these three cities promote the sale and consumption of expensive and exclusive products. Finally, their populations tend to be highly educated and employed in higher order economic sectors, those that are capable of producing and distributing proprietary intellectual property. This means global cities are home to many of the actors involved in the design of important artifacts that are distributed through wider global networks, in particular consumer items such as clothing and fashion accessories (Jannson and Power, 2010). Since they are also centers of tourism, all the above factors are showcased to visitors and spread via contagious diffusion.

Culture produced in these three cities diffuses throughout the world, spreading outward first to regional centers of culture and eventually to smaller communities. These communities can also be important drivers of culture, but they are not as well connected in as many important aspects (Kaplan and Holloway, 2014). In North America for example, culture produced in New York traditionally diffuses to cities like Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Mexico City, and then to medium-sized and eventually to smaller cities. The next level after London in Europe consists of cities like Brussels, Geneva, Frankfurt, Madrid and Milan. For Tokyo in Asia, the next level would be cities such as Osaka, Seoul, Beijing, Taipei, Bangkok, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Thus, markets and urban areas constitute nodes in networks of cultural exchange, coordinating the flow of culture (Bestor, 2001). Keeping in mind that popular culture is diffused to populations that are willing and capable of purchasing it, the better the connections to and relationships among actors in this global urban network, the more likely a given population will be to participate in the process of cultural globalization. For example, someone living in Bakersfield, California, a city of approximately 400 thousand people, is well connected to larger cities like Los Angeles and beyond, has good access to new cultural elements brought in via hierarchical diffusion. Conversely, someone who lives in Tehran, Iran, a city that has over ten million inhabitants, but is isolated and lacks access to these global networks of cultural exchange, is not able to access new cultural elements to the same degree. Therefore, while all cities are affected by cultural globalization to some degree, those in highly developed regions, like North America, Western Europe, and East Asia, are much more likely to participate in cultural globalization than areas in the developing world.

"McWorld" and America's Role in Cultural Globalization

The importance of hierarchal diffusion for cultural globalization puts a handful of powerful centers of cultural in the driver's seat, and the dominance of American cultural exports within the global network of exchange has led some to equate cultural globalization with **Americanization**. This idea has often been termed as the "McWorld" model, or simply as "**McDonaldisation**,"

in reference to the U.S.-based multinational fast food corporation McDonald's (Ritzer, 1983). This concept applies to other large U.S.-based corporations as well, such as Nike, Coca-Cola, or Apple. The products and services rendered via these companies have been labeled as distinctly American in nature and have become ubiquitous throughout the developed world, and in some cases beyond. Tailoring their business models specifically for global markets has favored a trend toward hyper-standardization and predictability, regardless of the markets they enter. Adding to the view of globalization as Americanization, the United States is also a global leader in media and entertainment, as exemplified by the outsized reach of Hollywood films, along with television programing and music.

Proponents of the McWorld critique often posit that cultural globalization is mainly a one-way flow of cultural diffusion, from the U.S. outward. The logic here is based partly on the economic and geopolitical reality of U.S. global hegemony in terms of America's role in global institutions and commerce. As discussed in previous chapters, the United States holds an outsized position in a number of supranational organizations, as suggested by its permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, its role in the G20 and G8 economic groups, as well as its massive influence in NATO and various international free trade regimes. One result of this influence has been that much of the world has been made safe and accessible to U.S.-based corporations, placing them on the top of global business hierarchies and allowing them to conduct hierarchical diffusion of the cultural elements they produce, thus benefiting from the globalization of liberalization and a political economy that works in these actors' favor (Simmons and Elkins, 2004). This dominance has led to a situation where lifestyles and built environments begin to reflect the hyper-standardized products that are diffused by American-centered companies, eventually leading to cultural homogenization based on these principles. The critique further elaborates the potential for culture shock in societies that are confronted with the influx of McWorld type elements, pointing to the fact that while American culture tends to be associated with themes such as power, status and hope, it also tends to promote consumerism while at the same time glorifying violence. This new culture is attractive to young people in particular and has the potential to perpetuate cultural generation gaps as young consumers embrace the McWorld elements and older generations are either hesitant to accept them, or reject them outright.

While few doubt the massive influence of American culture abroad, populations in the United States themselves have also participated in cultural globalization as consumers of elements produced in other parts of the world. For example, diffusion of elements from East Asia, Japan in particular, have been particularly influential in North America, especially among young people (Garcia, 2013). Media from Japan and South Korea have become increasingly popular among young people in America over the past few decades, exemplified by the prevalence of film genres like Anime, and musical styles such as K-Pop (Korean pop music). Products from East Asia are also exceedingly popular in U.S. markets. Automobiles from Japan-based multinational and transnational corporations, such as Honda and Toyota, are among the highest selling passenger cars in the United States year in and year out. Gaming and e-sports, facilitated by hardware from corporations such as Sony and Nintendo, constitute a major source of recreation in the United States. American consumers have also popularized many brands and products from Europe in the realm of fashion, purchasing high-end items from companies such as Burberry, Louis Vuitton, Armani, and Prada, along with mass market fast-fashion products distributed by companies like Zara.

While the prevalence of these examples suggests that cultural globalization is more than just a one-way street that leads from the U.S. outward, the pattern of elements being produced and distributed by companies in highly developed areas does seem to hold true. American consumers are much more likely to engage with elements with origins from Europe and East Asia than from developing regions. Parts of the world like South and Southeast Asia, Latin America, and other developing areas are involved in global **supply chains**, especially in the production phase, but the supply chains themselves, along well as their distribution networks, tend to be controlled by corporations based in developed regions, which function at the top of global value chains with subsidiaries and other actors entering and competing at lower levels (Wan and Wu, 2015). In other words, artifacts may be created in the Global South, but their aesthetics reflect the cultural values of their designers from the Global North. American-based cultural elements might be the most influential and widespread, but they do not stand alone in the process. American consumers participate in cultural exchange as they adopt new elements from outside regions, as corporations covet the U.S. market due to the American population's capability of, and tendencies toward, consumption.

Another problem with the McWorld model lies in the fact that **hyper-standardization**, or the extreme standardization of products, services, or cultural elements to the point where they become uniform and lack diversity, does not always work due to fact that Western products and lifestyles may not appeal to new markets in their current form or may not be easily replicable to practice in local contexts. For cultural elements to stick in a new population, they need to be widely accepted to be worth marketing and distribution. Potential disconnects can lead to the process of **glocalization**, whereby companies adapt their products according to better fit local cultural norms. This process can be observed when analyzing the product offerings from McDonald's itself, which commonly adjusts with its menu items to conform to local tastes and expectations. For example, McDonald's has offered items such as the "Ham N' Egg Twisty Pasta" in Hong Kong, "Tomato and Mozzarella Turnovers" in Italy, the "McLobster" in Canada, and the "McRice Burger" in the Philippines, among many other examples worldwide. As for an example of glocalization among American consumers, the rise in popularity of sushi suggests a similar approach. While it is certainly possible to find authentic sushi in the United States, finding the 'real thing' outside of a major city is usually challenging. However, finding a Japanese

restaurant serving items like California rolls, a glocalized version of sushi that avoids raw fish, an ingredient that may be seen as off putting to someone raised in a traditional American diet, is typically quite easy.

This page titled 5.3: Theories - Cultural Diffusion is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

5.4: At Home and Abroad - A Hypothetical Friendship

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Project future possibilities brought by cultural globalization

New Possibilities through Cultural Globalization: A Hypothetical Friendship

After discussing the concept of cultural globalization, it is useful to discuss how it impacts everyday people. Keeping in line with the theme of this book, it is important to recognize that we are all participants in the process of cultural globalization, simply by virtue of living in a developed region. For Americans in particular, cultural globalization has made much of the world accessible today in ways that would have been unimaginable just a few decades in the past. The following hypothetical example should illustrate this point. At the time this chapter is being written in 2024, it is totally conceivable that a college student in California can have a meaningful friendship with another college student in Japan. Having met through a common online interest forum, the two people can interact in real time, using devices that clearly present their voices and faces. They can share instantaneous correspondence with each other via internet and smart phone technology. If one wants to fly from Los Angeles to Tokyo for a visit before classes start in August for the Fall term, the trip can be achieved for a price of around $900, and can be done in as little as 11 and a half hours. The costs of telecommunications do not pose a major barrier to these students' friendship, and the travel cost is probably meaningful, but not impossible to overcome.

To further this example, the two friends likely have common interests, which might include anime that diffused to the United States from Japan, and baseball which diffused from the U.S. to Japan. It is likely that both own at least one pair of blue jeans, and that both like sushi. Finally, the two friends probably communicate with one another in English, which happens to account for over half of the total content on the internet and is a commonly taught second language throughout the world. In 2024, nothing about this situation seems implausible because both the United States and Japan are technologically developed and display high levels of connectivity. A college student in California could just as likely have a similar friend from the Netherlands or Hong Kong. However, forming a friendship with someone from Bangui, Central African Republic seems a lot less likely, due to the fact that levels of development, and therefore access, in Central Africa are much lower.

Now, consider the likelihood that this friendship happened in 1980s. Not only would the two students not have the opportunity to meet in the first place, due to the lack of the internet, but they would not have even been able to talk to each other affordably. They would have had to talk via long distance land line rates, which were around $2.53 plus $0.95 for each additional minute, according to the New York Times (Rates on overseas phone calls, 1982). Doing some quick math, a 30-minute phone call would have cost $31.03. Adjusting for inflation, that 30-minute call would cost $98.11 in 2024 dollars, likely higher than someone's total telecommunications expenses for an entire month.

Conclusion

Cultural globalization is an ongoing process that is highly dependent on economic development, technology, and accessibility, but it also involves a wide array of aesthetic factors and value systems. The concept itself is highly intertwined with global capitalism and consumerism, as the particular artifacts, sociofacts, and even mentificats associated with cultural globalization are those that constitute popular culture and thus diffuse hierarchically. To this end, developed regions, and the cultural elements created there, have had an advantage when it comes to diffusion, particularly those associated with American culture. However, as levels of development continue to increase around the world, new populations will continue to be connected and thus begin participating in the exchanges necessary to further cultural globalization. Local populations also retain some agency in terms of accepting or rejecting cultural elements, according to their own unique value systems. Adaptations to cultural elements, as seen with glocalized artifacts, along with increased participation in the creation and export of popular culture by actors in non-U.S. markets, suggest that a purely American-based global monoculture, as presented in the McWorld model, is unlikely to come to fruition. While acknowledging the outsized influence of U.S.-based cultural elements promoted by the driving actors of cultural globalization is

valid, actors from other developed regions certainly have a hand in the process and as levels of development and connectivity increase, new actors will be able to take part in the process. Therefore, it is important to see cultural globalization as a dynamic process, without a specific predetermined outcome.

This page titled 5.4: At Home and Abroad - A Hypothetical Friendship is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

5.5: References

Becker, C. M. (2007). 35 Urbanization and rural–urban migration. *International handbook of development economics*.

Bestor, T. (2001). "Supply-side sushi: Commodity, market, and the global city." *American anthropologist* 103(1), 76-95.

Campanella, R. (2013). Geography of a food, or geography of a word? the curious cultural diffusion of "sagamite". *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 54(4), 465-476.

Capello, R. (2021). Classical Contributions: Von Thünen and Weber. *Handbook of Regional Science*, 61-80.

Crane, D. (2008). Globalization and cultural flows/networks. *The Sage handbook of cultural analysis*, 359-381.

Davis, J. L. (2020). *How artifacts afford: The power and politics of everyday things*. MIT Press.

Garcia, J. A. (2013). The rise in popularity of Japanese culture with American youth: Causes of the “cool Japan” phenomenon. *Japan Studies Review*, 121.

Huxley, J. S. (1955). Guest editorial: Evolution, cultural and biological. *Yearbook of anthropology*, 2-25.

Jansson, J., & Power, D. (2010). Fashioning a global city: Global city brand channels in the fashion and design industries. *Regional Studies*, 44(7), 889-904.

Jordan-Bychkov, T. G. (2005). *The Human Mosaic*. Macmillan.

Kaplan, D. H., & Holloway, S. (2014). *Urban Geography*. Wiley Global Education.

Otmazgin, N. K. (2005). Cultural commodities and regionalization in East Asia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, 27(3), 499-523.

Posner, R. (2003). Basic tasks of cultural semiotics. Semiotics, 307-353.

Rates on overseas phone calls decline. (1982, May 19). *New York Times*, C14. Retrieved on October 27, 2023 from https://www.nytimes.com/1982/05/19/garden/rates-on-overseas-phone-calls-decline.html.

Ritzer, G. (1983). "The “McDonaldization” of Society." *Journal of American Culture* 6(1), 100-107.

Rubenstein, J. M., & Healy, M. (2014). *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*. Upper Saddle River Hoboken, NJ, USA: Pearson.

Sanders, I. T. (1958). *The Community: An Introduction to a Social System*.

Sheppard, E. (2002). The spaces and times of globalization: Place, scale, networks, and positionality. *Economic geography*, 78(3), 307-330.

Simmons, B. & Elkins, Z. (2004). The globalization of liberalization: Policy diffusion in the international political economy. *American political science review* 98(1), 171-189.

Voigt-Graf, C. (2004). Towards a geography of transnational spaces: Indian transnational communities in Australia. *Global networks*, 4(1), 25-49.

Wan, Z., & Wu, B. (2017). When suppliers climb the value chain: A theory of value distribution in vertical relationships. *Management science*, 63(2), 477-496.

Weinfurt, K. P., & Moghaddam, F. M. (2001). Culture and social distance: A case study of methodological cautions. *The Journal of social psychology*, 141(1), 101-110.

This page titled 5.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

5.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Americanization**: the process by which American culture, values, and norms exert influence and become integrated into other societies and cultures, often through media, technology, and economic interactions.
- **Artifact**: an object or item created or modified by humans, often with cultural, historical, or archeological significance, that provides insight into the practices and beliefs of a particular group of people.
- **Contagious diffusion**: a type of cultural diffusion where a cultural element spreads throughout a population via direct contact with practicing individuals.
- **Cultural diffusion**: the spread of cultural elements from one group or society to another, often facilitated by communication, trade, migration, or political domination.
- **Cultural globalization**: the worldwide diffusion and integration of cultural elements, including values, behaviors, and cultural products, resulting from increased interconnectedness and communication among groups and or societies, resulting in mutually shared cultural elements.
- **Cultural hearth**: a place or region where a particular cultural element is believed to have originated.
- **Economies of scale**: the cost advantages that result from increasing the scale of production or operation, often leading to lower per-unit costs as production quantities increase.
- **Folk culture**: the traditional and locally specific customs, beliefs, practices, and material culture of a particular group or community, often rooted in rural or isolated areas.
- **Global capitalism**: an economic system characterized by private ownership, free markets, and the pursuit of profit on a global scale, often facilitated by multinational and or transnational corporations and global trade.
- **Global city**: a major urban center that plays a significant role in the global economy and serves as a hub for international business, finance, culture, and politics.
- **Glocalization**: the adaptation of global products, services, or ideas to suit local contexts, resulting in a fusion of global and local elements.
- **Hierarchical diffusion**: a type of cultural diffusion where an idea, innovation, or cultural trait spreads in a structured, top-down manner, typically from a central source to other locations, or via political dominance.
- **Hyper-standardization**: the extreme standardization of products, services, or cultural elements to the point where they become uniform and lack diversity.
- **McDonaldization**: a term coined by sociologist George Ritzer to describe the process of rationalization and standardization in modern society, often exemplified by fast-food restaurant chains like McDonald's.
- **Mentifact**: an element of culture that encompasses non-material aspects such as beliefs, values, customs, rituals, and ideologies.
- **Neoliberal governance**: a form of governance and economic policy that emphasizes free-market capitalism, deregulation, privatization, and limited government intervention in the economy.
- **Popular culture**: the cultural products, practices, and trends that are widely consumed, shared, and appreciated by a large, mainstream audience within a society or across societies.
- **Relocation diffusion**: the spread of an idea, innovation, or cultural trait through the physical movement of people from one place to another.
- **Social barriers**: obstacles or restrictions within a society that hinder or limit the interaction, integration, or participation of certain groups or individuals based on social factors such as nationality, religion, race, gender, class, or ethnicity.
- **Sociofact**: an element of culture that encompasses accepted behaviors and social practices of a group.
- **Sticky (Culturally)**: refers to cultural elements or practices that are compatible with a new culture, to which they are introduced, and are thus incorporated into said culture.
- **Supply chain**: the interconnected network of organizations, processes, and activities involved in the production, distribution, and delivery of goods and services from raw materials to end consumers.

Summaries

Section 5.1 Introduction: Culture in a Global Context

Cultural globalization emphasizes the increasing interconnectedness of people and societies due to factors such as time-space

compression and the flow of information, capital, and ideas. Social scientists often prioritize the economic and political aspects of globalization, but understanding its impact on people's daily lives is essential. Cultural globalization may be leading to the formation of a global culture, however the diversity within the human population, along with social barriers suggests that creation of a single global monoculture is not likely. Cultural elements can be understood in terms of three basic categories: artifacts (objects and traits within a technical system), sociofacts (behavioral norms guiding social interactions), and mentifacts (values, belief systems, and ways of thinking). These cultural elements can change and adapt over time and place. They originate in cultural hearths, which are starting points for cultural elements that diffuse outward.

Section 5.2 Background: The Diffusion of Culture

There are three main types of cultural diffusion: contagious diffusion, relocation diffusion, and hierarchical diffusion. Contagious diffusion involves the spread of cultural elements through interpersonal interactions, such as slang terms or fashion trends. Relocation diffusion occurs when cultural elements are brought to new areas by migrating populations, and these elements may become integrated into the wider culture if they are accepted. Hierarchical diffusion involves the spread of cultural trends from larger populations or regions to smaller ones, often driven by power dynamics or governance. Cultural elements may be broadly understood as folk culture and popular culture. Folk culture tends to be localized and transmitted through contagious and relocation diffusion. It often lacks clear originators and is shaped by local environmental factors and social norms. Popular culture, on the other hand, is associated with specific starting points and is characterized by commercialization. It spreads hierarchically and is influenced by globalization, with elements created in developed economies and distributed globally. Therefore, globalization favors popular culture over folk culture due to standardization, advertising, and media dominance. Under global capitalism, corporate networks and supply chains lead to homogenization of food products, replacing localized variations.

Section 5.3 Theories: Cultural Diffusion

Global cities play a crucial role in cultural diffusion. They feature robust infrastructure, connectivity, and the presence of entities that promote the distribution of cultural elements. Three cities, London, New York, and Tokyo, are considered top global cities due to the breadth of activities centered in and around them. These cities house multinational corporations, financial institutions, and major cultural drivers. They attract significant investment, tourism, and highly educated populations engaged in higher-order economic sectors. Culture produced in global cities diffuses globally, initially spreading to regional centers of culture and then to smaller communities. The better connected a city is within the global urban network, the more likely its population is to participate in cultural globalization. "McWorld" or "McDonaldization," where American cultural exports, driven by multinational corporations like McDonald's, are seen as dominant in global cultural diffusion. This dominance has led to concerns of cultural homogenization, with American culture being often being equated with globalization. However, cultural globalization is not solely one-way, as American consumers also adopt elements from other parts of the world, particularly from Europe and East Asia. It highlights the role of corporations based in developed regions in controlling global supply chains and distribution networks.

5.4 At Home and Abroad: A Hypothetical Friendship

Cultural globalization impacts everyday people, as illustrated by the hypothetical example of two friends in 2024, one from the United States and the other from Japan. People living in developed regions are all active participants in cultural globalization. Technological advancements, such as the internet and affordable air travel, have made it possible for individuals from different countries to form meaningful friendships and share common interests. This scenario would not have been feasible in the 1980s when communication was limited and expensive. Economic development, technology, and accessibility play crucial roles in cultural globalization. Developed regions with high connectivity, like the United States and Japan, are more likely to engage in cultural exchanges, while less developed areas, like Central Africa, may have limited participation. Cultural globalization is an ongoing process closely linked to global capitalism and consumerism. While the dominance of American culture in this process should not be overlooked, there is high potential for other regions to participate and adapt cultural elements as they continue to develop.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Global Society for Sustainable Development (Website presenting stories of individuals working toward global goals)
- Global Policy Forum, Globalization of Culture (Collection of articles and documents concerning global issues)

- National Geographic, Globalization (Resource on globalization)

Books

- Hopper, P. (2007). *Understanding cultural globalization*. Polity.
- Jensen, L. A., Arnett, J. J., & McKenzie, J. (2011). *Globalization and cultural identity*. Springer.
- Tomlinson, J. (1999). *Globalization and culture*. University of Chicago Press.

Journal Articles

- Jansson, J., & Power, D. (2010). Fashioning a global city: Global city brand channels in the fashion and design industries. *Regional Studies*, 44(7), 889-904.
- Ritzer, G. "The “McDonaldization” of Society." *Journal of American Culture* 6, no. 1 (1983): 100-107.
- Sheppard, E. (2002). The spaces and times of globalization: Place, scale, networks, and positionality. *Economic geography*, 78(3), 307-330.

Review Questions

1. What are the three basic processes of cultural diffusion mentioned in the text?
    1. Folk culture, popular culture, and global culture.
    2. Contagious diffusion, relocation diffusion, and hierarchical diffusion.
    3. Transportation, globalization, and urbanization.
    4. Global capitalism, commercialization, and mass production.
2. Which type of diffusion involves cultural elements spreading through interpersonal contact or close contact with others?
    1. Hierarchical diffusion
    2. Relocation diffusion
    3. Contagious diffusion
    4. Cultural resistance diffusion
3. What is the main difference between folk culture and popular culture in terms of diffusion?
    1. Folk culture is primarily spread through hierarchical diffusion, while popular culture is spread through relocation diffusion.
    2. Folk culture is characterized by mass production, while popular culture relies on localized production.
    3. Folk culture tends to be more localized and spreads through contagious and relocation diffusion, while popular culture is hierarchical and spreads quickly via communication networks.
    4. Folk culture originates in urban areas, while popular culture originates in rural regions.
4. Which factors are considered requisite for a city to become a “global city” with major cultural influence?
    1. Population size and natural resources
    2. Access to transportation infrastructure and telecommunications, as well as the presence of entities promoting cultural distribution
    3. Agricultural productivity and proximity to rural areas
    4. Historical significance and architectural landmarks
5. According to the McWorld model, what is the main criticism of cultural globalization?
    1. Cultural globalization mainly involves a two-way flow of cultural diffusion.
    2. Cultural globalization is synonymous with Americanization, with American culture dominating global markets.
    3. Cultural globalization primarily occurs through relocation diffusion.
    4. Cultural globalization is driven by folk culture rather than popular culture.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How do the processes of contagious diffusion, relocation diffusion, and hierarchical diffusion contribute to cultural diffusion, and how do they differ in their impact on the spread of culture?
2. What are the key distinctions between folk culture and popular culture in terms of their origins, diffusion patterns, and impacts in the context of globalization and cultural homogenization? How has globalization favored one over the other, and what are the consequences of this favoritism for cultural diversity worldwide?
3. How do global cities play a pivotal role in the process of cultural globalization, and what specific factors make cities

like London, New York, and Tokyo central to the diffusion of cultural elements on a global scale?
4. In the context of cultural globalization, what are the potential advantages and disadvantages of hyper-standardization, as exemplified by American-based multinational corporations, and how does the concept of glocalization address the challenges of adapting cultural elements to local contexts?

This page titled 5.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

6: GLOBAL INEQUALITY

6.1: Introduction to Global Inequality
6.2: Background - What Does Global Inequality Look Like?
6.3: Theories and Concepts - Contemporary Drivers of Global Inequality
6.4: At Home and Abroad - If Globalization is the Answer, then Why are So Many People Still Poor?
6.5: References
6.6: Student Resources

This page titled 6: Global Inequality is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

6.1: Introduction to Global Inequality

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define and understand global inequality
- Understand the three levels of global poverty

Introduction

When scholars discuss inequality, they often focus on economic inequality. Of course, other inequalities exist and many international institutions rightfully focus on them. These include gender inequality, political inequality, as well as educational inequality and health inequality. While these types of inequality are important, this chapter will primarily focus on economic measures of inequality, followed by a discussion of the political drivers of this inequality. **Economic inequality** is defined as the unequal distribution of income and opportunities among various groups within society. More specifically, economic inequality is measured by using the distribution of income and the distribution of wealth. **Income** is the measurement of one's earnings from a job, self-employment/business, savings, investments, social programs (e.g., social security), and many other sources. On the other hand, **wealth** is the value of accumulated assets of an individual or a family over a certain time period.

The challenges related to global inequality are not novel, and one does not necessitate being a political scientist or economist to recognize them. According to the United Nations, approximately 71 percent of the world's population resides in countries where inequality has surged in recent years. For example, the 2022 World Inequality Report highlights the dire state of global disparities, particularly in economic indicators, with no signs of improvement. Instead, the discrepancies among various groups resemble those witnessed in the early Twentieth Century during the peak of Western Imperialism. Furthermore, the COVID-19 global pandemic exacerbated these inequalities, disproportionately affecting individuals in lower socio-economic strata.

One of the most often used measures of global economic inequality is that of poverty. **Poverty** is defined as a condition characterized by a lack of material possessions or basic human needs, such as food, shelter, clothing, and access to education and healthcare. The World Bank (2023) categorizes global inequality through the use of three levels. These three levels include extreme or absolute poverty, moderate poverty, and relative poverty. Extreme poverty is defined as individuals living on less than $2.15 a day. In 2019, 648 million people were living under this condition, or about double the population of the United States. Extreme poverty means that households are unable to fulfill fundamental requirements for survival. They endure chronic hunger, lack access to healthcare, safe drinking water, and sanitation facilities, cannot afford education for their children, and may lack even rudimentary shelter—a roof to shield their home from rain—and basic clothing, such as shoes. Extreme poverty can be aptly described as "the poverty that kills." Additionally, about 26 percent of the world, or a little over 2 billion people, live in moderate poverty, which is defined as living between $2.15 and $5.50 per day.

Unlike the other two that focus on a defined global norm, relative poverty is defined by a household income level below a given proportion of the national average. This means that relative poverty is predicated on the economic situation of each given county. For example, in the U.S., the federal poverty line for a family of four in 2024 is $31,200. This number is quite a bit higher than the measure of poverty used by the World Bank. When assessing relative poverty, the cost of living in each country is considered.

Levels of Poverty (World Bank)

Level of Poverty	Definition	Global Numbers
Extreme Poverty	Individuals living on less than $2.15 a day	648 million
Moderate Poverty	Individuals living between $2.15 and $5.50 per day	Little over 2 billion
Relative Poverty	Characterized by a household income falling below a certain proportion of the national average	Varies by country

Level of Poverty	Definition	Global Numbers

Figure 6.1.1: Table showing the three levels of poverty along with their definitions. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; self-made)

Is Global Inequality Increasing or Decreasing?

Global inequality is defined as the disproportionate distribution of resources, opportunities, and power that shape well-being among people across the globe (Oxfam America, 2022). Put differently, global inequality is one way of understanding the different lived experiences of individuals regardless of their location. Without having an in-depth knowledge about the socio-political and economic conditions of countries, one may still be able to identify the nominal differences between the United States and Ghana or Japan and El Salvador in respect to economic inequality. The academic research that examines global inequality, such as the GINI Index, the Human Development Index, and the Global Happiness Index, are described in 6.2: What Does Global Inequality Look Like?

When analyzing global patterns of economic inequality, Ritzer and Dean (2021) argue it can be approached from three distinct frameworks: examining inequality within individual countries, comparing inequality across nations worldwide, and assessing disparities between affluent and impoverished individuals globally. One notable trend is that economic inequality within most countries is increasing. However, this does not mean that global inequality is omnipresent, as the overall issue is more nuanced than such a simple comment can truly capture. For example, though inequalities between wealthy and impoverished individuals worldwide has dramatically increased, inequality across nations is shrinking due to the expanding global middle class. These differences in global inequality help provide some context in why some might say that globalization succeeding, whereas others might say it has been harmful or detrimental to their society.

What explains this overall decline in global inequality across countries? One explanation is that many countries are seeing a convergence in terms of average incomes. For example, the middle class in China has grown from 3.1 percent of the population in 2000 to 50.8 percent of the population in 2018 (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2021). To put this in a numbers perspective, China's middle class went from approximately 39.1 million to 707 million people. Again, even with this growth, it is crucial to emphasize that global inequality remains markedly high. For instance, in 2022, the richest 10 percent of the global population, earned 52 percent of the entire global income, whereas, the poorest half of the global population made only 8 percent of the world's income.

The rise in within-country inequality and the decline in inequality across nations may at first glance look paradoxical. One could assume that inequality should rise or fall equally across the globe. However, it is crucial to understand that as countries, such as China, South Korea and Singapore industrialized, national income and income per capita for their citizens upsurged. Through industrialization, previously emerging economies fostered the growth of their middle class. Notably, in 2024, the top 20 fastest-growing economies were situated in the Global South, where they outpaced the growth rates of the Global North. The most notable fastest growing country on the list provided by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is India. As India accelerates its industrialization, if just a fraction of its massive population of 1.4 billion people moves into the middle class, global inequality will transform even more.

Nevertheless, our assessments of global inequality undergo a shift when we examine the disparities between affluent and impoverished individuals worldwide. Since 1980, global inequality among individuals is on the rise. Despite significant economic growth over the past four decades, the wealthiest 1 percent have disproportionately garnered these benefits, outpacing the gains of the bottom 50 percent at a ratio of two to one. The top 1 percent has expanded their share of global income from 16 percent in 1980 to 20 percent in 2020, while the bottom 50 percent has consistently hovered around 9 percent of the world's income. In the past, many of these wealthy lived in the Global North. Recently, a greater proportion of these top earners hail from nations in the Global South. Although income is being more widely distributed globally, an increasing portion gravitates towards individuals who are already affluent. In essence, the affluent are amassing greater wealth, while the impoverished remain relatively stagnant in their economic standing.

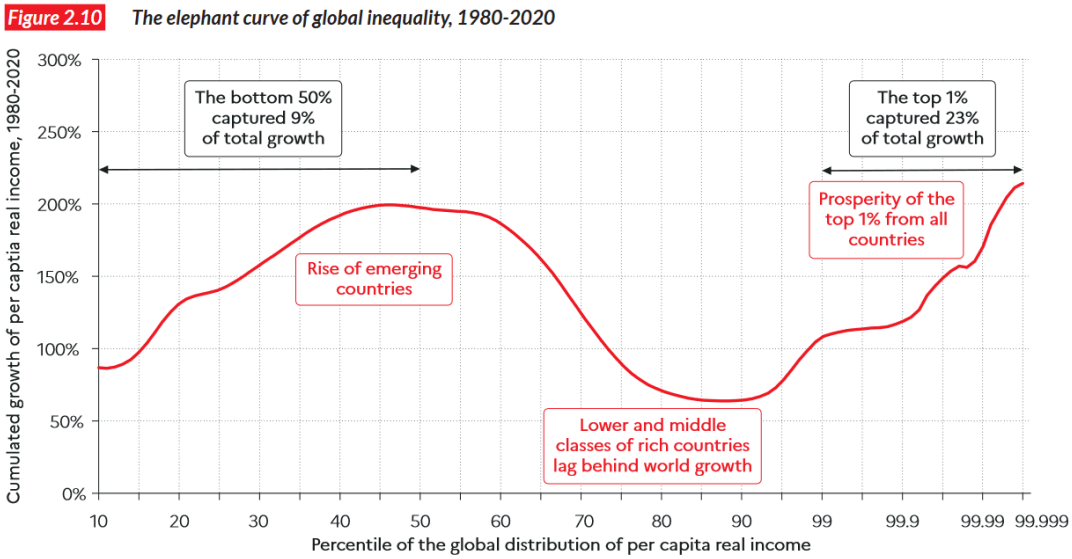


Figure 6.1.2: This curve illustrates how the bottom 50 percent of the world experience significant economic growth. Whereas the lower and middle classes in wealthier countries have seen decreased economic growth. However, the top 1 percent of the global population has captured the lion's share of the economic growth in the past forty years. (The Elephant Curve of Global Inequality, 1980-2020 by World Inequality Report 2022 is licensed under CC BY 4.0)

This page titled 6.1: Introduction to Global Inequality is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

6.2: Background - What Does Global Inequality Look Like?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand various measures of global inequality
- Compare the various indices of global inequality

Introduction

In the discussion on the topic of global inequality, the issue of economic inequality often gets the utmost attention, given the fact that it is one of the most strikingly visible dimensions of global inequality. Economic inequity deals with the unequal distribution of financial resources, and the two primary measurements are income and wealth, which were defined in Section 6.1. Needless to say, these two economic indicators are intimately related to each other. Individuals who earn more than what is necessary to meet basic needs are more likely to be able to save and invest their discretionary income as opposed to people who are living paycheck-to-paycheck. It is also possible to have wealth without having a job if an individual has inherited generational wealth or their wealth is generating income by way of investment.

In the simplest terms, income and wealth inequality are measured by the distribution of income or wealth across a given population. For example, a researcher can divide the income groups into upper-, middle-, and lower-income groups and compare the aggregated income of each group. With this type of measurement, it has been shown that in the United States a greater aggregate of income is going to the upper-income groups while the share of income amongst the other two groups are shrinking. This is an indication that income inequality in the United States is increasing. Another way of measuring income inequality is to use the 90/10 ratio — the ratio of the income needed to place among the top 10 percent of earners in the U.S. to the income at the threshold of the bottom 10 percent of earners (PEW).

According to the United Nations, income inequality has seen some improvement in the last 25 years. Due to the robust economic growth of China and other emerging economies, the gap between countries, in general, is shrinking. However, a substantial gap still does exist. For example, the gap between the average income earner of North America and sub-Saharan Africa is 16 to 1. More importantly, the income gap within countries has grown. 71 percent of the world's population has experienced a growing economic gap between themselves and their fellow countrymen. This is especially important because inequality within countries is the inequality that individuals feel on a day-to-day basis. These increases in income inequalities are observed mostly in the Global North and some middle-income countries. While income increases in the Global South have contributed to the decline of inequalities between countries, domestically, they have experienced a growth in income inequality.

GINI Index

Similarly, wealth inequality is measured by assessing the degree of inequality in the distribution of wealth. Perhaps the most often used measurement of wealth inequality is the GINI coefficient. The **GINI index** assesses income inequality in nations by analyzing how income is distributed among their populations. It is a statistical measure that quantifies the degree to which the distribution of income or consumption among individuals or households within an economy diverges from perfect equality. It is a widely used measure to assess the level of income inequality within a society. The GINI coefficient is a statistical measure of income inequality in a population that ranges from 0 (indicating absolute income equality) to 100 (indicating a perfectly unequal income distribution). Simply put, the higher the GINI index score, the more unequal a given country is in terms of income distribution. Amongst the G7 countries, the United States has the highest level of inequality at 0.434 in the GINI Coefficient measure in 2017.

It is critical to address the issue of disproportionate income distribution since it affects the country's ability to economically grow and sustain such growth. The existing research identified an inverse relationship between income inequality, measured by the GINI coefficient, and its economic growth and sustainability. It means that a country with a wider income spread (i.e., high inequality) experiences lower economic growth. Also, it has been reported that an increase in the income of the top 20 percent actually could lead to the lowering of the GDP of a given country. This challenges the idea that the economic growth of the high-

income learner “trickles down” to the low-income earner.

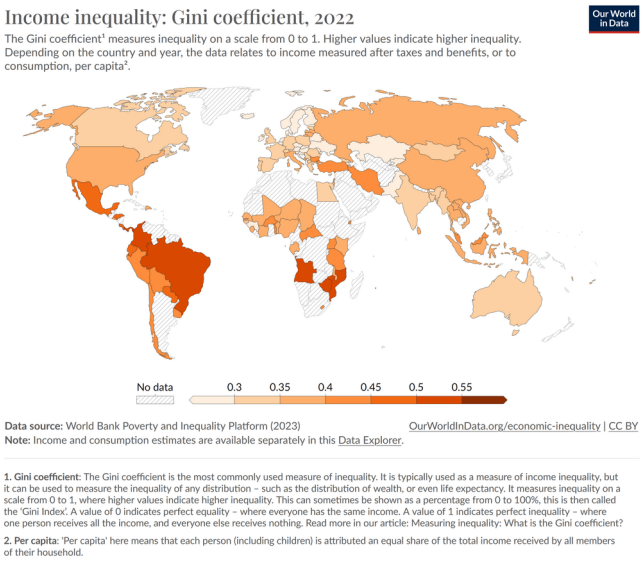


Figure 6.2.1: Income inequality: Gini coefficient, 2022. The Gini coefficient measures inequality on a scale from 0 to 1. Higher values indicate higher inequality. Depending on the country and year, the data relates to income measured after taxes and benefits, or to consumption, per capita. (Gini Coefficient: World Bank by Our World in Data is licensed under CC BY 4.0 Deed)

Human Development Index

In addition to the GINI Index, we can measure the living condition of various countries by the **Human Development Index (HDI)**. HDI is a metric which provides a summary of the average achievement in essential aspects of human development: longevity and health, knowledge, and a decent standard of living. HDI was created to underscore the notion that evaluating a country's development should prioritize people and their abilities, rather than focusing solely on economic expansion. As such, this measurement combines economic indicators with educational and health indicators. The economic indicator is based on **gross national income (GNI)** per capita. GNI per capita is a measure of the average income earned by individuals in a country in a given year. It is calculated by dividing the country's total GNI by its population. GNI per capita provides insight into the economic well-being of the citizens of a country on average. The health indicator is measured by the life-expectancy at birth, which means how long a particular newborn baby is likely to live. The education dimension is constructed by two key metrics: the average years of schooling for adults aged 25 and older, and the anticipated years of schooling for children at the age of school entry. The HDI serves as a tool for questioning national policy decisions, and can prompt inquiries into why two countries with similar levels of GNI per capita might yield different human development outcomes. Such disparities can spark discussions regarding government policy priorities.

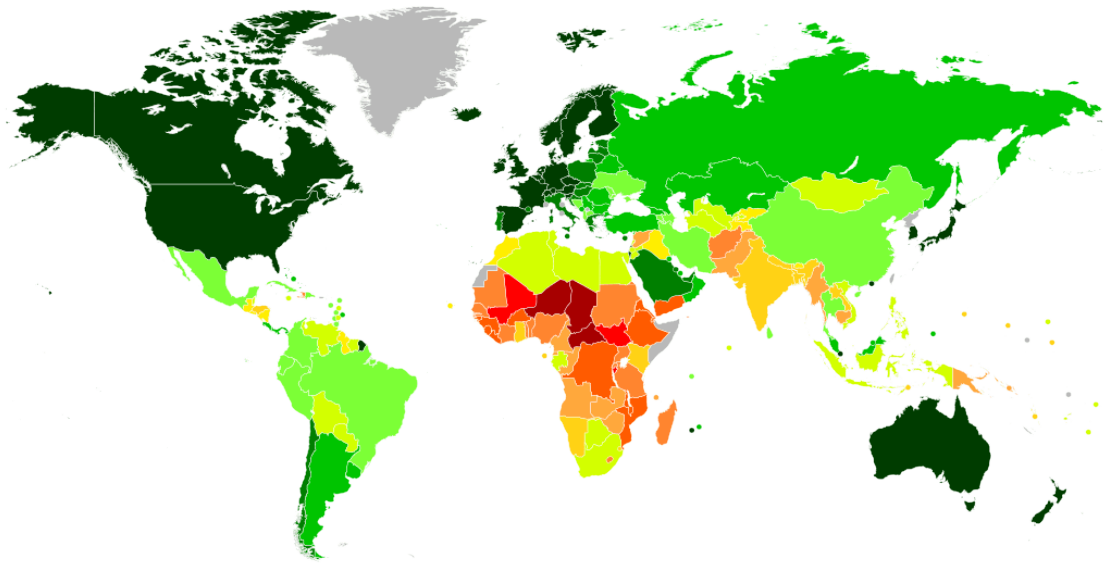


Figure 6.2.2: A colored map showing countries and territories by Human Development Index, based on 2019 data from the 2020 Human Development Report. Dark green indicates highest levels of human development, whereas darker red indicates lower levels of human development. (Wikimedia Commons by JackintheBox is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0 Deed)

Global Happiness Index

The Global Happiness Index can be used as an alternative way to examine the state of the world in terms of various living conditions. The **Global Happiness Index**, also known as the World Happiness Report, is a measure of subjective well-being and happiness among countries around the world and is based on survey data. It assesses various factors contributing to happiness, such as income, social support, life expectancy, freedom to make life choices, generosity, and perceptions of corruption. The index aims to provide insights into the overall well-being and quality of life experienced by people in different nations. Just like the Human Development Index, this scale includes measures that capture the living conditions and experiences of the ordinary people in a given country in order to add much needed context to its report.

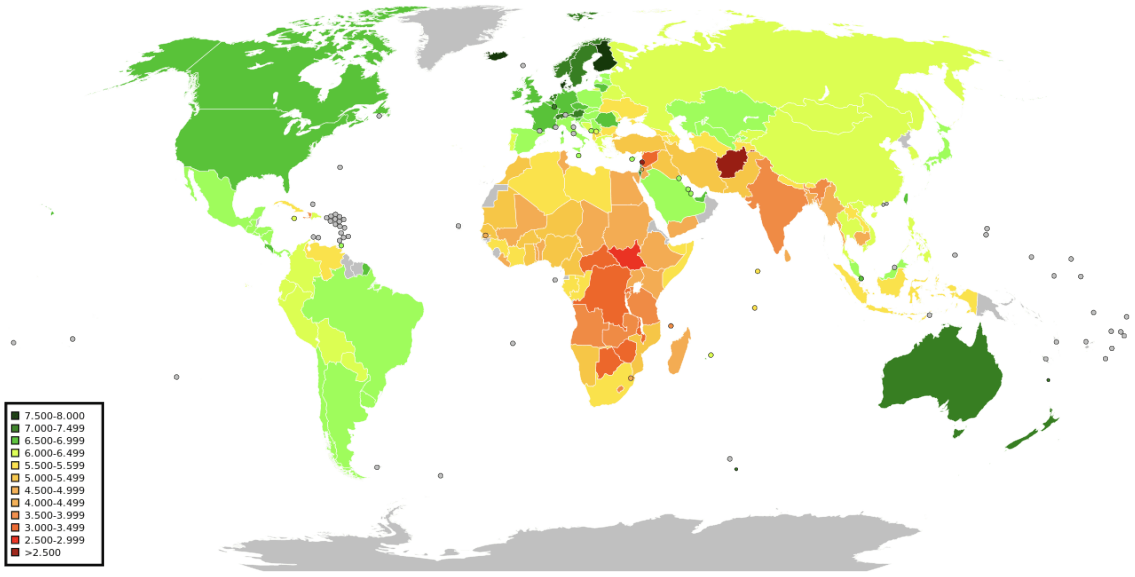


Figure 6.2.3: A color coded map of the world levels of happiness as measured by the World Happiness Index (2023). Dark green indicates highest levels of happiness, whereas darker red indicates lower levels of happiness. (Wikimedia Commons by Mapsarecool123 is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0 Deed)

This page titled 6.2: Background - What Does Global Inequality Look Like? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

6.3: Theories and Concepts - Contemporary Drivers of Global Inequality

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand contemporary drivers of global inequality
- Analyze how neoliberal policies have driven contemporary global inequality
- Understand the impact of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in debt-ridden countries
- Examine the effects of austerity measures in the European Union

Introduction

What drives global inequality in the contemporary era? While much of today's global inequality can be attributed to the direct effects of colonialism, there are a number of recent factors that have either reinforced or exacerbated that inequality. These are the direct consequences of certain neoliberal policies, particularly those of Structural Adjustment Programs of the 1980s and 1990s; and the spread of technological advancements throughout the Global South. The first driver has its roots in what is referred to as political economy. **Political economy** is a subfield of political science that considers various economic theories (like capitalism or socialism), effect the practices and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system. In its simplest form, political economy is the study of the relationship between the market and powerful actors, such as a country's government (Bozonelos, et. al, 2022).

Political economy can help us understand the causes of and possible solutions for the issue of domestic and global inequality. In the simplest terms, asymmetrically/disproportionately distributed political and economic power affects inequality both domestically and globally. More generally speaking, the rules of economic activities are set by the political world. When one can shape the rules of the game to their advantage, it is very likely that those who set the rule will gain disproportionately more than those who had no say in setting the rule. While the discussion on the topic of global inequality is dominated by the economic issues, it is critical to simultaneously examine the political world as well. While some political and economic factors have contributed to the betterment of global economic conditions in general, they have also contributed to the widening of global inequality. The following examples will illustrate how this works.

Neoliberal Policies: The Lingering Effects of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) & Austerity Measures

As discussed in Chapter Three, neoliberalism embraces market-orientated practices that are focused on economic development. It takes the classical liberal arguments of private property, legal enforcement of contracts and the 'invisible hand' of the market along with the principles of free market capitalism within a country and makes them global. Through identified policy proposals, including "deregulation (of the economy), liberalization (of trade and industry) and privatization (of state-owned enterprises)", this D-L-P formula was promoted worldwide by leading international economic institutions (Steger and Roy, 2021).

For example, in the 1980s dozens of developing countries faced serious debt burdens, to the point where many of them feared bankruptcy and the collapse of their financial systems. These countries, such as Mexico, turned to international institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, for loans that could stabilize their economies. The IMF and the World Bank, also backed by the United States, provided these loans with stipulations and conditions that these loan-receiving countries embrace neoliberal policies. The desire was for them to structurally adjust their economies to prevent reoccurring debt crises, which at the time was seen as a major threat to the global economy. This is referred to as the **Washington Consensus**, where countries were expected to embrace free market systems and reduce state involvement in their economies as the solution to financial challenges.

One of the primary policy tools recommended through the Washington Consensus was the use of **Structural Adjustment Programs** (SAPs). SAPs refer to comprehensive economic programs that major international lenders, such as the IMF and the

World Bank, require as a condition for granting loans. SAPs mandate economic liberalization to facilitate market functioning and increase openness to foreign investment. The programs also require the loan-seeking countries to dramatically shift financial resources to address the balance of payment issues. Overall SAPs did not have the intended effect as promised by the Washington Consensus. Often the programs resulted in either negligible or in some cases, negative impacts on the economies and societies of the loan-recipient countries. Indeed, one of the major consequences of SAPs involved the dramatic reduction of social spending. The IMF and the World Bank demanded that countries shift their financial resources from these programs as a means of stabilizing their economies. The idea was that countries needed to get their spending under control and begin to pay down their debt. While this approach may have helped avert an economic collapse, the costs were borne by the most vulnerable segments of the society. Governments slashed spending on areas like healthcare, education, subsidies on food and energy, and police forces.

Additionally, governments were expected to implement policies that reformed their economies. These included deregulating their economies to allow for foreign competition, such as allowing for foreign hotel companies to operate within their borders. It also involved the privatization of state-owned sectors of the economy, such as oil and natural gas, fisheries, transportation, and communications. While these macroeconomic structural shifts prevented the collapse of the economic system, it was not without consequences. One major consequence involved the weakening of labor protections, including safe working environments, guaranteed retirement benefits, protected contract and collective bargaining rights, and workers' compensation protections. Furthermore, increased foreign competition negatively impacted local employment patterns by displacing local industries. In sum, the compound effect of these structural changes contributed to the general instability of the national economy. Additionally, the deregulation of a country's natural resources industry unintentionally damaged the environment, both locally and transnationally.

The IMF and the World Bank approached these economic crises with an SAP "cookie-cutter" template. They did not account for the socio-political and cultural factors in the implementation process. For example, many major structural changes disproportionally affected the most vulnerable populations. Economic volatility often led to dramatic price swings in basic necessities, such as food and energy. Due to the stipulations of the SAPs, governments were limited in their ability to respond to these disruptions. Often, policy choices were significantly narrowed or often prescribed or dictated by the loan conditions. Consequently, the worsening economic conditions brought on by SAP policies encouraged mass migration in the Twentieth Century. Many of the these economic migrants left their home in search of a better life, including job opportunities, access to education, and for general financial stability.

Rippling Effects of Neoliberalism: Austerity Measures in Europe in the 2010s

Similar to SAPs were the austerity measures imposed on member-states of the European Union (EU) in the 2010s. **Austerity** occurs when a country implements a wide range of economic reforms to balance a country's budget or meet certain debt ratios. These reforms center on major reductions in government social spending. Austerity has its roots in the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, often referred to as the Great Recession in the United States. A number of EU countries, including Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain found themselves unable to pay back their sovereign debts and were in danger of defaulting. **Sovereign debt** is the accumulated amount of money that a country's government has borrowed and has yet to pay back. These governments accepted bailouts from the IMF, the EU, and the European Central Bank (ECB), to prevent delinquencies in payments and/or defaults.

Unlike SAPs which primarily affected countries in the Global South, austerity measures impacted countries in the Global North. However, the effects were quite similar. Austerity measures led to a dramatic drop in the standard of living for a number of the affected countries. The adoption of neoliberal reforms as conditions of the bailouts severely weakened pre-existing social protections. Pensions were reduced, spending on health care dried up and many citizens, especially in Spain, defaulted on their mortgages. The public sector shrank, leading to economic contractions that created the conditions for hundreds of thousands of educated citizens to emigrate to other EU countries. In this way, EU austerity mirrored the experiences of SAPs in the Global South. Governments were restricted in responding to public demands and had little control over internal economic policies.

A good example is in Greece where the European debt crisis was most severe. The size of the Greek economy in 2008 shrank by as much as 25.9 percent. Greece's relative living standards peaked at 85.4 percent of the EU average in 2009 and plummeted to 64.9 percent in 2016 – a level unseen since the early 1960s! Greece experienced an economic crisis on the scale of the U.S. Depression of the 1930s. Unemployment reached as high as 28 percent, the youth unemployment rate was as high as 60 percent and 45 percent of pensioners received monthly payments below the EU poverty line, which was €665 a month. From 2008-2013, Greeks became on average 40 percent poorer and one out of five Greeks experienced severe material deprivation. The industrial sector of country collapsed. As the Greek government had adopted the Euro as it currency, economic officials were unable to devalue their currency, which could have made Greek exports cheaper. Interest rates and currency printing are controlled by the European Central Bank (ECB), which tends to serve the interests of the larger economies. In addition, tourism, a

major segment of the Greek economy, also suffered during the Global Financial Crisis as people were financially unable to travel for leisure. Many Greeks returned to the fields/orchards for work, on lands inherited from their parent or grandparents.

The Greek government accepted three rounds of bailouts from the IMF, the EU, and the European Central Bank to stabilize their economy: €110bn in 2010; €109bn in 2011; and €86bn in 2015. The bailout consisted of some of the most intense austerity measures ever imposed as Greece had to achieve budget cuts of €30bn over three years. The goal of austerity was to cut Greece's public deficit to less than 3 percent of GDP. Each round of bailouts came with new austerity measures. Active and retired public sector workers bore the brunt of the budget cuts. Since Greece could not devalue its currency, the main solution was to engineer an export-led recovery through 'internal devaluation'. This is a policy-driven compression of wages via labor market deregulation, including a drastic cut in the minimum wage. Essentially, Greek exports were made cheaper by cutting the wages of Greek workers. This in turn made the Greek depression worse. In the short-run, austerity hurt more than it helped. However, some would argue that these cuts set up the Greek economy to rebound and it is currently in a growth stage, with forecasts predicting that 2024 will bring it back to pre-crisis levels.

This page titled 6.3: Theories and Concepts - Contemporary Drivers of Global Inequality is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

6.4: At Home and Abroad - If Globalization is the Answer, then Why are So Many People Still Poor?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Analyze how outsourcing has impacted both wealthier and poorer countries.
- Understand how technology has potentially exacerbated global inequality.
- Use t-shirt production as an illustration.

Introduction

If globalization is the answer, then why are so many people poor? A good answer might be that while there has been an increase in global wealth, it has largely been concentrated amongst the top income earners, something that was touched upon in the beginning of this chapter. For example, economists have traditionally used the 80/20 rule, or the Pareto Principle, where 20 percent of countries control 80 percent of global income. Conversely, 80 percent of countries owned 20 percent of global income. Globalization has shifted this understanding. In 2023, the World Inequality Database reports that the top 10 percent control nearly three-quarters of the world's wealth, while half of the global population has little to no wealth at all. While income and wealth are different, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the picture is still quite clear - that a large proportion of income and wealth are in the hands of a global few. According to the Brookings Institute, the already-high level of inequality is likely to persist or, worse, increase without some kind of responsive policy intervention. This type of intervention often includes taxing wealth, with the most prominent being the **inheritance tax**, which is defined as the tax someone pays on assets inherited from a deceased person, such as a relative.

So why is this case? Why is most income and wealth production going to just a small percentage? Why isn't wealth more evenly distributed? The simple answer is that wealth is needed to create more wealth, particularly if countries want to develop and grow economically. Since wealthier countries have more resources to invest, they benefit the most from these investments. For example, companies in wealthier countries **outsource** their labor through foreign direct investment, or in other words, move manufacturing to countries with cheaper labor costs in order to save money. This comes in the form of factories in those less developed economies that produce the items that were once made in the corporation's home country. This scenario is popular in countries that have adopted strong neoliberal policies, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. China has been the biggest beneficiary of outsourced production, though other countries, such as India, Mexico, Brazil, Poland, and Vietnam, have also profited as well.

While outsourcing can benefit low-wage workers in those countries by bringing in marginally higher-paying jobs, as well as consumers through a reduction in production costs that are sometimes reflected in pricing, there are clear winners and losers. The winner is the transnational corporation, which absorb the majority of the productivity gains from moving manufacturing overseas. Not only do they save on salaries, but other costs savings can also include not having to comply with environmental and labor laws, such as waste management, or provide healthcare and retirement benefits. Another cost savings that has been widely criticized are those related to workplace safety. There have been a number of highly publicized accidents and catastrophes involving low wage factory workers, such as the Dhaka garment factory fire in 2012, which led to the deaths of at least 117 people. Indeed, the clear loser in outsourcing is the industrial working class, both those in the home country and abroad. Workers who see their jobs outsourced often barely earned a **living wage**, what one must earn to cover the cost of their family's essential basic needs, and so the outsourcing of their jobs can leave them, and their families, at financial risk.

Has Technology Exacerbated Global Inequality?

While there is no doubt that advancements in technology have led to positive developments within societies, such as advances in life-saving medical care, there have also been some serious drawbacks. Some of the positive developments can be seen everyday. For example, the dramatic increase in access to information across the world is only possible by expanding access to the Internet. As you can see in your own classroom, students and faculty can readily access much more information than what was available 30

years ago (you are probably reading this textbook on the internet right now). Indeed, most people did not have an email address until the late 1990s and early 2000s. In fact, the United Nations has suggested that access to the Internet should be a human right, and should not be denied to anyone. Internet sophistication has impacted many areas of life. For example, grocery shopping has become much more convenient moving online. Many people, especially in the developed world, relied on online groceries when in isolation during the COVID-19 pandemic. Others have used the internet and particularly social media, entrepreneurially, where they have monetized their actions. For example, some people stream their video game playing online, whereas others have become Instagram influencers. Simply put, advanced information technology has created more economic opportunities for individuals.

Yet, even though many technological advancements should rightly be celebrated, they have also contributed greatly to labor income inequality. For example, new technologies, such as automation, have reduced or eliminated many low-skilled and unskilled labor positions. While automation in a given production sector can require large initial investments upfront, the long-term cost savings are often worth it to the companies and their investors. Robots and automated machines speed up the production process, resulting in more efficient productivity. However, automated production is often owned by transnational corporations, who are often unwilling to share their technology. In addition, local firms where production is now located have not benefited from **technology transfer**, or the process of transferring results from scientific and technological research to the marketplace and broader society, including the related skills and procedures. If anything, these firms have become less competitive while society has become more reliant on those industries. It has given transnational corporations immense power in certain countries, at times eclipsing that of the government itself. A good example is in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the foreign mining companies that employ local Congolese to mine for cobalt, are far more powerful than local government, whose officials are often bribed to look the other way. In short, technological advancement may inadvertently exclude countries and people, who are already disproportionally experiencing the consequences of global inequality, from economic opportunities.

Improvements in telecommunications and transportation infrastructure are another area that can effect global inequality. Once the purview of larger transnational corporations, medium and small size enterprises have also been able to take advantage of these improvements to seek overseas production and investment opportunities. That souvenir t-shirt that you bought on vacation from the small gift shop was probably made in Vietnam, and made a larger profit for the owners of that shop than if they had used local services. In addition, ordinary people can even avoid physical shops and purchase goods and services globally. For example, many Americans order products from Amazon, an American company, but receive the ordered items from China directly to their door. **Digitization**, or the process of converting information into a digital format is another technology that has dramatically impacted commerce. Money can now be transferred instantly between people, utilizing services such as Venmo, whereas before it would require the services of a bank teller. Prescription orders can be filled out in a phone application and patients have the option of having their medications shipped directly to their home, directly bypassing the need to talk to a pharmacist. All of this can serve to expedite services for consumers. However, there can also be negative impacts. Think about self-checkout lines at a grocery store. Instead of hiring five to six employees to staff the checkout lines, supermarkets now just need one person to help customers when they need it. Similar self-service systems have been implemented in fast food restaurants, parking garages, libraries, and even in our educational institutions. As a result of technological advancement, automation, and digitalization of services, a profound income gap between high-skilled and low-skilled workers has been created. This trend holds true even when a country is experiencing a rise in the number of highly educated and trained workers. While technology might make out lives easier, it can have the unintended consequence of widening the gap of income inequality.

Why is Your T-Shirt Produced Overseas?

A good example of the interconnectedness of global labor is t-shirt production. Many of the t-shirts sold in the U.S. are made in China (and in other countries, such as Vietnam and Bangladesh), where labor costs much lower. In her book, *The Travels of a T-Shirt in the Global Economy*, Rivoli (2005) notes that countries such as China are competitive as they embrace a '**race to the bottom**' in terms of manufacturing costs. This strategy involves prioritizing their competitive advantage, often by lowering manufacturing costs at the expense of product quality or sound economic decision-making. This may involve government deregulation of certain economic sectors, usually by foregoing labor protection, both in salary and safety.

Rivoli points out that the cotton used to produce the t-shirts in China comes from the northern Texas city of Lubbock. On the surface, this sounds illogical. Cotton is produced in Texas, then shipped on large containers to China. Then, the cotton is used to produce t-shirts in Chinese factories, which are then transported back to the U.S. in large oceangoing vessels. How is this possible? How can material be shipped halfway around the world, processed into a product in a foreign factory, and then shipped back to American markets and still be cheaper than producing them at home?? There are two explanations. First, is the steep decrease in wages paid to manufacturer workers in developing economies. For example, the minimum wage in Bangladesh is $114 a month, whereas the average salary is $245 a month. In the United States, the minimum wage is $1,218 a month, whereas U.S. monthly earnings stood at $4,802. While living costs are dramatically lower in Bangladesh in comparison to the U.S., thus in

a way justifying these lower wages, in the end it still represents a cost savings for the t-shirt manufacturers.

The second explanation provided by Rivoli is that U.S. cotton is competitively cheap due to **subsidies** that are poured into the cotton industry. Subsidies are a form of financial aid provided by a government so that the cost of production is offset, resulting in a competitive price for the goods/services produced. Subsides are inherently a political tool that interfere with market competition. In the case of cotton, the subsidies are so generous that U.S. cotton prices out-compete countries with much lower labor costs. Thus, a policy decision was made here to protect cotton growers in Texas, usually through interest group lobbying of the U.S. Congress. However, t-shirt industries in the United States were negatively affected by the outsourced labor used to produce the final product.

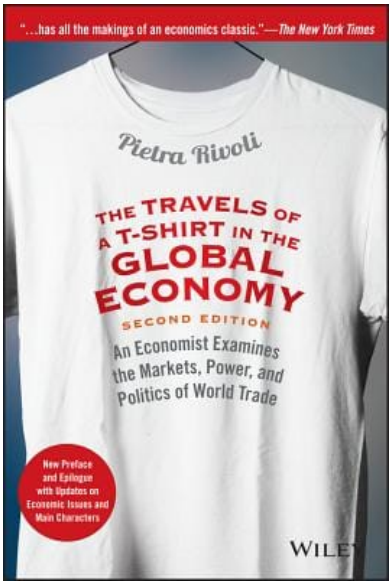


Figure 6.4.1: Book cover of The Travels of a T-Shirt in the Global Economy: An Economist Examines the Markets, Power, and Politics of World Trade, by Pietra Rivoli. (Source: Rivoli, P. (2014). The Travels of a T-Shirt in the Global Economy: An Economist Examines the Markets, Power, and Politics of World Trade. Wiley.)

This movement of the manufacturing process has provided millions of jobs in China, helping to lift hundreds of millions out of poverty. Yet, the areas where many of the factories are located suffer from negative environmental impacts, as part of the lower costs of production involve much looser environmental regulations. In sum, U.S. taxes subsidize cotton which lowers its cost. This lower cost allows clothing companies to export the cotton and shift more production to overseas factories, thereby allowing for even cheaper t-shirt manufacturing. The proceeds of these cheaper t-shirts pay the lower salaries of factory workers in China, who are paid less than similar workers in the United States. The American consumer benefits, the clothing company benefits, but the American worker is out of a job and the Chinese worker will most likely face poor working conditions. Going back to how this section started, the affluent become more affluent, and those on the bottom of the economic pyramid remain stagnant.

This page titled 6.4: At Home and Abroad - If Globalization is the Answer, then Why are So Many People Still Poor? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

6.5: References

Bozonelos, D. et. al. (2022). *Introduction to Comparative Politics and Government*. LibreTexts.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (2023). *Annual Report*. https://ceipfiles.s3.amazonaws.com/p...port_final.pdf

Center for Strategic and International Studies. (2021). "How Well off is China's Middle Class?" https://chinapower.csis.org/china-middle-class/

Oxfam America. (2022). "What is Global Inequality?" https://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/stories/what-is-global-inequality/

Ritzer, G. and Dean, P. (2021) *Globalization: A Basic Text, 3rd Edition*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Rivoli, P. (2005). *The Travels of a T-Shirt in the Global Economy: An Economist Examines the Markets, Power, and Politics of World Trade*. John Wiley and Sons.

Steger, M. and Roy, R. (2021). *Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.

World Bank. (2023). "Inequality and Shared Prosperity." https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/isp/overview

World Inequality Lab. (2022). *World Inequality Report*. https://wir2022.wid.world/

This page titled 6.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

6.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Austerity:** a wide range of economic reforms, centered on major reductions in government social spending, aimed to balance a country's budget or meet certain debt ratios.
- **Digitization:** the process of converting information into a digital format.
- **Economic inequality:** the unequal distribution of income and opportunities among various groups within society.
- **Global Happiness Index:** a measure of subjective well-being and happiness among countries around the world and is based on survey data.
- **Global inequality:** the disproportionate distribution of resources, opportunities, and power that shape well-being among people across the globe
- **Gross National Income (GNI):** a measure of the average income earned by individuals in a country in a given year.
- **Human Development Index (HDI):** a metric which provides a summary of the average achievement in essential aspects of human development: longevity and health, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.
- **Income:** the measurement of one's earnings from a job, self-employment/business, savings, investments, social programs.
- **Inheritance tax:** defined as the tax someone pays on assets inherited from a deceased person, such as a relative.
- **Living wage:** the wages a full-time worker must earn to cover the cost of their family's essential basic needs.
- **Outsourcing:** when manufacturing has largely been moved to other countries for cost savings.
- **Political economy:** a subfield of political science that considers various economic theories (like capitalism or socialism), effect the practices and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system.
- **Poverty:** a condition characterized by a lack of material possessions or basic human needs, such as food, shelter, clothing, and access to education and healthcare.
- **Race to the bottom**: A competitive situation in which working conditions and environmental stewardship are of secondary importance to maximizing profits.
- **Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs):** comprehensive economic programs that major international lenders, such as the IMF and the World Bank, required of developing countries as a condition for granting loans
- **Sovereign debt:** the accumulated amount of money that a country's government has borrowed and has yet to pay back.
- **Subsidies:** a form of financial aid provided by a government so that the cost of production is offset, resulting in the competitive price for the goods/services produced by the subsidized producer.
- **Technology transfer:** the process of transferring results from scientific and technological research to the marketplace and broader society, including the related skills and procedures.
- **Washington Consensus**: a set of ten economic policy proscriptions considered to constitute the standard financial reform package.
- **Wealth:** the value of accumulated assets of an individual or a family over a certain time period.

Summaries

6.1: Introduction to Global Inequality

Economic inequality is defined as the unequal distribution of income and opportunities among various groups within society. Income differs from wealth, with the former focusing on earnings and the latter on the value of accumulated assets of an individual or family. Poverty is defined as a condition characterized by a lack of material possessions or basic human needs, such as food, shelter, clothing, and access to education and healthcare. Global inequality is defined as the disproportionate distribution of resources, opportunities, and power that shape well-being among people across the globe. The World Bank categorizes global inequality through the use of three levels. These three levels include extreme or absolute poverty, moderate poverty, and relative poverty. Global patterns of economic inequality can be approached from three distinct frameworks: examining inequality within individual states, comparing inequality across states worldwide, and assessing disparities between affluent and impoverished individuals globally. One notable trend is that economic inequality within most states is increasing.

6.2: Background: What Does Global Inequality Look Like?

Within global inequality, economic inequality receives the most attention and is measured various ways. The GINI index quantifies

the degree to which the distribution of income or consumption among individuals or households within an economy diverges from perfect equality. The Human Development Index is a metric which provides a summary of the average achievement in essential aspects of human development: longevity and health, knowledge, and a decent standard of living. The Global Happiness Index is a measure of subjective well-being and happiness among states around the world and is based on survey data.

6.3: Theories and Concepts: Drivers of Global Inequality

Much of today's global inequality can be attributed to the direct effects of colonialism, though there are a number of recent factors that have either reinforced or exacerbated that inequality. These are the direct consequences of certain neoliberal policies, particularly those of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the 1980s and 1990s. SAPs refer to comprehensive economic programs that major international lenders, such as the IMF and the World Bank, require as a condition for granting loans. SAPs mandate economic liberalization to facilitate market functioning and increase openness to foreign investment. The desire was for developing countries to structurally adjust their economies to prevent reoccurring debt crises, which at the time was seen as a major threat to the global economy. This is referred to as the Washington Consensus, where states were expected to embrace free market systems and reduce state involvement in their economies as the solution to financial challenges. Austerity occurs when a state implements a wide range of economic reforms to balance a country's budget or meet certain debt ratios. These reforms center on major reductions in government social spending. Austerity has its roots in the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, often referred to as the Great Recession in the United States. A number of EU states, including Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain found themselves unable to pay back their sovereign debts and were in danger of defaulting.

6.4: At Home and Abroad: If Globalization is the Answer, then Why are So Many People Still Poor?

While there has been an increase in global wealth, it has largely been concentrated amongst the top income earners. The already-high level of inequality is likely to persist or, worse, increase without some kind of responsive policy intervention, such as an inheritance tax. Why isn't wealth more evenly distributed? The simple answer is that wealth is needed to create more wealth, particularly if states want to develop and grow economically. Since wealthier states have more resources to invest, they benefit the most from these investments. The clear loser in outsourcing is the industrial working class, both those in the home state and abroad. Workers who see their jobs outsourced often barely earned a living wage, what one must earn to cover the cost of their family's essential basic needs, and so the outsourcing of their jobs can leave them, and their families, at financial risk. Technological advancements have contributed greatly to labor income inequality. For example, new technologies, such as automation, have reduced or eliminated many low-skilled and unskilled labor positions. Countries such as China are competitive as they embrace a "race to the bottom" in terms of manufacturing costs.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- United Nations Development Programme, 2023 Human Development Index (HDI). (The HDI is the most widely used indicator of human development).
- World Bank, 2022 Income Inequality: Gini Coefficient. (The Gini coefficient measures inequality on a scale from 0 to 1. Higher values indicate higher inequality. Depending on the country and year, the data relates to income measured after taxes and benefits, or to consumption, per capita).
- World Inequality Database, 2022 World Inequality Report. (Presents the most up-to-date and complete data on the various facets of inequality worldwide as of 2021: global wealth, income, gender and ecological inequality).

Books

- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2013). *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. Crown Business.
- Milanović, B. (2005). *Worlds Apart: Measuring International and Global Inequality*. Princeton University Press.
- Milanović, B. (2016). *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Journal Articles

- Alvaredo, F., Chancel, L., Piketty, T., Saez, E., &\and Zucman, G. (2017). Global Inequality Dynamics: New Findings from WID.world. *The American Economic Review*, 107(5), 404–409.
- Milanovic, B. (2024). The Three Eras of Global Inequality, 1820–2020 with the Focus on the Past Thirty Years. *World Development*, 177, 106516-.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2002). Global inequality: Bringing Politics Back In. *Third World Quarterly*, 23(6): 1023–1046.

Review Questions

1. Which answer below is not one of the three categories of global inequality provided by the World Bank?
    1. Absolute poverty
    2. Moderate poverty
    3. Relative poverty
    4. Desperate poverty
2. Which statement below is true about global poverty?
    1. There is a decline in within-country inequality and a decline in inequality across states.
    2. There is a decline in within-country inequality and a rise in inequality across states.
    3. There is a rise in within-country inequality and a rise in inequality across states.
    4. There is a rise in within-country inequality and a decline in inequality across states.
    5. None of these answers are correct.
3. The GINI Index
    1. Assesses income inequality in states by analyzing how income is distributed among their populations.
    2. Is a metric which provides a summary of the average achievement in essential aspects of human development: longevity and health, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.
    3. Is a measure of subjective well-being and happiness among states around the world and is based on survey data.
    4. Is the study of the relationship between the market and powerful actors, such as a state's government
    5. Refers to comprehensive economic programs that major international lenders, such as the IMF and the World Bank, require as a condition for granting loans.
4. Austerity
    1. Occurs when a state implements a wide range of economic reforms to balance a state's budget or meet certain debt ratios.
    2. Centers on major reductions in government social spending.
    3. Restricts government responses to public demands and give them little control over internal economic policies.
    4. Severely weakens pre-existing social protections through the adoption of neoliberal reforms as conditions of the bailouts.
    5. All of these answers are correct
5. What is a 'race to the bottom' effect regarding manufacturing costs?
    1. It is a form of financial aid provided by a government so that the cost of production is offset, resulting in a competitive price for the goods/services produced.
    2. It is a strategy used by states to prioritize their competitive advantage, often by lowering manufacturing costs at the expense of product quality or sound economic decision-making.
    3. It is the process of converting information into a digital format is another technology that has dramatically impacted commerce.
    4. It is the process of transferring results from scientific and technological research to the marketplace and broader society, including the related skills and procedures.
    5. It is what one must earn to cover the cost of their family's essential basic needs, and so the outsourcing of their jobs can leave them, and their families, at financial risk.

Critical Thinking Questions

- Of the three global inequality indices presented in Section 6.2: GINI Index, Human Development Index, and the Global Happiness Index, which one do you find most appealing? Explain your answer
- What are Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)? Why are they roundly criticized? Is this criticism warranted?
- Should governments adopt higher inheritance taxes? What would be the arguments for this? What would be the arguments against this? Pick a side to defend.

This page titled 6.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

7: GLOBAL INSECURITY AND CONFLICT

7.1: Introduction to Global Security
7.2: Background - The History of Global Security
7.3: Theories and Approaches to Global Security
7.4: At Home and Abroad - Global Insecurity and the War in Ukraine; Why it Matters for Everyone
7.5: References
7.6: Student Resources

This page titled 7: Global Insecurity and Conflict is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

7.1: Introduction to Global Security

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Differentiate between different types of security
- Apply the levels of analysis approach to security

Introduction

What is security? **Security** is defined as the condition of being exempt from peril or threat. Generally speaking, when one hears about security, it can be understood at several different levels. This is referred to as levels of analysis which is often used in the subfield of International Relations in Political Science. The **levels of analysis approach** is an analytical framework positing that occurrences in international relations can be elucidated by examining individuals, states, or the global system, and that causative factors at each level can be distinguished from those at other levels (Matthews & Callaway, 2017). This approach is generally used to describe how foreign policy is constructed, by examining everything from the people who make foreign policy decisions to the interactions between states that shape those same foreign policy outcomes.

Using the levels of analysis approach, security can conceptually be divided into the same three levels: the individual level (human security), the national level (national security) and the global level (global security). Each level is unique in its approach to security, with different protections that require different solutions. Nevertheless, each level is interrelated, with security at the individual level most dependent on security at the national level and ultimately the global level. Table 7.1.1 briefly describes each level of analysis.

Table 7.1.1: Levels of Analysis in Security

Level of Analysis	Definition
Individual (human)	Looks at the human rights of individuals in the analysis of security policy.
National (state or domestic)	Looks at the internal processes of a state in the analysis of security policy.
Global (international or systemic)	Looks at attributes of the global system that influence conduct in the analysis of security policy.

Human Security

The first level of security is at the individual or personal level. This is often referred to as **human security**, and it centers on the physical safety of an individual regardless of where they live. At times, individual peoples, or entire groups, often identified by a characteristic, such as one's race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, tribe, or class status, can be targets of physical violence. This violence can occur at the hands of other individuals or groups or can be at the direction of the national government or of a governmental entity, such as a country's military. The focus on human security as a analytical framework is a relatively new approach, having only been articulated by the United Nations in the 1990s.

The initial significant declaration regarding human security emerged in the 1994 Human Development Report, which is a yearly publication by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The report articulated seven dimensions of human security: Economic, Food, Health, Environmental, Personal, Community, and Political. Each dimension is interrelated with the others and the report was designed to be 'all-encompassing', taking an 'integrative' approach to human security. Table 7.1.2 lists the dimensions with their descriptions taken from the 1994 report.

Table 7.1.2: Seven Dimensions of Human Security

Dimensions of Human Security	Description
Economic Security	Freedom from poverty
Food Security	Access to food
Health Security	Access to health care and protection from diseases
Environmental Security	Protection from such dangers as environmental pollution and depletion
Personal Security	Physical safety from such things as torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence, drug use, suicide, and even traffic accidents
Community Security	Survival of traditional cultures and ethnic groups as well as the physical security of these groups
Political Security	Enjoyment of civil and political rights, and freedom from political oppression

National Security

The second level and the more traditional approach to security is national security. **National security** is defined as a state's capacity to safeguard its interests, confidential information, and populace against both external and internal perils that have the potential to jeopardize its existence. National security is an important aspect of any country's objectives and has been traditionally measured through the strength of a country's military forces. National security is now bifurcated into protecting the country from external threats, national defense, and from internal threats, homeland security. External threats could include threats of invasions from neighboring countries to intercontinental attacks by guided missiles. Internal threats could include terrorist attacks by non-state actors and acts of rebellion by guerilla groups.

Global Security

The third, and final, level of analysis is the global level. **Global security** is grounded in the principle that the security of any individual nation is inseparable from the security of all nations. It differs from **international security** which refers to the actions taken by nations to secure the well-being and defense of their citizens, boundaries, and strategic concerns through cooperation amongst states. Thus, international security primarily addresses conventional military threats and interstate conflicts, while global security encompasses non-traditional threats that extend beyond national boundaries. Global security has been extensively nurtured by the United Nations, particularly since the end of the Cold War. The predominant emphasis is now on striving to eradicate conflicts by means of international law, humanitarian aid, fostering trust, and bolstering global governance. From the prospective of this lens, the employment of force should, therefore, be predominantly reserved for international peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and safeguarding innocent civilians from violence, with such actions being determined and coordinated by the United Nations.

This page titled 7.1: Introduction to Global Security is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

7.2: Background - The History of Global Security

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Trace the historical development of global security
- Compare the efforts of the UN before and after the Cold War
- Understand the Global War on Terror and the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq

Introduction

Global security has its roots in the two World Wars. The League of Nations (League) and the United Nations (UN) were both created to help design global systems that promoted collective approaches to security, rather than state-centered approaches. However, both institutions struggled to accomplish the establishment of security at the global level. Formed in 1919, the League of Nations lacked the enforcement mechanisms that could collectively punish a country for military aggression. For example, when Japan invaded northeast China in 1931, the League voted against the aggression. In response, Japan simply withdrew from the League. The League could chastise and shake a finger at Japan, but there was no weight behind its words.

Global Security During the Cold War

While the United Nations has been more successful than the League in regards to addressing security-related global issues, it has also struggled to achieve its objectives. For the first 50 years, the UN was hampered by the superpower rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This is referred to as a **bipolar order**, where the world is organized based on two centers of power or influence. The UN incorporated a Security Council into its governing structure, where the five most powerful countries at the time, all allies during the Second World War, were given veto power over any UN resolution that could jeopardize its security. This veto power prevented the UN from achieving meaningful collective security measures, as both the U.S and Soviet Union had it. The Cold War rivalry became amplified with decolonization in the 1960s and 1970s, when newly independent countries were expected to align with either superpower, even though most refused to pick a side, preferring to join the **Non-Aligned Movement**.

Even though its activities were hampered in this way, the UN was still able to achieve a number of positive developments. One of the most important was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document negotiated under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of the former U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt. Another success was the creation of the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950. During the 1960s and 1970s, an expanded United Nations notably sharpened its focus on economic, social, and environmental concerns. It spearheaded significant international conferences on environmental issues in 1972, and the status of women in 1975.

The UN also endorsed conventions to combat racial discrimination in 1969 and to address gender-based intolerance and discrimination in 1979. Furthermore, the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) played a pivotal role in facilitating the adoption of the Treaty on the Protection of the Ozone Layer, known as the Montreal Protocol, in 1987. Regarding health security, in a landmark achievement, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared smallpox eradicated in 1980, with the last reported case dating back to 1977. Although the UN's effectiveness in handling international security matters, especially interstate and intrastate conflicts, was questioned during the Cold War, the organization actively tackled a myriad of other global challenges, particularly those its newer member states found relevant.

Global Security After the Cold War

The demise of the Soviet Bloc led to the end of the Cold War and ostensibly the end of the stalemate in the UN and efforts to promote global security. The U.S was left as the world's remaining superpower and is described as a **unipolar order**, or a world with only one center of power and influence. For the better part of the 1990s, the UN, supported by the U.S., took the lead in a series of initiatives, including the 'Agenda for Peace' ratified in the summer of 1992 in which the United Nations pledged to employ preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping as its means of influence in shaping the post-Cold War global

landscape. Indeed, peacekeeping became one of the most important functions of the UN. For example, only thirteen operations were undertaken in the first four decades of organization. However, in the first five years in the post-Cold War era, 1989-1994, twenty new operations were authorized. Eventually, close to forty new missions were authorized in total and at present, slightly over 110,000 personnel, including military, police, and civilian staff, are actively engaged in 14 UN peacekeeping missions (United Nations, 2023).

The ability of the United Nations to promote its global security agenda virtually unopposed was not to last though. The UN has again become paralyzed, this time with a power conflict occurring between the U.S., Europe, and its allies on one side, and Russia, China, and its growing list of aligned countries on the other. This conflict is reminiscent of the confrontation between the U.S. and Soviet Union in the Cold War. For example, in the 2010s, Russia took on the role of the 'loud dissenter' during the U.S. bombardment of Libya. Similarly, Russia vetoed resolutions on the use of chemical weapons in Syria, the political situation in Venezuela and most recently on the War in Ukraine. Yet at the same time, this contemporary era is different. Russia is clearly not the superpower that it was as the Soviet Union. In addition, Russia's relationship with China is at best regarded as an 'alliance of convenience', where both countries seek the development of a **multipolar order**, or a world with multiple centers of power or influence.

The 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

Global security took a hit with the September 11th, 2001 (9/11) terrorist attacks, with the destruction of the World Trade Center in New York City and damage to the Pentagon in Washington, DC. The former served as the financial nerve center of the United States and the latter continues to serve as the headquarters for the U.S. Department of Defense. Nineteen terrorists hijacked four commercial airplanes that targeted these important locations. Two planes were deliberately piloted into the upper floors of the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, leading to the eventual collapse of both towers due to the impact and ensuing fires. A third plane was crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. Passengers on a fourth hijacked plane, United Airlines Flight 93, learned of the other attacks and bravely attempted to regain control of the aircraft. Their efforts resulted in the plane crashing into an empty field in western Pennsylvania, approximately 20 minutes by air from Washington, D.C., likely preventing another major target from being hit. The attacks claimed the lives of 2,977 people from 93 different nations: 2,753 were killed in New York City, 184 at the Pentagon, and 40 aboard Flight 93 (National September 11 Memorial & Museum, 2023).

While most recent terrorist activity has been in the Middle East, it has a long history outside of this region. Indeed, one must be careful of always thinking that terrorism is a "Middle Eastern" phenomena. This is simply inaccurate. Terrorism has existed for decades and has come in many different iterations. Examples include terrorist groups associated with separatist movements, such as Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland, Basque separatists in Spain, and the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka. They also include terrorist organizations within ideological movements as well, such as left-wing and anarchist groups in Europe in the 1970s, and more recently, right-wing extremists in the 2010s. Transnational terrorism is closely tied to globalization, where groups use modern transportation and communication networks to facilitate their activities. For example the more recent global terrorist organizations have used the Internet to deliver media content, both for messaging and for their recruitment efforts. They have also created their own transportation systems, with one group creating its own rogue aviation network.

The 9/11 attacks were orchestrated by a transnational terrorist network known as al-Qaeda, or *the base* in Arabic. al-Qaeda has its roots in the proxy wars fought between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. One the organization's leaders, Osama bin Laden, fought in a guerilla campaign in Afghanistan in the 1980s after the Soviets invaded that country in 1979. Part of a group that referred to themselves as Arab Afghans, they were a multinational group of fighters who strongly believed in protecting innocent Muslim Afghans from the 'godless' communists of the Soviet Union. This religious angle, where bin Laden and his associates believed that they were fighting in the defense of the larger Muslim community against social evils, led to a justification in the use of violence to accomplish their objectives. al-Qaeda found itself in a powerful position after it drove Soviet forces out of Afghanistan in 1989, ostensibly with U.S. help.

Afterwards the organization turned its attention to governments in Muslim majority nations they considered corrupt and unjust, most notably bin Laden's home country of Saudi Arabia. al-Qaeda's actions against the royal family-led government in Saudi Arabia led the group to be banished from the country, moving first to Sudan, and eventually landing in Afghanistan where the group's operatives found refuge under the Taliban. The Taliban are a political group that emerged from the Afghan Civil War in the early 1990s, whose roots are in the traditional Islamic schools of their country. Indeed, *talib* means student in Arabic. From their headquarters in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda launched a series of terrorist attacks, mostly targeting the U.S. These included the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya, and the 2000 attack on the USS Cole, a guided missile destroyer in the U.S. Navy that was docked in the southern Yemeni port of Aden.

The War in Afghanistan (2001-2021)

NATO forces, led by the U.S., invaded Afghanistan within weeks of the 9/11 attacks. The Taliban government, which controlled the country and sheltered al-Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden, refused to turn him over to the U.S. By December 2001, the U.S., NATO allies and the Northern Alliance, a rebel group that had fought against the Taliban, quickly conquered the country, however bin Laden had escaped into Pakistan, where he remained in hiding until he was killed by U.S. Navy SEALs in May 2011. Coalition forces helped to install a transitional government and billions of dollars were spent on reconstructing the country. Elections were held in 2004 and Hamid Karzai became the first democratically elected leader of Afghanistan. Women were granted civil and political rights and the government was accepted as legitimate by most countries. Still, the Taliban did not go away quietly. Switching to guerilla warfare, their fighters inflicted serious damage to coalition forces and their Afghan allies. Centered in the Pashto-speaking regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan, the increasing Taliban attacks prompted then U.S. President Barack Obama to announce a surge in the numbers of troops from 68 thousand to almost 100 thousand.

In 2013, the Afghan army assumed responsibility for security from NATO and coalition forces, which led U.S. President Obama to announce a timetable for the gradual removal of U.S. forces from the country. In the meantime, Afghanistan held its next democratic election and Ashraf Ghani was named the winner. The country experienced its first successful transition of power, with Ghani forming a unity government with the main opposition. The election of U.S. President Donald Trump potentially signaled both continuity and change. Campaigning on a platform to end the war in Afghanistan, President Trump was persuaded to keep troops in the country. His administration initiated peace talks with the Taliban directly, focusing on the United States' withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, contingent upon the Taliban's commitment to preventing international terrorist organizations from operating within the country. Finally in early 2020, envoys from the U.S. and the Taliban signed a peace deal, paving the way for a full troop withdrawal in May 2021. President Trump's loss in the 2020 U.S. presidential election left the decision to the incoming Joseph Biden administration.

President Biden recommitted to a full U.S. troop withdrawal, with 11 September 2021 as the deadline. This decision severely weakened a Ghani administration that was already reeling from being left out of the U.S.-Taliban negotiations under the previous Trump administration. Biden declared, "It’s time to end America’s longest war,". The remaining 3,500 U.S. troops in Afghanistan were pulled out, irrespective of any progress in intra-Afghan peace talks or a reduction in Taliban attacks on Afghan security forces and civilians. NATO forces in Afghanistan also withdrew concurrently. With little support from their NATO and U.S. allies, the Afghan military was unable to fight the advancing Taliban forces. Taliban fighters overran the capital of Kabul on 15 August, 2021 and captured the presidential palace. Afghan President Ghani fled the country and security forces largely surrendered to the Taliban. In the ensuing chaos, thousands of Afghans attempted to flee the country, with many seeking refuge on U.S. military aircraft leaving the Kabul's main airport. An Islamic State in Khorasan terrorist attack killed 13 U.S. service members and at least 170 Afghan civilians. While the U.S. successfully managed to evacuate 120 thousand people, the two week withdrawal was largely seen as disorderly and the Biden administration was largely faulted.

The Global War on Terror

After the 9/11 attacks, al-Qaeda launched an additional series of terrorist attacks, this time with a much broader range. These attacks include the 2002 Bali bombings in Indonesia; the 2004 Madrid train bombings in Spain; the 2005 UK bombings, consisting of four coordinated suicide attacks; and the 2008 Mumbai hotel and synagogue bombings in India. In addition, al-Qaeda related affiliates have actively engaged in terrorist attacks throughout the world. A good example is *Boko Haram*, a terrorist organization that mostly operates in Nigeria. The phrase Boko Haram is derived from the Hausa-language, and could be translated as 'western education is a sin'. This group is infamously known for its abductions of school age girls

The internationalization and coordination of terrorism has become a major security concern and efforts to prevent and combat terrorist organizations is a high priority. However, the world is not quite sure on how to respond to global terrorism. Some strategists suggested that countries adopt a **defensive strategy**, where states implement a program of containment, which is designed to limit or hinder an opponent's ability to exercise power. In this perspective the Global War on Terror is not “winnable” in a conventional sense. Proponents argue that terrorism will not last forever and that strengthening a country's defenses offer the best policy solution. Thus countries should secure their ports, tighten airport security, rebuild public health infrastructure, and improve intelligence. Others advocate for an **offensive strategy**, where it is considered better to fight the terrorists abroad than at home. These proponents argue that old notions of security no longer apply. As terrorists could not survive without the support of states, or through the space available in failed states, the best approach is to starve the terrorists of necessary resources.

International organizations are also involved in promoting multilateral approaches to combat terrorism. A good example is the United Nations Global Counter Terrorism Strategy. Adopted in 2006, UN Member States agreed on a unified strategic and operational approach to oppose terrorism. This global strategy consists of four measures, "(1) Measures to address the conditions

conducive to the spread of terrorism; (2) Measures to prevent and combat terrorism; (3) Measures to build States' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard; and (4) Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism" (United Nations, 2024). Additional international organizations include the International Monetary Fund, which assists in anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorist operations. Other examples include the Global Counterterrorism Forum, founded by the United States, the European Union and other countries, which gathers global policymakers and practitioners to exchange expertise and to create practical strategies for countering continuing terrorist threats.

The War in Iraq (2003-2011) and the Rise of the Islamic State

In 2002, with the U.S. still reeling from the 9/11 attacks, U.S. President George W. Bush characterized Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as the "axis of evil". President Bush and his Secretary of State, former U.S. Army General Colin Powell, provided evidence to indicate that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's government had not complied with UN Security Council resolutions to disarm. In particular, the U.S. was concerned that Hussein's regime was developing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), which could then be shared with terrorist networks, such as al-Qaeda. Even though UN-led inspections stated that Iraq had largely abided by international requests to stop their weapons programs, the Bush administration believed otherwise. In March 2003, the U.S. and "the coalition of the willing" invaded Iraq and ousted Saddam Hussein from power, without UN approval.
Hussein was eventually captured later that year and was tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity in 2006, and ultimately executed on 30 December 2006.

While the toppling of Hussein's regime was attained quickly, the challenges of building democracy in Iraq, one of the evolving aims of the Bush administration, proved formidable. The U.S. abolished the few institutions that still functioned in Iraqi society - the military and the ruling Ba'ath party that Hussein controlled. This vacuum set the stage for an intense power struggle amongst Iraqi factions. A complex set of insurgencies and terrorist movements, including al-Qaeda, disaffected Sunni tribes, and Shi'a militias, wreaked havoc on Iraqi police and civilians, and on U.S. and coalition forces. The Iraq War had become hugely unpopular by the end of President Bush's second term, which set the stage for the election of Barack Obama in 2008. On 31 August 2010, President Obama officially declared the end of the U.S. combat presence in Iraq, fulfilling a campaign promise. The last U.S. soldiers left Iraq on 18 December 2011, ending a nearly nine-year war. The conflict came at a steep price: $800 billion from the U.S. Treasury, nearly 4,500 American lives lost, and well over 100,000 Iraqi casualties.

The withdrawal of U.S. and coalition troops from Iraq had a destabilizing effect in the region. Newer militant groups emerged in the security vacuum, most notably the Islamic State. Born as an al-Qaeda affiliate in the War in Iraq, this terrorist network has used several names: the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL); the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), finally settling on the phrase Islamic State (IS). The organization used the concurrent civil war in Syria to take over the city of Raqqa, establishing it as their seat of power in 2013. IS forces then spread to Iraq, where they aligned themselves with disaffected Sunni tribes, defeating local security forces. The addition of Iraqi territory to the seized lands in Syria, led IS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi to formally declare a new state based on the traditional Islamic notion of a caliphate, a political-religious state where leaders held both temporal and spiritual power. Even though al-Baghdadi and his IS allies were not formally trained religious scholars, often referred to as *ulema* in Arabic, nor *imams*, recognized leaders of a masjid or mosque, they nevertheless sought to impose their strict interpretations of Islamic legal precepts on the people in areas under their control. This harsh enforcement of their version of shari'a, the term used to describe the large body of Islamic law that developed over the centuries, was far more extreme than even relatively conservative Sunni Iraqis could accept. Life under the Islamic State was characterized as brutal. Human Rights Watch has documented widespread and systematic abuses, where those who spoke out against the ruling forces and those from minority religions, such as the Yazidis, were imprisoned, tortured, faced sexual violence, and in many cases were killed.

The Islamic State did not limit their activities to the Middle East. The organization sponsored a series of terrorist attacks throughout the world. The most attention-grabbing were the 2015 attacks in France where IS affiliated militants bombed the Bataclan theater, opened gunfire at several Paris cafes, and detonated an explosive outside of France's national stadium, where 80,000 spectators, along with then French President Francois Hollande, were watching a soccer game between the national teams of France and Germany. They were considered the deadliest peacetime attacks in French history, claiming 130 lives. IS also provided material support to armed groups throughout Africa, including the Sahel region, Mozambique and Somalia. At one point in 2016, IS forces had even taken control of the Libyan coastal town of Sirte. The Islamic State was territorially defeated in 2019, when a U.S.-led coalition, together with local partners in Syria, liberated the last cities held by the terrorist organization. However, IS still remains active with the most prominent offshoot located in the geopolitically unstable regions of Central Asia, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. Referring to themselves as Islamic State-Khorasan (IS-K), they have been responsible for a series of coordinated attacks on a number of countries, ranging from Russia to Iran and even targeting the restored Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

The issue of transnational terrorism is not one that will go away anytime soon. As long as systems of inequity exist in which ideologues can find fertile recruiting grounds to fill their ranks, states will have to grapple with their violent activities. Only by addressing the root causes that drive membership into these organizations will global terrorism cease to be a security threat.

This page titled 7.2: Background - The History of Global Security is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

7.3: Theories and Approaches to Global Security

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare and contrast the two major theories in international relations regarding security
- Comprehend the alternative perspectives to security, including social constructivism and critical approaches

Introduction

As seen in the previous discussion in Section 7.2, global security can be researched through International Relations (IR) theory. In IR, there are two traditional theories that help in contextualizing global security: realism and liberal internationalism. **Realism** and **liberal internationalism** are often considered oppositional, as realists focus on competition between actors, whereas liberal institutionalism focuses on cooperation. However, both theories share some assumptions that make them comparable. Alternatively, several newer approaches have developed, most notably social constructivism, which focuses on the relational aspects of identities to understand how one state views another state. There are also critical theories, which places primacy on the role of economics in explaining global phenomena, and are rooted in the writings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, and other early political economists. A final theoretical framework we will examine is feminism.

Realism and Security

Realism draws upon a complex and rich theoretical perspective. As a theory, it utilizes the work of noted historical scholars, such as Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli, and Thomas Hobbes. As such, there are quite a few variants and interpretations, including realpolitik, structured realism, and neorealism. Despite this variety, realism as a worldview has certain characteristics. For example, proponents of realism view security as the key issue in global affairs. Realists dismiss economic concerns, issues of development, and internal domestic situations, such as civil rights, education, and health care, referring to these topics as second-tier concerns. Thus, for realists, providing for one's own security becomes the most important responsibility. Realists have a pessimistic view of human nature and recognize the inevitability of war.

Realists are state-centered and heavily focus on national security as the most important level of analysis. For realists, states act out of self-interest, often at the expense of other states. They contend that states act this way because the global system is anarchical, where no superior power exists to which an aggrieved national power can appeal to. Given this, realists doubt the power of international law or the ability of the international community to stop conflict. For example, realists point out that United Nations General Assembly resolutions are merely recommendations and UN Security Council resolutions are difficult to produce & require a country willing to enforce them. If we were to give realists a motto, they would follow the Latin phrase *Si vis pacem, para bellum* ("let them who desire peace prepare for war"). Thus, realists see security in a zero-sum world. Military preparation is key and there is no trust in diplomatic measures.

For realists, the key is that a state must have enough power to establish its own security to remain free from another state's control. This maximization of power is the paramount pursuit. This approximates what Thucydides said close to 2,500 years ago, "the strong do what they will and the weak suffer what they must". State power can be understood in two different approaches. The first is through absolute gains, which refers to how much power one state can gain for itself. The second is through relative gains, which refers to how much more power one state gains over another state. This concern for relative gains could lead to a **security dilemma**, or when a state is driven by its security and seeks to acquire more power than its rivals. This leads to insecurity in other countries, which prompts these countries to acquire more power, which in turn drives the original country to seek more power. This spiral can continue unabated.

Realists contend that countries can also try to manage power through balancing. **Balancing** denotes the act of forming alliances with other states as a strategic measure to counterbalance the influence or dominance of more powerful states. Such actions can develop into a **balance-of-power system** where a state of equilibrium develops among powerful countries. In this system, no country is permitted to become so powerful that it can threaten the security of another major power. Countries therefore create short-term alliances based on advantage and not on ideology. In other words, creating an alliance because both countries

share the same majority religion would be secondary to creating security. In this type of an arrangement, countries are the most important actors. Non-state actors, such as multinational corporations or humanitarian organizations, lack importance.

Though security is a fundamental driver of international relations for realists, several variants on how to achieve this security have been proposed. In **defensive realism**, states seek to maximize power to ensure their own security and contend that wars with other states are unlikely to be beneficial. In this variant, war is understood to be a last resort and a breakdown in the international order. Thus, states are quick to respond to any security dilemma by increasing their defensive capabilities and balancing against potential aggression. The other variant is **offensive realism**, or aggressive realism, where states seek to maximize power to achieve dominance. This is often accomplished by increasing their offensive capabilities. In this variant, war may actually be the preferred option, particularly if used against a predator state that threatens the international order.

Liberal Internationalism and Security

Liberalism is the antithesis to realism with a focus on cooperation, rather than power competition to resolve conflict. Liberalists also draw upon a plethora of scholars, mostly from the Enlightenment, including Immanuel Kant, Baron de Montesquieu, Hugo Grotius, and John Locke. As a theory, there are quite a few variants and interpretations, including neoliberal institutionalism, economic liberalism (which focuses on market behavior), and democratic peace theory. Despite this variety, liberalism as a worldview has certain characteristics. For example, proponents of liberalism also view security as a key issue in global affairs. Though unlike realists, liberalists incorporate economic concerns, issues of development, and internal domestic situations. For liberalists, non-state actors are just as important as the states themselves. All actors are responsible for security, and it should not just be up to each individual state. Liberalists have an optimistic view of human nature. They believe that war is not inevitable, but the product of a failure to compromise and cooperate.

For liberalists, the promotion of global norms and values is important. States' interests are not limited to survival and security is not zero-sum. Security can be ensured through positive means and can be accomplished through transparency, communication, cooperation, and burden sharing. This reduces the need for armed conflict and instead can lead to expanded trade, which in turn can raise the costs of conflict, making it even less attractive. Cooperation is thus at the heart of liberalism. Liberalists do not suggest that competition will disappear, but that the relative gains from states cooperating are greater than the alternative. Ultimately, if such cooperation could become global, this could then lead to a system that ensures global peace. This is often referred to as **collective security**, an arrangement where an act of aggression against any individual state is regarded as aggression against all other states. In response, these states collaborate to collectively thwart and repel the aggressor.

Given this, institution building becomes paramount. Referred to as **neoliberal institutionalism**, this branch of liberalism stresses the importance of international institutions and international law in shaping behavior as a better way to ensure the survival of the state. For liberalists the international system is still anarchical, but international organizations could help create a global framework of cooperation. Newer theorists, such as Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye define this cooperation in their idea of **complex interdependence.** This concept involves increasing interconnection among transnational actors and highlights the intricate dynamics wherein they develop mutual dependencies, become susceptible to each other's actions, and attuned to each other's needs.

International institutions play a key role in international politics and efforts. Examples include UN actions such as peacekeeping, peacebuilding and peace enforcement. It also involves the adoption of important international treaties and conventions that guide global behavior such as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and the incorporation of the Laws of War. Other efforts include the development of international regimes, defined by Keohane (1984) as “sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision–making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations.” International regimes on arms proliferation and arms control have become an integral part of the global discourse.

Alternative Theories and Security

Since the 1970s, scholars have worked on developing alternative IR explanation. These alternatives are not quite theories, but more broad perspectives. Given this, scholars have organized such approaches into two overarching categories: social constructivism and critical or radical perspectives. Constructivists focus significant attention on the role of identities in IR. Identities shape a state’s interests and can influence the country’s foreign policy goals, tactics, and strategies. A good example includes Switzerland's identification as a neutral actor in international affairs. Switzerland chooses not to align with another country. This can explain why Switzerland was not invaded in the Second World War and why the country has not joined any military alliances, such as the U.S. led North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and economic associations, such as the

European Union (EU).

Constructivists emphasize the relational aspects of identities, which are understood as the way one state views another state. This is shaped in important ways by the interactions that they have had and can create perceptions of similarities and differences between states. Thus, threats are socially constructed. For example, nationalism has led to the creation of conflicting identities and the right to self-determination has led to war. Constructivists challenge nearly all realist assumptions, particularly in that states must shape the international system. And so, constructivists would contend that anarchy is not the default understanding of international affairs and that there is no zero-sum world. Security then is how a state defines the system they live in. Thus, securitization is less about actual threats, but in naming someone or something, such as communism or terrorism, as a threat. How a state defines that threat is ultimately what could lead to conflict. Constructivists argue that the focus should be on tangible threats, such as those posed by poverty and disenfranchisement.

Critical or radical approaches to global security are not as prominent, however they are important as they highlight the potential sources of conflict. There are several categories, each focusing on a particular aspect of human activity. For example, in Marxism, named after the scholar Karl Marx, conflict originates in economics, particularly the evolution of capitalism. Marxists contend that the industrialization of a society leads to two main economic classes: a bourgeoisie, a group of people who owns the means of production, and a proletariat that provides the labor. This labor is exploited by the bourgeoisie and over time structures are built to keep this manipulation in place. For Marx, these structures mask inherent contradictions within capitalism, and growing levels of inequality between the two classes will inevitably lead to struggle.

While this source of conflict originates domestically, it can have global dimensions. For Vladimir Lenin, imperialism is a direct result of capitalism. Marx's theory of surplus value of labor contends that workers do not actually earn what their labor is worth. As production costs are fixed, over time, production owners suppress wages to increase profit as this is the one cost that is variable. This then leads to underconsumption at home and an oversupply of products. Thus, countries seek new outlets for the products through colonization, where colonists are required to buy them. Other theorists focus on the consequences of imperialism and colonialism after independence. Former colonial countries find themselves still dependent on their imperial rulers, which still dominate the economic relationships between the two, even decades after independence. Referred to as dependency theory, this is used to explain why certain states, particularly postcolonial countries, stay underdeveloped and in a state of weakened security.

The other major category involves feminist critiques which focuses on conflict that originates in social divisions such as gender. Feminists argue for women's empowerment as they view women as not having equal rights and opportunities. As men created the cultural and legal rules for a society, these patriarchal systems produced policies that discriminate against women. Globally, feminists point to several relevant examples. First is the reduced role that women have in foreign policy-making. Second is the masculinization of conflict, where war and violence are glorified and treated as an acceptable approach. Finally, there is a high rate of violence against women, especially during conflict, where as a group they are often targeted by belligerent forces. Overall, women are negatively impacted by many global trends, such as human trafficking and the spread of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Women are more likely to be victims of the global sex slave trade and lack protection from the AIDS pandemic. By focusing on these issues, and giving women a louder voice, security can be strengthened.

This page titled 7.3: Theories and Approaches to Global Security is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

7.4: At Home and Abroad - Global Insecurity and the War in Ukraine; Why it Matters for Everyone

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand how the war in Ukraine has increased global insecurity
- Outline the events that led to the war in Ukraine and understand the developments since it began

Introduction

The current war in Ukraine is a good case study of global insecurity. **Global insecurity** occurs when the security of any individual nation threatens the security of all states. It is the conceptual opposite of global security. The vulnerabilities embodied by occurrences in one or more states do not stay confined to the borders of those countries. Issues such as terrorism, gender-based violence, climate change and environmental deterioration, pollution, economic downturns, nuclear armaments, and criminal activities can become transnational, particularly if they affect large geographies of space and time.

The war in Ukraine is one such issue. The roots of the conflict are deeply embedded in the history of the region. Long before Ukraine was a constituent republic in the Soviet Union, a country dominated by ethnic Russians, it served an important role in the development of Russian identity. The Ukrainian capital, Kyiv (Kiev in Russian), was the heart of the old Kievan Rus state, an important political precursor to the later Slavic state that would become Russia. One of Kiev's famous early leaders, St. Vladimir the Great, baptized the proto-Russian nation into Orthodox Christianity (c. 988), a faith that remains an important part of Russian national identity. During the later expansion of the Russian Empire, large swathes of Ukraine were incorporated into the state, including through the conquests of Ottoman territories, such as the Crimean Peninsula in 1783, and the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772-1795). What we know today as Ukraine was proclaimed in late 1917 and formally became part of the Soviet Union in 1922, where it remained until the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. Thus for many Russians, due to this historical and cultural connection, they see Ukraine as an integral part of their country.

Russians also refer to the etymology of the country name, *kraj*, which means border in Old Slavonic. For Russians, Ukraine was their border. In contrast, many Ukrainians contend that their lands were traditionally outside the Russian *mir*, or Russian world. Thus, not the border of Russia proper, but bordering Russia instead. Yet, the eastern part of Ukraine, known as the Donbas region, primarily identifies as Russian or Russian-speaking. These areas were the most integrated into the Soviet economy and have felt strongly attached to Russia proper. Two areas within the Donbas, Donetsk and Luhansk, consistently voted for pro-Russian presidential candidates and were least likely to identity as ethnic Ukrainian. Thus, Ukraine has been generally divided into a western Ukraine, centered on the city of Lvov, that saw itself as part of Western Europe, and an eastern Ukraine that focused on Moscow. Ukrainians living in the central part of the country, including the capital city of Kyiv, often incorporated both identities.

How though has this complexity of identity led to war? Part of it can be understood in Cold War terms. Russian president Vladimir Putin has lamented the fall of the Soviet Union, calling it the greatest geopolitical catastrophe in the Twentieth Century. Putin contends that the collapse upended 1,000 years of Russian peoplehood and damaged what he has called ‘historical Russia’ (Osborn and Ostroukh, 2021). In addition, Russian leadership has worried over the expansion of the U.S.-led military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) into Eastern Europe. Most of the former members of the Warsaw Pact, the military alliance of the Soviet Union and the communist satellite states of Eastern Europe, have joined NATO. The fear was that Ukraine would eventually turn towards the West and request NATO membership as well. As the plains and marshlands of Ukraine have been the traditional path of invasion for Russian foes, such as Sweden during the Great Northern War in the early 1700s, Napoleonic France in the 1810s, and Nazi Germany in the 1940s, Putin has revived the fear that Ukrainian membership into NATO would once again open this path of invasion into Russia. He is combining Russia's emotional connection to Ukraine as an innate part of Russian identity with the specter of a renewed Cold War to promote support for the war.

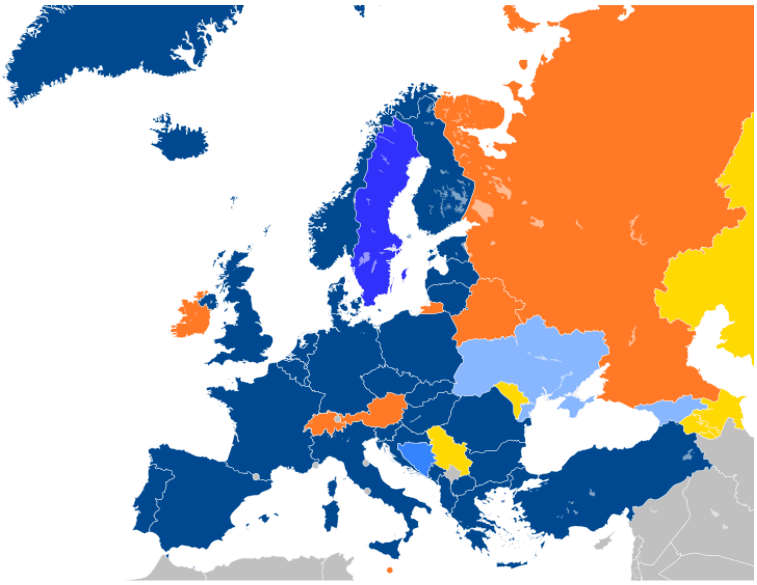


Figure 7.4.1: 2023 map of NATO membership. Full members of NATO are in dark blue, accession protocol members (Sweden) are in royal blue, membership action plan countries (Bosnia) in lighter blue, and enhanced opportunities partners in the lightest blue. Countries in yellow are part of NATO's individual partnership action plan, whereas countries in orange are in the NATO partnership for peace. (Wikipedia Commons by Chase1493 is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0 Deed)

Though the conflict is centered on Eastern Europe, in addition to the potential security threats to Europe, the war in Ukraine has impacted the world in several ways. First, the reverberations of the war extend globally, with blockades on Ukrainian grain exports exacerbating hunger in some of the world's most vulnerable regions. In 2021, Ukrainian grain played a crucial role in providing sustenance for 400 million people globally. However, during the initial five months of the war, Ukraine faced challenges in exporting its grain through the primary shipping routes via the Black Sea. As a result, nations dependent on this grain experienced adverse effects. Numerous grain-receiving countries in the Middle East and Africa, already grappling with hunger crises due to conflict and climate change, were further impacted by the disruption in the Ukrainian grain supply chain.

Second, approximately 5.1 million Ukrainians have been internally displaced, while an additional 6.2 million people have sought refuge primarily in neighboring countries such as Poland, Hungary, and Moldova, though others have been scattered worldwide. Among these nations, Poland has been the most accommodating, hosting nearly 60 percent of all Ukrainian refugees. This accounts for up to 25 percent of Ukraine's entire population. Third, the conflict in Ukraine has brought attention to the vulnerabilities inherent in just-in-time supply chains, and the economic repercussions of the war have further emphasized the additional risks associated with such a system. While globalization remains resilient, the evolving geopolitical landscape will influence future corporate decision-making. Cost savings will now face more rigorous scrutiny in comparison to risk assessment. The trend towards de-globalization is likely to result in heightened prices, particularly in the short term, contributing to inflationary pressures.

Finally, gasoline prices experienced a significant surge following Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. By June 2022, the producer price index (PPI) for gasoline had risen sharply, registering an 85 percent increase compared to the previous year. Ukraine was a transit country for Russian hydrocarbons and the conflict led to Europe shutting down almost 100 percent of their oil and gas imports from Russia. The European Union successfully pivoted to other imported sources of energy and Russia's attempt to weaponize their energy exports have largely failed to materialize. Yet despite the drop in exports to Europe and the imposition of economic sanctions, Russia has also been able to pivot, selling oil at a discount to major energy consumers, such as China and India.

Prelude to War

In 2013 demonstrations in the capital, Kyiv, against Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych's choice to reject an agreement for deeper economic integration with the European Union were met with a brutal response from state security forces. The scope of the protest widened to include claims of government corruption, the influence of Russia and human rights abuses. Ultimately in February 2014 President Yanukovych fled the capital and was removed from office by the Ukrainian Parliament. As this was happening, pro-Russian, counter-revolutionary protests began in the eastern and southern portions of the country, including in the peninsula of Crimea.

In March 2014, exactly one month later, Russian forces invaded and occupied Crimea. Russian President Vladimir Putin cited the need to protect the rights of Russian citizens and Russian speakers in Crimea and southeast Ukraine as the reason for this military action. In addition, in practical terms, the important Russian naval base of Sevastopol and Russian air base of Simferopol are both located in the region. However, the action did not end once the protection of people and property was secured. Instead Russia formally annexed the peninsula, after Crimeans voted to join the Russian Federation in a disputed local referendum. The crisis heightened ethnic divisions across Ukraine, and two months later, pro-Russian separatists in the eastern Ukrainian regions of Donetsk and Luhansk held their own independence referendums.

Almost immediately, armed hostilities erupted in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, pitting Russian-supported groups against Ukrainian military and paramilitary forces. While Russia disavowed any military participation, both Ukraine and NATO documented the accumulation of Russian troops and military hardware near Donetsk, as well as cross-border shelling from Russia shortly after the annexation of Crimea. The conflict subsequently evolved into a tense deadlock, characterized by ongoing artillery fire and clashes along the frontlines dividing the eastern border areas controlled by Russia and Ukraine.

2022 Invasion of Ukraine by Russia

In October 2021, extensive intelligence collection and monitoring of Russian troop movements, force buildup, and military contingency funding led to a White House briefing involving U.S. intelligence, military, and diplomatic leaders. During this briefing, the prospect of a large-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine was discussed as highly likely. The primary uncertainties revolved around the timing of the attack and the United States' ability to persuade its allies to take pre-emptive action. Both questions were resolved on February 24, 2022, when Russian forces, following authorization from Russian President Vladimir Putin for a "special military operation," invaded a largely unprepared Ukraine. In his announcement, Putin stated that the objective of the operation was to demilitarize and de-nazify Ukraine and put an end to the alleged genocide of Russians on Ukrainian soil.

In the lead-up to the invasion, the Biden administration took an unconventional approach by loosening restrictions on sharing information and allowing for wider dissemination of intelligence and findings, both with allies, including Ukraine, and the general public. The primary objective of this strategy was to fortify the defenses of allied nations and discourage Russia from pursuing aggressive actions. Evidence from commercial satellite imagery, social media posts, and intelligence reports published in November and December 2021 revealed the movement of armored vehicles, missiles, and other heavy weaponry toward Ukraine, with no official explanation from the Kremlin. By the close of 2021, over one hundred thousand Russian troops were stationed near the Russia-Ukraine border, and U.S. intelligence officials issued warnings about a potential Russian invasion in early 2022.

In mid-December 2021, Russia's foreign ministry called upon the United States and NATO to halt military activities in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, commit to refraining from further NATO expansion toward Russia, and prevent Ukraine from joining NATO in the future. The United States and its NATO allies rejected these demands and conveyed their intention to impose significant economic sanctions in response to any aggressive actions by Russia against Ukraine. Early in February 2022, satellite images revealed the most extensive deployment of Russian troops along its border with Belarus since the conclusion of the Cold War. Despite negotiations involving the United States, Russia, and European powers, including France and Germany, a resolution remained elusive. By late February 2022, the United States issued a warning that Russia was poised to invade Ukraine, pointing to the escalating military presence near the Russia-Ukraine border. Subsequently, President Putin directed troops to Luhansk and Donetsk, asserting their role as "peacekeepers." Nonetheless, just before the invasion, U.S. and Ukrainian leaders held contrasting views on the nature and likelihood of a potential armed threat from Russia. Ukrainian officials downplayed the prospect of an incursion, postponing the mobilization of their military forces and reserves.

In addition to moving troops into Luhansk and Donetsk, President Putin also ordered elite airborne forces to seize the capital Kyiv, considered the main prize. Russian forces however failed in their mission. Even though the Ukrainians were woefully outnumbered and were lacking in armaments, the Russians were not expecting such fierce resistance. Russian strategists simply underestimated the political will of the Ukrainian people. In late March 2022, Russia announced that it would “reduce military activity” near Kyiv and Chernihiv. By April 6, Russia had withdrawn all troops from Ukraine’s capital region.

Counter-Offensive and Stalemate

In the last months of 2022, Ukraine accomplished several spectacular counter-offensives, with their military forces reclaiming 54 percent of the land once occupied by Russia. This includes thousands of square kilometers north of Kyiv, to the east around the major city of Kharkiv and to the south, recapturing part of the city of Kherson on the western bank of the Dnipro River. The euphoria brought by these victories originally led Ukraine and its Western allies to think that Ukrainian forces might be able

to reconquer all of Russian controlled Ukraine, including the illegally annexed Crimean Peninsula.

Yet despite the high level of expectations, Ukrainian forces have struggled to recreate their impressive gains in 2023. Russian forces have been able to fortify their territorial gains, greatly frustrating Ukrainian efforts. These fortifications include gun/mortar emplacements, anti-tank barriers, zigzag trench systems, and dragon teeth barriers. Additionally, infrastructure destruction has hampered Ukrainian efforts. In particular, the demolition of the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Power Plant dam on June 6, 2023, has had the most impact, profoundly altering the geography and topography of the Kherson frontline sector in southern Ukraine. The flooding has made it difficult for heavier equipment, necessary to dislodge entrenched Russian forces, to traverse the terrain near the Dnipro River. As of this writing, it is still unsure if Ukraine will make any more significant territorial gains this year or the next. The stalemate has led to a growing discourse within the domestic politics of the United States and other supporters of Ukraine as to what next steps should be.

While humanitarian crises continue to mount within the borders of Ukraine, the impact of the war also continues to be felt globally. Refugees continue to flee, markets continue to be disrupted and IR theorists that subscribe to both realism and liberal internationalism tell each other, I told you so.

This page titled 7.4: At Home and Abroad - Global Insecurity and the War in Ukraine; Why it Matters for Everyone is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

7.5: References

Matthews, E. G. & Callaway, R. C. (2017). *International Relations Theory: A Primer*. Oxford University Press.

Osborn, A. & Ostroukh, A. (2021 December 21). Putin Rues Soviet Collapse as Demise of 'Historical Russia'. *Reuters*. https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/putin-rues-soviet-collapse-demise-historical-russia-2021-12-12/.

United Nations. (2023 October 29). Our History. *United Nations Peacekeeping*. https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history.

This page titled 7.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

7.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Balance-of-power system**: where a state of equilibrium develops among powerful countries. In this system, no country is permitted to become so powerful that it can threaten the security of another major power.
- **Balancing:** denotes the act of forming alliances with other states as a strategic measure to counterbalance the influence or dominance of more powerful states.
- **Bipolar order**: where the world is organized based on two centers of power or influence.
- **Collective security**: an arrangement where an act of aggression against any individual state is regarded as aggression against all other states. In response, these states collaborate to collectively thwart and repel the aggressor.
- **Defensive realism**: where states seek to maximize power to ensure their own security and contend that wars with other states are unlikely to be beneficial.
- **Defensive strategy:** where states implement a program of containment, which is designed to limit or hinder an opponent's ability to exercise power.
- **Global insecurity**: occurs when the security of any individual nation threatens the security of all nations.
- **Global security**: type of security grounded in the principle that the security of any individual nation is inseparable from the security of all nations.
- **Human security**: type of security that centers on the physical safety of an individual regardless of where they live.
- **International security**: refers to the actions taken by nations to secure the well-being and defense of their citizens, boundaries, and strategic concerns through cooperation amongst states.
- **Levels of analysis approach**: an analytical framework positing that occurrences in international relations can be elucidated by examining individuals, states, or the global system, and that causative factors at each level can be distinguished from those at other levels.
- **Liberal internationalism**: an International Relations theory that focuses on cooperation
- **Multipolar order**: a world with multiple centers of power or influence.
- **National security**: type of security defined as a state's capacity to safeguard its interests, confidential information, and populace against both external and internal perils that have the potential to jeopardize its existence.
- **Neoliberal institutionalism**: a branch of liberalism that stresses the importance of international institutions and international law in shaping behavior as a better way to ensure the survival of the state.
- **Offensive realism**: also known as aggressive realism, where states seek to maximize power to achieve dominance. This is often accomplished by increasing their offensive capabilities.
- **Offensive strategy:** where states considered it better to fight terrorists abroad rather than at home.
- **Realism:** an International Relations theory that focuses on competition between actors.
- **Security**: the condition of being exempt from peril or threat.
- **Security dilemma**: occurs when a state is driven by its security and seeks to acquire more power than its enemies. This leads to insecurity in other countries, which prompts these countries to acquire more power, which in turn drives the original country to seek more power. This spiral can continue unabated.
- **Unipolar order**: the post-Cold War geopolitical scenario in which the United States emerged as the world's only superpower.

Summaries

7.1: Introduction to Global Security

Security is defined as the condition of being exempt from peril or threat. Generally speaking, when one hears about security, it can be understood at several different levels. This is referred to as the levels of analysis approach, an analytical framework positing that occurrences in international relations can be elucidated by examining individuals, states, or the global system, and that causative factors at each level can be distinguished from those at other levels. The first level is at the individual or personal level. This is often referred to as human security, and it centers on the physical safety of an individual regardless of where they live. The second level and the more traditional approach to security is national security. National security is defined as a state's capacity to safeguard its interests, confidential information, and populace against both external and internal perils that have the potential to jeopardize its existence. The third and final level is the global level. Global security is grounded in the principle that the security of any individual nation is inseparable from the security of all nations.

7.2: Background - The History of Global Security

Global security has its roots in the two World Wars. The League of Nations and the United Nations were both created to help create global systems that promoted collective approaches to security, rather than state-centered approaches. However, both institutions struggled to accomplish the establishment of security at the global level. While the UN has been more successful than the League regarding addressing security related global issues, it has also struggled to achieve this objective. For the first 50 years, the UN was hampered by the superpower rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The demise of the Soviet Union led to the end of the Cold War and ostensibly the end of the stalemate in the UN and efforts to promote global security. The U.S was left as the world's remaining superpower and it largely supported multilateral efforts. The UN has again become paralyzed, this time with great power conflict occurring between the U.S., Europe, and its allies on one side, and Russia, China, and its growing list of aligned countries.

7.3: Theories and Approaches to Global Security

Global security can be researched through International Relations (IR) theory. In IR, there are two traditional theories that help in contextualizing global security: realism and liberal internationalism. Realism and liberal internationalism are often considered oppositional, as realists focus on competition between actors, whereas liberal internationalism focuses on cooperation. However, both theories share some assumptions that make them comparable. Alternatively, there have developed several newer approaches, most notably social constructivism, which focuses on the relational aspects of identities to understand how one state views another state. Tere are also critical theories, which places primacy on the role of economics in explaining global phenomena, and are rooted in the writings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, and other early political economists, as well as feminism.

7.4: At Home and Abroad - The War in Ukraine and Why it Matters for Everyone

This section explains how the war in Ukraine has increased global security. The 2022 invasion of Ukraine by Russia has has several global impacts, including potential security threats to Europe, the exacerbation of hunger to the blockades of Ukrainian grain exports, the displacement of over 11 million Ukrainians from their homes, attention to the vulnerabilities inherent in just-in-time supply chains, and dramatic increases in the price of hydrocarbons, such as oil and gas. In February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine with a direct attack on Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. This attack failed and Russia proceeded with an invasion of the country on all three sides, conquering about 25 percent of the country. Ukrainian forces produced a counter-offensive the following Autumn, recapturing thousands of square kilometers. Ukrainian forces have struggled to recreate their impressive gains in 2023. Russian forces have been able to fortify their territorial gains, greatly frustrating Ukrainian efforts.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Council of Foreign Relations, The U.S. War in Afghanistan (A in-depth timeline of the War in Afghanistan, 1999-2021)
- Council on Foreign Relations, War in Ukraine, Global Conflict Tracker (Up to date news on the War in Ukraine)
- RAND Corporation, Global Security (Explore a series of Global Security issues)
- United Nations Development Programme, Human Security: A Stronger Framework for a More Secure Future (More detailed resource on understanding human security)

Books

- Browning, C.S. (2013). *International Security: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press
- D'Anieri, P. (2023). *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. Princeton University Press
- Matthews, E.G. & Callaway, R.L. (2017). *International Relations Theory: A Primer*. Oxford University Press.

Journal Articles

- Aitken, C., & Ersoy, E. (2023). War in Ukraine: The Options for Europe's Energy Supply. *World Economy*, 46(4), 887–896.
- Howard-Hassmann, R. E. (2012). Human Security: Undermining Human Rights? *Human Rights Quarterly*, 34(1), 88–112.

- Jervis, R. (1999). Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate. *International Security*, 24(1), 42–63.

Review Questions

1. What are the three different levels of analysis when it comes to security?
    1. Human, national, and global.
    2. National, international, and global.
    3. Human, national, and international.
    4. Individual, human, and national.
    5. None of these answers are correct.
2. In this decade, global security is moving towards
    1. a bipolar order.
    2. a unipolar order.
    3. a multipolar order.
    4. hegemonic stability.
    5. collective security
3. As an international relations theory, realism is focused on
    1. security.
    2. maximization of power.
    3. both of these answers are correct.
    4. neither of these answers are correct.
4. Social constructivism focuses on
    1. the maximization of power.
    2. cooperation among international institutions.
    3. the relational aspects of identities of states.
    4. social divisions, such as gender.
5. How has the war in Ukraine contributed to global insecurity?
    1. Potential security threats to Europe.
    2. Displacement of over 10 million people from their homes.
    3. Vulnerabilities inherent in just-in-time supply chains.
    4. Dramatic surge in oil and gas prices.
    5. All of these answers are correct.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What are the seven elements of human security in the definition provided by the UN Development Programme? How could they help policymakers in developing security policy?
2. Russia and China seek a multipolar order, or a world with multiple centers of power or influence. Is this achievable?
3. Of the two major IR theories presented in this chapter, realism and liberalism, which one do you think best describes global security approaches today?

This page titled 7.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

8: GLOBAL FOOD DISRUPTION AND HUNGER

8.1: Introduction
8.2: Background - Responses to Food Crises
8.3: Theories - The Causes and Consequences of Persitent Global Hunger
8.4: At Home and Abroad - The Hunger Season
8.5: References
8.6: Student Resources

This page titled 8: Global Food Disruption and Hunger is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

8.1: Introduction

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the international nature of the contemporary agri-food system
- Explain the factors that are used to create estimates of how many people worldwide are malnourished and food insecure

Choices and Constraints During Food Crises

In 2002, Southern Africa experienced a food crisis. Many people lacked the food they needed to survive and so international donations were requested from the global community. The World Food Programme organized a massive transnational humanitarian effort to provide food to affected countries (Harsch, 2003). However, two countries, Zimbabwe and Zambia, made a choice to reject some grain donations from the United States because they included genetically modified organisms (GMOs). The world community was shocked and the governments of the two nations faced widespread condemnation of their decision. The controversial choice left the citizens of these two countries with less food and more people suffered from food insecurity as a result. Why, then, did Zimbabwean and Zambian leaders make this choice?

There were two primary reasons. The first was widespread uncertainty among members of the public about the safety of GMOs. This concern has proven to be largely meritless, but at the time there was significantly less scientific evidence of their safety and many other countries imposed similar import restrictions, including the European Union, which banned many forms of GMO products (Manda, 2003).



Figure 8.1.1: "Markets in Kitwe" by Adam Annfield is licensed under CC BY 4.0

The second reason for Zambia's and Zimbabwe's decision was a fear of **"out-cropping"**, a term that refers to the potential for GMO grain to germinate and cross-pollinate with local crops. Several other nations in the region milled grain donations to ensure that there was no risk to their agricultural stocks. Out-cropping could have had ecological impacts, but would also have prevented exports to the European Union, which, as noted above, restricts imports of genetically modified organisms. This may be a reasonable concern given that EU nations are the primary trading partners for these Southern African countries (Manda, 2003).

As this example demonstrates, addressing the hunger of the nearly 3 billion people worldwide who experience undernourishment or some degree of food insecurity can present unforeseen challenges (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). It can be

difficult to craft a response to global hunger events because the systems through which most people secure food are increasingly global. In nearly all countries, some portion of the food is imported and/or transported long distances from rural to urban communities. Food products may, therefore, be subject to multiple and sometimes conflicting regulatory systems. Another important takeaway of this story about Zambia and Zimbabwe is that countries dependent on food imports, and even countries dependent on food aid, are often also food exporters. In the Twenty-first Century, very few countries are self-sufficient when it comes to providing an adequate diet for their citizenry.

Agri-Food Systems

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) uses the term **agri-food system** to describe the complex networks through which food flows from both small-holding and corporate farms across the world, into the hands of those who need it. National agri-food systems link rural and agricultural communities to cities, while the global system links countries through trade but also through international food commodity markets. Products like sugar, vegetable oil, beef, and corn, among others, are traded in such large quantities that their prices are established based on the relationship between global supply and demand. Reducing the number of hungry people around the globe will require changes to the transnational agri-food system, to reduce waste and ensure distribution to regions in need.



Figure 8.1.2: "Lokichokio" by Matt Murphy, U.S. State Department is in the Public Domain

According to estimates by the FAO, between 691 and 783 million experienced undernourishment in 2022 (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). This represents approximately 9 percent of the world's current population. In 2015, the member nations of the United Nations adopted 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which together make up the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda which include the goal of ending hunger (UN, 2015). The SDGs are intended to spur coordinated action to improve the condition of people throughout the world by 2030. The United Nations also identified two key sub-goals that will contribute to curbing the experience of hunger around the globe: 1) to support local and small-scale agriculture; and 2) to reduce the amount of food wasted each year. Unfortunately, the ability of the countries of the world to make meaningful progress toward the goal of "Zero Hunger" has been greatly limited by the COVID-19 pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. These two global crises have resulted in a significant increase in the number of people who are experiencing chronic hunger. Current indications are that without significantly more action, 600 million people will likely still be left hungry in 2030 (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023).

Measuring Hunger

Among the contributions made by the United Nations is clear language that can be used to both study and discuss the problem of hunger. Persistent hunger is studied by measuring indications of **undernourishment,** widely called the Prevalence of Undernourishment (PoU). The UN defines undernourishment as the condition by which a person doesn't have access, on a regular basis, to the amount of food that is sufficient to provide the energy required for conducting a normal, healthy and active life, given his or her own dietary energy requirements. There are four key indicators of undernourishment that global researchers

track. The first is **stunting** in children under 5, which is defined by being too short for one's age. Stunting is a consequence of **malnutrition**, the lack of proper nutrition, which is an indirect indicator that people within a community may not have access to a healthy or sufficient diet. The second indicator of undernourishment is **wasting** in children under 5. Wasting is the condition that is often seen in photographs of extremely thin children from countries in the midst of a food crisis. Long periods of malnutrition can create health conditions that prevent the body from being able to absorb nutrients, leading to those extremely thin limbs and making one vulnerable to myriad illnesses. The third condition that is tracked as a measure of undernourishment is being **overweight**. While overweight may be a surprising indicator of undernourishment because of its association with higher income countries, in the larger global context it may also be a consequence of early childhood stunting. The final indicator of persistent hunger is **low birth weight**, which refers to a weight of less than 2500 grams (or less than 5.5 pounds) at birth.

While the Sustainable Development Goals include the goal of ending the types of chronic hunger that can cause stunting, wasting, and the other indicators of undernourishment, the SDGs also seek to end the experience of **severe food insecurity**. Severe food insecurity is defined by the United Nations as having such limited or inconsistent access to food supplies that people must go without any food for a day or more. You may wonder how it is possible to know what portion of the world's nearly 8 billion people run low on food or must go to bed without eating. Since 2014, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has partnered with Gallup Global Polls to ask people (FAO, 2017). The Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES) is based on a regional project aimed at measuring hunger in Latin America. The scale relies on a survey of 8 simple questions, which has been translated by the FAO into 200 world languages, ensuring the survey is easy and cheap to conduct. Survey responses may be rated on a scale from moderate to severe food insecurity based on the number of positive responses.

Food Insecurity Experience Scale Survey:

"During the last 12 months, was there a time when, because of lack of money or other resources:

1. You were worried you would not have enough food to eat?
2. You were unable to eat healthy and nutritious food?
3. You ate only a few kinds of foods?
4. You had to skip a meal?
5. You ate less than you thought you should?
6. Your household ran out of food?
7. You were hungry but you did not eat?
8. You went without eating for a whole day?"

Figure 8.1.3: Food Insecurity Experience Scale Survey

In addition to these measures of chronic and long-lasting hunger, it is also important to consider how to define **famine**, which is an acute crisis caused by a lack of access to food. The United Nations describes famine as the most severe form of food crisis, which is "caused by extreme shortages of food in a particular region or country" and "causes widespread malnutrition, starvation, and increased mortality" (UN Famine Response and Prevention Coordinator). This final measure is very important- increased mortality. It is important to recognize that famines will create conditions of poor health, leading to death as often from disease as malnutrition itself. Those deaths caused by disease are included in the overall death toll attributed to a famine event. World Peace Foundation executive director, Alex de Waal, has gone further in describing the causes for mortality that may be associated with famine, noting that lack of access to food causes large movements of people and increasing conflict over scare resources, which also may result in increased mortality during a famine period (De Waal, 2017).

Because hunger is such a routine human experience, even among the food secure, it is important to note that it is often interpreted using a comparative lens, seeking to understand which regions, which environments, and which people experience chronic hunger with a greater or lesser frequency. In particular, the global community has sought in recent years to understand how the experience of hunger varies by region, varies between urban, peri-urban, and rural environments, and varies by personal characteristic- especially gender. Let's take a look at how this comparative approach can inform our understanding of hunger around the globe.

Regional Variation

Recent data from the FAO indicates that fewer people in Latin America experienced moderate and severe food insecurity in 2022 than in 2021 (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). This represents a positive trend after the very challenging

years of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, a closer look at the data indicates a more complicated trend. While many fewer people in South America experienced moderate and severe food insecurity in 2022 (a decline of 4.5 million), more residents of Central America (an increase of 400,000) and Caribbean (an increase of 1.1 million) went hungry (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). Within just this one region of the world there were sub-regions that experienced opposite trends which require investigation.

It is notable that while many South American nations are food exporters, Caribbean countries have far less land area and are all food importers. That fact alone may seem to suggest a reason for the improvement in South America and the decline in Central America and the Caribbean; however, domestic politics and relative wealth are also important factors. Progressive governments in South America have been more successful at crafting social safety nets that can provide support to people who face extremes of hunger. Several South American countries have also benefited from the increasing value of petroleum on the international market, and can use the profits from their oil industries to offset the increasing prices of food products (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). States in the Caribbean and in Central America do not have access to these same resources and face the continued prospect of importing food at a higher overall cost.

Urbanization

The growth and expansion of city living has significantly impacted the means by which people can secure food and avoid hunger. Cities generally produce less food that can be used by residents, although there have been urban greening and even urban agriculture initiatives in cities around the globe. Because cities do not produce large amounts of food, but do have large numbers of residents, one might expect a larger amount of hunger in cities. This trend does exist, but only in North American and European cities. In Latin America and Africa, hunger is far more common in rural environments, and as a result many more rural residents in these regions report severe food insecurity and/or chronic hunger (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023).

There may be many reasons for this difference. People living in urban areas consume differently than rural residents, perhaps because they can afford to do so. Additionally, incomes are often higher in urban communities. However, they may also consume differently because of access. Cities tend to be well connected to networks of regional and global exchange that facilitate more consumption of meat, dairy, and fresh fruit. As a result, the demand for traditional food products customarily produced in rural communities can decline, leaving those communities with fewer resources to produce and/or purchase food. The consumption of processed foods also increases with urbanization, which can be problematic from a nutrition standpoint and increase the cost of a healthy diet.

All of these changes to the agri-food system may help to explain the opposing trends that we have identified. Meat, dairy, imported foods, and processed foods are likely to cost more than traditional rural food stuffs. Urbanization creates conditions where more people eat a higher cost diet. In High Income Countries (HICs), which are more common in North America and Europe, this higher cost diet is more easily born by the population but people still struggle in those places where poverty is most prevalent, likely in cities. In Low and Lower Middle Income Countries (LICs and LMICs), urbanization still leads to higher cost food, but poverty in those countries is most prevalent in rural communities where wages are often lower. In this way the variation among regions is reflective of the unequal distribution of wealth across the globe.

Gender Food Gap

Women farmers in Nepal

Figure 8.1.4: "Helping rural women farmers in Nepals Terai" by Robert Stansfield/DFID is in the Public Domain

Gender disparities are another case in which comparative methods help us to more fully understand the nature of hunger in the Twenty-first Century. Around the world, women often “eat last and least”, in the words of the FAO (Mitra, 2023; Taylor et. al, 2017). In 2022, the FAO estimated that 2.4 percent more women than men experienced food insecurity (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). This was a notable decline from the prior year, when the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic had caused the gender food gap to nearly double. Those percentages may seem small, but they represent hundreds of millions of women around the world who experience chronic hunger and food insecurity. Because gender has such a clear impact on the experience of hunger, one key strategy for improving rates of hunger around the world is to ensure fewer women go hungry. To accomplish this goal, it is important to understand why women are more likely to go hungry. There are many of reasons, including care-work responsibilities that are often left to women, fewer resources that result from lower rates of participation in wage-labor, and the practical conditions that exist within a community (Taylor, et. al, 2017). For example, women are more likely to be primarily responsible for the care of home, children, and elderly family members. This association of women with care can leave women hungry in two distinct ways: there may be a cultural assumption that they can give their share to those for whom they care and they may have limited income because this care work is unpaid. Challenging these assumptions, as well as creating new opportunities

for women within the broader economy is essential if hunger is truly to end by 2030.

This page titled 8.1: Introduction is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

8.2: Background - Responses to Food Crises

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the development of international organizations focused on the provision and distribution of food worldwide
- Explain the relationship of food to human rights in the post-Second World War era
- Explain the ways "food power" represents a barrier to reducing global malnutrition and food insecurity

New Focus on an Old Problem

In 1943, 44 nations gathered in Hot Springs, Virginia to discuss how to respond to the humanitarian disaster unfolding in Europe. The meeting included ten countries that were under Nazi occupation at the time that the meeting was convened. Occupied countries were subject not only to brutal violence, but also to extractive food policies implemented by the Nazi party (Lyon, 1943). Nazi policy ensured that the German armed forces and civilians were well-provisioned by importing food from the occupied territories, particularly from the occupied areas of the Soviet Union, even when there was not sufficient food left to feed the people in that region. This “hunger plan” likely killed 30 million people and was one of the great war crimes that was committed by the Nazi regime, shaping how the world understood the genocide (De Waal, 2017). It needed to be a priority to ensure food would be available to transport into Europe as soon as the war ended. All countries present agreed to increase production as much as possible and began to plan for transport into the effected regions. This conference cemented the role of the global food markets in feeding people worldwide and gave birth to the idea of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

The conference declaration included the following bold claim: “There has never been enough food for the health of all people” (Lyon, 1943). This is indeed the way that we tend to understand the relationship between human beings and hunger, as a fundamental feature of the human condition. However, this idea can also mask the ways in which the causes and consequences of widespread hunger change over time.



Figure 8.2.1: "Lester Bowles Pearson presiding at a plenary session of the founding conference of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization" by National Film Board of Canada is in the Public Domain

Scholars who study the history of hunger will point to a pivotal moment in the Nineteenth Century when the nature of food crises seemed to change significantly. At the heart of this moment was a significant food crisis that impacted communities throughout the Northern hemisphere in 1816. In the year before there had been an especially violent eruption of Mount Tambora, which is

located in modern Indonesia. A plume of volcanic ash contributed to a drop in global temperatures, leading to crop failures and significant numbers of famine deaths (De Waal, 2017). This became known as “the year without a summer”, and the event was memorialized in American President James Madison’s 1816 address to Congress, which began with the following statement: “In reviewing the present state of our country, our attention cannot be withheld from the effect produced by peculiar seasons which have very generally impaired the annual gifts of the earth and threatened scarcity in particular districts.” In hindsight, this is often described as the last food crisis for which the primary causes were natural (Mokyr, 1980).

Conquest, Conflict, and Famine

More modern food crises have largely been caused by human action (or in some cases inaction). Although chronic hunger and malnutrition may have been traditionally understood as the natural outcome of inclement weather or failed crops, during the Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Centuries food crises are much more closely associated with conflict, colonialism, and authoritarian governments. These man-made famines are often described as **new famines** which are associated with a lack of access to food, rather than a lack of food itself (De Waal, 2017).

One example of a new famine was the Irish Potato Famine. Occurring between 1845 and 1852, the Irish Potato Famine was initially attributed to a blight that impacted one of Ireland’s primary food crops: the potato. An estimated one million people died of hunger and disease during the famine, while another two million left the country seeking a more secure life elsewhere. As a result, the population of Ireland declined dramatically during this period. However, reports at the time indicate that there was plentiful food in many markets and grain exports from the island nation continued. For this reason, it is necessary to take a closer look at the initial cause for the famine. In the centuries before the crisis, Ireland had experienced waves of brutal colonization by their British neighbors. This colonial process included reallocation of the most fertile lands from the indigenous Irish to British subjects, resulting in the forcible movement of many Irish communities to less productive land and increasing dependence on the limited crops that could be grown there, most notably the potato (Mokyr, 1980). The government of the United Kingdom was slow to respond to the growing crisis, finally doing so through a combination of workhouses that would pay for labor in food, but provided dismal and sometimes deadly labor conditions, and a law that made landlords responsible for providing relief for legal tenants, which resulted in a large number of evictions during the crisis (ÓGráda, 1996). As you can see, the failure of the potato crop might have been attributed to a fungal infection, but the starvation of the population was a result of colonial violence and poor policy choices.



Figure 8.2.2: "An Irish Peasant Family Discovering the Blight of their Store" by Daniel MacDonald is in the Public Domain

Another example of a new famine occurred in Nigeria beginning in 1968. Nigeria is a profoundly diverse country, the boundaries for which had been drawn by European colonists seeking to extract natural resources from the region. In 1968, shortly after British colonialism was successfully ended in Nigeria, a civil conflict began. Biafra, a southeastern province and home to many members of the Igbo community, declared its independence and faced opposition from the Nigerian government. The declaration of the Republic of Biafra’s independence had been preceded by several years of ethnic tension and violence directed towards the Igbo people and the conduct of the war similarly targeted the civilian population through the creation of a blockade of the region by the Nigerian navy (Nafziger, 1972; Achebe 1968). The result was a significant decline in the amount of available food and starvation

followed. More than a million people died as a result of the Biafra blockade, despite international assistance. This was the first major food crisis since the creation of the World Food Programme and a significant amount of international attention was paid to the suffering of the people of Biafra.

Members of the Nigerian-Biafran civil war relief team unload crates of codfish, 1968

Figure 8.2.3: "Food Aid Nigeria" by Dr. Lyle Conrad/ CDC is in the Public Domain

In 100 plus years between the Irish Potato Famine and the Biafra Famine, there had been several significant developments that created the opportunity for a global humanitarian response in 1968. In 1945, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization was formally established as a permanent agency that could help to coordinate food markets and track access to nutrition. In his final address to the United Nations, American President Dwight Eisenhower asked that the international community do more to alleviate hunger throughout the world. The United States was, and continues to be, a major food exporter, and had implemented several direct aid food programs primarily in Central and Eastern Europe prior to the Second World War, often in the service of an anti-Bolshevik foreign policy agenda. President Eisenhower stated, “Beyond this, we must never forget that there are hundreds of millions of people, particularly in the less developed parts of the world, suffering from hunger and malnutrition, even though a number of countries, my own included, are producing food in surplus. This paradox should not be allowed to continue.”

The United Nations heeded this call by creating the World Food Programme (WFP) in 1961. The World Food Programme, which is funded exclusively through government and individual donations, has become a significant global force fighting hunger, with fourteen billion dollars of donations in 2022 alone. It uses a fleet of trucks, planes, and ships to help move food where it is needed. In recent years, in recognition of the fact that importing large food stores can be harmful to the local and regional agri-food systems, imperil small-holding farmers, and be difficult in some regions, the World Food Programme has begun to implement a larger system of cash transfers. People can use the cash to purchase food that is fresh, local, and culturally affirming.

Food Power

However, the Twentieth Century was not a period of consistent improvement on a quest to eliminate undernutrition and food insecurity. During the 1970s and 1980s, there was increasing discussion of “**food power**” as nation states sometimes used the donation or withholding of food as leverage to secure foreign policy goals. Most notoriously, American Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz declared in 1974 that, “Food is a weapon” (Sanderson, 1983). This statement, made in the context of the oil embargo declared by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in retaliation for American financial support of Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, hinted at an approach to global affairs that could significantly increase both the number of people vulnerable to hunger and the amount of food waste. Food embargoes were employed by the United States during the 1970s and 1980s in an attempt to gain an advantage in negotiations concerning the wars in Vietnam, Angola, and in the Middle East (Sanderson, 1983). The United States also imposed a grain embargo on the Soviet Union in 1980, but its impact was limited.

Although the immorality and inefficiency of using food as a weapon have been widely acknowledged, the use of embargoes and blockades continues. A particularly dire food crisis has unfolded in recent years in Yemen. In 2014, Shi'a Houthi militias attacked the capital city of Sana’a demanding a change of government. The Houthi, who are supported by the Islamic Republic of Iran, dissolved parliament and established a Revolutionary Council to govern the country, but the internationally recognized government fought back with the assistance of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia launched a bombing campaign at the request of the overthrown President, Abedrabbo Mansour Hadi, and a proxy war between the two most powerful countries in the region began. In 2015, Saudi Arabia attempted to prevent Iran from providing supplies to the Houthi militias by imposing a blockade on Yemen. This disrupted local economies and supply chains, leaving many without food (Kurdi et. al, 2023). As a result, undernourishment is prevalent in the country, particularly among Yemeni children. To date more than 100,000 people have died of hunger and disease. Attempts to end the fighting have been complicated by U.S. and Saudi anti-terror actions against al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and by ongoing regional competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Houthis protest against airstrikes by the Saudi-led coalition on Sana'a in September 2015

Figure 8.2.4: "Houthis protest against airstrikes" by Henry Ridgwell (VOA) is in the Public Domain

The ongoing crisis in Yemen has been exacerbated by another conflict in which food is being leveraged as a weapon. The war has disrupted local agriculture, leaving the Yemeni people increasingly dependent on grain imports from food exporting countries, most notably Russia, the United States, Australia, and Ukraine (Kurdi, 2023). When Russian forces invaded Ukraine in 2022, the entire world food market was destabilized. As discussed in Chapter 7, Ukraine is a major wheat producer and their ability to grow and safely transport grain abroad was a cause for widespread global concern. When the conflict began, the United Nations issued a warning that the conflict could create an “unprecedented wave” of hunger around the globe by reducing the the supply of food,

leading to increased prices. The United Nations worked closely with Turkey, which like Ukraine and Russia is located on the Black Sea, to negotiate a July 2022 deal that allowed Ukraine to resume exports (United Nations, 2022). Unfortunately Russia withdrew from the deal in July 2023 following an attack on their Black Sea naval fleet. The impact of this conflict between neighbors on progress towards the goal of ending malnutrition and food insecurity by 2030 has been significant. In its 2023 report, *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World*, the FAO described the impact that the conflict has has on progress toward SDG #2, estimating that 23 million more people would be chronically undernourished as a result of the Ukraine conflict alone (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). Staying in the region, in 2024, there has been widespread global concern that food insecurity is being leveraged by the Israeli Defense Forces against the residents of the Gaza territory. At the request of South Africa, the International Court of Justice considered the conduct of the Hamas war by Israel's government, and while it declined to identify wrongdoing, it advised the Israeli government of its obligation to ensure "access to adequate food and water" (ICJ, January 26,2024).

Eighty years after the founding of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which was established with the mission of “enough food for the health of all people”, there continue to be world leaders who would use starvation as a weapon. There remains a conflict between those who would use withholding food as a means to power and those who believe in a “right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services…” as outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Due to these politics, there remains hunger and periodic famine.

This page titled 8.2: Background - Responses to Food Crises is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

8.3: Theories - The Causes and Consequences of Persitent Global Hunger

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the key features of the nature-focused approaches to the causes and consequences of persistent global hunger
- Identify the key features of the socio-political approaches to the causes and consequences of persistent global hunger

Hunger as a Social Question

In general there are two approaches to explaining the causes of persistent hunger and planning towards its eradication. The first approach treats lack of food as a periodic natural event that humans can plan to avoid; while the second is focused on the socio-political relationships that can provide or prevent access to food.

Nature-focused approaches to hunger

British economist and demographer Thomas Malthus is a particularly notable theorist within the nature-focused school of thought. Thomas Malthus believed that human beings had the capacity to reproduce beyond the ability of the environment to support their needs (Malthus, 1998). In his 1798, *An Essay on Population,* Malthus asserted that the human population will grow more quickly than the available resources, unless checked by moral restraint. Once a population has grown beyond the capacity of the land to support it, a food crisis becomes inevitable. This type of crisis has been called the Malthusian catastrophe. In making this claim, Malthus asserted a pessimistic view of the ability of humankind to live within the limits imposed on it by the available natural resources and also on the ability of human communities to increase those natural resources to meet greater needs (Spengler, 1971). He believed that people needed to intentionally limit the number of their offspring to ensure that enough food would be available to sustain them. In practice, the calls for population control resulting from this theory have fallen disproportionately on lower income and non-European populations.

Figure 8.3.1: "Thomas Robert Malthus" by John Linnell is in the Public Domain

Although Malthus argued that people in communities where food was scarce should limit their reproduction, the nature-focused approach has also motivated research into methods to increase the amount of food produced. Norman Borlaug was a botanist who spent a great deal of his life seeking to improve the grain plants that provide food for a large number of people worldwide. Naturally occurring wheat varieties tend to be quite tall with large seed heads at the top. They can easily fall over, often resulting in spoiled grain. Borlaug worked for years as a part of a Rockefeller Foundation funded program to develop a dwarf variety of wheat, which would resist disease and ensure greater production of the grain in less space (Swaminathan, 2009). He was successful, and the varieties of wheat that he developed in Mexico began to be used in countries around the world. The resulting increase in grain production led to further experiments with rice varietals and has been called a Green Revolution. Borlaug was, unsurprisingly, an advocate for the use of genetically modified food crops, and warned of excessive regulation and anti-scientific suspicion (Borlaug, 2000).

Socio-political approaches to hunger

In contrast to these models, which hold that either the population growth must be constrained or that production must increase, there are many who have focused on the ways that communities can be structured so that they are more or less vulnerable to food crisis. As we have already explored, in the second half of the Twentieth Century it became increasingly clear that a food crisis could occur even when food was plentiful. Socio-political thinkers who observed these new famines, developed very different ideas about how and why people are left without sufficient food.

Scholars like Karl Polanyi and Amartya Sen each considered how members of a community gain access to resources when they are needed. In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Polanyi published a text that considered the very early history of state intervention in the free market. He documented the conception of the Speenhamland Scale, which was in place during the industrialization of Great Britain and was copied by other industrializing powers. Industrialization was a massive social change that required movements of many people from small agricultural hamlets, where they might have been able to provide for themselves, into urban centers where they became dependent on wage labor to provide for their household. During this earliest moment of industrial capitalism, wages often fell below the amount needed to procure fundamental necessities like food. The result was a social crisis. The **Speenhamland Scale** was an attempt to prevent low wages from endangering the British working class and extended the promise that the state would intervene to make up the difference between earnings and the cost of bread (Polanyi, 2001). Based on this example Polanyi suggested that state intervention may be necessary when market conditions do not ensure adequate wages.

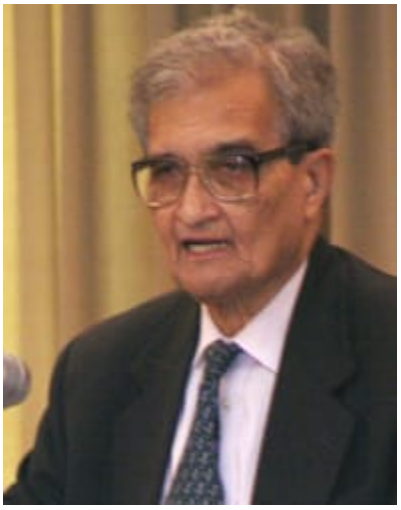


Figure 8.3.2: "Amartya Sen" by USAID is in the Public Domain

Amartya Sen, a Nobel prize winning economist, has offered a framework for understanding how people are left hungry that he calls the **entitlement approach**. Sen observes that communities will all have some standards by which people become eligible to claim a share of available food. It may be through work, through possession of money, or by belonging to a particular class of people (i.e. mothers or citizens), but each society has a system for distributing food. When people are left out of this system of entitlement, whether they are excluded intentionally or not, they will be vulnerable to hunger. In many contemporary communities, money establishes entitlement to food. A person is entitled to the food they can afford to buy; however, during periods of high inflation or high unemployment this money-based entitlement system can fail, resulting in famine (Sen, et. al., 1982).

Sen also examined state action during such economic crises. In his analysis of the 1943 Bengal Famine, Sen challenged the idea that famine is related to the amount of food available. During this particular food crisis, there were large stocks of food stuffs in Bengal; however, the food was not made available to those who needed it because of a simultaneous employment crisis among the rural workforce. There was as much, if not more, food than there had been in prior years, but people in rural communities had far less money to buy it with, resulting in starvation and disease. Sen suggests that this was the result of “Malthusian optimism”, which he describes as the belief that if food stores exist famine is an impossibility (Sen et.al, 1982).

Sen makes an even bolder claim when comparing the frequency of famine in China and India after decolonization. During the second half of the Twentieth Century, after becoming independent from the British Empire, India did not experience a major famine. During the same time period, China experienced several major food crises, including the Great Chinese Famine of 1959-60. Although neither country was rich, Sen could not find a credible link to an economic factor. Rather, he found that democratic governance in India ensured that the government received early warnings of problems through representative government and the free press (Dreze and Sen, 1991). Government officials, seeking to ensure their continued electability, had a strong incentive to respond early and to ensure that food aid made it to the specific communities that needed it. Democracy, surprisingly, helped to prevent famines.

With a similar attention to the ways in which people can lose access to food even when it is plentiful, Alex DeWaal’s work has focused on the relationship between hunger and conflict. DeWaal builds on the work of Raphael Lemkin, who famously invented the term genocide. Lemkin emphasized that one of the mechanisms for physically destroying an ethnic community was “racial discrimination in feeding” (DeWaal, 2017). Alex DeWaal claims that all modern famines are fundamentally human caused, with

violent conflict creating conditions for all of the mass starvation events of the last 50 years. He has meticulously documented the ways in which food was used in the ethnic cleansing campaigns of the Sudanese government in the Darfur region. Similar practices have been linked to nearly all famines during the Twenty-first Century.

Theory that Shapes Action

It is important to remember that these theories about the causes of food crisis have led to actual action. The writings of Thomas Malthus motivated early attempts to slow the pace of population growth worldwide because his work persuaded several generations that rapid population growth could spell disaster. Borlaug's successful genetic modification of wheat lead to a greater focus on agricultural efficiency because it demonstrated that human beings did have the power to significantly increase production through new technologies. Those policies are significantly different from the ones that might be motivated by the socio-political approach. Sen's work speaks to the importance of a free press and a public who can criticize and make demands of government. Democratization itself may be the set of policies that helps to curb the prevalence of chronic hunger. While DeWaal's work orients us away from domestic policy toward the transnational arena of international and non-governmental organizations. If conflict drives hunger, early de-escalation and humanitarian interventions are likely the policies that will curb it.



Figure 8.3.3: "Sustainable Development Goals" by IAEA Imagebank is in the Public Domain

The current approach, outlined as a part of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, is reflective of each of these disparate approaches to the persistent challenge of hunger. The UN has set targets that will help drive action and end hunger and malnutrition worldwide. These targets represent policies that are designed to address both the natural and manmade causes for hunger, including:

- Focused support for the most vulnerable, including children, women, and those who live in rural communities (Targets 2.1 and 2.2)
- Expanded production by small-holder farms facilitated through the increased access to land, financing, and information (Target 2.3)
- Increased resilience in the face of global climate change (2.4)
- Maintaining genetic diversity of food stores through national and transnational seed banks (Target 2.5)
- Increase investment, including international investment, in rural infrastructure and technologies (Target 2.a)
- Prevent disruption within international food markets through the elimination of agricultural export subsidies by all countries (Target 2.b)
- Prevent extreme price volatility within international food markets by ensuring accurate information about food stores (Target 2.c)

Clearly, this list includes policy proposals designed to address both the natural and socio-political components of food crises.

This page titled 8.3: Theories - The Causes and Consequences of Persitent Global Hunger is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

8.4: At Home and Abroad - The Hunger Season

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define the hunger season and explain how it impacts residents in both Low-Income Countries and those with higher income

A Global Experience: The Hunger Season

The “hunger or lean season” is a term that has been used to describe an experience common to those who feed themselves through subsistence farming. The “hunger or lean season” refers to the period of time between planting and harvest when preserved food stores from the prior year dwindle and food becomes scarce. The food from last year has been consumed through the winter months and the food being grown is not yet ripe enough to eat. The specific months of this season vary by region, but the experience remains common around the world in the Twenty-first Century.

You might ask, with larger and larger percentages of the world being connected with major agri-food systems, how many people could the hunger season actually impact? New research from the FAO demonstrates how common subsistence and small-holding agriculture actaully is. In 2021, a report indicated that 35 percent of all food grown on earth is produced on farms of no more than 2 hectares (or roughly 5 acres) (Lowder, et.al, 2021). Additional information indicates that an extremely large portion of the world population is employed by agri-food systems, with 857 million people involved directly in agriculture (FAO, 2021). These indirect measures indicate a continued reliance in many regions on subsistence agriculture, along with continued vulnerability to hunger as food stores wane.

Impact on the Children in the U.S.

In the United States, although few continue to rely on subsistence agriculture to feed their families, we too have a hunger season. It is the period of time between the end of school in May or June and its start in August or September. As the hunger season aligns with the traditional summer break of American schoolchildren it should not come as a surprise that it disproportionately impacts children. Feeding America, which advocates for policies that curb hunger and distributes food to the hungry, estimates that 22 million children in the United States were impacted by what they call “summer hunger” in 2022. During the COVID-19 pandemic, many state and local governments had to grapple with the reliance of many families on low or no cost school breakfasts and lunches in a new way as schools closed and this version of the “hunger season” threatened to stretch beyond what families could accommodate. Many communities scrambled to offer free breakfasts and lunches in parks or other spaces that could be made relatively safe during the pandemic, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture created a website to help families find locations, which the agency continues to use each summer.



Figure 8.4.1: "CPS Students Rachel Ray Menu" by Department of Agriculture is in the Public Domain

New attention was paid to the ways in which children rely on their schools for more than instruction. With greater awareness of how important school food programs can be, many states have acted to expand these social safety net programs. In 2021, largely in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, California became the first state in the country to provide free lunches for all public school children in the state. Since then 7 states have followed suit: Maine, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Colorado, Vermont, and Michigan. Legislation to prohibit school lunch debt, which can result in schools denying meals to students, has been proposed by legislators in Congress.

Impact on Children Globally

Working adults are often prioritized in the distribution of food because their labor is necessary to secure additional resources for the family as they tend crops that will provide future food or work for the wages necessary to purchase food. This is why the hunger season can be particularly impactful for children (World Food Program USA, 2021). For children who already receive less from familial food distribution, any form of crisis, conflict, or blight that extends the hunger season by interrupting agricultural production, can be catastrophic. The best way to improve food security among children is often to reduce the length of the hunger season. The United States is not alone in attempting to address the hunger season with school lunches.

Children in Brazil eat lunch provided by their school

Figure 8.4.2: "School Children Eat Lunch" by UNiesert is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0

Around the world, countries are adopting a similar approach to providing this necessary support for hungry school-aged children. In 2020, the World Food Programme (WFP) was in the process of scaling up school feeding programs in 10 countries worldwide, while also working with governments to hand back supervision of similar programs in 70 additional countries. In describing its efforts to ensure school children have access to healthy, well-balanced meals, the World Food Programme described an important indirect positive effect of the programs: school feeding programs help to stabilize food markets during difficult times, like the COVID-19 pandemic, by ensuring that there is consistent demand for products that are often grown in local farms. The money that countries commit to spending to provide wholesome meals for school-aged children ultimately flows into agricultural communities and helps to maintain higher prices for agricultural goods. In some countries, programs are required to use local produce, ensuring an additional benefit for workers in the local agri-food system.

The World Food Programme produces regular reports describing the scale of school feeding programs worldwide. According to the 2022 report, 418 million school children around the globe rely on school lunches, costing approximately $48 billion (World Food Programme, 2022). All told, school feeding programs are likely the largest social support program in the world. However, these programs continue to be most common in high- and medium-income countries, with low-income countries lagging significantly behind. According to WFP data, 61 percent of children in high-income countries have access to a school feeding program, while only 39 percent of children in lower middle-income countries and 18 percent of children in low-income countries have similar access. Obviously, this leaves many of the most vulnerable children unprotected. On the bright side, the World Food Programme tracked a 15 percent increase in the amount of money dedicated to school feeding among low-income countries

between 2020 and 2022, suggesting that the poorest nations of the world are prioritizing this mode of protecting children from hunger. Unfortunately during the same period, international donations to support these programs fell by nearly 20 percent, including a decline in the amount of international aid provided by the United States for such programs.

This page titled 8.4: At Home and Abroad - The Hunger Season is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

8.5: References

Achebe, C. (1968). Chinua Achebe on Biafra. *Transition*. 36, 31-38.

Borlaug. N. E. (2000). Ending World Hunger: The Promise of Biotechnology and the Threat of Antiscience Zealotry. *Plant Physiology*. 124(2), 487-490.

Buckowski, L. (2019 August 26). Why school lunch means so much to Munjama and her friends. https://www.wfp.org/stories/why-scho...h-munjama-and-her-friends.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1960 September 22). Address Before the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations, New York City. *Presidency*. Retrieved August 14, 2023 from https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-the-15th-general-assembly-the-united-nations-new-york-city.

FAO. (2017). *The Food Insecurity Experience Scale: Measuring Food Insecurity Through People's Experiences*. I7835EN/1/09.17.

FAO. (2021). *Estimating Global and County-level Employment in Agri-Food Systems*. FAO Statistics Working Paper. 23/34.

FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO. (2023). *The State of Food Insecurity and Nutrition in the World: Urbanization, Agri-food Systems Transformation, and Healthy Diets Across the Rural-Urban Continuum*.

Harsch, E. (February 2003). Famine spreads across Africa. *Africa Renewal*.

International Court of Justice. 26 January 2024. APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE IN THE GAZA STRIP.

Kurdi, S., O. Ecker, J. Glauber, and D. Laborde. (2023). Addressing the food crisis in Yemen: The private sector's key role amid local conflict and global market disruptions from the Russia-Ukraine war In *The Russia-Ukraine Conflict and Global Food Security*. International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).

Lowder, S. K., M. A. Sanchez, and R. Bertini. (2021). Which farms feed the world and has farmland become more concentrated? *World Development* 142.

Lyon, D. M. (1943). The Hot Springs Conference. *Remarks at Royal Infirmary*. Edinburgh.

Madison, J. (1816 December 3). Eighth Annual Address. Presidency. Retrieved August 27, 2023 from https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/eighth-annual-message-0.

Malthus, T. (1998). *An Essay on Population*. Electronic Scholarly Printing. http://www.esp.org/books/malthus/population/malthus.pdf.

Manda, O. (2003, February). Controversy rages over 'GM' food aid. *Africa Renewal*.

Mitra, R. (2023). The Hunger Gap is Real- and Getting Worse. *Foreign Policy*. https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/01/25...getting-worse/.

Mokyr, J. (Winter 1980). Industrialization and poverty in Ireland and the Netherlands. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 10, 429-458.

Nafziger, E. W. 1972. "The Economic Impact of the Nigerian Civil War" *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 10 (2): 223-245.

ÓGráda, C. (Autumn 1996). Making Irish famine history. *History Workshop Journal*. 42, 87-104.

Polanyi, K. (2001). *The Great Transformation*. Beacon Press.

Sanderson, F.H. (1983). The Uses and Limitations of Food Power. *The Brookings Review*. 1(4), 4-5.

Spengler, J. (1971). Malthus and World Hunger. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science. 30 (3), 128-142.

Swaminathan, M.S. (2009). Norman E. Borlaug (1914-2009). *Nature*. (461) 894.

Taylor, R., M. Besaand, N. Matin, and M. Davis. (2017). *Understanding social equity and sustainability interactions in the Sustainable Development Goals: Gender differences in food security*. Stockholm Environmental Institute.

United Nations. (2022 July 22). *Initiative on the Safe Transportation of Grain and Foodstuffs from Ukrainian Ports*.

United Nations. (2015 September 25). *2030 Sustainable Development Agenda*. A/Res/70/1.

World Food Program USA. (2021 May 21). What the 'hunger season' means for farmers fighting famine. https://www.wfpusa.org/articles/what...ghting-famine/.

This page titled 8.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

8.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Agri-food system:** the complex networks through which food flows from both small-holding and corporate farms across the world into the hands of those who need it.
- **Entitlement approach**: the standards by which people become eligible to claim a share of available food
- **Famine:** an acute crisis caused by a lack of access to food.
- **Food power** a practice of some states to use the donation or withholding of food as leverage to secure foreign policy goals.
- **Low birth weight:** a consequence of malnutrition and defined as less than 2500 grams (approximately 5.5 pounds).
- **Malnutrition:** lack of proper nutrition, caused by not having enough to eat, not eating enough of the right things, or being unable to use the food that one does eat.
- **Malthusian catastrophe:** famine resulting from excessive population growth, which grows beyond the ability of the environment to provide food.
- **New famines:** famines associated with a lack of access to food, rather than a lack of food itself.
- **Out-cropping:** the potential for GMO grain to germinate and cross-pollinate with local crops.
- **Overweight:** a common consequence of stunting early in life, overweight may also be a consequence of malnutrition and/or a lack of access to fresh and healthful foods
- **Severe food insecurity:** having such limited or inconsistent access to food supplies that people must go without any food for a day or more.
- **Speenhamland Scale:** an attempt to prevent low wages from endangering the British working class and extended the promise that the state would intervene to make up the difference between earnings and the cost of bread.
- **Stunting:** consequence of malnutrition and defined as being too short for one's age.
- **Undernourishment:** the condition by which a person doesn't have access, on a regular basis, to the amount of food that is sufficient to provide the energy required for conducting a normal, healthy and active life, given his or her own dietary energy requirements**,** the full name is the Prevalence of Undernourishment (PoU) indicator
- **Wasting:** a health condition that prevents the body from being able to absorb nutrients, leading to extremely thin limbs and making one vulnerable to myriad illnesses

Summaries

8.1: Introduction

Nearly 3 billion people around the globe continue to experience some degree of food insecurity, and in 2024 there were food crises in Gaza, Sudan, and Yemen, among other places. For many who do not have adequate food, recent years have been worse because of the war in Ukraine, which has had a significant impact on global grain production, and the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in a significant decline in global food trade as countries struggled to contain the spread of the virus. There is great concern that as a result of the crises, the world will not achieve an end to hunger by 2030, as the United Nations has committed. Malnutrition, which is measured indirectly by tracking birth weight, stunting among those under 5, wasting among those under 5, and overweight, has been on the rise especially in the lowest-income regions of the world, including the Caribbean and Africa, south of the Sahara. Increasing the number of food secure people around the world will require thoughtful regulation of the agri-food system to ensure sustainable food production and reasonable food distribution.

8.2: Background - Responses to Food Crises

Although humankind has long struggled to secure adequate food, the global community began to craft a transnational response during the Second World War. The Germans were enacting a "hunger plan" in Eastern Europe and millions were at risk. The response to this grew into the World Food Programme, which was created to move excess food from high production countries to areas of the globe where the food is needed. This response grew from a growing understanding that famines can be both made and prevented by human action. Since the early Nineteenth Century, major food crises have been more closely linked to colonialism, as in Ireland in 1845 and Bengal in 1943, conflict, as in Biafra, and problematic agriculture and price regulations, as in China in 1959. However, some have sought to use this knowledge coercively as "food power" trying to influence the actions of fellow nations through trade embargoes.

8.3: Theories - The Causes and Consequences of Persistent Global Hunger

Theories about global access to and distribution of food fall into two broad categories: nature-focused and socio-political. The nature-focused theories emphasize natural causes for human hunger, for example Thomas Malthus's concern about human population growth. They tend to emphasize a need to constrain human consumption or increase agricultural production, an achievement that was the focus of Norman Borlaug's career in botany. Socio-political theories focus on how food is distributed among human beings. How does one become eligible to get food- through possession of money or community belonging or role? Amartya Sen has considered how hungry people can alert national or international institutions before a crisis, while Alex DeWaal has tracked the use of hunger as a weapon deployed against the week during war, as in the Darfur region of Sudan.

8.4: At Home and Abroad - The Hunger Season

The hunger season is an idea that is most commonly associated with subsistence farmers, who must stretch food stores through the summer as a new food crop grows. It has more recently been used to described the experience of American school children who may lose access to necessary school breakfast and lunch programs during the summer, when schools close. This persistent problem was made glaringly obvious during the COVID-19 pandemic when schools closed and children were left without the resource indefinitely. Many states reacted by implementing access to school meals all year. Around the globe, school feeding programs had to grow in similar ways. Low-income countries increased their expenditures on meal programs for school children by 15 percent between 2020 and 2022. These programs represent the largest social safety net program in the world.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

World Central Kitchen

World Food Programme

World Peace Foundation- History and Future of Famine

Books

DeWaal, A. (2005). *Famine that Kills (Revised edition).* Oxford University Press.

Shiva, V. (2015). *Seed Sovereignty, Food Security: Women in the Vanguard.* Spinfax Press.

Shree, S. and D. Pickering. (2022). *Hunger: an anthology.* Transcendent Zero Press.

Journal Articles

Kanjii, L. (2016). "Famine or Feast: Climate Change and the Future of Food Production". *Harvard International Review.* 37(3), 55-58.

Sachs, C. and A. Patel-Campillo. (2014). "Feminist Food Justice: Crafting a New Vision. *Feminist Studies.* 40(2), 396-410.

Sagaskie, H. F. (2019). "The Impact of Colonization: Food insecurity among American Indian and Alaska Native Adults". *Michigan Sociological Review.* 33(Fall), 101-114.

Review Questions

1. What is the primary goal of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations?
    1. To coordinate the production of enough food for the health of all the people in the world
    2. To distribute food aid to low-income countries (LICs)
    3. To advocate for agricultural subsidies to sustain farmers within individual nations

4. To direct the flow of excess food stuffs from food exporting nations

2. Which is the largest social support program in the world?
    1. Disaster relief programs
    2. School Lunch programs
    3. Old Age Pension programs
    4. Unemployment programs
3. According to the most recent estimates, what portion of the world population experiences malnutrition?
    1. 40%
    2. 25%
    3. 9%
    4. 3%
4. To what does the gender food gap refer?
    1. The global tendency to provide less food for women
    2. The increased responsibility of women to cook food
    3. The large number of programs that provide food to pregnant women
    4. The roles of women in international agri-food systems
5. What is included in the contemporary concept of the agri-food system?
    1. Farmers who grow food
    2. Processing plants that package and refine food stuffs
    3. Transportation companies that ship food products worldwide
    4. All of the above

Critical Thinking Questions:

1. How are the concepts of food as a human right and "food power" different from one another? Can both be realized at the same time?
2. Why is improving the protection of women's rights around the world part of strategies to reduce hunger and malnutrition?
3. Do you have a sense of how the agri-food networks function within your region? What information would you look for if you more clearly understand how you access food?

This page titled 8.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

9: GLOBAL HEALTH DISPARITIES

9.1: Introduction - What is Global Health?
9.2: Background - Historical Global Health Crises
9.3: Theories and Concepts - Approaching Global Health Inequities from a Variety of Theoretical Perspectives
9.4: At Home and Abroad- How COVID-19 Changed All of Our Lives
9.5: References
9.6: Student Resources

This page titled 9: Global Health Disparities is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

9.1: Introduction - What is Global Health?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define global health
- Understand global health inequities within countries and within the states in the United States of America

Introduction

The complexity of the definition of **global health** begins with an understanding of the various levels of responsibility more developed countries have to developing countries. The Consortium of Universities of Global Health asserts that a definition of global health must be defined with the following variables - climate change, the economy, food, and energy - in order for organizations and researchers to measure results. The underlying definition of global health is acknowledging the lack of accessibility in healthcare within communities around the world that affect the health of all people.

Global health disparities are evident within the Global North, yet even the poorest person in the Global North tends to have a longer life expectancy than a person that lives in the Global South. The CIA (2023 estimate) reports that the following countries have the highest and lowest life expectancy rates:

Table 9.1.1
Top 10 Countries for Life Expectancy

Country Ranking	Name of the Country	Life Expectancy (yrs)
1.	Monaco	89.6
2.	Singapore	86.5
3.	Macau	85.2
4.	Japan	85
5.	San Marino	84.1
6.	Canada	84
7.	Switzerland	83.8
8.	Hong Kong	83.8
9.	Iceland	83.8
10.	Andorra	83.6

SOURCE: CIA (2023). *Life Expectancy at Birth.* https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbo...ancy-at-birth/.

According to the CIA (2023), the United States is number 48 in life expectancy, as the average American lives 80.8 years.

Table 9.1.2
Top 10 Countries with the Lowest Life Expectancy

Country Ranking	Name of the Country	Life Expectancy (yrs)
227.	Afghanistan	54.1
226.	Central African Republic	56
225.	Somalia	56.1

Country Ranking	Name of the Country	Life Expectancy (yrs)
224.	Mozambique	57.7
223.	Sierra Leone	59.1
222.	Chad	59.6
221.	South Sudan	59.7
220.	Lesotho	59.9
219.	Eswatini	60.2
218.	Niger	60.5

SOURCE: CIA (2023). *Life Expectancy at Birth.* https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbo...ancy-at-birth/.

Most of the countries with the lowest life expectancy are located within Africa and South Asia. This is due to a myriad of issues. On one side, it is economic in nature, these countries have some of the lowest gross domestic products (GDPs) in the world. Political considerations can also effect life expectancy. One ramification of the United States leaving Afghanistan was reasserting the complete control of the Taliban. The effects of a Taliban government is a lack of healthcare that has left everyone vulnerable, especially women. Many people are dying due to lack of medicine, as the World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that two-thirds of the Afghan population need some sort of health aid (Abbasi 2022). The population is plagued with not only COVID-19, but they are so malnourished that other conditions, such as measles and diarrhea, are rampant (Abbasi 2022). Economics and politics can also collide, as Afghan health workers can often go for months without being paid. These kinds of health problems are not just limited to Afghanistan. In the Central African Republic there there are 56 million people waiting to have surgery, and it is estimated that 25 percent of all people under the age of 15 will die due to health problems (African Mission Healthcare 2024). Due to the lack of funding and global financial support, countries such as these, as well as many others see their populations continuously on the brink of one health crisis or another. These countries are also experiencing a great deal of political unrest, which further exacerbates global health inequalities because it makes it difficult to adequately implement international financial assistance that would help keep every citizen healthy.

Who is Responsible?

With an increasingly interconnected world, it begs the question, who is responsible for the global health of all people? After all, a health crisis in one country can have a resounding effect on the rest of world. Many countries look to the wealthiest nations for financial assistance to ensure the health of their citizens. According to the World Bank (2021), the United States of America has the largest GDP in the world, at $23.32 trillion. China has the second largest GDP in the world at $17.73 trillion, and the third largest GDP is Japan at $4.94 trillion. Yet, the United States itself suffers from health inequities, and depending on the state, a person can have a lower life expectancy. According to the U.S. Centers of Disease and Prevention, in 2020 the state with the lowest life expectancy was Mississippi (Table 9.1.3) while states that have the highest life expectancy include: Hawaii, Minnesota, Massachusetts, California, and New Hampshire (Table 9.1.4).

Table 9.1.3
Top 5 States for Life Expectancy

Ranking of the State	Name of the State	Life Expectancy (yrs)
50.	Mississippi	71.9
49.	West Virginia	72.8
48.	Louisiana	73.1
47.	Alabama	73.2
46.	Kentucky	73.1

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics and National Vital Statistics System. (2018, 2019 and 2020). *Life Expectancy at Birth,* https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/s...expectancy.htm.

Table 9.1.4
Bottom 5 States for Life Expectancy

Ranking of the State	Name of the State	Life Expectancy (yrs)
1.	Hawaii	80.7
2.	Minnesota	79.1
3.	Massachusetts	79
4.	California	79
5.	New Hampshire	79

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics and National Vital Statistics System. (2018, 2019 and 2020). *Life Expectancy at Birth,* https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/s...expectancy.htm.

There are a variety of reasons why some states have a higher or lower life expectancy, which include environmental laws and public medical spending. Yet, the fact remains, in the wealthiest country in the world, residents will live longer based on the state that they reside. One might ask, if the U.S. has its own struggles, should it really be responsible for helping the rest of the world? One might look to the most recent global pandemic for an answer. The COVID-19 crisis is just the most recent example of how no country can be ignored during a health pandemic because the world will continue to be affected negatively if countries are left to independently handle health crises on their own.

This page titled 9.1: Introduction - What is Global Health? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

9.2: Background - Historical Global Health Crises

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify historical global health crises
- Differentiate how some global health crises have been confined to certain countries while others have spread around the world

Historical Pandemics

Global health crises are a cyclical part of history. The world has experienced a number of them, with the earliest documented in 430 BCE. A **global pandemic** is different, and is defined as a health crisis that can lead not only to illness, but also the possible death of individuals across the world. A global health crisis concerns illnesses that have the potential of spreading, but do not risk the death of a large number of individuals around the world.

The exposure to other cultures, usually through military conflict or trade, led to the possibility of large outbreaks of diseases. The first documented global pandemic was the Athenian Plague of 430 BCE, which caused people to have rashes, headaches, and abdominal cramps that could eventually lead to death in 7-8 days. In the case of Athens, it is estimated that 25 percent of the population died due to the plague. According to the contemporary historian Thucydides (who contracted and survived the disease), the plague began in Ethiopia, spread through Egypt and Libya, and eventually entered Athens through its port and spread through the city-state from there. Later. between 165-180 CE, the Antonine Plague occurred. Here it is believed that Roman troops carried the disease from their conflicts in the region of modern-day Iraq back into the empire. Infected individuals had rashes, hemorrhagic pustules, bloody diarrhea, and fever. It killed over 5 million people, which was about 25 percent of the population of the Roman Empire.

We should also include the infamous Black Death, a bubonic plague caused by the *yersinia pestis* bacteria, that first spread across Asia, Europe, and Africa from 1346 to 1353. Individuals suffered from high fever, gangrene of the nose, ears, and extremities, and pneumonia, which was easily transmitted, and resulted in most people dying within 7-10 days of contracting the disease. The root cause of the Black Death is indicative of the need to evaluate global health disparities and the deplorable living conditions people experience. Initially, the plague spread due to rats carrying fleas (the **vector**, or living organism, that transmit the disease). Lower-income people in European cities lived in highly-congested areas with poor hygenic conditions (i.e. the perfect breeding grounds for rats). This helped the disease to spread rapidly, as well as made these individuals more susceptible to contracting it. Eventually, the disease also became airborne, which made the spread even more devastating. The Black Death is believed to be the worst global pandemic ever recorded, with a global death toll estimated to be around 200 million people. In Europe alone, it is believed that that about 60 percent of the population perished (Sampath et. al. 2021). It is harder to pin down the statistics for other global communities.

As discussed in Chapter 2.2, the movement of disease that was a hallmark of the Columbian Exchange is also considered a global pandemic. With European movement into the Americas, diseases that once were limited in their spread to Afro-Eurasia, now could make the jump across the Atlantic Ocean, carried by the sailors, colonists and enslaved. Known as virgin soil epidemics, diseases such as malaria, influenza, measles, and the bubonic plague, just to name a few, infected the indigenous populations of the Americas, causing widespread death and allowing the eventual political, economic, and cultural victory of the Europeans.

Modern Day Pandemics

With the pandemics discussed above, we primarily have to rely on the written word and often unscientific accounts and numbers to track symptoms, longevity and fatality numbers and rates. Modern pandemics are much easier to track and understand. Take for example modern cholera pandemics, which are clustered into seven phases, that have spanned between 1817 to the present. All major countries have been affected during the various phases. The first began in India and due to global trade, dispersed throughout Southeast Asia into the Middle East and Africa and eventually into Europe and North America. Over the course of these seven waves of cholera pandemics, over 1 million people have died. Additionally, 2.86 million cholera cases are still identified

annually and approximately 1.3 billion people are at risk of being infected (Sampath et. al. 2021). There of course can still be data that is untrustworthy, either due to bad record keeping or the isolated nature of some of the effected populations, however there is no doubt that by studying the spread and effect of cholera in the modern world, we know much more about pandemics today than in the historical past.

Another disease that is often the cause of global pandemics is influenza. The misnamed Spanish Flu (1918), which actually originated in Kansas, spread through the world via military deployment in the First World War. The pandemic hurt those who were under the age of 30, and shortened life expectancy by 12 years (Sampath et. al. 2021). Individuals suffered from upper respiratory tract systems, such as a sore throat, cough, and fever. Similar to COVID-19, Americans reverted to wearing a mask, quarantining, and focused on personal hygiene to minimize the spread of the disease.



Figure 9.2.1: Georgia Tech Football Game in 1918 During the Spanish Flu, 1918 (Public Domain; Thomas Carter via Wikimedia Commons)

Other global health crises, such as the Asian Flu (H2N2) and the Hong Kong Flu had the potential to spread around the world, but did not. Both of these diseases did reach many industrialized countries through travel, however, they were not lethal.

Current Pandemics

Currently, along with the above-mentioned cholera, we are living under two additional major pandemics, HIV/AIDS and COVID-19. Both of these pandemics have had devastating effects on a variety of countries, which is directly connected with global health care disparities. Since 1981, there have been 36 million people who have died from HIV or AIDS. For decades, contracting HIV or AIDS would lead to death, but due to medical discoveries, people can now live a long life with the disease. Additionally, mothers no longer have to worry about passing it to their child in utero and the spread of the disease can be prevented even if infected individuals are engaged in sexual activity. Yet, all of these medical advancements are extremely expensive. More developed countries, such as the United States, provided aid to countries to help tackle the devastating effects of AIDS/HIV on populations. In 2003, President George Bush created the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) that provided treatment to 2 million people living in Africa south of the Sahara. This program, among others, has contributed to saving millions of lives, and show the importance of global cooperation in the realm of health.

People are still being globally effected from the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As you can see from the United Nations report in 2022, 39 million people are still living with HIV/AIDS.

Table 9.2.1 World Health Organization Statistics of those Living with HIV

Name of Region	Number of People Living with HIV (estimate)
Africa	25.6 million
Americas	3.8 million

South-East Asian	3.9 million
Europe	3 million
Western Pacific	2.2 million
Eastern Mediterranean	490,000

Statistics are from the WHO (2023), HIV Data and Stats.

Just as AIDS/HIV revealed massive global health inequities around the world, COVID-19 revealed that global health disparities still exist. Communities that were underserved struggled to find the resources to tackle the disease. Thus, they determined that the best way to handle it was through the isolation of the public. However, even quarantining became a privilege, as some people had no place to quarantine. Additionally, some people's livelihood is based on physical and social interaction. Therefore, people had two options - risk their lives to work or experience further financial distress through not working and isolating to prevent contracting COVID-19. These binary options further revealed how fiscally and physically fragile people are when it comes to withstanding a major health crisis. To exacerbate the disparity the already overwhelmed medical community had to deal with the growing number of sick patients. Health systems around the world were suffering from the drastic increase of sick patients, while some countries were able to combat these issues through allocating more funds for medical equipment, personnel, and research, others were not.

Global health pandemics and other health crises are inevitable. We need to realize what role we all play in protecting ourselves from fiscal and physical harm. As a global community, we have to ask, what role do we all play in protecting our fellow humans from experiencing preventable illnesses?

This page titled 9.2: Background - Historical Global Health Crises is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

9.3: Theories and Concepts - Approaching Global Health Inequities from a Variety of Theoretical Perspectives

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Differentiate between the three major theoretical perspectives in studying global health inequalities
- Apply how globalization can reveal global health inequalities around the world

Theories and Concepts

Global health inequities expose many intersections of other societal issues. Disparities in income and wealth and access to food and technology all enhance health inequality. There are three major theoretical perspectives that help to understand these inequalities.

Theory of Unintended Consequences of Social Action

Sociologist Robert Merton illustrated the theory of unintended consequences of social action by examining how medical advancements can have unintended consequences. The medical community vows to do no harm to anyone, but medical decisions have in fact harmed individuals and sometimes entire communities. Kleinman (2010) provides an example of the smallpox vaccination campaign in India, which resulted in the disease becoming more resistant to the vaccine. There are similar issues within the United States, as there is an overuse of antibiotics which cause a viruses to mutate and become more resistant to antibiotics. This creates so-called superbugs, which include some strands of gonorrhea, urinary tract infections, pneumonia, and skin infections. Due to antibiotics being overly prescribed to people and animals because of its effectiveness, antibiotics have lost the potency in the fight against certain viruses. Due to this, the National Institute of Health now recommends washing hands and sanitizing the areas you come into contact with as a means to prevent the spread of bacteria, rather than taking antibiotics for everything. Scientists are trying to find new ways to combat viral infections without utilizing antibiotics. The problem is, advancements in medicine often come at a price. This is a price that not all communities can afford. Vaccines and antibiotics were developed as a means of helping humanity, but unintentionally they have made some illnesses and medical conditions worse.

Theory of Social Construction of Reality

In the 1960s, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann developed the theory of the social construction of reality. This theory asserts that the real world is socially and culturally constructed through our interactions and communications with others. How this is understood in the discussion of health inequality, certain viruses and diseases become stigmatized based on country of origin and/or the countries that are most affected. Kleinman (2010) provides the example of the scientifically named H1N1 influeza strain which in the media is popularized as the swine flu epidemic and then associated with its origins in China. Due to the challenges in the geo-political relationship between the U.S. and China, all of a sudden the innocuous H1N1 becomes the much more threatening swine flu. We have continued to witness this stigma during the COVID-19 pandemic, as the disease was labeled as a Chinese (and in some cases, an Asian) disease. Do to people attributing the spread of COVID-19 to members of the Asian community, this led to a significant growth in hate crimes toward Asians within the United States. In response, on May 20, 2021, President Joe Biden signed **S.937 - COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act** that was to protect all minority groups and the LGBTQ+ community from harm. Though its protections were aimed broadly, the bill was labeled the anti-Asian hate crimes bill due to 3,800 reported cases of hate crimes against Asian-American and Pacific Islanders. Legislation does not mean an end to socially-constructed negativity though. In an attack in 2023, in Monterey Park, California eleven people were killed and another nine injured during Chinese New Year celebrations. This development of socially constructed negativity can also include certain medical procedures, such as abortion. From a cultural perspective, abortion is a controversial topic in the United States of America especially in rural areas that tend to lean towards social conservatism, whereas, in Japan, abortion is not controversial at all. This means that due to how abortion is seen culturally, not medically, it becomes less available to those that might need it

in the U.S.

Theory of Social Suffering

The third theory, social suffering, explores how social, political, economic, and institutional forces can cause, worsen, or alleviate human suffering. It argues that socioeconomic and sociopolitical forces can actually cause disease or at least exacerbates the spread of disease. For example, poverty causes many people to not have access to medical care, which causes people to die of curable viruses and diseases. In the U.S., we see this often with dental care. Even though dental care costs much less than most medical procedures, dental insurance tends to be more restrictive that causes the co-pay to be much higher. Thus, many Americans neglect their teeth, and their overall health, due to these restrictions. The way the system is set up keeps people from getting the care that they need. Through the theory of social suffering we can also see that social institutions can be barriers to executing healthcare. Globally, this could large institutions, such as the United Nations, or even non-profit organizations that disburse aid. Within the U.S., the Veterans Administration has harmed veterans due to the bureaucracy that often stands between veterans and the ability to receive care. We can also seen this more generally in the population with health-care bureaucracies who may have to approve certain procedures and/or have policies that patients may have to follow before the care can be executed. We have to remember that pain and suffering effects much more than just the individual. Everyone in the patients' network experiences the pain and suffering as well. Families and friends are also effected after a family member is diagnosed with a major illness, such as cancer or Alzheimer's (a cognitive ailment).

Health problems and social problems are so intertwined that it is often difficult to untangle the two. Those who live in impoverished areas have a higher propensity to be malnourished. Malnourishment makes the population more susceptible to disease. However, these areas also tend to be the regions that have inadequate, or non-existent, health infrastructure in place. It is hard to provide medicine when people also need a well-balanced meal on a consistent basis. All the medicine in the world will not help if the population cannot fight off new illnesses in the future. It is very onerous to tackle health problems when the societal issues need to be addressed first. But it is hard to address societal issues when a population is dying from illness. Political can also either help or hinder access to health care. Michel Foucault coined a term of biopower that asserts how political governance effects its population. Governments assert their influence over their citizens through determining the types of services that they will provide. In this case, some countries provide more access to healthcare; whereas, other countries will provide no access. Thus, those with money will be able to see a doctor, as the rest of the population will depend on the benevolence of other countries to provide aid, or receive no aid at all. There are also exceptions to this dichotomy. The U.S. is a wealthy state, however, it primarily depends on private health care companies to service the needs of its population. In this way, wealthy Americans are like the wealthy in poorer countries, those with more money have access to better healthcare. The U.S. also struggles with healthcare inequities based on state. Some states provide more health and social services to their residents than other states. It is a system that favors those with wealth, and highlights that health inequality exists even in the wealthiest countries.

This page titled 9.3: Theories and Concepts - Approaching Global Health Inequities from a Variety of Theoretical Perspectives is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

9.4: At Home and Abroad- How COVID-19 Changed All of Our Lives

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand how COVID-19 became a global pandemic
- Realize how COVID-19 changed how the world operates

COVID-19 Becomes a Global Pandemic

In November 2019, there were rumblings about a virus that was spreading in China. Starting in December, China began to close its borders to outsiders even though the Chinese government was not fully communicating to the world that there was a serious event happening. At the end of the month, China reported to the World Health Organization that they were monitoring a cluster of pneumonia cases in the city of Wuhan. Just two weeks later on 13 January 2020 the first case of COVID-19 appeared outside of China, in Thailand. From that point on, the virus began to spread at a fast rate, facilitated by trade and tourism, and on 11 March 2020 the WHO had declared a pandemic. In the beginning, very little information was fully reaching the rest of the world, but it was apparent that what was happening in China was going to have global impact. We can see this especially in the economic sense as companies that relied on Chinese-made components were beginning to see their supply chains drying up. Small businesses that depended on these materials from China were soon closing their doors.

It is evident that the Chinese government made a conscious decision to not be transparent with the global community, that is, until COVID-19 began to spread throughout the world. Even then, the United States did not fully address the issue with the general public. President Donald Trump eventually began to update the press, but the seriousness of the situation was continuously downplayed until March 17, 2021, when for the first time in 100 years, the U.S. was placed on a mandatory quarantine due to the COVID-19 virus. The intention was that the quarantine, was a precautionary measure and would not last long.

Response

The thought behind the quarantine was that it would minimize the spread of COVID-19, as it was spread by airborne transmission. If a person was in an indoor space with an individual infected with COVID-19, then it was possible that the virus would spread through coughing, sneezing, or even breathing. The intention was to “flatten the curve”, meaning that slowing down the contraction rate was important before allowing people to start moving freely around their communities. That COVID-19 continued to spread showed the lack of uniformity by different governments in their response to abetting the spread of the virus, as well as the inability, or unwillingness, of the general global population to maintain the quarantine. It was unexpected that quarantining would differ by country, state and even city. Ultimately, the time period of quarantining differed based on where you were located. Upon average, most Americans were quarantined for a minimum of one year. In California, quarantining lasted much longer.

Due to the rapid contraction rate, and the large number of individuals who would need to be hospitalized due to the disease, the spread of COVID-19 placed a great deal of pressure on medical facilities across the globe. Children, older adults, and those who had preexisting conditions found themselves more vulnerable to the virus. Even though it was COVID-19 that was making headlines, there were of course other maladies still effecting people. If you experienced another healthcare emergency, then you could be more at risk from not being treated in a timely manner because of the high number of COVID-19 patients that were monopolizing medical resources. Those who contracted the virus and recovered can still face health issues related to COVID-19. As of 2024, medical researchers were still discovering the long-term effects of having COVID-19.

It became the primary focus of governments, companies, and individuals, to figure out a way to continue normal life activities during the pandemic. The first way was to educate people about the importance of washing hands and/or utilizing hand sanitizer. Public sanitizing stations have since become a ubiquitous sight everywhere from amusement parks to college classrooms. Second, wearing a mask became mandatory for a period of time. While early on there was a lot of debate on what

type of mask was the most effective, there are now a variety of types of masks one can wear. After a time, wearing masks was no longer mandatory, but the continued use of them did produce additional benefits, such as slowing down the rate of contracting the seasonal flu. Alongside the use of masks was the idea of social distancing, where people were advised to remain six feet apart in public.

Thirdly, creating a COVID-19 test became a priority. Knowing if you had the virus was key so you could take precautions to not spread it to others. When a person tested positive, they were asked to report it to health authorities so that they could initiate contact tracing. Notifying authorities and employers was important, as to allow other individuals to realize that they had possibly been exposed and allow them to take precautions to mitigate further spread. This was all necessary until the final stage of the response. A vaccine needed to be developed and disbursed throughout the world. Once the vaccine was found to be both safe and effective, the disbursement happened in waves in order to treat the most vulnerable first, starting with seniors. The effective disbursement of vaccines is important in building group immunity. This is important to minimize the likelihood of individuals contracting the virus who were unable to receive the vaccine, usually due to being immunocompromised.

Life Has Changed

In California, most people were on quarantine between 1.5 to 2 years, and life was altered (Executive Orders N-12-21 and N-39-20). People who were working from home became aware of how they could do their jobs with greater flexibility. Companies struggled to reinstate in-person work hours, as people wanted to have a hybrid work option. According to the US Census Bureau, before 2020, only 5.7 percent of Americans worked from home, which is around 13.4 million workers. Post-COVID-19, in 2023, 17.9 percent of the workforce was working from home. In some industries, the hybrid workforce in 2023 can range as high as 34 percent (Parker 2023). The highest wage earners tend to have the most flexibility in continuing to work from home. The most startling statistic is that women are engaging in the flexible workforce at a much higher rate than men. It is clear that workers are reexamining how they want to work, when they want to work, and how much they want to work. Flexibility is a key desire among the post-COVID-19 workforce.

Within higher education, we are still trying to tackle how to engage within the new normal. Students are now much more interested in the flexibility of attending class. At campuses across the United States, students enjoy taking hybrid and online classes instead of in-person classes. College enrollment has decreased around the country, thus, colleges are trying to find new ways to meet students' needs and wants.

Government has proven to be helpful in providing a variety of COVID-19 provisions, such as housing assistance, minimum income guarantees, healthcare assistance, small business assistance, food assistance, unemployment assistance, and student loan assistance. Americans are now forced to consider what role should government have in helping individuals during all times and not just during a pandemic. People are having demands of their government to have actual results that they can visualize. Simultaneously, the way government handled COVID-19 has created a sense of distrust. Americans must trust their government when they are warning everyone of danger. Local, state, and federal politicians lost a great deal of credibility in being honest and transparent, which made it difficult for Americans to believe that any part of the COVID-19 response was beneficial. We now have to find a balance between the role government has to keep us all safe, while also trying to believe our government. No one knows when all of our lives will 'go back to normal.' It may be that we are now currently living in the new normal.

COVID-19 is here to stay with us, just like the flu. Every year, we are experiencing new strands (mutations). Just like with the flu vaccine, the goal is for individuals to have a yearly vaccine to minimize another COVID-19 global pandemic. Yet, many people were not as trusting with the vaccine. The questions about the need to have multiple vaccines over a long period of time is also coming into question. The federal government subsidized COVID-19 testing, treatment, and vaccines. However, some states stopped providing COVID-19 testing and vaccines for free, while other states, such as California, are still subsidizing COVID-19 testing and vaccines.

This page titled 9.4: At Home and Abroad- How COVID-19 Changed All of Our Lives is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

9.5: References

African Mission Healthcare. (2024). Retrieved February 7, 2024, from https://www.africanmissionhealthcare.og.

ASPPH COVID-19 Storytelling Project: How Schools and Programs have made an impact During the Pandemic. (December 2022). *ASPHH The Voice of Academic Public Health*. Retrieved February 7, 2024, https://covid19storytelling.aspph.org/read-the-report/?gclid=Cj0KCQiAzoeuBhDqARIsAMdH14EkOwdmB9IJrWufLp_dUvlGngPGDiX9l0XC2HUl5JErIsecsV6iZfIaAvktEALw_wcB

Beaglehole, R., and R. Bonita. (April 2010). What is global health? *Glob Health Action,* 6(3). doi:10.3402/gha.v3i0.5142.PMID: 20386617;PMCID:PMC2852240.

Central African Republic. (2024). *International Medical Corps*. Retrieved February 7, 2024, from: https://internationalmedicalcorps.org/country/central-african-republic/?gclid=CjwKCAiAq4KuBhA6EiwArMAw1KYtpFTfS80huhDW89AhM5wKQllCF7h5caodQU9ZHjsFgB6KK0M02BoCydIQAvI

COVID Data Tracker. (2024). *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. Retrieved February 7, 2024 from: https://covid.cdc.gov/covid-data-tra...s_deaths-total.

Division of Communicable Disease Control. (2024). *California Department of Public Health*. Retrieved February 7, 2024 from: https://www.cdph.ca.gov/Programs/CID/DCDC/Pages/Respiratory-Viruses/RespiratoryDashboard.aspx.

Gilligan, C. (18 May 2023). How the Pandemic Boosted Working from Home. *US News*. Retrieved February 7, 2024 from https://www.usnews.com/news/health-news/articles/2023-05-18/how-the-covid-pandemic-impacted-working-from-home#:~:text=May%2018%2C%202023%2C%20at%202%3A45%20p.m.&text=The%20share%20of%20the%20American,fror

Global HIV & AIDS statistics (2023). UNAIDS. Retrieved July 20, 2024 from https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/fact-sheet.

HIV Data and Statistics (2023). World Health Organization. Retrieved July 20, 2024 from https://www.who.int/teams/global-hiv...and-statistics.

Kleinman, A. (01 May 2010). Four Social Theories for Global Health. *The Art of Medicine,* 375(9725),1518-1519. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(10)60646-0.

Life Expectancy at Birth by State. (2021). *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. Retrieved February 7, 2024 from https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/sosmap/life_expectancy/life_expectancy.htm.

Morens, D. M., G. K. Folkers, and A. Fauci. (2009). What is a Pandemic? *The Journal of Infectious Diseases,* 200(1018-21). doi: 10.1086/644537.

Parker, K. (2023). About a third of U.S. Workers who can work from home no do so all the time. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved July 20, 2024 from https://www.pewresearch.org/short-re...-all-the-time/.

President Bush's Global Health Initiatives Are Saving Lives Around the World. (2014). The Bush Record. *The White House*. Retrieved February 7, 2024 from https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/bushrecord/factsheets/globalhealth.html.

Sampath, S. et. al. (2021). Pandemics Throughout the History. *Cureus,* 13(9),e18136. doi:10.7759/cureus.18136.

The True Death Toll of COVID-19. (2024). World Health Organization. Retrieved February 7, 2024 from https://www.who.int/data/stories/the-true-death-toll-of-covid-19-estimating-global-excess-mortality.

This page titled 9.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

9.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Global health:** An area for study, research, and practice that places a priority of improving health and achieving health equity for all people worldwide that transcends borders; the study, research, and practice addresses possible health issues that could undermine the global population beyond territorial boundaries.
- **Global pandemic:** a health crisis that can lead to illness and the possible death of individuals across the world.
- **Pandemic:** A highly contagious disease that can quickly move across wide-spread geographic locations that could lead to large populations being effects through illness and/or death.
- **Public health:** Health of a population within a specific community or country.
- **Vector:** living organisms that transmit disease.

Summaries

9.1 Introduction - What is Global Health?

Global health can be included in a variety of subfields, such as political science, international politics, globalization, economics, and even geography. Since global health can be studied in an array of fields, it creates a wide variety of definitions of global health, usually tied to political viewpoint. Global health needs a definition that would allow a researcher to measure common factors for communities, states, and countries. Global health disparities are evident throughout the U.S., as people who live in one state will have a longer life expectancy than others. Additionally, global health disparities are happening all around the world, as the populations in most countries in Africa and South Asia are struggling to live long and healthy lives. These countries are suffering from political uncertainty that exacerbates their inability to have basic healthcare. We must ponder that as we all live on this earth, what responsibility do wealthier countries have to other countries that would ensure all people will have a long and healthy life?

9.2 Background - Historical Global Health Crises

Global health pandemics have a long history. The Black Plague was the largest pandemic, as almost 60 percent of the European population was eradicated. In more modern times, the Spanish Flu had origins in the United States. Unlike the Black Plague, the Spanish Flu spread around the world through military deployments in the First World War. Currently, we are still under two global pandemics - HIV/AIDS and COVID-19. Through examining the various global pandemics in history, we must consider the role we all play in keeping everyone safe.

9.3 Theories and Concepts - Approaching Global Health Inequalities from A Variety of Theoretical Perspectives

There are three different theoretical lenses to approach evaluating global health inequities. These are theory of unintended consequences of social action, the theory of the social construction of reality, and the theory of social suffering. It becomes difficult to focus on solving health problems when there are plethora of social problems that are having a direct effect on preventing individuals from living a healthy life.

9.4 At Home and Abroad: How COVID-19 Changed All of Our Lives

COVID-19 came out of nowhere that completely changed our lives. The global response was slow, which caused a global quarantine that lasted for 1-2 years (depending on your location). The ramifications of COVID-19 changed how government provided aid to citizens. Individuals also have changed how they want to live their life - there is a craving for a better work-life balance. We are still living in the era of trying to figure out what the new normal is post-COVID-19.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Consortium of University for Global Health (2024)
- Global Health (2024), Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
- Global Health Council (2024)
- Global Health (2024), U. S. Department of State
- The Global Health Observatory (2024), World Health Organization

Journal Articles

Elnaiem, A., et. al. (January 2023), Global and Regional Governance of One Health and Implications for Global Health Security, The Lancet 401(10377). Doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(22)01597-5.

Documentaries

- China's COVID Secrets (2022), Frontline PBS.
- The Virus What Went Wrong (2022), Frontline PBS.

Books

- Clinton, C. and D. Sridhar (2017). Governing Global Health: Who Runs the World and Why? New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gostin, L. O. (2021). Global Health Security. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Merson, M. H., R. E. Black, and A. J. Mills (2012). Global Health: Diseases, Programs, Systems, and Policies 3rd Edition. MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning.

Review Questions

1. All of the following were major pandemics except the following:
    1. Spanish Flu
    2. AIDS
    3. Black Death
    4. Tuberculosis
2. Which of the following are the implications of social suffering?
    1. Socioeconomic and sociopolitical forces can cause the disease
    2. Social institutions make the suffering worse
    3. Families and communities suffer, not just individuals
    4. Hard to determine if it is a social problem or a health problem
    5. All of the above
3. What are some of the issues surrounding vaccinations?
    1. Distrust of countries who provides vaccines
    2. Conspiracy theories against vaccinations
    3. The low cost of vaccinations
    4. The high cost of vaccinations
4. All are the definitions of global health except the following:
    1. Global health is the area of study, research, and practice that centers on achieving health equity for all people.
    2. Global health is about the care and well-being of your own citizens.
    3. Global health understands health issues that transcend borders and governments with a call of action to help the people.
    4. Global health as health issues transcends borders and governments deserve a global response that is beyond any individual government or institutions.
5. What were some of the long-term effects of COVID-19:

1. Trust that people have in our own government
2. Everything went back to normal
3. People have changed how they live their daily lives
4. A & B

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Why would there be varying definitions of global health? How does the varying definitions reveal about the society that adopts the definition?
2. What responsibility do wealthier nations have to the rest of the world to ensure the health of its residents?
3. How has globalization made the world safer and/or more unsafe from global pandemics?
4. How have you changed your life and/or outlook on life due to experiencing the COVID-19 pandemic? Do you see any changes in our community due to the COVID-19 pandemic?

This page titled 9.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

10: GLOBAL ENERGY

10.1: Introduction - The Changing Map of Energy
10.2: Background - From Fossil Fuel Boom to Energy Transition
10.3: Theories and Concepts - Geopolitics, Energy Security, and Climate Justice
10.4: At Home and Abroad - The Politics of Pipelines
10.5: References
10.6: Student Resources

This page titled 10: Global Energy is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

10.1: Introduction - The Changing Map of Energy

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the energy profile of specific countries and regions
- Consider the implications of a changing global energy mix for global politics, economics, and security

Introduction

Flip a light switch. This simple act, which we engage in many times daily, points to a significant modern convenience with global reverberations. Electricity has a taken-for-granted quality in our hurried modern lives, but when the flow of electricity stops for some reason, we realize keenly our dependence on it. Our screen-filled lives and nighttime studying by lamplight all require electricity.

Electrification is a relatively modern development. Its use in buildings and homes only gained momentum in the early Twentieth Century, replacing more labor-intensive and volatile gas fixtures. In 2021, 91 percent of the world's population had access to electricity, which is a significant number considering how much of our modern lives depends on plugging in stuff. Yet significant areas of the world still lack access to this basic amenity. While 9 out of every 10 people in the world have access to electricity, more than 560 million people in Africa south of the Sahara continue to lack access (World Bank, 2023). Access to electricity has continued to improve over time, but these global gaps in access remain a challenge. This, along with the push to balance the growing demand for energy with environmental costs, are two of the major problems facing the global community today.



Figure 10.1.1: The nighttime urban landscape of Atlanta, Georgia, demonstrates our intensive reliance on electricity to power our modern lives. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Thomas Hawk via Flickr)

Electricity is considered a **secondary energy source**. It stems from a mix of **primary energy sources**, some of which are converted to electricity and some of which provide energy directly to us to meet our needs. Our lives are fueled by a mix of primary energy sources: the firewood that we use in campfires, coal for cooking, natural gas for ovens and home heating systems, and the rising tide of "renewables" which includes solar, wind, geothermal, and hydropower sources. As awareness of the human impact on climate change grows, there is now greater interest in renewable sources of energy, along with efforts to decrease our collective dependence on non-renewables such as oil, coal, and natural gas. The burning of such **fossil fuels** is a major driver of

present-day climate change.

There is an important link between energy and globalization. If globalization is conceived as the global integration and circulation of people, ideas, and goods, all of this is fueled by global flows of energy. During waves of globalization in the Twentieth Century, in the period before the First World War I (1914-1918) and after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc (1989-1991), energy – most often in the form of fossil fuels – circulated on an unprecedented global scale and fueled great leaps in national and international prosperity. Indeed, the globalization of energy has been accelerating in recent decades (Overland, 2016). Technological breakthroughs, from the "fracking revolution" (described below) to the construction of infrastructure for transporting liquefied natural gas around the world, has fueled this globalization of energy.

A survey of global energy might focus on the "Big Three" of world oil production, which today includes the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Russia (Yergin, 2020, p. 57). The United States produces the most oil in the world, approximately one-fifth (21 percent) of total world production in 2022, followed by Saudi Arabia (13 percent) and Russia (10 percent).

Table of Top 10 Oil Producers and Share of Total World Oil Production in 2022

Country	Barrels per day (millions)	Share of world total (percent)
United States	20.30	21
Saudi Arabia	12.44	13
Russia	10.13	10
Canada	5.83	6
Iraq	4.61	5
China	4.45	5
United Arab Emirates	4.23	4
Iran	3.67	4
Brazil	3.17	3
Kuwait	3.01	3
Total Top 10	71.83	74

Table 10.1.1: Top 10 Oil Producers and Share of Total World Oil Production in 2022 (public domain; Data source: U.S. Energy Information Administration)

Unsurprisingly, the U.S. is also the top consumer of oil in the world, followed closely by the major growing economies of Asia. The most significant emerging consumers of energy, Asian juggernauts India and China, are on track to increase energy consumption at the steepest pace in coming decades. World energy consumption is projected to grow by 50 percent through 2050, and most of this growth will be driven by countries outside of the wealthy developed core defined by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). By 2050, nearly half of the world's energy consumption will take place in Asia, also on track to remain the most populous region of the world.

Global Energy Trends

To break down global energy trends further, let's turn to a brief look at trends in different regions of the world.

Africa

Africa is poised to shift toward renewable energy sources in coming decades, especially solar. Demand for energy will continue to increase continent-wide, driven in part by strong population growth and industrialization. It will also be a critical region due to natural resources located on the continent; significant global reserves of key minerals such as cobalt, lithium, manganese, nickel, and platinum, which are critical for battery production and hydrogen fuel cells, are located in countries throughout Africa.

The top African oil producer today is Nigeria, followed by Algeria, Libya, and Angola. All of these countries are governed by nondemocratic leaders and institutions and oil production is dominated by state-owned companies. For many years, Nigeria's

oil production has been disrupted by violent armed groups such as Boko Haram, which have created security risks for further development of energy resources. Demand for African energy exports is robust, especially from industrial giant China. Geopolitical tensions in Eurasia, notably Russian aggression toward Ukraine, Georgia, and other countries, has resulted in more European interest in African energy supplies.

Asia

A vast region of two dozen countries, Asia remains heavily dependent on fossil fuels to spur high growth rates. On the eastern edge of Asia, China is the most significant consumer of energy, especially of fossil fuels such as coal. In 2021, just over half of China's energy (55 percent) came from coal, mostly domestic stores, and the remainder of its energy needs came from petroleum (19 percent), natural gas (9 percent), hydropower (8 percent), and other sources (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2022). There has been a widening gap between China's appetite for petroleum and domestic production, hence it is reliant on global oil imports to fuel its massive economy. China's leaders have taken some steps to decrease their country's carbon footprint, including pledges to no longer provide financing for the construction of coal plants abroad. It continues to build coal plants domestically, however.

Many other Asian countries are working toward an energy transition to renewable sources, but this remains a challenge without significant support from external agencies such as the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank to assist with infrastructure costs.

Europe

Europe has set lofty goals to address climate change and shift away from reliance on fossil fuels. In 2019, the European Commission declared that Europe would become the first climate-neutral continent by 2050, and it has sought to make this a binding commitment through legislation (European Commission, 2019). Sweden is among the global leaders in the shift to renewables: by 2012, it had already achieved 50 percent reliance on renewable energy. The industrial giant of the region, Germany, has also pledged to reach this 50 percent goal by 2030 and phase out coal altogether by 2038.

Russia remains a major energy exporter on Europe's eastern flank. It is the world's largest exporter of natural gas (but the second largest world producer after the United States). Gas reaches end users via pipelines that crisscross Eurasia, along with exports of liquefied natural gas and oil via sea freight. Due to geopolitical tensions and war in Ukraine, the European Commission has further announced a plan to decrease western European dependence on Russian energy imports by 2030. It hopes to achieve this through a combination of bringing more renewable energy online and diversifying natural gas supplies.



Figure 10.1.2: Gas pipeline maintenance in northern Russia (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Anton Romanko via Flickr)

Middle East

Oil transformed the profile and wealth of the Middle East beginning in the Twentieth Century. Today, major oil producers such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) remain banks for the world's oil consumers due to their significant spare capacity. The International Energy Agency estimates that Saudi Arabia and UAE have the capacity to increase oil production by 2 million barrels per day, which is significant power for two authoritarian governments in a world where total global oil demand is about 100 million barrels per day.

Gulf countries must wrestle with the global push to decrease dependence on fossil fuels. Global demand for oil may peak by 2030, threatening the economic and social foundation of many countries in the Middle East. With this in mind, conversations have begun regarding the shift to renewables, but the region lags behind the European Union and China on energy transition initiatives.

In the Eastern Mediterranean, major offshore discoveries of natural gas, in combination with newer extraction technologies, have led to a flurry of exploration and development. These finds have changed the geopolitics of the region and brought players such as Israel and Cyprus into the global natural gas conversation (Krasna, 2023).

Latin America and the Caribbean

In contrast to Asia, Latin American countries are much less reliant on coal. Nonetheless, about 70 percent of the region's energy needs comes from fossil fuels, mostly oil and gas (UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2022). This balance may shift toward renewables in coming decades. At present, non-combustible renewable energy sources such as hydropower and combustible energy sources such as sugar cane are each approximately 8 percent of the region's energy mix.

Latin America also faces development hurdles related to energy. Millions of citizens in the poorest countries, especially Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, do not have access to electricity. Indigenous populations are disproportionately impacted by these infrastructure shortfalls. Major oil producer Venezuela has been suffering from combined political, economic, social, and health crises for over a decade, which has further reduced energy production in the region.



Figure 10.1.3: An oil tanker crossing Lake Maracaibo in northern Venezuela (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Wildredorrh via Flickr)

North America

North America is a region of rich energy deposits and exploitation. There exists significant energy integration across the North American economies of Canada, Mexico, and the United States due to trade agreements such as the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (formerly NAFTA). As part of this trade regime, which reduces trade barriers between the three countries, the U.S. refines nearly a quarter of Canadian crude oil, while Canada and Mexico each import about half of the United States' exported motor gasoline (Lusinyan, 2015).

The United States is where a “fracking revolution” transformed the energy profile of the country and launched it to global leadership in oil and natural gas production at the start of the Twenty-first Century. This revolution in fossil fuel extraction depended on breakthroughs in two key technologies, horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing (“**fracking**”). The latter involves forcing a slurry of water, sand, and chemicals through fissures in shale rock formations to release oil or natural gas deposits. These technologies became commercially feasible by the mid-2000s and led to energy booms in states such as Texas and North Dakota. By the 2020s, the United States had shifted its position from net energy importer to exporter. There have been fierce political battles over these developments, involving both land rights and short- and long-term environmental risks.

The fracking revolution also impacted coal as a source of electricity: “As late as 2007, coal generated half of U.S. electricity. By 2019, it was down to 24 percent, and natural gas had risen to 38 percent. That was the main reason why U.S. carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions dropped down to the levels of the early 1990s, despite a doubling in the U.S. economy,” (Yergin, 2020, pp. 12-13). The U.S. energy profile has undergone significant transformation in recent decades, and the next big challenge concerns the transition away from fossil fuels. Given the powerful economic, political, and cultural forces supporting intensive fossil fuel use, the transition will call for determination, creativity, and deep wells of innovation.



Figure 10.1.4: A brilliantly illuminated oil refinery in Sarnia, Canada, is one link in North America’s massive fossil fuel industry. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Jeff S. PhotoArt via Flickr)

This page titled 10.1: Introduction - The Changing Map of Energy is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

10.2: Background - From Fossil Fuel Boom to Energy Transition

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify efforts toward a new global "energy transition"
- Recognize major international organizations related to the management of global energy

The Looming Specter of Climate Change

Over the last two to three centuries, humans have drawn from a growing menu of energy sources. This has fueled unprecedented human population growth and prosperity but also deep inequalities and crises. Innovations in the harnessing of energy have brought revolutions in transportation, communication, the organization of local, national, and global economies, and urban life. Billions of people have higher material living standards than their predecessors two centuries prior. Yet these energy revolutions have come at a steep price, some of which is becoming increasingly evident in our age of climate change.

Up until the Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century, humans relied primarily on biomass (firewood, manure, and charcoal) as well as domesticated animals and human muscle power for energy. Wind and moving water were also sources of energy, for example to power grist or grain mills. But by the Nineteenth Century, a transition was underway to coal as a cheaper and more abundant fuel source. In 1800, coal was less than 2 percent of the energy mix among industrializing economies. By 1880, it had jumped to over 26 percent and reached 54 percent by 1920. Coal fueled many key inventions of the Industrial Age, including the steam engine.

Coal as a percent of the energy mix of industrializing countries, 1800-1940

Year	Traditional biomass, as a percent of total energy mix	Coal, as a percent of total energy mix
1800	98.3%	1.7%
1820	97.6	2.4
1840	95.1	4.9
1860	86.8	13.3
1880	73.0	26.7
1900	50.4	47.2
1920	38.4	54.4
1940	31.6	50.7

Table 10.2.1: Coal as a percent of the energy mix of industrializing countries, 1800-1940 (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0; Data source: World Economic Forum and Visual Capitalist)

During this boom in coal demand, inventors and speculators began to exploit another major energy source, oil. The first commercial oil well was drilled in Pennsylvania in 1859. Lagging behind oil but rising in prominence during the Twentieth Century was natural gas, which required new technologies to extract, transport, and use. By 2000, coal was approximately a quarter of the industrialized world's primary energy source, oil was one-third, and natural gas was one-fifth. Together these added up to just over three-quarters of the total energy mix, with the remaining quarter comprising biomass, renewables such as wind and hydropower, and nuclear power (Bhutada, 2022).

Exploitation of these new energy sources, combined with more intensive use of energy worldwide, has one critical consequence: the release of **greenhouse gases**. Greenhouse gases include carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide. The burning of coal

and oil-derived gasoline emits substantial amounts of carbon dioxide, while natural gas emits a great deal of methane, among other greenhouse gases. These greenhouse gases absorb radiation reflected from the earth and create an effect similar to the warmth created by a greenhouse, in this case trapping heat around the planet. One effect of this warming is a change in the balance of frozen and liquid water on the planet; polar ice sheets and glaciers have been retreating in recent decades, which has led to rising sea levels and shifts in marine ecosystems. This has been further exacerbated by ocean acidification as higher concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere are absorbed into the oceans.



Figure 10.2.1: Due to climate change, polar bears are facing a shrinking world as polar ice caps melt and their natural habitats disappear (CC BY-NC 2.0; Tim Ellis via Flickr)

The connection between greenhouse gases and climate change has been theorized and studied since the Nineteenth Century, but it was in the 1950s that U.S.-based scientist Charles David Keeling generated the first high-accuracy measures of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. With these measurements, he could demonstrate that human use of fossil fuels was causing climate change (Le Treut et al., 2007). The link between human activity and climate change is now established scientific fact.

Climate change has meant a dramatically changing planet for humankind: more severe weather events, inundation of coastal zones and island communities, shifts in the ecosystems of flora and fauna throughout the planet. For humans, this will affect fundamental issues such as where and how we live, where we grow food, and what changes are needed in our global energy profile.

Twenty-first Century Energy Transition

We continue to live in a world devoted to intensive fossil fuel use, but this devotion is waning. Peak global demand for oil is projected to occur by the end of the 2020s. This may be followed by peak global demand for natural gas by the end of the 2030s (International Energy Agency, 2023). Such predictions tend to have high bands of uncertainty around them, however, given the volatility of global demand and the intervening effect of unexpected global events.

As awareness of, and anxieties over, climate change grow, calls for a global **energy transition** have become more urgent. An energy transition is the movement away from one primary energy source to another. This entails the development of relevant technologies and markets for the newer energy source(s). In the present century, this transition must be from the world's heavy reliance on fossil fuels to more sustainable, renewable sources of energy.

One theme that might be gleaned from past transitions is that each energy transition carries intended and unintended consequences. Great excitement accompanied the natural gas boom of the early Twenty-first Century, on the grounds that natural gas emits less carbon dioxide than oil, but subsequent analysis revealed the problem of methane emissions and other environmental risks. Oil transformed markets and societies in the Twentieth Century, but it has poisoned our planet. Renewables may bring energy that emits less to no greenhouse gases, but many of the components of battery storage systems and photovoltaics are toxic and the extraction process has led to grave human rights violations.

An energy transition implies changes in both the supply of, and demand for, energy. On the supply side, the current energy transition entails large scale adoption of **renewable energy** sources. Major renewables include biofuels, wind, solar, hydro, and geothermal power. Renewables cannot be exhausted the way that fossil fuels are exhaustible, but they tend to be time-limited in the amount of energy that they can generate. Another related issue surrounding many renewables is energy storage, which has piqued interest in battery technology. When the wind stops blowing, energy saved from prior windy periods must be tapped to maintain a constant flow of energy to end users. On the demand side, energy transition focuses on reducing human reliance on goods and practices which are heavy emitters of greenhouse gases. This includes changes in various fossil fuel-based transportation industries (e.g., cars, trucks, airplanes, boats, and tankers) as well as reliance on fossil fuels to provide energy for homes and factories. The petrochemical industry – producer of plastics – is also a significant source of demand for fossil fuels.



Figure 10.2.2: Harnessing wind power and converting it to electricity is one form of renewable energy (CC BY-ND 2.0; Paul Lim via Flickr)

Transition to renewable sources of energy, or at least less greenhouse gas-emitting ones, will be a slow process. Throwing a dose of realism into the conversation is natural gas executive Charif Souki, the chairman of the global natural gas firm Tellurian. He mused in 2022, “Nobody has been confronted with what the cost of this energy transition is. You still need to increase energy by 50 percent in order to satisfy the aspiration of 90 percent of the world. Eight-five percent of the world’s energy is hydrocarbons. There is no realistic way by which you can say we’re gonna eliminate hydrocarbons out of the energy mix. Renewables is about five percent. So before it becomes a significant piece of the energy mix, it’s going to take decades,” (as quoted in Edge et al., 2022, The Power of Big Oil, Part 3: Delay). Yet the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has issued a science-backed warning that the world must reach “net zero” in carbon emissions by 2050 in order to stave off the worst effects of climate change. The world has decades to navigate an energy transition, but those decades are short.

The coming energy transition will cost dearly in material terms, but also in the scope of what must be accomplished. Energy scholars have asserted, “The clean energy transition demands a complete transformation of the global economy and will require roughly $100 trillion in additional capital spending over the next three decades,” (Bordoff & O'Sullivan, 2022). Part of that spending might be directed at the most promising technologies with “breakthrough potential” ranging from advanced nuclear reactors to electric grid modernization. Researchers have been exploring dozens of new technologies to expand the portfolio of clean energy options available to governments, firms, households, and ultimately individuals (IHS Markit & Energy Futures Initiative, 2019, Ch. 3).

Looking to the existential challenges posed by climate change, the possibility for a transition to alternative, renewable energy sources hinges on a combination of institutional change, technological innovation, and popular will. Dependence on fossil fuels for energy has created a “carbon lock-in” that must be undone (Unruh, 2000). The foundation for the economic prosperity of many industrialized countries of the world is fossil fuel-based production, and this path has been locked into place despite growing understanding of the costs of this model in terms of climate change. A key step in undoing carbon lock-in is social and political will: generating momentum to push through policy change and marshal requisite resources, human and material, to move toward a new global energy profile.

International Organizations: Change Leaders or Part of the Problem?

As forums for global and regional dialogue, information exchange, and negotiation, several international organizations are key to addressing the world's energy needs. UN Climate Change (or the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, UNFCCC), is the main intergovernmental body with the authority and resources to convene interested parties around climate change mitigation. Its most important scientific arm, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), conducts assessments on the science of climate change. Decades ago, in 1990, the IPCC reported that climate change was likely caused by human activity, and by 1995 it concluded "the balance of evidence suggests that there is a discernible human influence on global climate," (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 1995). With this evidentiary support, UN Climate Change has convened world leaders repeatedly to broker international treaties on climate change.



Figure 10.2.3: During the UN Climate Change Conference of the Parties in 2022 (COP27), climate strikers gathered in San Francisco and across the world to call for climate justice (CC BY-NC 2.0; Peg Hunter via Flickr)

A milestone was the successful negotiation of the 2015 Paris Agreement. With 196 national signatories, its central goal is to limit global warming to less than a two degree Celsius increase above pre-industrial levels. To achieve this, the world must curb greenhouse gas emissions and execute a whole-of-society change in energy use. As signatories, governments must set national goals and plans to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The Paris Agreement set up the Conference of the Parties (CMA) to serve as a coordinating body and help pool resources.

Another intergovernmental body which affects global energy trends is the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). OPEC facilitates cooperation across major oil-producing countries. Founding members include Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. Energy giants Russia and the U.S. are not OPEC members, but the organization nonetheless represents nearly 40 percent of global crude oil production. Its goals are at odds with that of UN Climate Change, since its stated mission is to "ensure the stabilization of oil markets in order to secure an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consumers, a steady income to producers and a fair return on capital for those investing in the petroleum industry," (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, n.d.). The power of OPEC was most evident in 1973, when OPEC members imposed an embargo on oil exports to the United States, sparking an energy crisis in the country. That power has diminished on account of US resurgence in oil and natural gas production.

Casting a wider umbrella than OPEC is the International Energy Forum (IEF), which has over 70 member countries. Its main purpose is to promote energy dialogue, especially between producers and consumers of energy. Based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, IEF boasts that its membership comprises more than 90 percent of global oil and gas supply and demand – and also includes transit countries. The "Big Three" – Russia, Saudi Arabia, and the U.S. – are all members, and an American was selected to become IEF Secretary General in 2020.

Pushing back against these intergovernmental organizations are various powerful voices in **global civil society**. This comprises myriad nongovernmental organizations, associations, and groups which have pressured government leaders to adopt their preferred policies. Some are grassroots organizations empowered by large global memberships and deep networks, such as

Greenpeace. Others like the Climate Action Network serve as hubs for hundreds of affiliated organizations. Some, such as the now-defunct Global Climate Coalition, received funding and strategic advising from major oil companies to deny any climate change-related legislation that might harm “big oil” and its affiliates. On the flip side, looking toward a future in which the worst of climate change is averted, groups such as Sunrise Movement reflect the collective energy of youth around the world who wish to lead a “climate revolution”.

International organizations are jostling with one another to achieve the ultimate goal of global energy transition and climate change mitigation. They provide spaces for the tough negotiations that must follow in the wake of hard truths. This can take the form of self-interested reductions in oil production to raise global oil prices. Or this may look like the Paris Agreement, a starting point for governments to engage in global climate action. Centuries of intensive fossil fuel use have pushed the planet to a precarious state, and broad-based coordination is imperative.

This page titled 10.2: Background - From Fossil Fuel Boom to Energy Transition is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

10.3: Theories and Concepts - Geopolitics, Energy Security, and Climate Justice

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explore the relationship between energy, geopolitics, and energy security
- Recognize the importance of climate justice in ongoing efforts toward a global energy transition

Geopolitics and energy security

The distribution of different energy sources across the planet has significant geopolitical consequences. **Geopolitics** refers to the ways in which geography – including endowments of minerals and resources – shapes the power of states and other influential actors in global affairs. Countries such as Saudi Arabia and corporations such as Exxon Mobil rose to global prominence in the Twentieth Century as the oil transition unfolded. The Middle East remains a strategically important region because of global dependence on oil, which is likely to last for decades.

In the present and medium term, countries with significant endowments of the materials needed for key energy-related technologies, including batteries and solar panels, are seeing more demand for their natural resources. All of this has the potential to increase their prominence in international affairs. In one closely watched example, China has come to dominate global production of solar panels (solar PV) and has significant control over source materials as well as the solar PV production chain. This includes control of over 80 percent of manufacturing capacity for cells and wafers, which are the building blocks for arrays of solar panels. If solar is one of the central renewables of our current energy transition, China has locked in early advantages that it can parlay into political and economic leverage when bargaining with others. However, it is important not to see geography in overly deterministic terms. Natural resource endowments are fixed in a sense, but demand for them is subject to shifts in technology, discovery, competition, and myriad other factors.

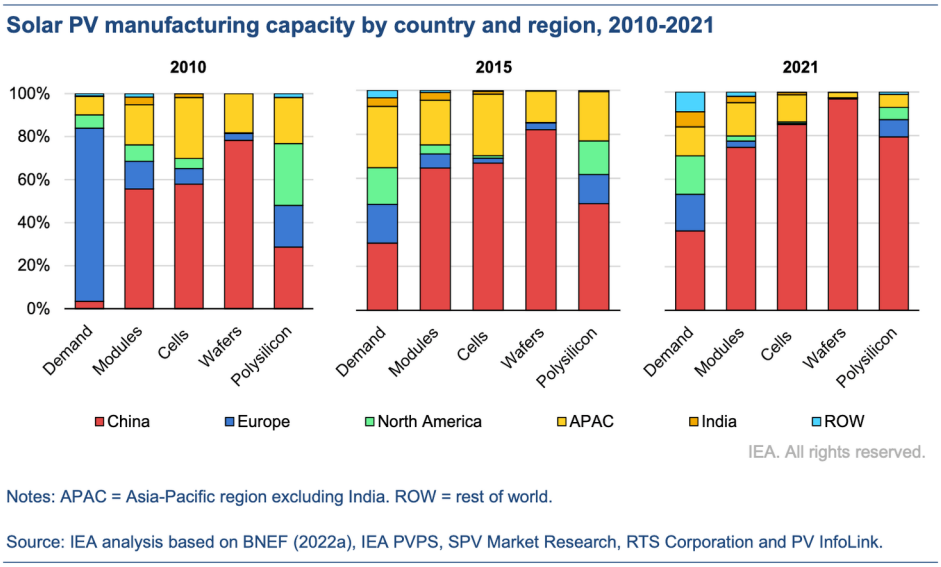


Figure 10.3.1: Solar PV manufacturing capacity and demand by country and region, 2010-2021 (CC-BY 4.0; International Energy Agency Special Report on Solar PV Global Supply Chains, pg. 18)

Related to the resource endowment of a given country is the concept of **energy security**. Energy security refers to whether a country has access to uninterrupted and affordable energy. This factor depends on the availability of domestic sources of energy as well as the robustness of infrastructure for conveying that energy to users. If a country must import its energy, the stability of

trading relationships can affect energy security. North America, as described previously, has healthy endowments of fossil fuels and growing stocks of renewable energy sources – and all of this is supported by a robust regional free trade agreement. Because of these factors, North American countries tend to enjoy relatively high energy security. An additional consideration is whether energy sources are resilient. This can include resilience in the face of natural disasters or war (including cyber and physical forms of militarized force). Building this resilience has become more urgent with the increasing frequency and intensification of natural disasters along with revolutions in disruptive technologies in cyberspace.

Scholars have also debated whether natural resource wealth is the boon for national development and prosperity that it might seem at first look. One theory which has shaped understanding of the political consequences of mineral wealth is the **resource curse**. Even though a country may have an abundance of minerals, such as oil, when this abundance is associated with a repressive government or, even worse, deteriorating standards of living for the majority of a country's population, is it really a positive. Contemporary Nigeria and Venezuela are examples of this. One explanation for the resource curse is that political and economic elites gain control of the natural resource as well as associated revenue streams, and they do not have to be accountable to the larger public through traditional mechanisms such as taxation. Furthermore, focus on natural resource extraction and export prevents the development of a more diversified and robust economy.

Yet there are important counterexamples to the resource curse. Countries with significant natural resources, especially in oil and natural gas, can nonetheless be wealthy, democratic, and exhibit relatively lower levels of income inequality. We see this with contemporary Norway and Canada. It may be the case that the resource curse tends to affect countries which are overly dependent on revenue from resource exports, while resource abundance can be beneficial overall. In other words, the problem stems from the combination of resource abundance and resource dependence, while just having the former can lead to more positive outcomes (Lashitew & Werker, 2020).

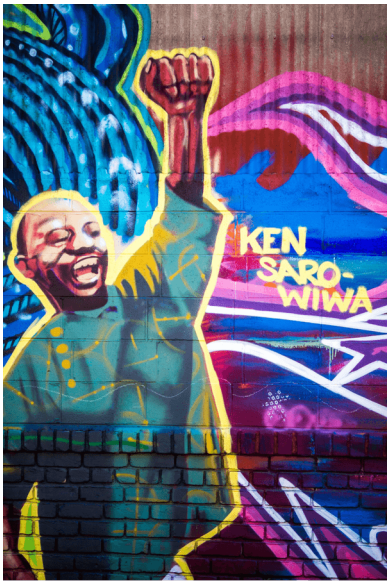


Figure 10.3.2: Nigerian environmental activist Kenule Beeson "Ken" Saro-Wiwa used nonviolent tactics to protest degradation of the land by the Nigerian government and global oil companies. He was a member of the Ogoni ethnic minority, whose traditional homeland is in the oil-rich Niger Delta. Saro-Wiwa was tried and executed by the Nigerian government in 1995. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Thomas Hawk via Flickr)

Fighting Climate Change for Climate Justice

While there is great urgency surrounding the need to turn the corner on a global energy transition, justice considerations deserve equal, if not more, weight (Ankit et al., 2021). Many in the global climate change social movement have included language such as **climate justice** to capture this concept. Climate justice focuses on the ways in which climate change touches on a range of human rights issues. These span time and space. The populations and groups most impacted by climate change have been, are, and will continue to be those who contributed least to the problem, raising questions of fairness. Highly impacted groups tend to be historically marginalized and lack access to resources, raising questions of equity. The climate justice movement seeks to ensure that the concerns and needs of disproportionately impacted, under-resourced groups are addressed in the fight against climate change.

The needs are many and varied. The world has been experiencing rising numbers of climate migrants, and within-country

migration is projected to increase to over 200 million by 2050 (Clement et al., 2021). People will be pushed from their land due to rising sea levels and more intense weather events, combined with decreases in availability of potable water and productivity of the land. The World Bank estimates that in the worst-hit areas, nearly 3 percent of the populations of Africa south of the Sahara, South Asia, and Latin America will become climate migrants. Additionally, the state of infectious diseases around the world will worsen due to climate change, and these shifts will outpace the ability of societies to adapt (Mora et al., 2022). All of this stems from the root problem of human-induced greenhouse gas emissions, so devising energy reforms based on justice remains a foundational task to stave off the worst of these projections.

This page titled 10.3: Theories and Concepts - Geopolitics, Energy Security, and Climate Justice is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

10.4: At Home and Abroad - The Politics of Pipelines

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Evaluate the political forces for and against the construction of an energy pipeline in North America

Energy in North America: The Rise and Fall of the Keystone XL Pipeline

North America is a region of vast natural resources. In the far north, Canada is no exception. Among Canada's endowments are oil-rich tar sands concentrated in the central province of Alberta. The extraction of bitumen, or a kind of thick crude oil, from tar sands is resource-intensive and environmentally destructive, but despite this Canadian interests began developing the country's tar sands industry with the opening of the first commercial plant in 1967. The extraction process involves clearing enormous tracts of forest, including the diversion of rivers and displacement of wildlife, then mining and processing tar-soaked sands in a water- and energy-intensive process. Oil sands launched Canada to global prominence in energy markets; Canada now has the fourth-largest proven oil reserves in the world.

In 2008, the Canadian energy company TransCanada Corporation (now TC Energy) proposed the creation of an expanded pipeline system known as Keystone XL that would cut a southeasterly course from Alberta into the U.S. Midwest, then turn south to the Gulf of Mexico. The construction of a pipeline from Canada to the United States' Gulf Coast requires U.S. presidential approval though. This was denied twice by the Obama administration (2008-2016), but then approved by the Trump administration (2016-2020). In 2021, U.S. President Biden vetoed the project. The back and forth nature of these vetoes and approvals show how the decision was really tied to who politically supported each administration. In the case of the Obama and Biden administrations, it was the voice of the average person, tribes and environmentalists that held sway, while the Trump administration listened more to business interests. Following this political tug of war, in June 2021 TransCanada officially terminated the proposed pipeline route.

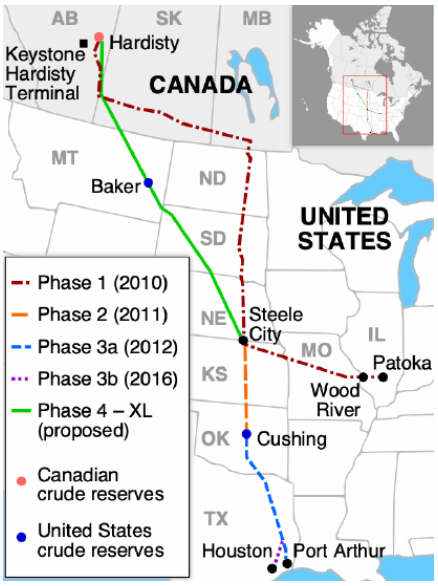


Figure 10.4.1: A map of the Keystone pipeline route through Canada and the US. The Phase 1, 2, 3a, and 3b sections were all completed. Phase 4, or Keystone XL, was cancelled in 2021. (CC BY-SA 4.0; cmglee, Meclee, Flappiefh, Lokal_Profil et al. via Wikipedia)

Various groups placed pressure on the U.S. government during each turn in this saga. TransCanada argued that the pipeline would create jobs and contribute to North American energy security, with minimal risk of pipeline leaks or environmental damage. An array of environmental, human rights, and indigenous groups fought the pipeline development on opposing grounds. They drew attention to the environmental and cultural damage of the proposed pipeline. The proposed route through Nebraska, for example, would have crossed an aquifer that provided water for millions. Ranchers and farmers along the pipeline route were divided, as

the pipeline might bring some economic benefits but would also cut through their ranches and farmland.

The politics of pipelines are playing out in many other parts of the world. Nord Stream pipelines connecting European economic powerhouse Germany to Russia fell sharply out of favor following the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Protesters were arrested in Uganda for opposing the construction of a crude oil pipeline that would connect Uganda's oil-producing region to Indian Ocean ports in Tanzania. French and Chinese companies are responsible for this African pipeline project. Hundreds of thousands of kilometers of oil and gas pipelines are projected to be constructed in the coming decade. This is bolstered by market incentives, governments' search for energy security, and the people's demand for ever cheaper energy.

This page titled 10.4: At Home and Abroad - The Politics of Pipelines is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

10.5: References

Ankit, K., Johanna, H., & Auke, P. (2021). *Dilemmas of Energy Transitions in the Global South : Balancing Urgency and Justice*. Routledge.

Bhutada, G. (2022). The 200-year history of mankind's energy transitions. *World Economic Forum and Visual Capitalist*. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2022/04/visualizing-the-history-of-energy-transitions/.

Bordoff, J., & O'Sullivan, M. L. (2022). Green Upheaval: The New Geopolitics of Energy. *Foreign Affairs*, *101*(1), 68-84.

Clement, V., Rigaud, K. K., de Sherbinin, A., Jones, B., Adamo, S., Schewe, J., Sadiq, N., & Shabahat, E. (2021). *Groundswell Part 2: Acting on Internal Climate Migration*. World Bank.

Edge, D., McMullen, J., Mohammad, G., & Barnwell, R. (2022). The Power of Big Oil. *Frontline*. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/the-power-of-big-oil/.

European Commission. (2019). *The European Green Deal*. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-deal_en.

IHS Markit, & Energy Futures Initiative. (2019). *Advancing the Landscape of Clean Energy Innovation*. https://efifoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2022/03/AdvancingTheLandscapeOfCleanEnergyInnovation_Report_compressed.pdf.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. (1995). *IPCC Second Assessment: Climate Change 1995*. https://archive.ipcc.ch/pdf/climate-changes-1995/ipcc-2nd-assessment/2nd-assessment-en.pdf.

International Energy Agency. (2023). *Oil 2023*. https://www.iea.org/reports/oil-2023.

Krasna, J. (2023). *A Long, Hot Summer for Eastern Mediterranean Gas Politics*. https://www.fpri.org/article/2023/09/a-long-hot-summer-for-eastern-mediterranean-gas-politics/.

Lashitew, A. A., & Werker, E. (2020). Do natural resources help or hinder development? Resource abundance, dependence, and the role of institutions. *Resource and Energy Economics*, 61,101183. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.reseneeco.2020.101183.

Le Treut, H., Somerville, R., Cubasch, U., Ding, Y., Mauritzen, C., Mokssit, A., Peterson, T., & Prather, M. (2007). Historical Overview of Climate Change Science. In S. Solomon, D. Qin, M. Manning, Z. Chen, M. Marquis, M. Averyt, & H. L. Miller (Eds.), *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press. https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/2018/03/ar4-wg1-chapter1.pdf.

Lusinyan, L. (2015). North American Integration and the Energy Market. In R. Cardarelli & L. Lusinyan (Eds.), *Power Play: Energy and Manufacturing in North America*. International Monetary Fund. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5089/9781498364799.071.

Mora, C., McKenzie, T., Gaw, I. M., Dean, J. M., von Hammerstein, H., Knudson, T. A., Setter, R. O., Smith, C. Z., Webster, K. M., Patz, J. A., & Franklin, E. C. (2022). Over half of known human pathogenic diseases can be aggravated by climate change. *Nature Climate Change*, *12*(9), 869-875. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-022-01426-1.

Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. (n.d.). *Our Mission*. Retrieved Nov. 8, 2023 from https://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/23.htm.

Overland, I. (2016). Energy: The missing link in globalization. *Energy Research & Social Science*, *14*, 122-130. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2016.01.009.

U.S. Energy Information Administration. (2022). *Country Analysis Executive Summary: China* https://www.eia.gov/international/content/analysis/countries_long/China/china.pdf.

UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2022). *Energy in Latin America and the Caribbean: access, renewability and efficiency*. https://repositorio.cepal.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/cfde21e2-8d17-48f1-8f30-429984e09715/content.

Unruh, G. C. (2000). Understanding carbon lock-in. *Energy Policy*, *28*(12), 817-830. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/S0301-4215(00)00070-7.

World Bank. (2023). *Tracking SDG 7: The Energy Progress Report*. https://trackingsdg7.esmap.org/data/files/download-documents/sdg7-report2023-full_report.pdf.

Yergin, D. (2020). *The New Map: Energy, Climate, and the Clash of Nations*. Penguin Press.

This page titled 10.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

10.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Climate justice:** approach to climate change mitigation which seeks to ensure that the concerns and needs of disproportionately impacted, under-resourced groups are addressed in a just way, especially since these groups contributed the least to climate change.
- **Energy security:** whether a country has access to uninterrupted and affordable energy.
- **Energy transition:** the movement away from one primary energy source to another, which often entails the development of relevant technologies and markets for the newer energy source.
- **Fossil fuel:** a natural energy source such as coal, gas, and oil, which formed over millions of years ago from organic matter. Fossil fuels are non-renewable energy sources.
- **Fracking:** hydraulic fracturing involves forcing a slurry of water, sand, and chemicals through fissures in shale rock formations to release oil or natural gas deposits.
- **Geopolitics:** the ways in which geographical features – including endowments of minerals and resources – shapes the power of countries and other influential actors in global affairs.
- **Global civil society:** nongovernmental organizations, associations, and groups which are global in scope and pressure key decision-makers to adopt their preferred policies.
- **Greenhouse Gases:** gases, such as carbon dioxide and methane, that trap heat in the Earth's atmosphere, contributing to the greenhouse effect and influencing global climate patterns.
- **Primary energy source:** energy in its raw fuel form. Common primary energy sources include fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and gas. Renewable energy sources such as sunlight, wind, moving water, and geothermal energy are also primary energy sources
- **Renewable energy source:** energy derived from naturally replenishing sources, such as sunlight, wind, rain, tides, and geothermal heat, which are considered sustainable and have lower environmental impacts.
- **Resource curse:** the theory that some countries with natural resource wealth, especially in minerals such as oil, have poor governance and development outcomes. This may stem from concentration in control of the natural resources and over-reliance on export revenues.
- **Secondary energy source:** An energy source that is generated from primary energy sources. Electricity is a common secondary energy source

Summaries

10.1 Introduction: The Changing Map of Energy

Our current period of globalization has been fueled in no small part by the globalization of energy. The world remains dependent on non-renewable fossil fuels (coal, gas, and oil) as primary energy sources, but there has been movement to become carbon-neutral in coming decades. Global markets in fossil fuels remain robust – due in no small part to the emergence of the U.S. as a leader in gas and oil production, followed by Saudi Arabia and Russia – but many regions of the world are poised to shift more decisively toward renewable sources of energy.

10.2 Background: From Fossil Fuel Boom to Energy Transition

Energy transitions have shaped fundamental aspects of our lives. Industrialization and the intensive use of fossil fuels, notably coal, oil and natural gas, have been major causes of climate change. This has prompted calls for an energy transition away from fossil fuels and toward renewables. An array of international organizations has sought to shape the terms of this Twenty-first Century energy transition, which has made some progress but will take decades to enact.

10.3 Theories and Concepts: Geopolitics, Energy Security, Climate Justice

The distribution of energy endowments around the world relates to concepts such as geopolitics and energy security. A country may benefit from the rich energy endowments that stem from its geography, but this is not a certainty. Some resource-abundant

countries, especially those with oil, may suffer from a resource curse. This curse may be evident in underdevelopment, high inequality, and/or poor governance. The resource curse does not apply universally, nor does geography dictate the fate of a country. Additional factors such as technological change, trade patterns, and shifting politics in a dynamic world all shape the energy security profile of a given country. An expansive climate justice movement is also shaping worldwide agendas with regard to climate change and energy transition.

10.4 At Home and Abroad: The Politics of Pipelines

Gas and oil pipelines are a critical component of the global circulation of energy. Political interests are arrayed for and against the construction of pipelines. Gas and oil companies argue that pipelines provide access to affordable energy, while detractors maintain that pipelines are environmentally irresponsible and disrupt the land and communities.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites:

- En-ROADS Climate Solutions Simulator
- Student Energy's Energy System Map
- Tracking UN Sustainable Development Goal 7: The Energy Progress Report
- United Nations Climate Action
- U.S. Energy Information Administration

Documentaries:

- PBS Frontline: The Power of Big Oil (2022)
- An Inconvenient Truth (2006) and An Inconvenient Sequel: Truth to Power (2017)

Books:

- Rhodes, R. *Energy: A Human History*, Simon & Schuster, 2018.
- Thunberg, G., *The Climate Book*, Penguin Random House, 2023.

Review Questions

1. All of the following are considered among the "big three" oil and natural gas producers in the world EXCEPT:
    1. Iran
    2. Saudi Arabia
    3. United States
    4. Russia
2. Climate justice refers to:
    1. Ensuring that the needs of groups which are disproportionately harmed by climate change are addressed
    2. Acknowledging that the costs of climate change will be borne most by those who have contributed least to the problem
    3. Shifting the conversation on climate change to focus on just, fair, inclusive, and equitable solutions
    4. All of the above
3. All of the following have been energy transitions in human history EXCEPT:
    1. From wood to coal
    2. From coal to oil
    3. From oil to hydrogen
    4. From traditional biomass to coal
4. All of the following are primary sources of energy in North America EXCEPT:

1. Tar sands
2. Shale rock formations
3. Electricity
4. Solar photovoltaics (solar PV)

5. The Keystone XL pipeline:
    1. Will carry gas from Mexico to Canada
    2. Is the largest oil pipeline in the world
    3. Spans the Indian Ocean
    4. Was never built due to political activism and presidential veto

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Together with a classmate, explore one form of renewable energy. Where in the world is it used most intensively, and where is it being developed? What are some of the most significant barriers – including technological, political, economic, and social factors – to adoption of this renewable energy source?
2. Write an evidence-based advocacy letter to either the leaders of UN Climate Change or CEO of a major global non-renewable energy company in which you explain why energy transition to renewables is imperative. Be sure to explain why such a transition is in their interest.
3. Select a country of the world. Research its current energy profile, including sources of energy and plans to shift its energy mix. What might a climate justice organization advocate for this country to achieve a just energy transition?

This page titled 10.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

11: GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

11.1: Introduction - Core Environmental Concerns
11.2: Background - A History of Environmental Challenges- From the Industrial Revolution to Climate Change
11.3: Theories and Concepts - Understanding the Tragedy of the Commons and the Anthropocene
11.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Waste from the Bottom, Up
11.5: References
11.6: Student Resources

This page titled 11: Global Environmental Challenges is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

11.1: Introduction - Core Environmental Concerns

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand the key environmental challenges our planet faces today
- Recognize the relationship of these challenges to each other and how they reflect both local and global processes

Introduction

When you throw something away, do you know where that "away" is? If you answered no, you're probably like many individuals who are disconnected from how their "stuff" is produced, transported, and ultimately, disposed of. Don't feel bad just yet, as this disconnection is by design, both systemically and politically. As a system, most modern municipal waste management services are efficient and convenient. Simply sort your waste, put it in the proper receptacle outside, and presto, your garbage is "taken care of." However, while your waste may disappear from the garbage bin, its story has only begun. As we will see in this chapter, the journey one's waste takes, like many global environmental challenges we face today, is a consequence of numerous economic, ethical, and political decisions that we and our leaders make every day.

For instance, the out-of-sight, out-of-mind, mentality associated with municipal solid waste management keeps modern economies moving. When one doesn't have to think twice about the amount of waste they generate, where it ends up, or its environmental impact, their waste's environmental and societal costs are external to what they pay as consumers. This maintains one's distance from the impacts of their choices as consumers, allowing them to overlook their associated ethical implications. In other words, these variables have little impact on consumer's cost-benefit calculations, making it easier to generate more waste while many of the environmental costs are sent down one's waste stream. However, once one starts to examine and connect with their waste stream, important environmental, political, and ethical questions begin to emerge. Indeed, take a close look at your waste bin and you might wonder: *How* are my recyclables recycled? *Why* are only certain items recyclable? *Who* designs all these products with such a short lifespan? *What* impact is this having on the environment? *How* much are we wasting as a society? *Where* does all that waste go and *who* is responsible for dealing with it? While answering all these questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, they tie into a larger related question central to it: how do individuals, communities, private sectors, and governments decide how to manage global environmental challenges, like waste disposal, and what are the key political and ethical questions they must confront in doing so?

Waste Management

The amount of waste humans collectively generate is one of the several Twenty-first Century environmental concerns that will be explored in this chapter and that will help us to understand the connections between global and local processes. Globally, we produce 1.3 billion tons of waste a year, a figure expected to reach 4 billion by 2100 (Simmons, 2016). Although humans have always generated waste, historically much of this waste has been **biodegradable**, such as plant-based materials, that could theoretically break down through natural biological processes, allowing humans to live in relative balance with their natural environment. However, due to changes in the content of our waste stream over time (e.g., chemicals and plastics) and the increasing amount humans generate, sustainably managing waste is increasingly expensive and problematic. Indeed, the inability to successfully reduce and manage waste is linked with disease, the destruction of wildlife habitat, and an exacerbation of our biodiversity and climate crises.



Figure 11.1.1: A mountain of garbage in India, 2019 (CC-BY-SA-4.0; Mumtahina Rahman via Wikimedia)

Additionally, waste processing facilities are disproportionately located near communities of color and low socio-economic status, unjustly subjecting them to the waste's associated health and environmental burdens. For instance, in 1987, a landmark study found that the proportion of people of color living in neighborhoods that hosted hazardous waste facilities was twice that of non-host neighborhoods and that this applied to 90 percent of states in the United States (Chavis and Lee). A follow-up study 20 years later found that despite this revelation, it is still an ongoing problem (Bullard, et al., 2008). To mitigate this, environmental organizations have been active in persuading us to, amongst other things, reduce, reuse, and recycle. Environmental organizations like Greenpeace are part of a broader movement that seeks to improve the quality of our air, water, and soil, and reduce the impact human production and consumption practices, like waste generation, have on the world's natural environment. Yet, addressing the racial and socio-economic issues associated with environmental degradation is something many prominent environmental organizations like Greenpeace continue to struggle with (Cauchon, 2018). Although U.S.-based environmental organizations have had success stopping the construction of new landfills and trash incineration facilities next to marginalized communities, their success has unwittingly pushed many of the U.S.'s waste issues to other marginalized communities abroad, making waste disposal a global environmental justice concern (Pellow 2007).

Given that Twenty-first Century environmental challenges like waste management are increasingly transnational, it is difficult to disentangle them from the cultural, political, and economic variables that underpin them. The global studies perspective we employ in this book can nevertheless help us understand how these elements are interconnected from the local to the global. As we will see by the end of this chapter, simply inspecting one's waste is an invaluable first step for appreciating how individuals, communities, the private sector, and governments can help address the environmental damage associated with past practices and critically engage in alternative paradigms more conducive to a just, clean, and sustainable future. But first, let's explore some of the major environmental concerns beyond waste facing our planet.

Water Quality

Easy access to drinkable water is something many take for granted. However, one in nine individuals globally still lack such access. Due to insufficient sanitation practices, agricultural/urban run-off, and the industrial discharges associated with modern production practices in many parts of the world, every day 2 million tons of sewage drain into global water supplies (UNESCO, 2023). The consequence of this pollution threatens human health and freshwater ecosystems. Like waste management, lack of access to potable water is a social and economic problem not evenly distributed around the world. The availability of clean drinking water is often dependent on adequate infrastructure, including water treatment plants, pipelines, and distribution systems. Many **less developed countries** (LDCs) lack the financial resources and technical capacity to build and maintain such infrastructure. Yet we can also look at Flint, Michigan's struggle with dilapidated lead pipes, primally contaminating communities of color, to understand how such injustices also exist in nominally more developed countries (MDCs). Even though droughts and water pollution may seem like local problems, the ability to overcome such injustices often depends on global movements bringing attention to the common socio-economic variables.



Figure 11.1.2: Raw sewage dumping into a river in Bangkok, 2006. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Trey Ratcliff via Flickr. Figure 11.1.3: Drinking water pipes, Flint, Michigan, 2017 (CC BY-NC 2.0; Capital News Service via Flickr)

For instance, inadequate regulation and weak governance can lead to inefficient and inequitable water management. Because of the relationship between access to fresh water, food production, and economic growth, water allocation decisions often prioritize the needs of powerful industries or urban centers over the needs of rural and/or disadvantaged communities. In the case of Flint, General Motors was able to secure access to non-contaminated water (Flint water was corroding engine parts) almost a year before the public was notified about lead poisoning their drinking water (Hanna-Atttisha, 2018). This outcome is not uncommon when affected communities are excluded from the decision-making processes related to water management, leading to a lack of representation, an exacerbation of existing inequalities, and even conflict. Water scarcity and pollution are thus deeply embedded in questions of power, equity, and justice that often transcend local environmental and political dynamics. Indeed, when we recognize that water resources often cross national borders, promoting international cooperation and agreements for the sustainable and equitable management of shared water bodies becomes essential.

Air Quality

Like water, the concern over air quality is a perennial environmental concern as it is essential for human health, biodiversity, and the overall well-being of the planet. Like our waste streams, air quality was cleaner during pre-industrial times when most economies were primarily agrarian-based. However, in the late Eighteenth Century, the Industrial Revolution brought about a significant increase in human-made pollution due to the expanding use of coal as a primary source of energy for factories and transportation. Because the industries associated with this revolution were often located in urban centers (e.g., Manchester and Birmingham in the UK), workers and nearby residents experienced severe air pollution from coal combustion, leading to smog and other public health issues. As industrialization spread around the world, compounded by the automobile boom of the Twentieth Century, the ills associated with air pollution continued to grow.

When harmful pollutants related to fossil fuel combustion are released into the atmosphere, such as particulate matter (PM), nitrogen dioxide (NO_2), sulfur dioxide (SO_2), ozone (O_3), and volatile organic compounds (VOCs), it has adverse effects on human health. Indeed, high PMs are responsible for 6.4 million deaths every year (e.g., heart disease, stroke, lung cancer), with roughly 95 percent of these deaths occurring in developing countries (WHO, 2021). Nevertheless, less than one-third of countries have a legal definition for what constitutes air pollution, require national air quality monitoring mechanisms, or have legally enforceable air quality standards (UN, 2021). The fact that air pollution does not respect national borders makes domestic efforts and international cooperation even more challenging, a matter we will return to when we explore the relationship between fossil fuel emissions and climate change.

Chemicals and Energy

Many of the environmental problems associated with waste management, air, and water quality are linked to how societies use chemicals, such as fertilizers and pesticides. While chemicals play crucial roles in various industries, including agriculture,

medicine, manufacturing, and technology, many are hazardous, posing risks to human health and ecosystems. For instance, in addition to the air and water contamination mentioned above, improper disposal of hazardous waste, pesticides, and heavy metals can lead to soil and land contamination, affecting plant growth, harming beneficial microorganisms, and poisoning food chains. Persistent organic pollutants (POPs), often associated with certain pesticides and industrial chemicals, can bioaccumulate in the tissues of organisms. As they move up the food chain, their concentration increases through a process called biomagnification. This can lead to high levels of toxic substances in top predators, which is linked to developmental issues, reproductive problems, and damage to organs and tissues. The potential loss of biodiversity can disrupt ecosystem functions, reduce resilience to environmental changes, and lead to cascading effects throughout food chains.

Like the use of chemicals, our ability to generate reliable energy using fossil fuels (e.g., coal, oil, and natural gas) has come with significant environmental costs. While these fuels have been crucial for economic development, their combustion releases not only PMs detrimental to human health, but also **greenhouse gasses** like carbon dioxide (CO_2). Followed closely by agriculture, electricity, and heat production are the biggest contributors to climate change (EPA, 2023). While we address the well-documented connection between greenhouse gases and climate change below, what is lesser known is that globally, more than a billion people still lack access to electricity while 3 billion still depend on relatively cheap, yet dirty fuels, such as charcoal and animal waste, for cooking and heating (Rosner, 2020). As we saw in Chapter 10, while more MDCs continue to focus on expanding the adoption of **renewable energy** sources like solar, wind, hydroelectric, and geothermal power, as a means in combating pollution and climate change, this transition entails significant economic costs that LDCs are not always able to assume on their own. Once again, we can see how Twenty-first Century environmental challenges are difficult to disassociate from issues of justice and equity.

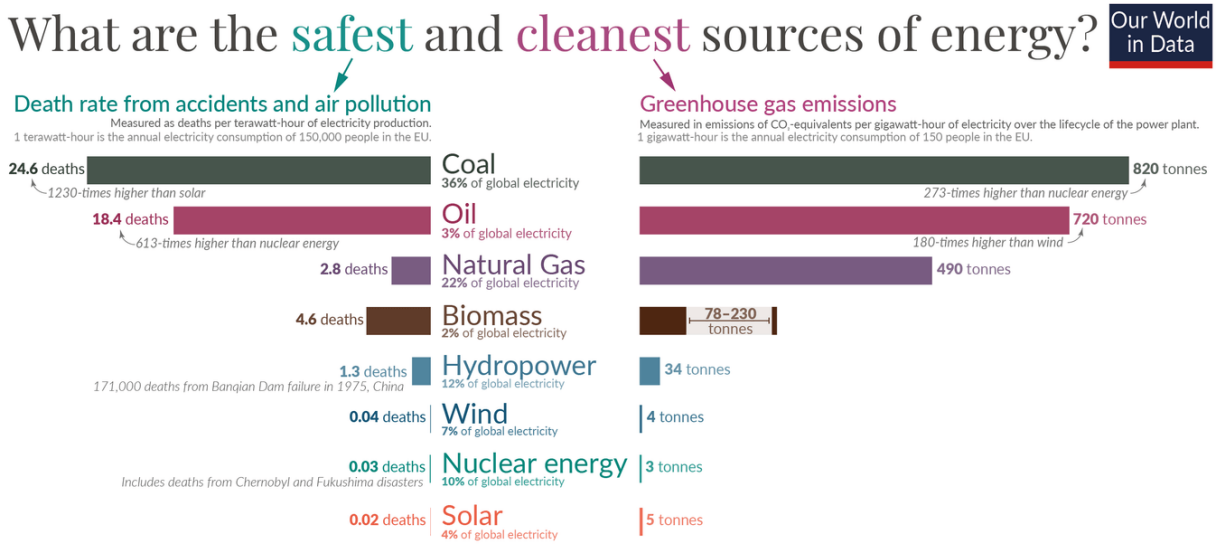


Figure 11.1.4: Safest and cleanest sources of energy: the highest being coal, the lowest solar (CC-BY-SA-4.0; Our World In Data - Max Roser via Wikimedia)

Biodiversity and Natural Resources

Chemicals and the byproducts of human transportation, energy production, and consumption also negatively impact biodiversity. **Biodiversity** refers to the variety of life on Earth, encompassing the wide range of different species of plants, animals, microorganisms, and ecosystems that coexist and interact with one another. Pollution of rivers and lakes with chemicals and toxins can harm aquatic ecosystems, leading to the decline of fish populations, disrupting food webs, and thus negatively impacting aquatic biodiversity (Dudgeion, et al. 2016). This is problematic as a rich diversity of living organisms, and the ecological systems they form, sustain life on our planet in ways we have yet to fully comprehend. For instance, diverse ecosystems are more resilient to disturbances like natural disasters, disease outbreaks, and climate change as they enable some species to adapt and survive in challenging conditions, thus maintaining ecosystem stability. Thus, the loss of biodiversity can disrupt ecosystem functions, reduce resilience to environmental changes, and lead to cascading effects throughout the food web.

Moreover, **deforestation**, the process of clearing substantial portions of forests for agriculture, logging, and urban expansion, has led to a significant reduction of the natural resources that make biodiversity possible. Natural resources are materials that occur naturally in the environment and have economic value and utility for humans. A key environmental dilemma we face is that

while access to natural resources is fundamental to economic growth and prosperity, not all natural resources are renewable. For example, unlike solar and wind energy, which are renewable and have relatively smaller chemical and pollution footprints, the world continues to rely heavily on non-renewable, and often dirty natural resources, such as fossil fuels. Non-renewable resources are finite and have a limited supply that cannot be replaced within a human lifetime or on a timescale relevant to human society. Once these resources are depleted, they cannot be regenerated. Indeed, while natural resources like forests and freshwater are theoretically renewable when they are not managed sustainably, they can disappear if not rendered unusable.



Figure 11.1.5: Deforestation in Riau province, Sumatra, to make way for an oil palm plantation, 2007 (CC BY 2.0; Hayden - Oil Palm Concession via Wikipedia)

This page titled 11.1: Introduction - Core Environmental Concerns is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

11.2: Background - A History of Environmental Challenges- From the Industrial Revolution to Climate Change

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize key historical moments associated with modern environmentalism
- Identify the progress and challenges associated with confronting climate change since the Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution

Taking place between the late Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Century, the Industrial Revolution marked a shift from agrarian and handcraft-based economies to industrialized and mechanized systems of production, primarily in Europe and North America. Largely powered by coal, the steam engine was a key to this revolution as it allowed manufacturers to locate their factories in growing urban centers with ready access to labor and consumers as they no longer had to rely on water (often in rural settings) to power their facilities. Combined with the increased production capabilities provided by the steam engine, this technological shift had far-reaching impacts on the environment, how people worked, and how they lived.



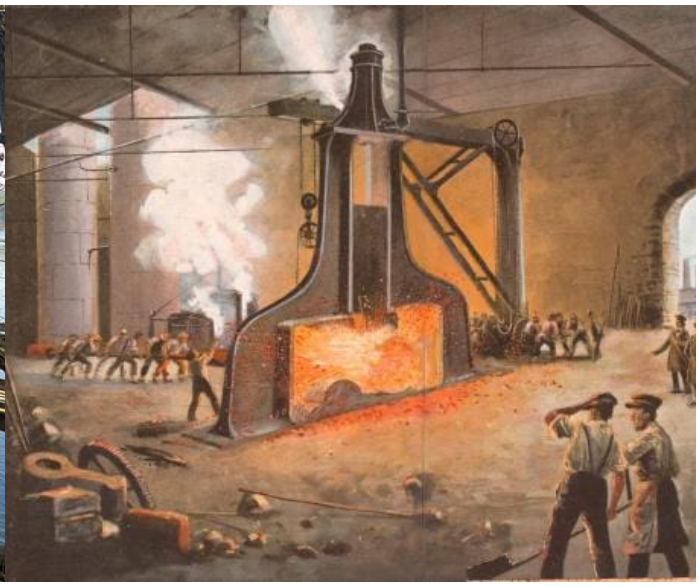


Figure 11.2.1: Water wheel and mill (CC0 1.0 Public Domain; via PickPik). Figure 11.2.2: The first steam hammer, invented by James Nasmyth in 1839 (CC BY-NC; BILDE via NDLA)

Indeed, the rise of factories and industrial centers spurred rapid **urbanization** as people moved from rural areas to cities in search of new employment opportunities, often because of land enclosures that resulted in farmers losing access to former "**commons**" (discussed in 11.3). This migration eventually created crowded and often unsanitary living conditions in urban areas, contributing to social and public health challenges. Moreover, even though rapid industrialization brought economic efficiency, the increased use of coal and other fossil fuels contributed to the buildup of atmospheric pollutants that were poorly understood at that time. For instance, the so-called "Great Smog of London," was a severe air pollution event in 1952 England that remains one of the deadliest environmental disasters in history. The combination of cold weather and atmospheric conditions led to the accumulation of pollutants from factories and homes relying on coal for heating and power generation. The high concentrations of sulfur dioxide and particulate matter in the air caused respiratory problems, exacerbated existing health conditions, and led to a significant increase in hospital admissions and deaths, with estimates ranging from 8 thousand to 12 thousand lives (Martinez,

2019).



Figure 11.2.3: Leeds Steel Works, 1928, Yorkshire, England (PDM 1.0 Mark Crombie via Flickr)

Growing Awareness of a Problem

Although the severity of the environmental disaster and its impact on public health drew widespread outrage, it also raised awareness about the dangers of air pollution and prompted significant changes in environmental regulations and public health policies. Indeed, while the event served as a catalyst for improved research into the health effects of air pollution and paved the way for more stringent environmental regulations, the delayed and inadequate governmental response underscored the need for more civic pressure and scrutiny of the impact industrial processes had on the environment. The story of the Great Smog was like many experiences around the world—as industrial development increased in urban settings, so did awareness of the associated environmental ills by many concerned citizens, scientists, and environmental activists.

Historically, Nineteenth-century environmentalism was associated with the conservation efforts of individuals like Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and Theodore Roosevelt, who shared a romantic perspective on nature, emphasizing its aesthetic and spiritual value. While these individuals were often counterproductive in addressing the racial and socio-economic elements associated with access to clean environments that subsequent environmental justice movements would confront, they nevertheless played vital roles in advocating for the protection of pristine wilderness and championing the sustainable use of natural resources via a **conservation ethic**. Their collective efforts helped establish and grow the U.S. National Park system, although often displacing indigenous peoples in the process, and towards the end of the Nineteenth Century, environmental movements would expand their gaze beyond conserving the wilderness “out there” by looking inward at how polluting industries were impacting where they lived, worked, and played. Indeed, the environmental justice movement began as a Black-led movement, which emphasized the intersectional impacts of race and class when it comes to not only pollutant exposure, but also lack of access to green space near their communities.

Before the birth of the environmental justice movement, and about 10 years after the Great Smog of London, Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*, a groundbreaking book that had a profound impact on environmental awareness, the modern environmental movement, and the regulation of chemical pesticides in the United States. Specifically, Carson's book highlighted the detrimental effects of the pesticide DDT (*dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane*) and other chemical pesticides on ecosystems. Her work emphasized that these chemicals not only killed target pests, but also had unintended consequences throughout the food web. Like the Great Smog, Carson’s book spurred public outrage. It led to increased pressure on the U.S. government to regulate the use of harmful pesticides and ultimately to the establishment of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970. *Silent Spring* is also credited with galvanizing environmental movements of the 1960s and 1970s by inspiring activists, scientists, and concerned citizens to become more engaged in advocating for environmental conservation and the protection of natural resources beyond that of traditional conservationists.

Building on the foundational work of Carson and the activism she inspired, environmental organizations like Greenpeace began to play a central role in raising both domestic and global awareness about issues associated with pollution and biodiversity

loss. Founded in 1971, Greenpeace was a pioneer in recognizing that while most environmental challenges were experienced locally, their causes, and thus solutions, necessitated global action. Indeed, Greenpeace and similar environmental organizations engaged in activism, advocacy, and scientific research that raised global public awareness and increased pressure on domestic and international governments to act. Consequently, the 1970s and 1980s saw the convening of international conferences that addressed environmental issues on a global scale, such as the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm, 1972), which emphasized the need for international cooperation to address environmental challenges. The conference marked a turning point, as it was the first international conference to focus exclusively on environmental issues and led to the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in 1972. UNEP quickly became the central hub within the UN system for coordinating environmental activities.



Figure 11.2.4:Stop the Politics Climate Treaty Now, COP15, 2009 (CC BY-SA 2.0; John Englart via Flickr)

The International Community Responds

As scientific awareness and public opinion became more attuned to the causes and effects of environmental pollution, so did the recognition that many of these issues could no longer be addressed solely at the local level. For instance, **acid rain**, which is a result of sulfur dioxide (SO2) and nitrogen oxide (NOx) emissions from industrial and transportation sources, causes a range of environmental and ecological damages. Once released into the atmosphere, the pollution associated with acid rain often moves long distances, carried by prevailing winds, before being deposited via precipitation. Thus, while acid rain pollution may originate in one country, its impacts are transnational. Recognizing the need for global cooperation, the international community came together and adopted the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution (LRTAP) in 1979 to address such concerns. A key to LRTAP's success was that the parties to the convention met regularly to assess progress, share information, and discuss strategies for further reducing transboundary air pollution—an insight subsequent international environmental conventions would embrace.

Building on the success of LRTAP, in the 1980s, scientists began to raise concerns about the potential depletion of the ozone layer, a thin layer in the Earth's stratosphere that protects life on Earth by absorbing most of the sun's harmful ultraviolet (UV) radiation. Researchers discovered that certain chemicals, such as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), were responsible for ozone depletion. Thus in 1987, representatives from various countries gathered in Montreal, Canada, to negotiate the Montreal Protocol—establishing legally binding commitments for a gradual phase-out of key ozone-depleting substances (ODS) that were damaging the ozone layer. The Montreal Protocol is often cited as one of the most successful international environmental agreements in history as it led to measurable improvements in the ozone layer's condition and by the 2000s, had prevented millions of cases of skin cancer and cataracts. Moreover, it showcased the potential of international cooperation and thus laid the groundwork for subsequent bilateral and multilateral environmental treaties and conventions as displayed in Figure 11.2.5.

Figure 11.2.5: Key International Treaties and Conventions Addressing Environmental Challenges (from 1972 – 2019)

Treaty/Convention	Focus	Notable Actions/Success	Approximate Adoption Date
London Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter	Controlling the dumping of harmful substances at sea	Establishing guidelines and restrictions on the dumping of various types of wastes into the marine environment	1972
CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora)	Regulating international trade in endangered species	Protection of numerous endangered species from overexploitation	1973
Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution (LRTAP) Convention	Addressing transboundary air pollution	Establishing protocols and agreements to reduce air pollution across national borders, including acid rain, particulate matter, and other pollutants	1979
Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer	Protection of the ozone layer	Complements the Montreal Protocol for ozone layer protection	1985
Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer	Protecting the ozone layer	Reduction of illegal dumping of hazardous wastes in developing countries	1989
UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change)	Addressing climate change	Key agreements like the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement	1992
Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)	Conserving biodiversity and genetic resources	Nagoya Protocol on Access and Benefit-Sharing	1992
Aarhus Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making, and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters	Promoting public participation and transparency in environmental decision-making	Key instrument for enhancing public involvement in environmental matters	1998
Rotterdam Convention on the Prior Informed Consent Procedure for Certain Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides in International Trade	Regulating international trade in hazardous chemicals	Ensuring informed decision-making on the import/export of hazardous substances, protecting human health and the environment	1998
Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs)	Eliminating persistent organic pollutants	Phasing out the use of several hazardous chemicals	2001

Treaty/Convention	Focus	Notable Actions/Success	Approximate Adoption Date
Minamata Convention on Mercury	Reducing mercury emissions and releases	Phasing out the use of mercury in various products and processes	2013
Paris Agreement (UNFCCC)	Addressing climate change and global emissions	Commitments to limit global temperature rise, national climate action plans, ongoing international climate negotiations	2015
Basel Convention Amendments (Plastic Waste)	Controlling transboundary movement of plastic waste	Regulating the international trade of plastic waste, enhancing control and monitoring mechanisms	2019

Despite the above achievements, the track record of international environmental cooperation has been mixed. Indeed, depending on the respective **cost-benefit analysis** of states, the strength, breadth, and efficacy of many of them vary considerably. For instance, while we should not minimize the significance of the Montreal Protocol and the precedent it set, an economically viable alternative to the CFCs was already available, making the necessary changes, and thus international cooperation, much easier. Conversely, given how difficult it has been for states to transition from fossil to renewable fuels, the history associated with climate change shows how difficult international environmental cooperation can be when the distribution of costs and benefits for (in)action are unequally experienced by different states.

In the 1980s, as scientific evidence of anthropogenic (human-caused) climate change grew, so to did concerns about the potential impacts associated with rising greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere. Consequently, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established in 1988 to assess the science of climate change (IPCC, 1988). Shortly after, the United Nations held the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, establishing the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. The convention established a plan for stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations at a level that would prevent “dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system” (UNFCCC, 2023). The first Conference of the Parties (COP 1) to the UNFCCC took place in Berlin in 1995, marking the beginning of annual meetings focused on negotiating climate-related issues. One of the first signature achievements was the creation of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, which established legally binding emission reduction targets for developed countries (referred to as Annex I countries). Subsequent COP meetings grappled with disagreements on further emission reduction targets and the mechanisms to help countries meet their targets cost-effectively. A key sticking point was the differentiated responsibilities between so-called Annex I and Annex II countries— a distinction reflecting their historical emissions and level of economic development.

Lesser developed countries argue that MDCs, particularly those in Annex I, should bear the primary responsibility for historical emissions, provide financial and technological support to LDCs for their climate action, and take the lead in reducing emissions, which was enshrined in the UNFCCC's principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" (UNFCCC, 1992). On the other hand, Annex I countries often argue that LDC economies should grow differently and incorporate low-carbon technologies from the start. Moreover, MDCs contended that rapidly industrializing nations, such as China, should take on more substantial commitments, leading to the development of a **North-South divide**, (driven by the economic and developmental differences between the more affluent Northern Hemisphere and the less affluent Southern Hemisphere), in negotiations (Bodansky, 2001). Due to these disagreements, the United States withdrew from the protocol in 2001. At the same time the U.S. was supplanted by China as the largest emitter of C02. With the U.S. citing concerns over the economic impacts and perceived shortcomings in the treaty and China disputing its status as a developed country (it argues it is still a developing country), thus entailing a different set of treaty obligations, the lack of significant engagement from the world’s largest CO2 emitters in meeting the goals of the Kyoto Protocol has undermined the hope for its success.

Global focus has since shifted to the implementation of the Paris Agreement, adopted in 2015 during COP 21, which includes commitments from both MDCs and LDCs to address climate change. Building on the foundation laid by the Kyoto Protocol,

the Paris Agreement ostensibly represented a more inclusive and comprehensive global effort to combat climate change. While disagreements in the Kyoto Protocol process between Annex I and II countries continued to some extent during COP 21, the Paris Agreement aimed to strike a balance by requiring all countries to contribute to climate efforts based on their respective capabilities and national circumstances. Like the Kyoto process, a country's ability to follow through with its Nationally Determined Commitments (NDCs), such as reducing greenhouse gas emissions, has been unpredictable due to domestic politics. For instance, the U.S. initially joined the Paris Agreement in 2016, under the Obama administration, but officially withdrew in 2020 during the Trump administration, which echoed similar objections raised by the U.S. during Kyoto Protocol negotiations. Following his victory in the following presidential election, President Biden signed an executive order to rejoin the agreement on his first day in office, January 20, 2021, emphasizing the renewed commitment of the U.S. to international climate action. Yet, communities on the frontlines of climate change still argue that more meaningful involvement of diverse communities is needed in the development and implementation of such treaties, as such inclusion can mitigate their historical tendency to place disproportionate burdens on LDCs and marginalized racial groups. Indeed, the ongoing discussions, debates, and negotiations since COP 21 reflect the complexities of addressing climate change within a global context marked by varying historical contributions, development stages, and legacies of racism and colonialism.

However, as these negotiations progress, alarm bells continue to ring as countries are not doing enough, fast enough, to mitigate the worst impacts of climate change. This sentiment is especially evident in younger environmental activists who are not only inheriting the struggles associated with the COP process, but also an increasingly warming planet. For instance, the slow pace of governments and the international community has inspired young activists, such as Greta Thunberg, who gained international recognition for her activism by staging school strikes for climate action outside the Swedish parliament in 2018, and which inspired the global "Fridays for Future" movement. Her work has energized global youth movements, which have increasingly turned to legal action to hold often reluctant governments accountable for addressing climate change, arguing that insufficient climate policies violate their rights to a stable and healthy future. These legal efforts, such as *Juliana v. United States*, represent a promising approach to compel stronger governmental action to prevent further climate damage.

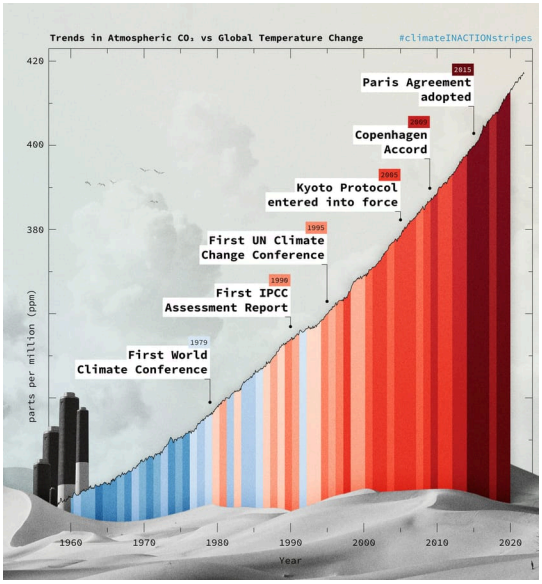


Figure 11.2.6:Trends in atmospheric CO2 and global temperature change (CC-BY-4.0; Mueller Tadzio et al. via Wikimedia).

This page titled 11.2: Background - A History of Environmental Challenges- From the Industrial Revolution to Climate Change is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

11.3: Theories and Concepts - Understanding the Tragedy of the Commons and the Anthropocene

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand the relationship between collective action problems and global environmental challenges
- Identify theories that explain evolutions in environmental thinking and action

Collective Action Problems

While COP 21 renewed hope that states could mitigate the worst effects of climate change, it also underscored how states still struggle to cooperate—even in the face of an existential threat like climate change. This begs the question: why do states have such a hard time cooperating on global environmental issues that would appear to be in their best interests? For starters, the effects associated with climate change are often seen as **negative externalities**, which occur when the negative consequences of an action are not fully borne by those who undertake the action. In the case of climate change, negative externalities would include rising temperatures, extreme weather events, and sea-level rise. These factors are experienced globally, affecting people and ecosystems worldwide, regardless of their greenhouse gas emissions. The difficulty states and individuals have in addressing climate change therefore represents a classic collective action problem.

Widely used in the fields of economics and political science, the **collective action problem** theorizes a situation in which a group of individuals, despite having a shared interest or goal, may not take action to achieve that goal because individuals have the incentive to **free-ride**, resulting in suboptimal outcomes for the entire group. Thus, the key challenge in collective action problems is that individuals and states can benefit from the group's efforts without personally contributing or making a sacrifice. States can theoretically benefit from the world's collective efforts to mitigate climate change, even if they do nothing to help this collective effort. Moreover, because the risks associated with climate change are unevenly distributed, not all are equally affected and thus may have different incentives to act.

The inability of states to overcome the free rider problem associated with climate change is also an example of the so-called "Tragedy of the Commons." In 1968, Garrett Hardin described an example of this phenomenon where individuals graze their cattle on a shared pasture or commons (rooted in the idea that certain resources are held collectively rather than privately owned). Each person has an incentive to graze as many cattle as possible so they can maximize their profits, depleting the pasture's resources and leading to its degradation, even though it is in the collective interest to conserve the pasture. Hardin goes on to explain how this situation illustrates why individuals, acting in their self-interest, deplete or degrade a shared and limited resource, ultimately leading to a collective negative outcome. Like our global climate system, the tragedy of the commons Hardin invokes revolves around a resource, which is non-excludable (people cannot be easily excluded from using it) and rivalrous (use by one person reduces its availability for others).



Figure 11.3.1: Cattle grazing in Armenia (CC-BY-SA-4.0; Narek75 via Wikimedia)

In a situation with a “commons,” each individual or group has an incentive to maximize their use or extraction of the resource. They do this because they directly benefit from exploiting the resource, whether it's grazing animals on a shared pasture or emitting greenhouse gasses into the atmosphere. The problem arises when multiple individuals or groups, each acting in their self-interest, collectively exploit the resource to a level that surpasses its sustainable capacity. As more and more entities exploit the resource, it becomes overused and, ultimately, depleted. In the case of a common pasture, this could mean overgrazing to the point where the land becomes barren. Ultimately, the tragedy of the commons scenario results in a collective negative outcome for all users, even free riders, who thought their decisions would benefit their self-interests. Ironically, knowledge of this phenomenon can create a self-fulfilling prophecy as states and individuals “know” cooperation is not possible in such scenarios and thus race to exploit common resources before the opportunity disappears or becomes less advantageous.

To address the tragedy of the commons, solutions typically involve some form of regulation, privatization, or the establishment of rules and institutions to manage and protect the resource. In the scenario of grazing, this might involve privatizing grazing land or a government regulating access to, and how, common grazing land is used. However, scholars also contest such a conclusion, as it takes an overly individualized view of human nature and action while overlooking examples where community-based groups are protecting collective environmental interests, regardless of any regulations, rules, or treaties put in place. For instance, Elinor Ostrom’s work has made significant contributions to the study of collective action problems by emphasizing the importance of local, community-based governance systems and the ability of individuals to manage **common-pool resources** effectively (1990). In any event, because global environmental challenges like climate change transcend state borders and local communities, and because our world lacks a strong central government to enforce any regulations (relying instead on voluntary commitments), we can appreciate how states have struggled to cooperate. Indeed, the tragedy of the commons serves as a useful cautionary tale for global environmental challenges as it underscores the importance of international institutions to help states cooperate, instill global norms that dissuade leaders from free-riding, and provide resources that encourage contributing to global and frontline community-based efforts.

The Anthropocene

As if the challenge of overcoming the collective action problem was not enough, many of the global environmental challenges we face today are also mired in debates about their causes, and therefore, their solutions. For instance, in *Merchants of Doubt* (2010) Oreskes and Conway explore how a small group of scientists, often with industry ties, spread misinformation to undermine scientific consensus on various issues, including acid rain and climate change. The book reveals how such individuals used tactics from the tobacco industry's playbook to cast doubt on established scientific findings, delaying meaningful policy actions, and contributing to public confusion. Consequently, many world leaders and industry spokespersons argued that it was premature, and too costly, to curb human activities ostensibly associated with climate change. These objections no longer carry much weight as the overwhelming consensus among climate scientists is that human activities are the primary driver of the observed changes in the Earth's climate (IPCC, 2014). Some scientists go further and suggest that due to the magnitude that such human activity is having on our planet, we are now in a new geological era—that of the Anthropocene.

The **Anthropocene** is a geological theory that suggests human activities have had a profound and lasting impact on the Earth's geology and ecosystems. This term is used to characterize the current epoch, during which human activities have become the dominant driver of environmental change. The Anthropocene theory highlights how human activities, such as industrialization, deforestation, and the burning of fossil fuels, have led to unprecedented changes in the Earth's atmosphere, biodiversity, and ecosystems (Crutzen and McNeil, 2007). Proponents of the Anthropocene point to geological evidence, such as the presence of widespread and long-lasting markers of human activities, including plastics, radioactive isotopes, and altered sedimentation patterns, as indicators of this new epoch. The Anthropocene theory represents a significant shift in our understanding of the Earth's history and future as it highlights the central role of human activities in shaping the planet's geological and ecological processes.

Critics of the Anthropocene suggest the term universalizes the impacts humans have on their environment, when in fact humans' impact on the environment is highly variable, given their location, class, or other factors. Nevertheless, while it has not been formally adopted as a geological epoch, the concept has gained recognition and has stimulated extensive research and discourse in the fields of geology, environmental science, and sociology. Indeed, the term underscores the growing scientific consensus regarding the causes of environmental challenges like climate change. Despite this growing consensus, significant and more divergent theoretical debates about the possible solutions to our environmental challenges continue to this day.

The Promethean Theory

For instance, the **Promethean theory** of environmentalism is a perspective within environmental thought that differs from mainstream environmentalism, which often emphasizes conservation and sustainability. It takes its name from the figure of Prometheus in Greek mythology, who stole fire from the gods and gave it to humanity, symbolizing human innovation and technology. Thus, Promethean environmentalism tends to view technology and human ingenuity as solutions to the environmental problems associated with the Anthropocene, rather than the cause. This technological optimism emphasizes that rather than restricting human activities, it is possible to develop technologies that can mitigate or even reverse the damage to the environment (Lomborg, 2001). Promethean environmentalists often point to historical examples where technology has led to environmental benefits, such as the development of cleaner energy sources to replace coal and oil.

Consequently, Promethean environmentalists often see geoengineering as a solution to climate change, in which large-scale interventions in the Earth's natural systems can either remove greenhouse gasses from the atmosphere or reduce the amount of sunlight reaching the Earth's surface. Examples include ocean fertilization, which involves adding nutrients to the ocean to stimulate the growth of CO2-absorbing phytoplankton, and stratospheric aerosol injection, where reflective aerosol particles are introduced into the upper atmosphere to scatter sunlight and reduce solar radiation. From an international standpoint, Promethean perspectives thus tend to favor market-based mechanisms, such as cap-and-trade systems or carbon pricing, as efficient ways to incentivize environmentally friendly practices and technological innovation at a global scale. Nevertheless, critics argue the Promethean paradigm underestimates the risks associated with technological solutions like geoengineering and promotes a "business as usual" mindset that perpetuates, rather than mitigates, global environmental challenges associated with biodiversity loss and ecosystem degradation.

Sustainable Development Paradigm

Alternatively, the **sustainable development paradigm** encompasses a set of principles that guide the integration of economic and environmental concerns with social considerations in development processes. For example, the Brundtland Commission's report, "Our Common Future," introduced three pillars of sustainable development: economic development, social equity, and environmental protection (Brundtland, 1987). The pillar of economic development goes beyond traditional measures of GDP as it seeks to promote economic activities that foster the well-being of communities, while avoiding excessive resource depletion and environmental degradation. The second pillar, social equity, emphasizes the relationship between poverty, education, healthcare, and social inclusion to create and maintain a healthy environment for all. The third pillar of environmental protection recognizes the finite nature of natural resources and the importance of promoting sustainable practices that ensure the health of ecosystems for present and future generations. Acknowledging the interdependence of economic, social, and environmental systems, sustainable development strives to find synergies and avoid trade-offs between these dimensions, as neglecting one pillar can undermine the overall goal of the long-term well-being for both current and future generations.

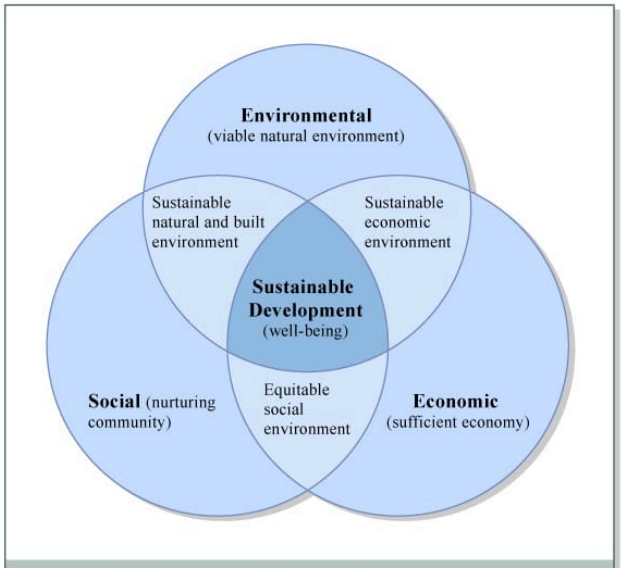


Figure 11.3.2: The Concept of Sustainable Development (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; MIT OpenCourseWare via Flickr)

For instance, this approach involves transitioning toward low-carbon and climate-resilient economies, included in initiatives like the Paris Agreement, where countries commit to nationally determined contributions (NDCs) to limit global temperature rise. This acknowledges the historical emission rates and economic disparities among, and within, states when addressing climate change, and distributes the costs and benefits of these actions accordingly. By advocating for agreements not only focused on reducing greenhouse gas emissions and enhancing resilience to climate impacts, but also promoting more sustainable development pathways centered on equity, the integration of these pillars in international climate change policy reflects a commitment to a just transition away from fossil fuels for all effected communities.

However, critics argue this approach does not go far enough in directly confronting the capitalist practices linked to environmental degradation. For instance, the **degrowth movement**, which proposes an intentional reduction of overall economic activity to achieve ecological sustainability, focuses on improving well-being without relying on continuous material consumption. This approach emphasizes a post-development perspective, which argues that traditional development models based on Western ideals are insufficient and fail to recognize diverse forms of well-being, local knowledge, and alternative economic structures that can help to not only confront climate change, but also associated economic injustices (Hickel 2020).

For example, there are concerns that the concept of sustainable development is easily co-opted for "**greenwashing**" purposes, where organizations or projects claim to be sustainable without substantively addressing economic or social issues. Specifically, critics of the sustainable development paradigm argue that it does not adequately address social justice issues, may perpetuate existing inequalities, and fails to sufficiently challenge structures of power and privilege (Leach, et al. 2010). This is because sustainable development theory often reflects Western-centric perspectives, and its implementation may not adequately consider the diverse cultural contexts in which it is promoted. This can lead to the imposition of models that do not resonate with local communities, do not adequately address their unique challenges and priorities, and like the Promethean approach, place too much emphasis on technological solutions without sufficiently addressing broader issues of consumption, economic growth, and the need for alternative economic models.

Environmental Justice

Addressing this potential blind spot, scholars and activists have increasingly framed climate change as a matter of environmental justice. Although the meaning of environmental justice is contested—especially since it has expanded into different contexts and localities—overall, it examines how the distribution of environmental goods (e.g., parks, clean air, and water) and ills (e.g., pollution and associated health issues) relates to social factors, such as racism, classism and sexism that unfairly shape local, national, and international responses to environmental problems (Harrison 2011, 10; Bullard 2005, 25). Scholars have commented on how even though environmental justice groups share a common concern with prominent forms of environmentalism that focus on the many challenges we have discussed in this chapter; the latter often fail to address their connection to the social structures that produce them in the first place (Schlosberg 2004).

The theory of environmental justice conversely focuses on the fair and equitable distribution of environmental benefits and

burdens, particularly regarding marginalized and vulnerable communities, whose voices are often overlooked, if not ignored. It emphasizes the idea that all individuals, regardless of their race, income, or social status, have the right to live in a healthy and safe environment. The framework emerged as a social and civil rights movement in response to the fact that low-income and minority communities often bear a disproportionate share of the environmental and health risks associated with pollution and industrial activities (Bullard 2000). To address this, environmental justice principles include not only the right to a healthy environment, but also the right to participate in the decision-making processes associated with redressing environmental harms.



Figure 11.3.3: Community of color standing up to protect the health of their communities and the Earth. Painting text reads "stand with frontline communities in our fight for environmental justice, against the ravages of toxic chemicals and climate change." (CC BY 2.0; Heidi De Vries via Flickr)

Environmental justice on an international scale involves addressing the fair distribution of environmental benefits and burdens across different nations, communities, and social groups. It acknowledges that environmental issues, such as pollution, resource depletion, and climate change, often disproportionately impact vulnerable populations and LDCs. For instance, the concept of climate justice emphasizes the ethical and social dimensions of climate change, calling for equitable solutions that consider historical responsibility, vulnerability, and the capacity to adapt. Examples include recognizing the environmental rights of indigenous communities, acknowledging their unique relationships with the environment and the potential impact of 'sustainable development' projects on their well-being. This could include capacity building for frontline communities and/or the transfer of environmentally sound technologies to LDCs.

While the concept of environmental justice has helped activists make significant strides in addressing inequities in the distribution of environmental burdens, it is not without its criticisms. For example, some argue that the definition of environmental justice lacks clarity, making it challenging to implement consistently across different contexts (Walker 2012). Critics also contend that environmental justice efforts often address specific issues in isolation, lacking comprehensive policies that address the interconnectedness of social, economic, and environmental challenges. It's important to note that these criticisms do not negate the importance of the environmental justice movement but highlight areas where improvements or adjustments may be necessary to address the complexities of achieving justice in environmental matters, both locally and globally. With this in mind, let's circle back to how we began this chapter (focusing on waste), now that we are historically informed and conceptually equipped, to understand waste's connections between the local and the global.

This page titled 11.3: Theories and Concepts - Understanding the Tragedy of the Commons and the Anthropocene is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

11.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Waste from the Bottom, Up

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Evaluate the role that international treaties and environmental organizations play in the transnational movement of waste

Where Does All That Waste Go?

Because most waste disposal sites are located next to marginalized communities, many Americans pay little attention to the amount of waste they generate, where it ends up, or how it impacts such communities. Since the publication of the 1987 United Church of Christ report, environmental justice movements in the U.S. have been remarkably successful in defeating plans to construct polluting waste sites in or near their communities (Pellow 2007). Despite these victories, with the growth in global free trade agreements, solid waste and its associated management have become global and a highly profitable commodity (Crooks 1993, 35). In order to maximize profits, or reduce costs, industry efforts have been increased to locate host communities abroad. Although pollution controls associated with landfills and waste incinerators have improved since the 1990s, they still entail the release of toxic substances few communities are willing to accept (Connett 2013). Indeed, based on production and disposal practices, especially associated with electronics, waste streams continue to become increasingly toxic (Surrak 2016). Thus, in countries with more stringent environmental regulations and informed communities, the disposal of toxic materials continues to become more costly.

Even when “e-waste,” plastics, and other “recyclables” with toxic elements are captured before reaching landfills and incinerators, they are not necessarily recycled properly. For instance, cities that pride themselves on high recycling rates, such as San Francisco, often export such items to countries in Africa and Asia for processing, which frequently lack adequate environmental and labor conditions (MacBride 2011). The free market logic animating this practice is captured in Lawrence Summers’ now infamous internal World Bank memo, which reads: "I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that … I've always thought that underpopulated countries in Africa are vastly under-polluted" (New York Times, 1992).



Figure 11.4.1: Young person sorting discarded electronics in rural West Bengal, India (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; UNESCO-UNEVOC via Flickr)

Greenpeace and grassroots activists have brought important international attention to the problem of MDCs shipping their waste to LDCs. Indeed, the growing awareness of the environmental and health impact associated with the export of toxics, plastics, and e-waste to LDCs provided the impetus for the creation and ratification of the Basel Convention in 1992. The overarching objective of the Convention is to protect human health and the environment against the adverse effects of hazardous wastes by promoting the reduction of hazardous waste generation and restricting its transboundary movement, "except where it is perceived to be in accordance with the principles of environmentally sound management" (Basel Convention 2017).

It is important to note that states are primarily responsible for enforcing what the Basel Convention mandates, yet transnational environmental organizations remain critical for several reasons. For example, they use the language of the Convention to target and bring attention to violators. Such advocacy also provides local movements with sources of institutional and symbolic leverage, like naming and shaming, establishing moral high ground, and threatening outside intervention against opponents (Keck and Sikkink 1998). What makes transnational environmental organizations even more critical in this realm is the fact that the United States has failed to ratify the Convention—the world's largest generator of hazardous waste and the only MDC that has yet to do so. Moreover, national and transnational courts generally lack the independence, resources, or will to enforce judgments against powerful waste management stakeholders in government and society, allowing the process of dumping waste in LDCs to continue (McCann 2006).

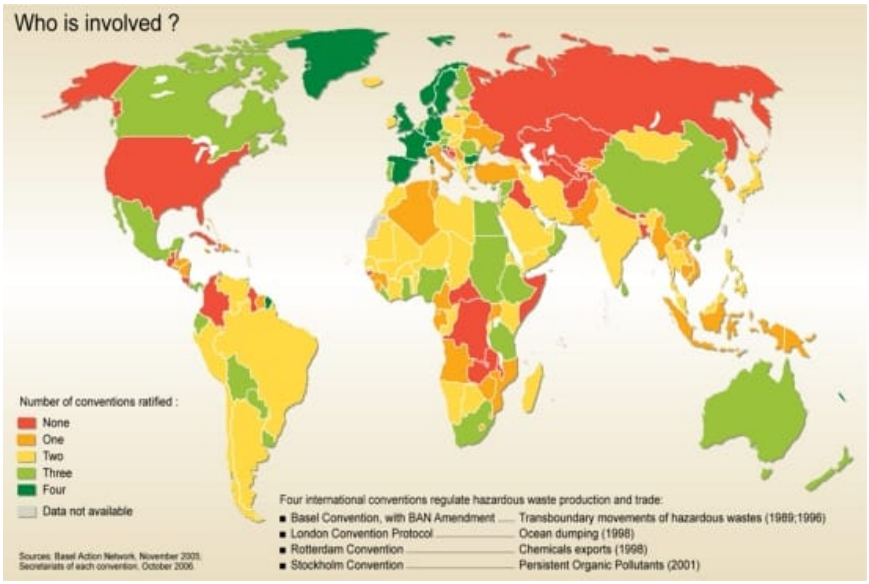


Figure 11.4.2: Signature countries to conventions involving waste (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0); GRID-Arendal via Flickr)

Activism at the Grassroots

Consequently, recognizing that international treaties alone are often insufficient, the Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives (GAIA) network has responded by organizing a transnational movement that applies pressure primarily at the local level by empowering communities to monitor the enforcement of international conventions, such as Basel. Additionally, GAIA's approach is centered on "Zero Waste" principles, which include formalizing and respecting the work of "waste pickers," remanufacturing using recycled inputs, and a growing involvement in the politics that influence one's waste stream and its disposal. In such cases, Zero Waste projects "seek to redress generations of harm wrought by waste-disposal industries and allied governments on populations who have had no other choice but to live and work amid waste and waste facilities" (MacBride 2011 126).

For example, with the help of the GAIA network, the Philippines was the first country to pass a state-wide ban on waste incineration. However, at the local scale, many villages (*barangays*) and municipalities struggle with enforcement due to a lack of capacity, corruption, and oppression. Conversely, communities trained in Zero Waste and organized through GAIA are not only in a better position to resist, but also transition to just and equitable waste management practices. Indeed, the *barangay* Fort Bonifacio has achieved the highest waste diversion rate (85 percent) in Metro Manila—well above global averages (San Francisco is currently around 80 percent). The intensive training in the GAIA network has helped build up and formalize the work of waste workers, tripled their average income, and changed the mindset of a community that was once the informal dumping ground of Manila and the world. Moreover, acknowledging the expertise and incorporating the participation of waste pickers within the local government structure has not only been a cost-effective means of waste management, but also enhanced the political capacity, respect, and health of the community members as well. Nevertheless, from the perspective of such communities in the

Philippines, many funders, foundations, and therefore large environmental organizations, tend to focus on “deliverables,” such as policies passed, pounds of plastic pulled from oceans, etc., while overlooking the significance, albeit complementary outcomes, of a communities’ cultivation of respect, experience, and solidarity at the local scale.



Figure 11.4.3: Fort Bonifacio MRF, the Philippines (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Steven Cauchon)

Indeed, even though waste has become a global commodity, its generation, disposal, and associated ills are still largely municipal issues, giving local stakeholders like those in Fort Bonifacio the potential to realize meaningful change. Therefore, confronting the injustices associated with the transnational movement of waste requires action not only at the international and national scale, but also a significant engagement with the local as well. The story of waste, one’s role in it, and how one can effectively address it has many lessons for the global environmental challenges we have covered in this chapter. As the world grapples with plastic pollution, loss of biodiversity, and ecosystem degradation, the story of waste shows us how approaching environmental challenges through a global studies lens provides us not only with critical insights, but also an opportunity to become local agents of change at home. So, the next time you throw something away and want to understand the environmental, political, and ethical questions associated with where that away is, your global studies tool kit can shed light on these important questions.

This page titled 11.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Waste from the Bottom, Up is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

11.5: References

Bodansky, D. (2001). The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change: A Commentary. *Yale Journal of International Law*, 18(2), 451-558.

Brundtland, G. (1987). Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future. *United Nations General Assembly document* A/42/427.

Bullard, D., Mohai, P., Saha, R., and Wright, B. (2008). Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty: Why Race Still Matters After All of These Years. *Environmental Law*, 38(2), 371-411.

Dudgeon, D., Arthington, A. H., Gessner, M. O., et al. (2006). Freshwater biodiversity: importance, threats, status and conservation challenges. *Biological Reviews*, 81(2), 163-182.

EPA. (2023). *Overview of Greenhouse Gases*. https://www.epa.gov/ghgemissions/overview-greenhouse-gases#:~:text=In%202021%2C%20the%20combustion%20of,different%20amounts%20of%20CO2.

Hanna-Attisha, M. (2018). What the Eyes Don't See: A Story of Crisis, Resistance, and Hope in an American City. *One World*.

Hickel, J. (2020). *Less is More: How Degrowth Will Save the World*. Penguin Random House UK.

IPCC. (2014). Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II and III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Core Writing Team, R.K. Pachauri and L.A. Meyer (eds.). IPCC, Geneva, Switzerland, 151 pp

Leach, M., Scoones, I., and Stirling, A. (2010). Dynamic Sustainabilities: Technology, Environment, Social Justice. *Earthscan*.

Lomborg. B. (2001). *The Skeptical Environmentalist*. Cambridge University Press.

Martinez, J. (2019). Great Smog of London. *Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/event/Great-Smog-of-London.

New Work Times. (1992 February 7). Furor on Memo At World Bank.

Oreskes, N., and Conway, E. M. (2010). *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press.

Rosner, Max. (2020). The World's Energy Problem. *Our World In Data*. https://ourworldindata.org/worlds-energy-problem.

Simmons, A. (2016). The world's trash crisis, and why many Americans are oblivious. *Los Angeles Times*. https://www.latimes.com/world/global-development/la-fg-global-trash-20160422-20160421-snap-htmlstory.html#:~:text=In%20the%20U.S.%2C%20about%20%242000,disposing%20trash%2C%20according%20to%20Dancy.

Steffen, W., Crutzen, P. J., and McNeill, J. R. (2007). The Anthropocene: Are Humans Now Overwhelming the Great Forces of Nature? *Ambio*, 36(8), 614-621.

UNESCO. (2023). *International Initiative on Water Quality (IIWQ)*. https://en.unesco.org/waterquality-iiwq/wq-challenge.

UNFCC. (2023). *What is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change?* https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/what-is-the-united-nations-framework-convention-on-climate-change.

UN. (2021). *Improving air quality 'key' to confronting global environmental crises*. https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/09/1099042.

Victor, D. G. (2001). *The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming*. Princeton University Press.

Walker, G. (2012). *Environmental Justice: Concepts, Evidence, and Politics*. Routledge.

WHO. (2021). *New WHO Global Air Quality Guidelines aim to save millions of lives from air pollution*. https://www.who.int/news/item/22-09-2021-new-who-global-air-quality-guidelines-aim-to-save-millions-of-lives-from-air-pollution.

This page titled 11.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

11.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Anthropocene:** a geological theory that suggests human activities have had a profound and lasting impact on the Earth's geology and ecosystems.
- **Biodegradable:** materials or substances capable of being broken down naturally by biological processes into harmless components, often by microorganisms.
- **Biodiversity:** the variety of life on Earth.
- **Collective action problem:** a theory in which a group of individuals, despite having a shared interest or goal, may not take action to achieve that goal because individuals have the incentive to free-ride.
- **Common-pool resource:** A shared resource, such as a fishery or pasture, where individuals or groups have access, and use may affect others, posing challenges for sustainable management.
- **Commons:** refers to shared resources or areas that are accessible to the public (e.g., land, water, air, and other natural assets), rooted in the idea that certain resources are held collectively rather than privately owned.
- **Conservation ethic:** a perspective emphasizing the responsible use and sustainable management of natural resources to preserve biodiversity, ecosystems, and environmental quality.
- **Cost-benefit analysis:** a systematic approach for evaluating the pros and cons of a decision, policy, or project by comparing the costs incurred with the benefits gained.
- **Deforestation:** the large-scale removal or clearing of forests, primarily for agricultural, logging, or urban development purposes, leading to the loss of forested areas.
- **The Degrowth Movement:** advocates for a deliberate reduction in economic production and consumption to achieve ecological sustainability, social equity, and overall well-being, challenging the traditional pursuit of continuous economic growth.
- **Free rider:** an individual or entity that benefits from a collective good or resource without contributing its fair share to its creation or maintenance.
- **Greenhouse gases:** gases, such as carbon dioxide and methane, that trap heat in the Earth's atmosphere, contributing to the greenhouse effect and influencing global climate patterns.
- **Greenwashing:** the deceptive or misleading marketing practices by organizations, where they present a false or exaggerated environmental image to portray themselves as environmentally friendly, often to mask unsustainable practices or products.
- **Less Developed Countries (LDCs):** States characterized by lower income levels, lower industrialization, and lower Human Development Index (HDI) scores compared to more developed countries.
- **Negative externalities:** unintended and adverse side effects or impacts of an economic activity that affect third parties who did not choose to be involved in that activity.
- **North-South divide:** a global socio-economic disparity, often referring to the economic and developmental differences between the more affluent Northern Hemisphere and the less affluent Southern Hemisphere.
- **Promethean Theory**: an environmentalist theory that views technology and human ingenuity as solutions to the environmental problems associated with the Anthropocene, rather than the cause.
- **Renewable energy:** energy derived from naturally replenishing sources, such as sunlight, wind, rain, tides, and geothermal heat, which are considered sustainable and have lower environmental impacts.
- **Sustainable Development Paradigm:** a set of principles that guide the integration of economic and environmental concerns with social considerations in development processes.
- **Urbanization:** the process of increasing population concentration in urban areas, accompanied by the growth and expansion of cities, often associated with industrialization and economic development.

Summaries

11.1: Introduction - Core Environmental Concerns

This section explores waste disposal, revealing societal disconnection from its production and disposal. It highlights the intentional design of waste management systems enabling individuals to distance themselves from environmental and ethical repercussions. The discussion spans global economic, ethical, and political decisions influencing the environment, touching on broader challenges like water and air quality, chemicals, energy, biodiversity, and natural resources.

11.2: Background - History of Environmental Challenges- From the Industrial Revolution to Climate Change

This section then delves into the Industrial Revolution's environmental impacts, emphasizing the shift to industrialized systems and urbanization's unsanitary conditions. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and the environmental justice movement's emergence are discussed, leading to international cooperation highlighted by treaties like the Montreal Protocol. The narrative concludes with challenges in climate change negotiations, stressing the need for inclusive approaches.

11.3: Theories and Concepts - Understanding the Tragedy of the Commons and the Anthropocene

This section continues by exploring collective action problems in addressing global environmental issues, focusing on climate change's negative externalities and the "Tragedy of the Commons." Various environmental theories, including the Anthropocene theory, Promethean environmentalism, Sustainable Development, and Environmental Justice are introduced.

11.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Waste from the Bottom, Up

This final section delves into the global implications of waste disposal, highlighting the success of U.S. environmental justice movements. The international dimensions of waste movement are examined, focusing on the Basel Convention's role in regulating transboundary waste movement. The section concludes by emphasizing the need for multi-scale action to address injustices associated with the transnational movement of waste, offering insights for approaching broader global environmental challenges through a global studies lens.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites:

- Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives (GAIA): GAIA is a global network promoting sustainable waste management alternatives, with a focus on reducing incineration. Access valuable resources and reports on their initiatives for a toxic-free world.
- Basel Convention: The official site of the Basel Convention provides information on the international treaty controlling the transboundary movement of hazardous waste. Explore the convention text, publications, and global implementation updates.
- International Collective Action Network (ICAN) Description: ICAN provides resources and insights into collective action problems, focusing on international cooperation and challenges in addressing global issues like climate change.
- Global Environmental Justice Atlas Description: The Environmental Justice Atlas maps environmental justice issues worldwide, offering case studies and information on how environmental challenges intersect with social factors and impact communities globally.
- World Resources Institute (WRI): WRI is a global research organization that focuses on environmental sustainability. You can find valuable resources and insights on collective action problems, environmental theories, and climate change.
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC): The IPCC is a scientific body that assesses climate change science. It offers comprehensive reports and assessments on climate-related topics, including the Anthropocene and global efforts to address climate change.
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) – Air: The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) offers resources on air quality and the impact of air pollution. It provides information on the sources of air pollutants, their effects on health and the environment, and measures to improve air quality.
- Water Crisis: Water.org focuses on addressing the global water crisis. The website provides information on challenges related to water quality, scarcity, and access. It also highlights the organization's efforts to promote sustainable water solutions and access to clean drinking water.

Documentaries:

- Trashed (2012) This documentary, narrated by Jeremy Irons, examines the global waste crisis, showcasing the environmental and health consequences of improper waste disposal and the urgent need for sustainable waste management practices.
- A Plastic Ocean (2016) Explores the pervasive issue of plastic pollution in our oceans through this documentary. It reveals

the impact of plastic waste on marine life and ecosystems, urging viewers to reconsider their consumption habits for a sustainable future.
- Anthropocene: The Human Epoch (2018) This documentary visually explores the Anthropocene epoch, showcasing the profound impact of human activities on the Earth's geology, ecosystems, and biodiversity.
- Our Planet (2019) - This nature documentary series, narrated by Sir David Attenborough, explores the beauty of the natural world and addresses environmental challenges, including climate change.
- Before the Flood (2016): Narrated by Leonardo DiCaprio, this documentary explores the impacts of climate change, including deforestation and fossil fuel consumption, while also presenting potential solutions.

Books:

- Bullard, R. D. (1990). *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*. Westview Press.
- Carson, R. (1962). *Silent Spring*. Houghton Mifflin.
- Hardin, G. (1968). *The Tragedy of the Commons*. W. H. Freeman and Company.
- Hickel, J. (2020). *Less is More: How Degrowth Will Save the World*. Penguin Random House.
- Kolbert, E. (2014). *The Sixth Extinction: An Unnatural History*. Henry Holt and Company.
- Leonard, A. (2010). *The Story of Stuff*. Free Press.
- Rosner, H. (2020). *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming*.
- Simmons, I. G. (2016). *Global Environmental History*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Stuart, T. (2009). *Waste: Uncovering the Global Food Scandal*. Penguin Books.

Review Questions

1. What is a consequence of the "out of sight, out of mind" mentality in municipal solid waste management?
    1. Reduced efficiency in waste processing
    2. Increased consumer awareness
    3. Externalization of environmental and societal costs
    4. Decreased waste generation
2. What major technological innovation played a key role in the Industrial Revolution, enabling the shift from agrarian to industrialized economies?
    1. Automobile
    2. Steam engine
    3. Telegraph
    4. Printing press
3. Which international environmental agreement aimed at addressing ozone depletion is considered one of the most successful in history?
    1. Kyoto Protocol
    2. Paris Agreement
    3. Montreal Protocol
    4. Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution
4. How does the concept of the "Tragedy of the Commons" relate to the global environmental challenges discussed?
    1. It highlights the benefits of individual actions for the collective good.
    2. It emphasizes the need for technological solutions.
    3. It addresses the fair distribution of environmental benefits.
    4. It warns about overexploitation of shared resources.
5. Why is waste management considered an environmental justice issue?
    1. Because it only affects affluent communities
    2. Due to the unequal distribution of waste disposal sites, impacting marginalized communities
    3. It is not, because waste generation is a natural process
    4. Because waste disposal has little to no environmental impact

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How does the "out of sight, out of mind" mentality associated with municipal solid waste management contribute to the environmental and societal costs being externalized in consumer's cost-benefit calculations? What ethical implications arise from this disconnection, and how might a more connected approach influence individual behaviors and decision-making?

2. How did events like the Great Smog of London and the publication of *Silent Spring* contribute to increased public awareness about environmental issues? What role did these events play in shaping environmental regulations and the establishment of environmental organizations like Greenpeace
3. Compare and contrast the Promethean environmentalism perspective with the sustainable development theory in addressing global environmental challenges, especially in the context of the Anthropocene. What are the key differences in their approaches, and what implications do they have for mitigating environmental issues?
4. How does the concept of "environmental racism" manifest in the context of waste management, and what impact does it have on marginalized communities? Discuss potential solutions to address this issue.

This page titled 11.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

12: THE FUTURE OF GLOBALIZATION?

12.1: Is Globalization Over?
12.2: What is Alter-Globalization?
12.3: De-Globalization and What Might Follow
12.4: What Can You Do with a Global Studies Degree?
12.5: References
12.6: Student Resources

This page titled 12: The Future of Globalization? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

12.1: Is Globalization Over?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Distinguish between globalization as a process or as a condition/outcome
- Understand the processes of globalization as nonlinear, with some elements in regression and others moving in different directions

Is Globalization Over?

Is globalization over? This is an interesting question to ask as this OER textbook is entirely focused on the history of globalization, its dimensions, and the positive and negative effects that come with globalization. To best answer this question, it might be good to separate globalization into two distinct parts: globalization as a process and globalization as a condition, or outcome. As we have seen earlier in this textbook, Steger (2017) has made this distinction as he noted scholars that would write that globalization would lead to more globalization. This reasoning he argued, is tautological, or circular, and does not add much value to analyses. Steger suggests that it is better to understand the globalization as a process and the condition it could create as globality. As discussed in Chapter One, globality denotes when a global society exists marked by intricate worldwide economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and movements, rendering many of the existing borders and limits largely inconsequential. Globalization then comprises a series of processes that seem to shift our current societal state from one of traditional nationality to a more globalized one, this aforementioned condition of globality.

Why could distinguishing between globalization as a process and a condition of globality help answer the original question – is globalization over? If globalization is seen as a series of processes, it permits us to visualize both the advancement and, in some cases, the reversal of certain processes. This means it is best to think of the processes of globalization as nonlinear. For example, as the current era of globalization has been fueled by neoliberal policies that promote capitalistic practices, significant changes in the global economy could indicate if globalization is progressing or regressing. International business scholar, Michael Witt (2019) has measured such shifts. First, he notes a marked drop in trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) amongst countries. He contends that imports and exports peaked in 2007 and have been in a consistent downward trend since then. The same pattern holds for FDI as well, though there was a dip for the dot.com bubble bursting in 2000 that did not exist for trade. Witt points to the Global Financial Crisis, more commonly referred to as the Great Recession in the U.S., as the inflection point. In these cases, certain processes have reversed, and interdependence has been lessened.

Understanding that certain social processes have shifted or even reversed, we can also see that some outcomes have continued to move the world more towards globalization. For example, global flows of people have increased since the end of the COVID-19 pandemic, with the numbers of migrants and refugees reaching a peak in 2023 (World Bank, 2023). In addition, global information flows surged during the pandemic. As most of the world's societies were forced to lock down to help contain the spread of the virus, people turned to the internet. Indeed, international internet traffic grew during the pandemic (Altman & Bastian, 2022). This is also seen in music, where the ease of distribution through multiple digital platforms, has allowed artists to reach audiences that were considered unreachable before. The democratization of the industry by streaming services has empowered independent artists, enabling them to garner exposure and compete globally. Consequently, there have been shifts in revenue streams, with artists now earning a substantial portion of their income from streaming royalties and digital downloads. We see here processes that are moving forward towards even greater interconnectedness.

Table 12.1.1 catalogues the complexity of the processes of globalization.

Table 12.1.1: Types of Globalization as Processes

Type of Globalization	As a Process
Economic	Reversing, but not necessarily in a linear fashion; potentially leading to weakening economic interdependence.
Political	Reversing in a linear fashion; evidence that political interdependence has weakened.
Cultural	Progressing in a non-linear fashion; cultural interdependence has strengthened but in new and different ways.

Effects of Globalization

In addition to the types of globalization listed above, this textbook has explored the effects of globalization. Overall, each effect of globalization has seen its impact increase. Global inequality, insecurity and hunger have worsened, as have global health disparities and environmental challenges. Thus, even if overall levels of global interdependence may be decreasing, the effects of globalization are still relevant and in almost all cases, each effect has increased in impact since the COVID-19 pandemic. Table 12.1.2 illustrates each effect.

Table 12.1.2: Have the Effects of Globalization Increased or Decreased?

Effect of Globalization	Increased/Decreased
Global Inequality	Inequality has increased since the pandemic.
Global Insecurity	Insecurity has increased since the war in Ukraine.
Global Food Disruption & Hunger	Food disruption and hunger have increased since the pandemic.
Global Health Disparities	Health disparities have increased since the pandemic.
Global Energy Flows	Energy flows have increased since the war in Ukraine.
Global Environmental Challenges	Environmental challenges have increased since the pandemic ended.

To understand these different processes, the rest of the chapter will be divided into examining two major trends – alter-globalization and de-globalization. It will then end with some final thoughts on the future of globalization before exploring possible career paths for Global Studies majors.

This page titled 12.1: Is Globalization Over? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

12.2: What is Alter-Globalization?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand the various alter-globalization movements
- Differentiate between alter-globalization and anti-globalization
- Comprehend contemporary populism, with a focus on national-populism

Introduction

Quite a few scholars, policymakers and activists recognize the potential benefits of globalization, but are dismayed by the contemporary insistence on the market as its most relevant characteristic. These individuals believe that interdependence can be used for more than just corporate profits and instead globalization should aim for more altruistic goals. These include the universalization of human rights, increased economic equality, and greater cooperation to address environmental challenges. Bello (2013) argues that outside of the UK & the U.S., capitalism has taken a beating. Since the Global Financial Crisis, skepticism about the spread of neoliberal policies has grown. This suspicion was only strengthened with the COVID-19 pandemic, where many wealthier countries questioned their dependence on poorer countries for their supply chains. In response to these challenges resistance has developed to neoliberal globalization.

Alter-globalizations

Alter-globalizations capture these resistance movements. Given this, **alter-globalization** refers to diverse social movements advocating for global cooperation and interaction to counteract the adverse social, political, economic, and environmental effects of modern neoliberal globalization (Pokhrel, 2011). Resistance movements are highly complex, contradictory and sometimes ambiguous. Where some are radically progressive, others are reactionary and conservative. Alter-globalization is often resistance from below. This includes people who feel wronged or oppressed by globalization. They seek a more democratic process of globalization and greater justice in globalization. How resistance to globalization manifests can vary dramatically. Examples include individual actions, where consumers refuse to buy global products, but can also include large scale grassroots movements. Referred to as **social movements**, they often involve a substantial group of individuals collaborating to achieve a common goal, such as environmentalism or consumer protection.

Much of the aforementioned resistance comes from groups promoting social justice causes, often associated with the political left in Western democracies. For example, Steger (2017) largely categorizes these movements as **justice globalism**, a different perspective on globalization founded on the egalitarian principles of global solidarity and distributive justice. This alter-globalization embraces alternative perspectives on a connected world that oppose market globalism. Steger also references another alter-globalization movement, religious globalism. In **religious globalism**, faith leaders strive to rally a religious community, envisioned on a global scale, to protect and uphold shared religious values and beliefs.

Anti-globalization

However, right-wing resistance exists as well. Before the Global Financial Crisis, there existed “frontier” groups that emphasize self-determination and isolationism, with some mixing it with religious extremism. More recently some right-wing social movements have become more anti-globalization. **Anti-globalization** is traditionally defined as a movement opposed to neoliberal or market-led globalization. This definition comes out of the left-wing social movements in the 1990s and 2000s where the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization (WTO) protests, or Battle of Seattle, drew over 40,000 demonstrators. This is where pies were thrown in the face of the World Bank President by activists in a moment of creative political theater. (This was discussed in Chapter Four). However, recently anti-globalization rhetoric has come from right-wing nationalist movements. These movements are not against tmarket capitalism, but rather are opposed to the more global aspects of capitalism, such as free trade and foreign direct investment.



Figure 12.2.1: WTO protest Seattle, 1999. (Flickr by Friends of the Earth International is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 Deed)

Populism and National-Populism

Advocates of right-wing anti-globalism do not propose an alternative globalization; instead, they recommend nationalism and particularism as remedies for the issues arising from the prevailing form of globalization. Activists argue that the "nation" itself needs protecting from globalization. They tend to use nationalistic slogans such as "take our country back!", or some version of "Make America Great Again!" as developed by former President Trump in his 2016 presidential campaign. Given the strong sentiments about the dangers of globalization to national identity, right-wing anti-globalization efforts have become political, with many of these politicians winning national elections since the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. They movements are mostly present in Western democracies, but have also spread to other states, such as Brazil. In the aggregate, these nationalists oppose or reject liberal globalization, mass immigration and the consensus politics of recent times. They promise instead to give voice to those who feel that they have been neglected, if not held in contempt, by increasingly distant elites.

Table 12.2.1: Electoral Success of National-Populists from 2015 - 2023

Election Year	Country	Political Party	Political Leader	Vote Share	Current Status
2023	Netherlands	Party for Freedom	Geert Wilders	23.5 percent of the parliamentary election vote	In process of forming a coalition government
2023	Argentina	Libertarian Party	Javier Milei	56 percent of the presidential election vote	Current president
2022	Hungary	Fidesz	Viktor Orban	51 percent of the parliamentary election vote	Formed majority government; still in power
2022	Italy	Centre-Right Coalition	Giorgia Meloni	43.8 percent of the parliamentary election vote	Formed majority government; still in power
2019	Poland	Law and Justice Party (PiS)	Mateusz Morawiecki & Jarosław Kaczyński	43.6 percent of the parliamentary election vote	Lost parliamentary election in 2023
2018	Brazil	Social Liberal Party	Jair Bolsonaro	55.13percent of the presidential election vote	Lost presidential election in 2022

Many of the right-wing nationalist politicians that oppose globalization are referred to as national-populists. **Populism** pertains to a spectrum of political positions that accentuate the notion of "the people," frequently contrasting this collective with "the elite". The core concepts of populism are threefold (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017): (1) it is built on an appeal to the people; (2) a denunciation of the elite; and (3) the idea that politics should be an expression of the general will. Mueller (2018) provides a similar set of concepts: (1) populists are critical of elites; and (2) they think that they alone speak for the people. This last claim

is never empirical or supported by numbers, instead, the claim is always moral. It becomes a form of identity politics and can be quite dangerous for democracies.

National populism simply combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes. Populism has become a favorite word in the media to describe the current political climate. It is a label seldom claimed by others, but often ascribed to others, with a negative connotation. Populism is usually associated with other words, such as anger, frustration, and antiestablishment. Populism pushes at the edges of national politics. It is not revolutionary, but it advocates the idea of popular sovereignty above the sovereignty of institutions. National-populists often scapegoat immigrant groups, which they see as a product of globalization and who they focus on for many of society's ills. The antagonism towards immigration centers on three "threats": (1) the threat to one's employment, referred to as the economic threat hypothesis; (2) the threat to one's cultural or national identity, referred to as the cultural threat hypothesis; and since the September 11th, 2001, terrorist attacks in th U.S., (3) the threat to one's personal security of physical safety, also known as the security threat hypothesis. The distrust that populists draw from is much deeper than a distrust about the functioning of the economy. It is a distrust focused on the way that politics work. For example, they do not tend to like politicians as a whole. In its extreme form, national-populists simply do not like modern democratic politics.

National populists contrast with left-wing populists, who combine populism with some form of socialism. These include Podemos in Spain; Syriza in Greece, the Bernie Sanders campaign in the 2016 U.S. presidential elections, the Jean Luc Mélenchon campaign in the 2017 French presidential elections, and the continued success of leftist populist leaders in Latin America. The "worker" needs protection from globalization, and not necessarily the "nation". Leftist-populists prioritize class allegiance over national attachment. For them, global capitalists are greedy and they exploit the global poor by moving production to developing economies just to increase their profits. Leftist-populists disagree with national-populists that immigration threatens their country. Instead they argue that immigrants are used by global capitalists to pit working class people against each other through their exploitation.

This page titled 12.2: What is Alter-Globalization? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

12.3: De-Globalization and What Might Follow

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define de-globalization and one of its features, decoupling
- Understand geopolitics and its role in de-globalization and decoupling
- Identify regionalization as one of the potential futures of globalization

De-globalization

Just like globalization, de-globalization can be understood from a number of different perspectives and disciplines. For example, in international business, globalization is defined as "the process of increasing interdependence among nations" (Witt, 2019). Interdependence involves the interconnectedness and linkages among different actors and relationship systems, going beyond simple interconnectedness. It denotes a connection where two or more parties are intricately linked in a system of actions, causing changes in one party to have a notable impact on the fulfillment of needs, values, and/or desired outcomes for the others (Coate, et. al., 2015) Essentially, the satisfaction of each party's needs and values depends, to some degree, on the behavior of others.

De-globalization is simply the reverse of globalization. It represents the process of weakening interdependence among nations. Just like globalization, de-globalization is a process and not an outcome. So, following the example from above, a hypothetical endpoint of de-globalization as a process would be a completely deglobalized world economy—one without economic activities between countries. This is an inherently unlikely outcome regardless of how far de-globalization progresses.

Bello (2013) understands de-globalization as simply a negative reaction to the economic consequences of global capitalism, which suggests that economics drives de-globalization. Bello contends that neoliberalism produces social and ecological distortions as it pushes to increase economic growth through more efficient production. However, this often takes the form of moving that production to other locations to save costs, and in the process takes away resources and leads to less social investment and ultimately, destabilization. In this scenario, the market becomes 'disembedded' from society, the needs of the market are no longer the needs of society. The deregulation of the U.S. financial industry is a good example of this principle. That deregulation was a direct contributor to the Global Financial Crisis, which crippled the U.S. economy and damaged societal trust in political and economic institutions. What led to this was investors looking for ways to make money while passing on the risks of those investments to others. This took the form of bundling together subprime mortgages, or housing loans to those who should not have qualified, leading to an untenable situation where homeowners were unable to pay their mortgages and eventually banks foreclosed on millions of homes. The needs of the investors (the market) was to make money, the needs of society was to house its population. These two needs did not match up. What made this situation global was that these bundled loans were sold on to banks and financial institutions in other states. Not only did individuals lose trust in those political and economic institutions, but other states lost trust in the United States, thereby weakening global economic links.

Witt (2019) posits the opposite of Bello. For Witt, it is not economics, but politics, specifically geopolitics, that drives de-globalization. Geopolitics is defined as the "study of how geography affects politics and the relations among states" (by Caldara and Iacoviello, 2022, p. 1197). As discussed in Chapter Ten on Global Energy, geopolitics refers to the ways in which geography shapes the power of states and other influential actors in global affairs. It's considered a broad category of research and includes a wide range of issues, such as international boundary disputes, the structure of global finance, and geographical patterns of election results. Geopolitics is shaped by a number of factors, including geographic location, resources (both natural and man-made), demographics and human factors, and relationships with other countries. In recent decades, it has included power struggles and other events involving a diverse set of agents: corporations, nongovernmental organizations, rebel groups, and, of course, political parties. Current usage of the word "geopolitics" covers a diverse set of events with a wide range of causes and consequences, from terrorist attacks to climate change to the COVID-19 pandemic and finally to traditional land wars, such as the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

In the case of that last example, there have been significant geopolitical implications since Russian forces invaded Ukraine in 2022. Indeed, Russian President Vladimir Putin has declared an end to the prevailing Liberal International Order (LIO), a

rules-based system supported by American hegemony. Instead, President Putin asserts that the world has transitioned into a multipolar era where U.S. unilateralism will no longer be accepted (Putin, 2022). This viewpoint is mirrored by Chinese President and General Secretary Xi Jinping, who has unequivocally stated that the People's Republic of China opposes hegemonism (Xi, 2022). In response, the U.S. has designated China as its primary "geopolitical competitor" and views Russia's actions in Ukraine as a direct challenge to the international system (Biden, 2022; US Department of Defense, 2022).

Decoupling

Witt, et. al., (2023) argue that China and the U.S. are locked in a systematic global competition, also referred to as a great power rivalry in International Relations. They posit that that there are growing tensions over Taiwan coupled with increasing export restrictions and the imposition of tariffs by successive U.S. presidential administrations and their Chinese counterparts. This has led the authors to suggest that the two countries are decoupling, which is a feature of de-globalization. **Decoupling** is defined as the process of weakening interdependence between two nations or bloc of nations. Witt, et. al. focus their analysis on the declining economic interdependence between China and the U.S. and provide evidence that China has been decoupling since at least the mid-2000s. The authors point to President Xi's "Made in China 2025" Plan, where the Chinese government has set a goal of becoming at least 70 percent independent of foreign technological supplies in all strategic industries. It also includes the Chinese push for financial decoupling, exemplified by major Chinese State Owned Enterprises (SOE's) having left the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE).

Another example of geopolitical dynamics is the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), also known as the New Silk Road. The BRI stands as one of the most ambitious infrastructure endeavors ever envisioned. Inaugurated in 2013 under the leadership of Chinese President Xi Jinping, this extensive array of development and investment ventures was initially crafted to connect East Asia and Europe through tangible infrastructure, such as roads and train networks. Over the past decade, however, the initiative has extended its reach to encompass Africa, Oceania, and Latin America, markedly enhancing China's economic and political sway on a global scale. The BRI could contribute to China's building of an alternative institutional world order based on Chinese interests and preferences. China could then use its financial dominance to set the rules of the game for countries that benefit from BRI investments. For example, Chinese foreign direct investments (FDI) in African countries might replicate what Western FDI did in China. Indeed, Chinese FDI might permit China to carve out its own distinct sphere of influence, largely decoupled from the U.S.

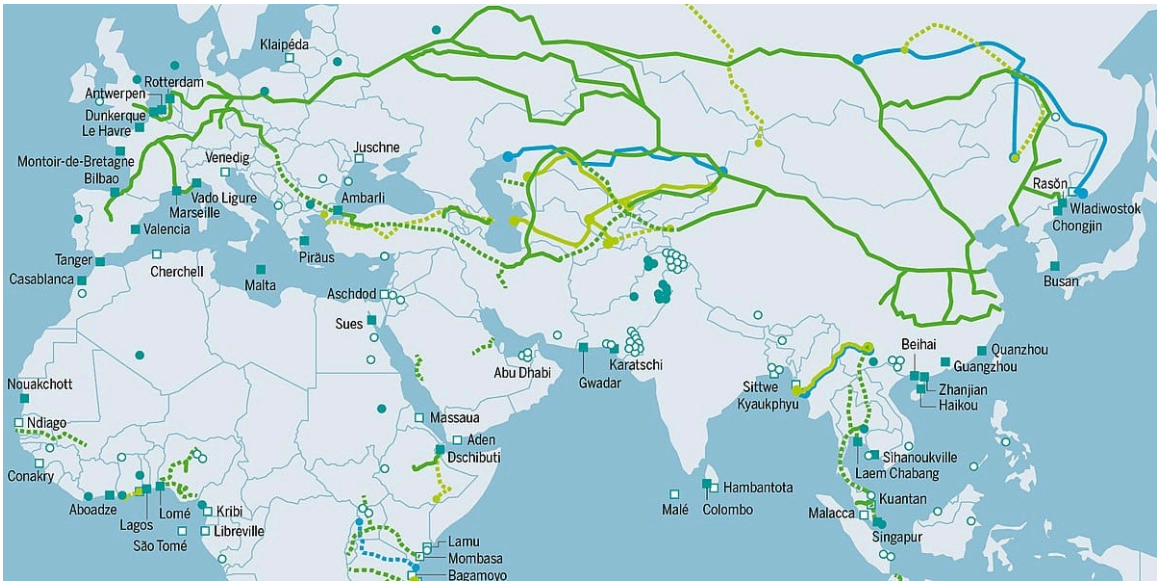


Figure 12.3.1: China's Belt and Road Initiative. (Wikipedia Commons by Appenzeller/Hecher/Sack is licensed under CC BY 4.0 Deed)

What Comes Next?

Given this discussion, what is the future of globalization? What comes next? After all, not all scholars think that world is de-globalizing. For example, Irwin (2022) advocates that the term **slowbalization** be used instead, which is exemplified by the prolonged slowdown in the pace of trade reform, as well as weakening political support for open trade amid rising geopolitical tensions. However, Irwin also posits that the global economy is at a turning point, suggesting that there remains an opportunity for future globalization. Lagarde (2023), the President of the European Union Central Bank, asserts that the global economy is

undergoing more fragmentation than de-globalization. **Fragmentation**, or more specifically global trade fragmentation, occurs when new trade patterns emerge, eventually leading to the reconfiguration and breakup of the global supply chain. This fragmentation, Lagarde predicts, will result in "system competition", with a multipolarity global system fostering competing blocs in the short term. However, she expresses concern that this fragmentation will eventually pave the way for bloc coalescence around the two major economies, the U.S. and China. Arezki (2023) proposes that rather than de-globalization, the world is moving towards re-globalization. The author suggests that countries will cultivate multilayered relationships instead of the tightly interconnected global-level relationships that currently characterize globalization.

Others, such as James (2021) reason that globalization's "golden age" is to come in the years following the pandemic and that any view that predicts the end of globalization is premature. The author describes that globalization operates in cycles with phases of heightened integration, succeeded by shocks, crises, and then detrimental backlashes. This occurred after the last "age of globalization", which existed before the First World War, when during the Great Depression, the world descended into autarky, nationalism, authoritarianism, a zero-sum mentality, and, ultimately, conflict. James writes that history demonstrates that numerous crises often result in increased globalization rather than its reduction. For example, modern globalization emerged as a reaction to the social and financial crises in the 1840s. Similarly, the most recent surge in globalization followed significant economic disruptions in the 1970s. The author contends that a similar pattern should emerge after this crisis as well.

Yet the world is not the same after the COVID-19 pandemic. As mentioned above, the global geopolitical climate has shifted. If drawing historical analogies, then the world might look more like it did during the Cold War, where there were two major superpowers. Often referred to as Cold War 2.0 or Cold War Two, Witt, et. al. believe that this is the most probable scenario that will come out of de-globalization and decoupling. The authors believe that two major blocs will develop alongside this rivalry. However, this potential new geopolitical conflict between the U.S. and China will look decidedly different from the one between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. A major difference is that the level of economic interdependence between the U.S. and China exceeds anything seen during the Cold War. Indeed, the two countries have the two largest economies in the world and up until 2023 were each other's biggest trading partners. Serious geopolitical conflict could significantly damage both countries economically.

Regionalization

Alternatively, the world could break up into more than two blocs, where multiple states emerge as great powers and several blocs form along geopolitical lines. For example, India might develop as a major geopolitical competitor. India now has the largest population at 1.4 billion, surpassing China in 2023, and is on track to become a $25-$30 trillion economy by 2050. By any measure, India would be unlikely or unwilling to side with a U.S. or Chinese-led bloc. Nor would Indian policymakers find it necessary to do so. If the world does move to a multiple bloc configuration, then regionalization might be the result. **Regionalization** can be broadly defined as a restricted group of states connected by a geographical relationship and a level of mutual interdependence. The process of regionalization has already begun in global business to some extent as larger corporations have repositioned their supply chains to mitigate future disruptions. Examples include U.S. multinational corporations migrating some, if not all, of their production from East Asia to Mexico. Indeed, multilateral agreements, such as the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) will facilitate further regionalization.



Figure 12.3.2: President Donald J. Trump is joined by Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto and Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at the USMCA signing ceremony Friday, 30 Nov 2018, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. (Flickr by Trump White House Archived is licensed under PDM 1.0 Deed)

In sum, it is hard to predict the future of globalization and what comes next. It could be de-globalization, slowbalization, re-globalization, regionalization, or some other form that has not yet been described. What can be certain is that change is occurring, and it is not necessarily moving in the direction(s) that anyone has predicted. There is a tendency to default to one's own preferences when attempting to determine the future. This "wishful thinking" can lead to incorrect assumptions about international actors, which at the least will make global affairs cumbersome, and at the most, can lead to serious missteps. Given this, students interested in Global Studies should do all they can to educate themselves on global affairs. It could very well be the action that moves the world in a positive direction.

This page titled 12.3: De-Globalization and What Might Follow is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

12.4: What Can You Do with a Global Studies Degree?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Examine the various career paths that exist for Global Studies students

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter One, the primary objective of this Introduction to Global Studies OER textbook is to prepare students for future endeavors in global activities. For many students this often involves finding a job, preferably in a career that has a global focus. But what exactly does it mean when someone says "global focus"? Does this mean living abroad? Does it mean traveling outside of one's country for work? Does it mean working for an organization, institution, or company that has activities outside of its country's borders? The answer to all three questions is, yes! A career with a global focus can encompass all three aforementioned scenarios. However, it is the last one, working for an organization, institution, or company with a global focus, that we will elaborate on as this is the path that most students prefer when coming to our office hours.

However, before we examine potential careers with a global focus, we would like pivot to a brief discussion on international student travel. We do this as many students who major or minor in Global Studies have a desire to study abroad during their college/university years, as evidenced with the rebound in participation in study abroad programs by U.S. students in higher education. Generally speaking, European and American students tend to differ from their international counterparts who come to study in Europe and the U.S respectively. For example, European and American student motivations for foreign travel can range from wanting to gain experiences abroad or improving their career chances in the EU and the U.S., to being influenced by their parent's migration history, to even social media influences, which help shape perceptions about which host country to choose. We see this last motivation through the **Hallyu wave**, a cultural phenomenon where South Korean culture has become globally popular, as evidenced through K-Pop music. The Hallyu wave has positively influenced European and American students to choose South Korean study abroad programs. In contrast, international students who study in the EU and the U.S., particularly those who come from developing economies, often have different motivations. Many go abroad to study because of limited college capacity and study options at home, whereas others leave from a lack of work opportunities, low wages, or poverty in their homelands. Some leave due to political pressures, seeking refuge in an international student program that could lead to full employment and a life in a new country. This is not just true for those seeking refuge, through their travels, some students may choose to stay abroad, eventually becoming an **expatriate**, or someone who formally lives outside of their country's borders. This generalization is not uniform of course. Many international students from countries such as China, India, Brazil, and Saudi Arabia return home, often having had their education paid for by their home government. Some of these students eagerly await employment back home, whereas others return simply to fulfill their obligations.

To better understand which organizations, institutions, or companies could best fit with your future professional plans, we turn to the University of Oregon, where their Global Studies program has provided an excellent framework from which to explore career options. They divide career paths into six areas: (1) U.S. Government; (2) Media; (3) International Business; (4) Tourism Industry; (5) Politics; and (6) NGO/Nonprofit Sector. In addition, the University of Oregon further subdivides each career path into three sections: (A) Professional Areas; (B) Employers; and (C) Strategies. Most of these career paths will be geared towards undergraduates in the United States and may not apply for non-U.S. students. For example, one must be a U.S. citizen, or in the process of becoming one, to be considered for a career in the intelligence industry. For non-U.S. readers, please use these suggested career paths as guides for what you might be able to do in your own country.

Global Studies Careers in the U.S. Government

The University of Oregon has identified several professional areas within the U.S. government, as well as employers and strategies. Career paths within the U.S. government include: translation/interpretation; teaching; diplomacy; civil service; foreign service; immigration/naturalization; armed forces; and customs. Potential employers can include: overseas schools; overseas aid agencies; intelligence and law enforcement; the State Department; the armed forces; and the Library of Congress. Various strategies for these career paths involve learning about federal, state, and local job application procedures; foregrounding your international

experience; and getting involved in student government.

A good example of working for the government is a career in the intelligence industry. **Intelligence** is defined as information collected and synthesized to help policymakers address threats against their country, its citizens, property, or interests. These threats are often related to the national or homeland security of the country. The U.S. intelligence community (IC) consists of 18 civilian and defense/military organizations, headed by a Director of National Intelligence (DNI). Two of the organizations are independent agencies, nine are elements within the Department of Defense (DoD), and seven are located in other civilian departments and agencies, such as the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). Over 100,000 employees work in the civilian intelligence agencies, whereas the number of DoD intelligence workers is larger, including active duty and reserve personnel, defense contractors, and foreign agents. Intelligence analysts research a wide variety of topics that can affect the national security and defense of the country, including but not limited to terrorism and terrorist financing, drug trafficking, climate change and environmental issues, foreign technology threats, and nuclear proliferation. Applicants for a position in IC must complete the security clearance process, which involves several steps. First, an applicant must receive a conditional offer of employment, which is then followed by the completion of a national security background questionnaire (also known as an Standard Form 86). The next two steps involve a counterintelligence polygraph examination and a psychological and/or medical evaluation. After that, a thorough background investigation is conducted, complete with credit checks. The final step is referred to as clearance adjudication, where you are granted a security clearance and start formal employment.

Global Studies Careers in Global Media

The University of Oregon has also identified several professional areas within the global media industry. Career paths within media include: advertising; journalism/broadcasting; publishing/editing; sales; production; and public relations. Potential employers can include: the Voice of America; print media; TV and radio networks; marketing firms; online media; and video production. Various strategies for these career paths involve getting sales experience; developing excellent grammar, serving on university media outlets; refining verbal and written communication skills; and securing relevant internships.

An example of a career in global media is in **global strategic communications**. This industry requires people who can communicate effectively across cultures and geographic boundaries. Even if globalization does not look the same as it did before, the global economy will remain integrated at a high level. For example, global strategic communication professionals will often represent their organization in international settings, such as conferences and trade shows. Inevitably, discussions on global challenges that might affect their industry, such as changing immigration laws and/or climate change mitigation, take place. This can happen formally, where speakers are brought in to present their research and analysis, or informally where participants strike up conversations. These situations necessitate strategic interpersonal communication skills that emphasize cultural sensitivity and awareness. Global strategic communication officers will need to know how to develop, research, organize, and implement communication initiatives, both internal and external, that align with an organization’s values or mission. This could involve anything from enhancing internal training materials, to launching a digital sales campaign, to effective lobbying of foreign government officials. Global strategic communication can be conveyed through various mediums, including press releases, social media posts, radio and TV ads, internal memos, interviews, white papers, and more.

Global Studies Careers in International Business

International business (IB) is a well-developed subdiscipline within business administration departments and schools. Most colleges and universities that have a school of business, will offer a concentration in IB as one of their options within that major. Career paths within international business include: banking; manufacturing; market research; consulting; and imports/exports. Potential employers can include: banks and financial institutions; import/export companies; foreign firms in the U.S.; U.S. firms abroad; and manufacturers. Various strategies for these career paths involve minoring in international business, securing an internship with a transnational corporation, or working abroad for a foreign firm. Speaking with a guidance counselor in your college's/university's school of business would be a good first step.

An example of a career in international business is in **import compliance**, an important segment of global commerce. Import compliance officers ensure adherence to relevant laws, standards, regulations, and policies regarding product safety. Compliance officers are expected to collaborate with business partners to address and prevent potential issues while upholding and enforcing their corporation's product safety program. This position requires knowledge of import regulations and familiarity with import documentation for customers, vendors, federal agencies, shippers, and freight brokers. Compliance officers will often spend three to five years working in various support roles in import and customs compliance roles, as well as developing freight forwarding experience.

Global Studies Careers in the Global Tourism Industry

Of the six career paths listed by the University of Oregon, the global tourism industry has the most potential for further growth. The global travel and hospitality sector is projected to reach a value of $15.5 trillion by 2033, approximating 11.6 percent of the entire global economy. Professional areas within the global tourism industry career path include: transportation services; and the hospitality industry. Potential employers can include: tour companies; travel agencies; hotels and hostels; airlines and airports; and cruise lines. Various strategies for these career paths involve augmenting resumes with hotel/restaurant experience; having international exposure; developing good office skills, and highlighting second language skills.

A great career in global tourism is **global hospitality management**, which includes overseeing the operations of travel accommodations, such as hotels, resorts, and restaurants in more than one country. Management duties include administering guest services, managing facilities, and supervising staff. Global hospitality management is the most accessible industry for those who want to travel and/or live abroad. A career in global hospitality management and operations can lead to worldwide opportunities, with jobs in the food and beverage industry, resort parks, airline and cruise management, event planning, and even the real estate, financial services, and technology sectors within the hospitality field. The global tourism industry welcomes those who speak several languages, often privileging spots for those with language skills and cultural familiarity.

Global Studies Careers in Politics

Global Studies careers in politics do not only have to be at the national level and can also include positions at the local and state levels. Examples include: becoming a state or government official; a campaign worker; an officer for a political party; or a public interest researcher. Potential employers can include working for: a state legislator or a Congressperson; the Republican or Democratic National Committees; state and county political committees; advocacy groups; and local, state, and/or national campaigns. Various strategies for these career paths involve volunteering on campaigns; refining verbal and written communication skills; and earning leadership roles in local organizations.

While U.S. politics is easily accessible to American students, careers in global politics do exist and should not be overlooked. These include positions in international governmental organizations (IGOs), such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Quite a few IGOs exist as well within the United Nations System, however many of the career positions are reserved for citizens from developing economies. Americans with citizenship in other countries and/or foreign passports are eligible to work in foreign governments and also regional organizations, such as the European Union (EU), or the African Union (AU).

Global Studies Careers in the NGO/Nonprofit Sector

For many Global Studies majors, their passion for service will lead them into advocacy work, often associated with the nongovernmental (NGO)/nonprofit sector. **Nonprofits** are organizations that offer accessible services for meaningful causes, providing millions of jobs to Americans and contributing significantly to the United States GDP. In the United States, there are 1.5 million nonprofit organizations employing 10 percent of the workforce. Nonprofits contribute 5.7 percent to the U.S. GDP, generating an annual revenue of $2.62 trillion. In addition, nonprofits strengthen the communities that we live in. According to the National Council of Nonprofits (2019), there's a good chance that if you have lived in the United States, that you:

- "Were born in a nonprofit hospital - nearly half of America's hospitals are nonprofits.
- Avoided and/or escaped diseases because of scientific research by nonprofits.
- Attended religious services at one of the 350,000 nonprofit congregations.
- Learned how to swim through lessons or scouting camps at nonprofits.
- Developed life skills through youth development nonprofit organizations.
- Attended a nonprofit preschool, grade school, high school, college, or graduate school - and possibly with the support of a nonprofit scholarship fund.
- Exercised your rights to vote, to education, to travel, and other rights protected under the law that were secured and protected by nonprofits.
- Visited historic treasures and beautiful public lands preserved by nonprofits.
- Enjoyed family vacations at many nonprofit zoos and museums.
- Laughed, relaxed, rejoiced, and inspired at nonprofit arts performances."

The University of Oregon has identified several professional areas in nonprofit work. This includes grant writing, rural

development, social justice advocacy, and environmental protection. Potential employers can include working for: Amnesty International; Greenpeace; Mercy Corps; AmeriCorps; and the Peace Corps. Various strategies for these career paths involve establishing interpersonal networks; earning leadership roles in local organizations; and refining verbal and written communication skills.

A fantastic example of a nonprofit is the International Rescue Committee (IRC). The IRC is a global nongovernmental organization that operates in over 50 countries and in 28 U.S. cities. The IRC is usually amongst the first on-the-ground group during a humanitarian crisis, assisting affected people, helping them to survive, recover, and rebuild their lives. The IRC accomplishes their mission by implementing impactful, cost-effective solutions to support those affected. They leverage their knowledge and experience to influence policy and practices, improving the lives of people globally. The IRC also has an active role when it comes to the treatment of women and girls in their societies. The organization recognizes that the barriers faced by women and girls are central to long-term solutions, and IRC policies prioritize breaking them down. A good example is the promotion of an end to violence against women and girls. Research indicates that humanitarian crises accelerate the root causes of this violence, especially as the social networks that exist for support are often destroyed in conflict. The IRC seeks to recreate these social networks and to help rebuild the missing support for women and girls.

Conclusion

Global Studies is a rich multidisciplinary field and is a great launching pad for further studies in the myriad of disciplines that have been discussed in this book, including economics, law and public policy, business, international relations, and history. Keep in mind that the beautiful thing about being a Global Studies major is that your career path is wide open. A degree in Global Studies allows one to work in a variety of industries. This flexibility is attractive to students who are interested in more than one field of study. In addition, there is the opportunity to shift more easily when a career choice does not work, or when professional changes occur. Nevertheless, we recognize that this wide open career path can be daunting for some students. However, we believe that with some guidance from a college counselor and the right internships, a career with a global focus is a viable option for many students. With the completion of this course, you have taken the initial steps on a path to what can be a fruitful academic, and ultimately professional, journey. As you continue your studies, we hope that you will use what you learned in this course and see the world, not as a series of disparate cultures and states, but rather as a growing interdependent system, one in which the needs and hopes of its people are not so different from your own.

This page titled 12.4: What Can You Do with a Global Studies Degree? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

12.5: References

Altman, S.A. and Bastian, C.R. (2022). *DHL Global Connectedness Index 2022*. Bonn: Deutsche Post DHL Group.

Arezki, R. (2023 May 23). Not your grandfather's cold war. *Aljazeera.com*. https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2...thers-cold-war.

Bello, W. (2013). Deglobalization: An Idea Whose Time Has Come. In *Capitalism's Last Stand: Deglobalization in the Age of Austerity* (pp. 268-276). Zed Books.

Biden, J. R. (2022). National Security Strategy. *The White House*. https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-conten...gy-10.2022.pdf.

Caldara, D., & Iacoviello, M. (2022). Measuring Geopolitical Risk. *American Economic Review*, 112(4), 1194–1225.

Coate, R., Griffin, J., & Elliott-Gower, S. (2017). Interdependence in International Organization and Global Governance. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.

Irwin, D.A. (2022). Globalization is in Retreat for the First Time Since the Second World War. *Peterson Institute for International Economics*. https://www.piie.com/research/piie-c...cond-world-war.

James, H. (2021 May/June). Globalization's Coming Golden Age: Why Crisis Ends in Connection. *Foreign Affairs*.

LaGarde, C. (2023). Central Banks in a Fragmenting World. *European Central Bank*. https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/key/...34fbd6.en.html.

Mudde, C., and Kaltwasser, C.R. (2017). *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford Academic.

Mueller, J.W. (2016). *What Is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press.

Pokhrel, A.K. (2011). Alterglobalization. In: Chatterjee, D.K. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-9160-5_572.

Putin, V. (2022). *Address to participants of 10th St Petersburg international legal forum*. http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/68785.

Steger, M.B. (2017). *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (4th ed). Oxford University Press.

U.S. Department of Defense. (2022). 2022 National defense strategy of the United States of America. *U.S. Department of Defense*. https://www.defense.gov/News/News-St...sture-reviews/.

Witt, M.A. (2019). De-Globalization: Theories, Predictions, and Opportunities for International Business Research. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 50,1053-1077.

Witt, M.A., Lewin, A.Y., Li, P.P., and Gaur, A. (2023). Decoupling in International Business: Evidence, Drivers, Impact, and Implications for IB Research. *Journal of World Business*, 58(1), 101399.

World Bank. (2023). *World Development Report 2023: Migrants, Refugees, and Societies*. Washington, DC: World Bank. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/39696. CC BY 3.0 IGO.

Xi, J. (2022) Hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics and strive in unity to build a modern socialist country in all respects. Report to the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. *Xinhua News Agency*. http://my.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/z...6_10792358.htm.

This page titled 12.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

12.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Alter-globalization:** refers to diverse social movements advocating for global cooperation and interaction to counteract the adverse social, political, economic, and environmental effects of modern neoliberal globalization.
- **Anti-globalization:** traditionally defined as a movement opposed to neoliberal or market-led globalization.
- **Decoupling:** defined as “the process of weakening interdependence between two nations or bloc of nations.”
- **De-globalization:** simply the reverse of globalization. It represents the process of weakening interdependence among nations.
- **Expatriate:** someone who formally lives outside of their country's borders.
- **Fragmentation (global trade fragmentation):** occurs when new trade patterns emerge, eventually leading to the reconfiguration and breakup of global supply chains.
- **Global hospitality management:** includes overseeing the operations of travel accommodations, such as hotels, resorts, and restaurants in more than one country.
- **Globality:** when a global society exists marked by intricate worldwide economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and movements, rendering many of the existing borders and limits largely inconsequential.
- **Global strategic communications:** an industry which requires people who can communicate effectively across cultures and geographic boundaries.
- **Hallyu wave:** a cultural phenomenon where South Korean culture has become globally popular, as evidenced through K-Pop music.
- **Import compliance officers:** ensure adherence to relevant laws, standards, regulations, and policies regarding product safety across all categories.
- **Intelligence:** defined as information collected and synthesized to help policymakers address threats against their country, its citizens, property, or interests.
- **Justice globalism:** a different perspective on globalization founded on the egalitarian principles of global solidarity and distributive justice.
- **National populism:** combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes. Their leaders often scapegoat immigrant groups, who they blame for many of society’s ills.
- **Nonprofits**: organizations that offer accessible services for meaningful causes, providing millions of jobs to Americans and contributing significantly to the United States GDP.
- **Populism:** pertains to a spectrum of political positions that accentuate the notion of “the people,” frequently contrasting this collective with “the elite”.
- **Regionalization:** broadly defined as a restricted group of states connected by a geographical relationship and a level of mutual interdependence.
- **Religious globalism:** an alternative perspective on globalization where faith leaders strive to rally a religious community envisioned on a global scale to protect and uphold shared religious values and beliefs.
- **Slowbalization:** prolonged slowdown in the pace of trade reform and weakening political support for open trade amid rising geopolitical tensions.
- **Social movements:** involve a substantial group of individuals collaborating to achieve a common goal, such as environmentalism or consumer protection.
- **U.S. intelligence community (IC):** consists of 18 civilian and defense/military organizations, headed by a Director of National Intelligence (DNI).

Summary

12.1: Introduction to Global Inequality

Is globalization over? The answer depends on whether globalization is a process or a condition. Steger distinguishes between the two. Regarding the latter, he describes it as globality, where it denotes a world societal state distinguished by strong global economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and dynamics. Globalization then comprises a series of social processes that seem to shift our current societal state from traditional nationality to a more globalized one, this aforementioned condition of globality. We must also understand that certain social processes have shifted or even reversed. Given this complexity,

it is best to think of the processes of globalization as nonlinear.

12.2: What is Alter-Globalization?

Alter-globalization refers to diverse social movements that resist neoliberal globalization and often includes people who feel wronged or oppressed by globalization. Groups promoting social justice causes advocate for justice globalism. Another alter-globalization movement is religious globalism. Anti-globalization is traditionally defined as a movement opposed to neoliberal or market-led globalization, though lately the resistance has come from the nationalist right. Populism pertains to a spectrum of political positions that accentuate the notion of “the people,” frequently contrasting this collective with “the elite”. National populism simply combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes. National-populists often scapegoat immigrant groups, who they focus on as causing many of society’s ills.

12.3: De-Globalization and What Might Follow

De-globalization is simply the reverse of globalization. It represents the process of weakening interdependence among nations. Just like globalization, de-globalization is a process and not an outcome. Witt, et. al. argue that China and the U.S. are locked in global systemic competition, what is referred to as a great power rivalry in international relations. This has led the authors to suggest that the two countries are decoupling, defined as “the process of weakening interdependence between two nations or bloc of nations.” Not all scholars think that world is de-globalizing. Irwin advocates that the term “slowbalization” should be used instead. Lagarde asserts that the global economy is undergoing more fragmentation than de-globalization. Arezki suggests that countries will cultivate multilayered relationships instead of the tightly interconnected global-level relationships that currently characterize globalization. Others, such as James reason that globalization’s “golden age” is to come in the years following the COVID-19 pandemic and that any view that predicts the end of globalization is premature.

12.4: What Can You Do with a Global Studies Degree?

This section bookends the textbook with a discussion of potential professions that are possible with a degree in Global Studies. We focus on careers with a global focus, which often means working for an organization, institution, or company that has activities outside of its state's borders. We summarize and then expand on a framework provided by the University of Oregon's Global Studies program. They identify six career paths: U.S. Government; Media; International Business; Tourism Industry; Politics; and the NGO/Nonprofit Sector. Within each career path we elaborate on examples of specific professions that we think Global Studies majors may find interesting.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- AlixPartners 2023, AlixPartners Disruption Index (A website and report that highlights how the COVID-19 pandemic has permanently disrupted the global economy)
- DHL, 2022 DHL Global Connectedness Index (A report on how the world has become even more connected)
- European Center for Populism Studies (A useful resource on contemporary global populism)

Books

- Bello, W. (2013) Deglobalization: An Idea Whose Time Has Come. In *Capitalism’s Last Stand: Deglobalization in the Age of Austerity*. London: Zed Books, 268-276.
- Mudde, C., and Kaltwasser, C.R. (2017). *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford Academic.
- O’Neil, S.K. (2022). *The Globalization Myth: Why Regions Matter*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Journal Articles

- Altman, S.A. and Bastian, C.R. (2022). Trade Regionalization: More Hype Than Reality? *Harvard Business Review*.
- Bozonelos, D & Tsagdis, D. (2023). From Fragmented Geopolitics to Geopolitical Resilience in International Business. *Academy of International Business (AIB) Insights*, 23(2): 1-7.

- Witt, M.A. (2019). De-Globalization: Theories, Predictions, and Opportunities for International Business Research. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 50: 1053-1077.

Review Questions

1. What does globality mean?
    1. A term that denotes a world societal state distinguished by strong global economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and dynamics.
    2. A term that pertains to a spectrum of political positions that accentuate the notion of “the people,” frequently contrasting this collective with “the elite”.
    3. It is when a substantial group of individuals collaborate to achieve a common goal, such as environmentalism or consumer protection.
    4. A term that describes movements opposed to neoliberal or market-led globalization.
2. Where have national-populists recently been politically successful?
    1. Netherlands; Argentina; Hungary; Italy; Poland; and Brazil
    2. Brazil; Venezuela; Greece; Spain: Bolivia; and Nicaragua
    3. United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Poland, Spain; and Greece
    4. None of these answers are correct
3. Which answer below is not one of the "threats" that national-populists center on when addressing immigration?
    1. The threat to one’s employment, referred to as the economic threat hypothesis.
    2. The threat to one's household, referred to as the castle threat hypothesis.
    3. The threat to one’s cultural or national identity, referred to as the cultural threat hypothesis.
    4. Since the U.S. September 11th, 2001, terrorist attacks, the threat to one’s personal security of physical safety, also known as the security threat hypothesis.
4. What is decoupling?
    1. Defined as the study of how geography affects politics and the relations among states.
    2. Defined as the process of weakening interdependence between two nations or bloc of nations.
    3. Defined as the reverse of globalization. It represents the process of weakening interdependence among nations.
    4. Defined as diverse social movements advocating for global cooperation and interaction to counteract the adverse social, political, economic, and environmental effects of modern neoliberal globalization.
5. Which answer below is not one of the possible scenarios for the future of globalization?
    1. Slowbalization
    2. De-globalization
    3. Regionalization
    4. Americanization

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Why is globalization better understood as a process rather than a condition? How does it also help us understand de-globalization?
2. What is decoupling? How is it a feature of de-globalization? Why does it matter that the decoupling is happening between the world’s two largest economies, the U.S. and China?
3. Are we headed towards de-globalization, re-globalization, slowbalization, fragmentation, or regionalization? Of these scenarios, which one appeals to you the most?

This page titled 12.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

INDEX

No index terms found.

This page titled Index is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

GLOSSARY

- **Acid rain:** toxic rain that consists of nitrogen oxide, sulfur dioxide, and volatile organic compounds, which is generally derived from burning coal.
- **Agri-food system:** the complex networks through which food flows from both small-holding and corporate farms across the world into the hands of those who need it.
- **Alter-globalization:** refers to diverse social movements advocating for global cooperation and interaction to counteract the adverse social, political, economic, and environmental effects of modern neoliberal globalization.
- **Americanization**: the process by which American culture, values, and norms exert influence and become integrated into other societies and cultures, often through media, technology, and economic interactions.
- **Anthropocene:** a geological theory that suggests human activities have had a profound and lasting impact on the Earth's geology and ecosystems.
- **Anti-globalization:** traditionally defined as a movement opposed to neoliberal or market-led globalization.
- **Area studies:** similar to International Studies, though it is a more traditional method where the comparison of countries is organized geographically.
- **Artifact**: an object or item created or modified by humans, often with cultural, historical, or archeological significance, that provides insight into the practices and beliefs of a particular group of people.
- **Austerity:** a wide range of economic reforms, centered on major reductions in government social spending, aimed to balance a country's budget or meet certain debt ratios.
- **Balance-of-power system**: where a state of equilibrium develops among powerful countries. In this system, no country is permitted to become so powerful that it can threaten the security of another major power.
- **Balancing:** denotes the act of forming alliances with other states as a strategic measure to counterbalance the influence or dominance of more powerful states.
- **Biodegradable:** materials or substances capable of being broken down naturally by biological processes into harmless components, often by microorganisms.
- **Biodiversity:** the variety of life on Earth.
- **Bipolar Order**: where the world is organized based on two centers of power or influence.
- **Bretton Woods Agreement: a**n agreement that set the stage for economic policies that would allow for more trade and exchange between and among the participants.
- **Brexit**: term combines "British" and “exit" in reference to the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union.
- **Capital**: assets which are used to generate money or wealth.
- **Capitalism**: a profit driven economic system based on market competition in which the means of production are owned by private actors.
- **Centrifugal forces**: Socio-economic, cultural, and or political factors that divide a population and pose threats to a common sense of identity.
- **Centripetal forces**: Socio-economic, cultural, and or political factors that promote a commonsense of identity among a population, or that bring different populations together
- **City-States**: urban areas and their hinterlands that exhibit their own sovereign systems of government, exchange, and identity.
- **Civil society**: The political space comprising organizations engaged in advocacy and collective action.
- **Civilization**: a complex society based on settlements in which inhabitants function via a collective sense of community.
- **Climate justice:** approach to climate change mitigation which seeks to ensure that the concerns and needs of disproportionately impacted, under-resourced groups are addressed in a just way, especially since these groups contributed the least to climate change.
- **Cold War**: a time of political and military tension between United States and its allies on one side, and the Soviet Union and its allies on the other, lasting from the end of the Second World War (WWII) to the 1990s.
- **Collective action problem:** a theory in which a group of individuals, despite having a shared interest or goal, may not take action to achieve that goal because individuals have the incentive to free-ride.
- **Collective Security**: an arrangement where an act of aggression against any individual state is regarded as aggression against all other states. In response, these states collaborate to collectively thwart and repel the aggressor.
- **Columbian Exchange:** the interaction between Old and New World populations following European entrance into the Americas, characterized by the exchange of people, disease, food, plants and animals across the Atlantic.
- **Commodity**: Anything which can be bought and sold in a market.
- **Common-pool resource:** A shared resource, such as a fishery or pasture, where individuals or groups have access, and use may affect others, posing challenges for sustainable management.
- **Commons:** refers to shared resources or areas that are accessible to the public (e.g., land, water, air, and other natural

assets), rooted in the idea that certain resources are held collectively rather than privately owned.
- **Comparative advantage**: Specializing in those goods and/or services which can be produced at lower relative cost.
- **Connectivity:** the characteristic, condition, or capacity of being linked or interconnected.
- **Conservation ethic:** a perspective emphasizing the responsible use and sustainable management of natural resources to preserve biodiversity, ecosystems, and environmental quality.
- **Contagious Diffusion**: a type of cultural diffusion where a cultural element spreads throughout a population via direct contact with practicing individuals.
- **Cosmopolitan governance:** where individuals embrace the concept of holding multiple citizenships, signifying their affiliation with various political entities that hold substantial influence over them.
- **Cost-Benefit Analysis:** a systematic approach for evaluating the pros and cons of a decision, policy, or project by comparing the costs incurred with the benefits gained.
- **Counterurbanization**: a demographic process whereby populations migrate from cities to rural areas.
- **Cultural diffusion**: the spread of cultural elements from one group or society to another, often facilitated by communication, trade, migration, or political domination.
- **Cultural Globalization**: the worldwide diffusion and integration of cultural elements, including values, behaviors, and cultural products, resulting from increased interconnectedness and communication among groups and or societies, resulting in mutually shared cultural elements.
- **Cultural hearth**: a place or region where a particular cultural element is believed to have originated.
- **Cultural regions:** refer to groups of individuals united by shared language, religion, and heritage within a specific geographic zone.
- **Decoupling:** defined as “the process of weakening interdependence between two nations or bloc of nations.”
- **Defensive realism**: where states seek to maximize power to ensure their own security and contend that wars with other states are unlikely to be beneficial.
- **Defensive strategy:** where states implement a program of containment, which is designed to limit or hinder an opponent's ability to exercise power.
- **Deforestation:** the large-scale removal or clearing of forests, primarily for agricultural, logging, or urban development purposes, leading to the loss of forested areas.
- **De-globalization:** simply the reverse of globalization. It represents the process of weakening interdependence among nations.
- **The Degrowth Movement:** advocates for a deliberate reduction in economic production and consumption to achieve ecological sustainability, social equity, and overall well-being, challenging the traditional pursuit of continuous economic growth.
- **Deterritorialization**: the weakening of ties among economic, political, or cultural practices and/or entities and the places where they originate and/or operate.
- **Digitization:** the process of converting information into a digital format.
- **Division of labor**: the separation of tasks among different parts of a workforce, typically focused on enhancing specialization and efficiency in production.
- **D-L-P formula** The combined policies of deregulation, liberalization, and privatization
- **Economic globalization**: When economic activities become global in scope, for example the global circulation of goods and services or global migration of labor.
- **Economic inequality:** the unequal distribution of income and opportunities among various groups within society.
- **Economies of scale**: the cost advantages that result from increasing the scale of production or operation, often leading to lower per-unit costs as production quantities increase.
- **Energy security:** whether a country has access to uninterrupted and affordable energy.
- **Energy transition:** the movement away from one primary energy source to another, which often entails the development of relevant technologies and markets for the newer energy source.
- **Entitlement approach**: the standards by which people become eligible to claim a share of available food
- **Entrepreneur:** Someone who takes risks and establishes new enterprises, explores new markets, and breaks new frontiers.
- **European colonialism**: the process of European states obtaining full or partial political control over another territory, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting its people and resources for the benefit of the colonizer.
- **European Union (EU)**: a supra-national arrangement of member states who have formed a political and economic union to pursue common interests.
- **Expatriate:** someone who formally lives outside of their country's borders.
- **Famine:** an acute crisis caused by a lack of access to food.
- **Folk culture**: the traditional and locally specific customs, beliefs, practices, and material culture of a particular group or community, often rooted in rural or isolated areas.
- **Food power** a practice of some states to use the donation or withholding of food as leverage to secure foreign policy goals.
- **Foodways:** the cultural, social, and economic practices related to food production and consumption.

- **Fossil fuel:** a natural energy source such as coal, gas, and oil, which formed over millions of years ago from organic matter. Fossil fuels are non-renewable energy sources.
- **Fracking:** hydraulic fracturing involves forcing a slurry of water, sand, and chemicals through fissures in shale rock formations to release oil or natural gas deposits.
- **Fragmentation (global trade fragmentation):** occurs when new trade patterns emerge, eventually leading to the reconfiguration and breakup of global supply chains.
- **Free rider:** an individual or entity that benefits from a collective good or resource without contributing its fair share to its creation or maintenance.
- **Free trade**: Minimizing barriers to the movement of goods and services, often over international borders.
- **Geopolitics:** the ways in which geographical features – including endowments of minerals and resources – shapes the power of countries and other influential actors in global affairs.
- **Global:** denotes a broader and a more comprehensive perspective of the world
- **Globalism:** the world is characterized as being in a state of interdependence that crosses continents, fueled by linkages that emerge from the flow of goods, services, money, ideas, and information.
- **Globality:** when a global society exists marked by intricate worldwide economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and movements, rendering many of the existing borders and limits largely inconsequential.
- **Global capitalism**: an economic system characterized by private ownership, free markets, and the pursuit of profit on a global scale, often facilitated by multinational and or transnational corporations and global trade.
- **Global citizenship:** the belief that individuals possess an obligation to individuals beyond their own nation due to their common humanity.
- **Global city**: a major urban center that plays a significant role in the global economy and serves as a hub for international business, finance, culture, and politics.
- **Global civil society:** nongovernmental organizations, associations, and groups which are global in scope and pressure key decision-makers to adopt their preferred policies.
- **Global consciousness**: A global mindset where the welfare of individuals far away should garner the same attention from ordinary individuals as the welfare of their immediate neighbors.
- **Global Happiness Index:** a measure of subjective well-being and happiness among countries around the world and is based on survey data.
- **Global Health:** An area for study, research, and practice that places a priority of improving health and achieving health equity for all people worldwide that transcends borders; the study, research, and practice addresses possible health issues that could undermine the global population beyond territorial boundaries.
- **Global hospitality management:** includes overseeing the operations of travel accommodations, such as hotels, resorts, and restaurants in more than one country.
- **Global inequality:** the disproportionate distribution of resources, opportunities, and power that shape well-being among people across the globe.
- **Global insecurity**: occurs when the security of any individual nation threatens the security of all nations.
- **Globality:** when a global society exists marked by intricate worldwide economic, political, cultural, and environmental interrelations and movements, rendering many of the existing borders and limits largely inconsequential.
- **Globalization:** the acceleration and intensification of global interconnectivity, interdependence, and integration processes.
- **Global North**: countries that are highly economically developed, primarily located in the Norther Hemisphere, once referred to as “First World.”
- **Global Pandemic:** a health crisis that can lead to illness and the possible death of individuals across the world.
- **Global security**: type of security grounded in the principle that the security of any individual nation is inseparable from the security of all nations.
- **Global South**: countries that are less economically developed, primarily located in the Southern Hemisphere, once referred to as "Third World" or "developing world.”
- **Global strategic communications:** an industry which requires people who can communicate effectively across cultures and geographic boundaries.
- **Global Studies:** a comprehensive research area aimed at fostering a deep understanding of the effects of globalization on societies, cultures, and environments worldwide.
- **Glocalization:** the adaptation of global products, services, or ideas to suit local contexts, resulting in a fusion of global and local elements.
- **Greenhouse gases:** gases, such as carbon dioxide and methane, that trap heat in the Earth's atmosphere, contributing to the greenhouse effect and influencing global climate patterns.
- **Greenwashing:** the deceptive or misleading marketing practices by organizations, where they present a false or exaggerated environmental image to portray themselves as environmentally friendly, often to mask unsustainable practices or products.
- **Gross National Income (GNI):** a measure of the average income earned by individuals in a country in a given year.
- **Hellenism**: the spread of ancient Greek culture, and influence, beginning in the Fourth Century BCE.

- **Hierarchical Diffusion**: a type of cultural diffusion where an idea, innovation, or cultural trait spreads in a structured, top-down manner, typically from a central source to other locations, or via political dominance.
- **Hinterlands**: the area surrounding a city, typically practicing agriculture.
- **Human Development Index (HDI):** a metric which provides a summary of the average achievement in essential aspects of human development: longevity and health, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.
- **Human security**: type of security that centers on the physical safety of an individual regardless of where they live.
- **Hyper-standardization**: the extreme standardization of products, services, or cultural elements to the point where they become uniform and lack diversity.
- **Import compliance officers:** ensure adherence to relevant laws, standards, regulations, and policies regarding product safety across all categories.
- **Income:** the measurement of one's earnings from a job, self-employment/business, savings, investments, social programs.
- **Industrial Revolution**: a process of technological innovation and mechanization beginning in Eighteenth-Century Britain and subsequently spreading throughout the world.
- **Inheritance tax:** defined as the tax someone pays on assets inherited from a deceased person, such as a relative.
- **Integration:** to shape, synchronize, or merge into a functional or cohesive entirety.
- **Intelligence:** defined as information collected and synthesized to help policymakers address threats against their country, its citizens, property, or interests.
- **Interdependence:** a condition where two or more entities, individuals, or systems rely on each other.
- **Interdisciplinary (approach):** aligns connections across disciplines to create a unified and cohesive field of study.
- **Intergovernmental organization (IGO)**: An international organization comprising governments as members
- **International migration**: Movement of people across international borders, forced or voluntary
- **International Relations:** the study of political engagements among countries, centered on diplomacy and foreign policy considerations.
- **International security**: refers to the actions taken by nations to secure the well-being and defense of their citizens, boundaries, and strategic concerns through cooperation amongst states.
- **International Studies:** the examinations of the interactions between two or more states, as well as comparing and identifying commonalities among these states.
- **International trade**: Movement of goods and services over international borders
- **Intersectionality:** how various systems of inequality can converge to create distinct and intertwined outcomes.
- **Irregular migrants:** people who travel to a country outside regular rules or norms, or without permission of the host government.
- **Justice globalism:** a different perspective on globalization founded on the egalitarian principles of global solidarity and distributive justice.
- **Less Developed Countries (LDCs):** States characterized by lower income levels, lower industrialization, and lower Human Development Index (HDI) scores compared to more developed countries.
- **Levels of analysis approach**: an analytical framework positing that occurrences in international relations can be elucidated by examining individuals, states, or the global system, and that causative factors at each level can be distinguished from those at other levels.
- **Liberal democracy**: A political system of representative government in which there is broad enfranchisement of the population and robust liberal institutions such as the rule of law and independent civil society.
- **Liberal internationalism**: an International Relations theory that focuses on cooperation
- **Liberal International Order**: a set of institutions, norms, and rules, largely established after the Second World War, with the goal of organizing international relations around liberal democracies and cooperative security.
- **Lingua franca**: a common language adopted to allow communication among people whose native languages are different.
- **Living wage:** the wages a full-time worker must earn to cover the cost of their family's essential basic needs.
- **Local functional specialization**: an economic strategy by which regions develop specialized functions and roles within larger economic systems.
- **Low birth weight:** a consequence of malnutrition and defined as less than 2500 grams (approximately 5.5 pounds).
- **Malnutrition:** lack of proper nutrition, caused by not having enough to eat, not eating enough of the right things, or being unable to use the food that one does eat.
- **Malthusian catastrophe:** famine resulting from excessive population growth, which grows beyond the ability of the environment to provide food.
- **Market-based economy**: A system in which buyers and sellers meet in marketplaces, real or virtual, and exchange goods and services. That exchange may be voluntary or coerced. Prices for goods and services rise and fall in response to demand and supply.
- **Mass migration:** the movement of substantial populations from one geographical region to another.
- **McDonaldization**: a term coined by sociologist George Ritzer to describe the process of rationalization and standardization in modern society, often exemplified by fast-food restaurant chains like McDonald's.

- **Mentifact**: an element of culture that encompasses non-material aspects such as beliefs, values, customs, rituals, and ideologies.
- **Mercantilism**: an economic theory commonly put in to practice by European colonial empires that promoted regulation of the economy to augment state power, often at the expense of competitors.
- **Multidisciplinary (approach):** incorporates multiple perspectives, concepts, frameworks, and methodological approaches to study complex global phenomena.
- **Multinational corporation (MNC):** Also known as transnational corporations (TNCs), these are privately-owned entities engaged in economic activities in more than one country.
- **Multipolar Order**: a world with multiple centers of power or influence.
- **Nation**: A group of people with a shared sense of identity, often deriving from a common language, history, faith traditions, foodways, and cultural practices, among other factors.
- **National populism:** combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes. Their leaders often scapegoat immigrant groups, who they blame for many of society's ills.
- **National security**: type of security defined as a state's capacity to safeguard its interests, confidential information, and populace against both external and internal perils that have the potential to jeopardize its existence.
- **Negative externalities:** unintended and adverse side effects or impacts of an economic activity that affect third parties who did not choose to be involved in that activity.
- **Neoliberal governance**: a form of governance and economic policy that emphasizes free-market capitalism, deregulation, privatization, and limited government intervention in the economy.
- **Neoliberal institutionalism**: a branch of liberalism that stresses the importance of international institutions and international law in shaping behavior as a better way to ensure the survival of the state.
- **Neoliberalism**: An ideology which draws on classical liberal ideas regarding the value of individual freedoms and extends these globally, with a supportive suite of international institutions and domestic policies.
- **Neolithic Revolution**: the transition from a lifestyle of hunting and gathering to one of agriculture and settlement.
- **New famines:** famines associated with a lack of access to food, rather than a lack of food itself.
- **Non-aligned movement**: also known as the Third World. These countries were not interested in coming under the control of, or under the policy decisions, of either the U.S. or Soviet Union.
- **Nonprofits**: organizations that offer accessible services for meaningful causes, providing millions of jobs to Americans and contributing significantly to the United States GDP.
- **North-South divide:** a global socio-economic disparity, often referring to the economic and developmental differences between the more affluent Northern Hemisphere and the less affluent Southern Hemisphere.
- **Offensive realism**: also known as aggressive realism, where states seek to maximize power to achieve dominance. This is often accomplished by increasing their offensive capabilities.
- **Offensive strategy:** where states considered it better to fight terrorists abroad rather than at home.
- **Out-cropping:** the potential for GMO grain to germinate and cross-pollinate with local crops.
- **Outsourcing:** when manufacturing has largely been moved to other countries for cost savings.
- **Overweight:** a common consequence of stunting early in life, overweight may also be a consequence of malnutrition and/or a lack of access to fresh and healthful foods
- **Pandemic:** A highly contagious disease that can quickly move across wide-spread geographic locations that could lead to large populations being effects through illness and/or death.
- **Political economy:** a subfield of political science that considers various economic theories (like capitalism or socialism), effect the practices and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system.
- **Popular culture**: the cultural products, practices, and trends that are widely consumed, shared, and appreciated by a large, mainstream audience within a society or across societies.
- **Populism:** pertains to a spectrum of political positions that accentuate the notion of "the people," frequently contrasting this collective with "the elite".
- **Poverty:** a condition characterized by a lack of material possessions or basic human needs, such as food, shelter, clothing, and access to education and healthcare.
- **Primary energy source:** energy in its raw fuel form. Common primary energy sources include fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and gas. Renewable energy sources such as sunlight, wind, moving water, and geothermal energy are also primary energy sources.
- **Private ownership**: Aspect of an economic system in which individuals or privately-held firms own key economic inputs.
- **Promethean Theory**: an environmentalist theory that views technology and human ingenuity as solutions to the environmental problems associated with the Anthropocene, rather than the cause.
- **Protectionism**: Promoting policies which reduce the access of international actors to a domestic market, for example raising tariffs (taxes) on imported goods in order to give an advantage to domestic producers.
- **Public Health:** Health of a population within a specific community or country.
- **Race to the bottom**: A competitive situation in which working conditions and environmental stewardship are of secondary

importance to maximizing profits.

- **Realism:** an International Relations theory that focuses on competition between actors.
- **Regionalization:** broadly defined as a restricted group of states connected by a geographical relationship and a level of mutual interdependence.
- **Regional trade agreement (RTA)**: Treaty signed by countries to promote the free flow of goods, services, capital, and/or currency across international borders.
- **Religious globalism:** an alternative perspective on globalization where faith leaders strive to rally a religious community envisioned on a global scale to protect and uphold shared religious values and beliefs.
- **Relocation diffusion**: the spread of an idea, innovation, or cultural trait through the physical movement of people from one place to another.
- **Renewable energy:** energy derived from naturally replenishing sources, such as sunlight, wind, rain, tides, and geothermal heat, which are considered sustainable and have lower environmental impacts.
- **Rent seeking behavior**: an attempt to gain economic advantage via the manipulation of the social or political environment rather than through trade and production of goods and services.
- **Resource curse:** the theory that some countries with natural resource wealth, especially in minerals such as oil, have poor governance and development outcomes. This may stem from concentration in control of the natural resources and over-reliance on export revenues.
- **Romanization**: the process by which non-Roman people were incorporated into the Roman Empire and assimilated into Roman culture.
- **Secondary energy source:** An energy source that is generated from primary energy sources. Electricity is a common secondary energy source
- **Security**: the condition of being exempt from peril or threat.
- **Security dilemma**: occurs when a state is driven by its security and seeks to acquire more power than its enemies. This leads to insecurity in other countries, which prompts these countries to acquire more power, which in turn drives the original country to seek more power. This spiral can continue unabated.
- **Severe food insecurity:** having such limited or inconsistent access to food supplies that people must go without any food for a day or more.
- **Silk Road**: a network of trade routes in the ancient world that facilitated economic and cultural exchange through Eurasia, connecting East and West.
- **Site factor**: physical attributes of a location that influence its potential use in terms of human activity.
- **Situation factor**: relative location of a place in relation to other places in terms of potential accessibility and ability to connect.
- **Slowbalization:** prolonged slowdown in the pace of trade reform and weakening political support for open trade amid rising geopolitical tensions.
- **Social barriers**: obstacles or restrictions within a society that hinder or limit the interaction, integration, or participation of certain groups or individuals based on social factors such as nationality, religion, race, gender, class, or ethnicity.
- **Social movements:** involve a substantial group of individuals collaborating to achieve a common goal, such as environmentalism or consumer protection.
- **Sociofact**: an element of culture that encompasses accepted behaviors and social practices of a group.
- **Sovereign debt:** the accumulated amount of money that a country's government has borrowed and has yet to pay back.
- **Soviet Bloc**: Also known as the Eastern Bloc, Communist Bloc or Socialist Bloc, this group of Eurasian countries was led by socialist or communist parties and rejected capitalist institutions. Beginning in 1989, these countries experienced a series of revolutions and have since integrated with the international market-based economy.
- **Speenhamland scale:** an attempt to prevent low wages from endangering the British working class and extended the promise that the state would intervene to make up the difference between earnings and the cost of bread.
- **State**: Internationally recognized entity possessing political authority – or sovereign rights – over a territory and its population.
- **Sticky (Culturally)**: refers to cultural elements or practices that are compatible with a new culture, to which they are introduced, and are thus incorporated into said culture.
- **Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs):** comprehensive economic programs that major international lenders, such as the IMF and the World Bank, required of developing countries as a condition for granting loans.
- **Stunting:** consequence of malnutrition and defined as being too short for one's age.
- **Subsidies:** a form of financial aid provided by a government so that the cost of production is offset, resulting in the competitive price for the goods/services produced by the subsidized producer.
- **Supply chain**: the interconnected network of organizations, processes, and activities involved in the production, distribution, and delivery of goods and services from raw materials to end consumers.
- **Supra-nationalism**: a process whereby states join together in political union, giving up some degree of sovereignty in exchange for collective benefits.

- **Sustainable development paradigm:** a set of principles that guide the integration of economic and environmental concerns with social considerations in development processes.
- **Technology transfer:** the process of transferring results from scientific and technological research to the marketplace and broader society, including the related skills and procedures.
- **Time-space compression**: the concept that advancements in technology, especially in transportation and communication have reduced the perceived time and distance between people and places, leading to a sense of the world becoming smaller and more interconnected.
- **Transdisciplinary (approach):** embeds a perspective, concept, framework, or methodological approach from one discipline into another.
- **Transnational Studies:** focused on the movement of people, ideas and goods across national boundaries and cultural regions.
- **Undernourishment:** the condition by which a person doesn't have access, on a regular basis, to the amount of food that is sufficient to provide the energy required for conducting a normal, healthy and active life, given his or her own dietary energy requirements**,** the full name is the Prevalence of Undernourishment (PoU) indicator
- **Unipolar order**: the post-Cold War geopolitical scenario in which the United States emerged as the world's only superpower.
- **Urbanization:** the process of increasing population concentration in urban areas, accompanied by the growth and expansion of cities, often associated with industrialization and economic development.
- **U.S. intelligence community (IC):** consists of 18 civilian and defense/military organizations, headed by a Director of National Intelligence (DNI).
- **Value-added Products**: goods that have been improved or enhanced by way of labor, resulting in increased market value.
- **Vector:** living organisms that transmit disease.
- **Washington Consensus**: a set of ten economic policy proscriptions considered to constitute the standard financial reform package.
- **Wasting:** a health condition that prevents the body from being able to absorb nutrients, leading to extremely thin limbs and making one vulnerable to myriad illnesses.
- **Wealth:** the value of accumulated assets of an individual or a family over a certain time period.
- **World federalism:** a movement with the objective of establishing a federal world government.
- **World government:** the concept of a unified global human community governed by a shared common political authority.

This page titled Glossary is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Charlotte Lee, Austen Thelen, Lauren Blanchard, Steven Cauchon, Masahiro Omae, Elizabeth Walker, and Travis Ritt (ASCCC Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)).

DETAILED LICENSING

Overview

Title: Introduction to Global Studies (Bozonelos et al.)

Webpages: 100

Applicable Restrictions: Noncommercial

All licenses found:

- CC BY-NC 4.0: 95% (95 pages)
- Undeclared: 5% (5 pages)

By Page

- Introduction to Global Studies (Bozonelos et al.) - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - Front Matter - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - TitlePage - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - InfoPage - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - Program Page - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - Table of Contents - *Undeclared*
    - Licensing - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - Instructor Resources - *Undeclared*
    - Preface - *Undeclared*
    - About the Authors - *Undeclared*
  - 1: Introduction - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.1: Welcome to Global Studies! - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.2: How did the Field of Global Studies Develop? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.3: The Essence of Global Studies - Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.4: How to Approach Global Studies - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.5: Organization of the Book - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.6: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.7: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 2: History of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.1: Introduction - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.2: A Brief History of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.3: Theories - Motivations for Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.4: At Home and Abroad - The Rise of the Liberal International Order (LIO) - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 3: Economic Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.1: Introduction - Our Global Economy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.2: Background - Five Decades of Economic Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.3: Theories and Concepts - Global Capitalism and Neoliberalism - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Effects of Neoliberalism through the Case of NAFTA/USMCA - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 4: Politics of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.1: Introduction - Politics of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.2: Background - Reaching the "End of History" - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.3: Theories and Concepts - Competing Visions of the Global Order - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.4: At Home and Abroad - World Society or Rising Nationalism? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 5: Cultural Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.1: Introduction - Culture in a Global Context - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.2: Background - The Diffusion of Culture - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.3: Theories - Cultural Diffusion - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.4: At Home and Abroad - A Hypothetical Friendship - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 6: Global Inequality - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.1: Introduction to Global Inequality - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.2: Background - What Does Global Inequality Look Like? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.3: Theories and Concepts - Contemporary Drivers of Global Inequality - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.4: At Home and Abroad - If Globalization is the Answer, then Why are So Many People Still

Poor? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 6.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 6.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 7: Global Insecurity and Conflict - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.1: Introduction to Global Security - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.2: Background - The History of Global Security - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.3: Theories and Approaches to Global Security - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.4: At Home and Abroad - Global Insecurity and the War in Ukraine; Why it Matters for Everyone - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 8: Global Food Disruption and Hunger - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.1: Introduction - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.2: Background - Responses to Food Crises - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.3: Theories - The Causes and Consequences of Persitent Global Hunger - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.4: At Home and Abroad - The Hunger Season - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 9: Global Health Disparities - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.1: Introduction - What is Global Health? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.2: Background - Historical Global Health Crises - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.3: Theories and Concepts - Approaching Global Health Inequities from a Variety of Theoretical Perspectives - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.4: At Home and Abroad- How COVID-19 Changed All of Our Lives - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 10: Global Energy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.1: Introduction - The Changing Map of Energy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.2: Background - From Fossil Fuel Boom to Energy Transition - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.3: Theories and Concepts - Geopolitics, Energy Security, and Climate Justice - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.4: At Home and Abroad - The Politics of Pipelines - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 11: Global Environmental Challenges - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.1: Introduction - Core Environmental Concerns - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.2: Background - A History of Environmental Challenges- From the Industrial Revolution to Climate Change - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.3: Theories and Concepts - Understanding the Tragedy of the Commons and the Anthropocene - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Waste from the Bottom, Up - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 12: The Future of Globalization? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.1: Is Globalization Over? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.2: What is Alter-Globalization? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.3: De-Globalization and What Might Follow - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.4: What Can You Do with a Global Studies Degree? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ Back Matter - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Index - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Glossary - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *Undeclared*

This page titled Introduction to Global Studies (Bozonelos et al.) is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos et al..

DETAILED LICENSING

Overview

Title: Introduction to Global Studies (Bozonelos et al.)

Webpages: 100

Applicable Restrictions: Noncommercial

All licenses found:

- CC BY-NC 4.0: 95% (95 pages)
- Undeclared: 5% (5 pages)

By Page

- Introduction to Global Studies (Bozonelos et al.) - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - Front Matter - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - TitlePage - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - InfoPage - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - Program Page - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - Table of Contents - *Undeclared*
    - Licensing - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - Instructor Resources - *Undeclared*
    - Preface - *Undeclared*
    - About the Authors - *Undeclared*
  - 1: Introduction - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.1: Welcome to Global Studies! - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.2: How did the Field of Global Studies Develop? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.3: The Essence of Global Studies - Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.4: How to Approach Global Studies - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.5: Organization of the Book - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.6: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.7: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 2: History of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.1: Introduction - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.2: A Brief History of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.3: Theories - Motivations for Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.4: At Home and Abroad - The Rise of the Liberal International Order (LIO) - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 3: Economic Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.1: Introduction - Our Global Economy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.2: Background - Five Decades of Economic Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.3: Theories and Concepts - Global Capitalism and Neoliberalism - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Effects of Neoliberalism through the Case of NAFTA/USMCA - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 4: Politics of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.1: Introduction - Politics of Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.2: Background - Reaching the "End of History" - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.3: Theories and Concepts - Competing Visions of the Global Order - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.4: At Home and Abroad - World Society or Rising Nationalism? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 5: Cultural Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.1: Introduction - Culture in a Global Context - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.2: Background - The Diffusion of Culture - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.3: Theories - Cultural Diffusion - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.4: At Home and Abroad - A Hypothetical Friendship - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 6: Global Inequality - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.1: Introduction to Global Inequality - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.2: Background - What Does Global Inequality Look Like? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.3: Theories and Concepts - Contemporary Drivers of Global Inequality - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.4: At Home and Abroad - If Globalization is the Answer, then Why are So Many People Still

Poor? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 6.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 6.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 7: Global Insecurity and Conflict - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.1: Introduction to Global Security - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.2: Background - The History of Global Security - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.3: Theories and Approaches to Global Security - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.4: At Home and Abroad - Global Insecurity and the War in Ukraine; Why it Matters for Everyone - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 8: Global Food Disruption and Hunger - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.1: Introduction - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.2: Background - Responses to Food Crises - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.3: Theories - The Causes and Consequences of Persitent Global Hunger - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.4: At Home and Abroad - The Hunger Season - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 8.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 9: Global Health Disparities - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.1: Introduction - What is Global Health? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.2: Background - Historical Global Health Crises - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.3: Theories and Concepts - Approaching Global Health Inequities from a Variety of Theoretical Perspectives - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.4: At Home and Abroad- How COVID-19 Changed All of Our Lives - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 10: Global Energy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.1: Introduction - The Changing Map of Energy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.2: Background - From Fossil Fuel Boom to Energy Transition - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.3: Theories and Concepts - Geopolitics, Energy Security, and Climate Justice - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.4: At Home and Abroad - The Politics of Pipelines - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 11: Global Environmental Challenges - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.1: Introduction - Core Environmental Concerns - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.2: Background - A History of Environmental Challenges- From the Industrial Revolution to Climate Change - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.3: Theories and Concepts - Understanding the Tragedy of the Commons and the Anthropocene - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.4: At Home and Abroad - Understanding Waste from the Bottom, Up - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ 12: The Future of Globalization? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.1: Is Globalization Over? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.2: What is Alter-Globalization? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.3: De-Globalization and What Might Follow - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.4: What Can You Do with a Global Studies Degree? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

◦ Back Matter - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Index - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Glossary - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Detailed Licensing - *Undeclared*

This page titled Introduction to Global Studies (Bozonelos et al.) is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos et al..