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A World without Borders



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On 9 November 1989, Kristina Matschat felt excitement and tension in the night air of Berlin. She had joined thousands of other East Germans at Checkpoint Charlie, one of the most famous crossing points in the Berlin Wall. Anticipating that some momentous event was soon to occur at the wall, that the wall might come down that night, she also shivered in fear at the proximity of the *Volkspolizei* ("people's police")—the same officers who since 1961 gunned down East Germans attempting to scale the wall and escape to freedom in West Berlin. She wore running shoes in case she needed to sprint away if shooting broke out or tanks rumbled through East Berlin to prevent the destruction of the wall.

She remembered that "everybody was full of fear—but also full of hope." Bitter memories flooded her consciousness as she recalled not being allowed to study what she wanted in school, not being able to speak freely of her discontent in case her friends were government spies, and not being able to locate disgruntled colleagues whom the government had condemned as "unwanted elements." Her hope overcame her fears, though, as she chanted with her fellow compatriots, "Tear the wall down! Open the gates!" She could see that on the other side of the wall massive crowds of West Berliners had gathered to join their demonstration. Thrilled by this open protest against the most salient symbol of the cold war, she was nonetheless psychologically unprepared for victory when it came. Just before midnight East German soldiers suddenly began not only opening gates in the Wall but also gently helping East Germans cross to the West, often for the first time in their lives. Her near disbelief at the swift downfall of Berlin's decades-old barricade registered in the word she heard shouted over and over again by those passing through the wall: *Wahnsinn* ("craziness").

Kristina Matschat remained at the wall until 3:00 or 4:00 A.M., celebrating with the hundreds of thousands of other Berliners who now mingled, drinking champagne and dancing on top of the wall. While celebrating the fall of the barbed wire and mortar structure, she became aware of the significance of a world without borders: "Suddenly we were seeing the West for the first time, the forbidden Berlin we had only seen on TV or heard about from friends. When we came home at dawn, I felt free for the first time in my life. I had never been happier." The fall of the Berlin Wall brought down one of the world's most notorious borders and symbolized the breaching of all sorts of boundaries in the contemporary world.

Along with decolonization, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the end of the cold war, many other forces were at work to create a new, more open, world. One pronounced feature of this

OPPOSITE: This stunning digitally crafted photograph, called "Omnipotent Technology" (1999), blurs the boundaries between art and reality. Its composition of an ethnically fluid face from computer chips and hardware suggests how global identity has morphed and how computers have breached borders between humans and machines.

world was an increased level of economic interaction between countries and a tighter economic integration of the world. The forces driving the world economy in this direction, often referred to as *globalization*, included advances in communication technology, an enormous expansion of international trade, and the emergence of new global enterprises as well as governments and international organizations that favored market-oriented economics. Global economic interaction and integration were not all new, of course. Ancient Rome and China, for example, controlled and economically integrated vast regions of the ancient world. In more recent centuries, the nations of western Europe—through their global outreach and encounters with far-flung societies—created worldwide empires in which goods and people moved freely. The more recent phenomenon of globalization, however, has been different and unprecedented in both scope and speed, and it has the potential to transform the social and political as well as the economic contours of the world.

Although certain formal national borders changed only after decolonization and the end of the cold war, cultural and technological developments since World War II had steadily broken down the distances between countries and peoples. Cultural integration resulted from the never-ending stream of ideas, information, and values spreading from one society to another. Consumer goods, popular culture, television, computers, and the Internet all spread outward from advanced capitalist and industrialized nations, particularly Europe and the United States, and other societies had to come to terms with this breakdown of cultural and technological barriers. Cultural traditions from Europe and the United States were challenged as often as they were accepted, as most of the world's peoples attempted to blend foreign traditions with their own.

The world's peoples themselves underwent changes in a world with fewer barriers. Women struggled to close the divide between the sexes, at times fighting for equal economic, social, and political rights and at other times abiding by gender expectations while waiting for new opportunities to improve their condition. As populations grew at often alarming rates, women spent much of their time at the traditional female task of child rearing, but both women and men embarked on migrations when their societies could no longer adequately support their growing populations. They moved to the cities or to other nations either to escape suffering or to seek new fortunes.

The populations moving around the globe revealed the diminishing significance of national boundary lines, but they also posed problems that could not be solved by any one state acting alone. International organizations such as the United Nations acknowledged that global problems needed global solutions, underscoring anew the tenuousness of borders in the contemporary world. The global troubles posed by epidemic diseases, labor servitude, terrorism, and human rights also crossed national boundaries and prompted international cooperation. Not everyone experienced the ecstasy Kristina Matschat felt at the Berlin Wall when that most restrictive border disappeared, but global interconnectedness made it more difficult to maintain boundaries among the peoples and countries of the world.

The Global Economy

The global economy came into public view after the spectacular collapse of communism in 1990. Economists pointed to a new economic order characterized by the expansion of trade between countries, the growth of foreign investments, the unfettered movement of capital, the privatization of former state enterprises, a wave of deregulation that undermined the control that national governments once exercised over economic activity, and the emergence of a new breed of corporations. Supporting the new global economy were technological developments in communications; semicon-

ductors, fiber-optic cables, and satellites have virtually eliminated geographic distances, causing an ever-faster integration of the market economy. The forces driving the world economy toward increased economic integration have been responsible for a process termed *globalization*.

Economic Globalization

The early origins of economic globalization derived from the establishment of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Founded at the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire in 1944, the IMF began the promotion of market economies, free trade, and high growth rates.

International trade proved to be a key driving force behind economic globalization. Trade across long distances especially has figured prominently in the shaping of human history, and for at least the past five hundred years it has served as an integrating force. Of more recent origin is the phrase *free trade*, meaning freedom from state-imposed limits and constraints on trade across borders. The issue of free trade engendered a debate about the extent to which free trade enhances the prosperity of a society. In the aftermath of World War II, leaders from industrialized nations, especially from the United States, took a decisive stand on the issue.

U.S. politicians and business leaders wanted to establish an international trading system that suited their interests, and they pushed for the elimination of restrictive trading practices that stood in the way of free trade. The main vehicle for the promotion of unrestricted global trade was the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was signed by the representatives of 23 noncommunist nations in 1947. GATT members held a series of negotiations with the intent of removing or loosening barriers to free trade. After the round of negotiations that ended in 1994, the member nations of GATT (now totaling 123) signed an agreement to establish the World Trade Organization (WTO), which took over the activities of GATT in 1995. The WTO has developed into a forum for settling international trade disputes, with the power to enforce its decisions. Numbers tell the story of the fortunes of free trade. World trade (exports and imports) between 1948 and 1966 grew by 6.6 percent annually and by 9.2 percent annually between 1966 and 1977. Although trade slowed in the 1980s, by 1990 world trade exceeded six trillion U.S. dollars, roughly double the figure for 1980.

The emergence of a new breed of corporation played another key role in the development of the new economic order. Global corporations have increasingly replaced the more traditional international or multinational forms of corporate enterprises. International companies were born out of the desire to extend business activities across borders in pursuit of specific activities such as importation, exportation, and the extraction of raw materials. International companies evolved into multinationals, which conducted their business in several countries but had to operate within the confines of specific laws and customs of a given society. During the past twenty-five years, the transformation of the corporate landscape has resulted in the birth of some fifty thousand global corporations. In contrast to the multinational, the typical global corporation relies on a small headquarters staff while dispersing all other corporate functions across the globe in search of the lowest possible operating costs. Global corporations treat the world as a single market and act as if the nation-state no longer exists. Many multinational corporations, such as General Motors, Siemens AG, and Nestlé, have transformed themselves into global enterprises, both benefiting from and contributing to the ongoing process of globalization.

Global corporations have become the symbols of the new economy. They also have begun to transform the political and social landscape of many societies. During the past

Free Trade

GATT and WTO

Global Corporations



This image of a "Balanced World Economy" (1996) artistically expresses the precariousness of economic globalization.

fifty-five years, major corporations throughout the developed world have been operating under the constraints of a social compact with their employees and communities. Through a combination of collective bargaining agreements, tax laws, and environmental regulations, these companies had to contribute to the welfare of their respective home communities. Highly mobile global corporations that are no longer bound to any particular location have managed, however, to escape those obligations and break the social compact. Competing with companies around the world, the global corporation has moved jobs from high-wage facilities to foreign locations where wages are low and environmental laws are weak or nonexistent. The implications of this development are serious. For example, U.S. federal tax receipts show that corporations that once paid 30 percent of all federal taxes now pay only 12 percent. This trend is not confined to the United States but is visible throughout the industrialized world. In all instances, declining corporate taxes mean less money for social services and welfare programs.

The efforts of governments to entice businesses into keeping their operations at home by reducing the corporate tax burden have been only partially successful. Equally ineffective may be the ongoing efforts by governments and citizens' groups to compel corporations to resume their former social and economic obligations.

Economic Growth in Asia

Globalization and the speeding up of worldwide economic integration also benefited from economic developments in east and southeast Asia, where the economies of Japan, China, and the so-called Asian tigers underwent dramatic economic growth. This Asian "economic miracle" was largely a result of economic globalization.

U.S. policies jump-started Japan's economic revival after its defeat in 1945, and by 1949 the Japanese economy had already attained its prewar level of productivity. Just as western European countries had benefited from the Marshall Plan, so Japan benefited from direct U.S. financial aid (\$2 billion), investment, and the timely abandonment of war reparations. In addition, there were no restrictions on the entry of Japanese products into the U.S. market. The United States, in its role as Japan's military protector, contributed to long-term economic growth as well. Because a 1952 mutual defense treaty stipulated that Japan could never spend more than 1 percent of its gross national product on defense, Japan's postwar leaders channeled the nation's savings into economic development.

Japan

At first sight Japan's economy was ill equipped for intensive economic growth. Japan had lost its overseas empire and was hampered by a large population and a lack of natural resources. Japan's economic planners sidestepped many of those disadvantages by promoting an economic policy that emphasized export-oriented growth supported by low wages. The large and mostly compliant workforce, willing to endure working conditions and wages considered intolerable by organized labor in western Europe and the United States, gave Japanese employers a competitive edge over international rivals. Although Japanese industries had to pay for the import of most raw materials, the low cost of Japanese labor ensured the production of goods that were cheap enough to compete on the basis of price.

Initially, the Japanese economy churned out labor-intensive manufactured goods such as textiles, iron, and steel slated for export to markets with high labor costs, particularly the United States. During the 1960s Japanese companies used their profits to switch to more capital-intensive manufacturing and produced radios, television sets, motorcycles, and automobiles. In the 1970s, Japanese corporations took advantage of a highly trained and educated workforce and shifted their economic resources toward technology-intensive products such as random access memory chips, liquid crystal displays, and CD-ROM drives. By that time the label "Made in Japan," once associated with cheap manufactured goods, signified state-of-the-art products of the highest quality. Japan's economic achievements gave its banks, corporations, and government an increasingly prominent voice in global affairs. By the 1980s Japan seemed poised to overtake the United States as the world's largest economy. In the 1990s, however, it became clear that postwar growth rates were not sustainable, and the Japanese economy sputtered into a recession that has continued into the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, the Japanese success story served as an inspiration for other Asian countries.

The earliest and most successful imitators of the Japanese model for economic development were Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. Their remarkable and rapid growth rates earned them the sobriquet of the "four little tigers," and by the 1980s these newly industrializing countries had become major economic powers.

The Little Tigers

Like Japan, all four countries suffered from a shortage of capital, lacked natural resources, and had to cope with overpopulation. But like Japan a generation earlier, they transformed apparent disadvantages into advantages through a program of export-driven industrialization. By the 1990s the four little tigers were no longer simply imitators of Japan but had become serious competitors. As soon as new Japanese products had carved out market niches, corporations based in the four little tigers moved in and undercut the original item with cheaper versions. Before long, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia joined the original tigers in their quest for economic development and prosperity.

The Rise of China

China provides yet-another economic success story. Within four years of the establishment of the People's Republic (1949), the government of Mao Zedong started to place the economy under state control and began a series of five-year plans. Because of the disastrous policies associated with the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961) and the Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), China's leaders launched economic reforms in the late 1970s that reversed some earlier policies and opened Chinese markets to the outside world, encouraged foreign investment, and imported foreign technology. With the economy growing dramatically, the government in 1992 signaled the creation of a socialist market economy. In effect, the planned economic system of the past gave way to a market economy, where demand for goods and services determined production and pricing, and where the role of the government was limited to providing a stable but competitive environment. Besides acting as a major exporter, China benefited from its large pool of cheap labor and its enormous domestic markets have made the Chinese economy the destination of choice for foreign investment capital. In December 2001 China became a member of the World Trade Organization and moved closer to gaining global economic superpower status.

Perils of the New Economy

For the supporters of the new global economy, the spectacular economic development of so many Asian societies was proof that globalization could deliver on the promise of unprecedented prosperity. By the late 1990s, however, critics could point to the perils of the new global economy as many of the Asian tigers went from boom to bust economies.

At the center of this bust was a financial crisis that came to a head in 1997. In the preceding twenty years, the developing Asian economies had started to embrace the market, opening their borders to imports and courting foreign investments. Almost overnight these previously poor countries became the darlings of international investors, who willingly poured billions of dollars into the now-attractive national economies. Much of the investment went into creating rapid economic growth, while other investments funded highly speculative business projects. After years of generous lending and growing national debts, the international investment community suddenly lost confidence in the booming economies and withdrew support. The crisis began in Thailand in mid-1997, when investments that once easily poured into the country now left it equally quickly, causing the value of the baht (Thai national currency) to plummet. In quick succession, the Thai stock market lost 75 percent of its value, and the country found itself in the grip of a depression. For no obvious reason, the financial panic—and with it economic contraction—then moved to Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and South Korea. In each instance, the rise and fall of the individual economies resulted from their integration in the new global economy, which rewarded and punished its new participants with equal ease.

Emerging Economies in Asia and Beyond

Contrary to all expectations, the nations hit so hard by the financial crisis recovered quickly. Their recovery was matched by other emerging economies that included Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and Russia, eastern European nations, and several countries in Africa. In 2005 these emerging economies accounted for over half of global economic

output, measured in purchasing-power parity (which takes into consideration lower prices in poorer countries). During the first five years of the twenty-first century, the annual growth rate of emerging economies averaged almost 7 percent—the fastest pace on record. Experts predict that by 2040 the world's ten largest economies will include Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and Russia. Among the emerging economies, China already figures as an economic titan. The IMF predicts that China will surpass the United States as the world's largest economy within the next three decades.

Emerging nations scour the earth for raw materials, are responsible for a steep rise in world energy demand and consumption, and cause an alarming increase in emissions of greenhouse gases and air pollution. The once-poor world is not only getting richer but also increasingly making its weight felt in international organizations on everything from trade issues to membership in the United Nations Security Council. What all this means is that the rich developed countries no longer dominate the global economy the way they did during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This shift is not as astonishing as it first seems, as some of today's emerging economies are simply regaining their former preeminence. Until the late nineteenth century, for example, China and India were the world's biggest economies.

Trading Blocs

Accepting free trade and open markets meant acknowledging global economic interdependence; no single economic power could fully control global trade and commerce. In the rapidly changing global economy, groups of nations have therefore entered into economic alliances designed to achieve advantages and greater strength for their partners in the competitive global economy.

The most famous and most strongly integrated regional bloc is the European Union, which is characterized by a common market and free trade. In March 1957, representatives of six nations—France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg—took a significant step in this direction by signing the Treaty of Rome. This treaty established the European Economic Community—renamed the European Community in 1967. At the heart of this new community of nations lay the dismantling of tariffs and other barriers to free trade among member nations. Subsequent treaties creating political institutions such as the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament facilitated the long-range goal of European political integration. The development of a supranational organization dedicated to increasing European economic and political integration culminated in the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, which established the European Union. Twenty-seven European nations have submerged much of their national sovereignty in the European Union, and since 1999 thirteen members have adopted a common currency. In the future, this tight economic integration is expected to lead to a European Political Union.

One of the earliest and most successful economic alliances was the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), a producer cartel established in 1960 by the oil-producing states of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela, and later joined by Qatar, Libya, Indonesia, Abu Dhabi, Algeria, Nigeria, Ecuador, and Gabon. The mostly Arab and Muslim member states of OPEC sought to raise the price of oil through cooperation, but OPEC demonstrated during the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 that cooperation had political as well as economic potential. The cartel ordered an embargo on oil shipments to the United States, Israel's ally, and quadrupled the price of oil between 1973 and 1975. The huge increase in the cost of petroleum triggered a global economic downturn, as did a curtailment of oil exports in the later 1970s. OPEC's policies therefore contributed to the global recession and debt crisis that hurt

European Union

OPEC



Map 40.1 European Union membership, 2004. In 2007 the European Union celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding as a supranational and intergovernmental organization that encompasses twenty-seven member states. What major challenge faced the European Union in the twenty-first century?

many developing nations, but its members—also developing nations—demonstrated how the alliance could exert control over the developed world and its financial system. OPEC's influence diminished in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of overproduction and dissension among its members over the Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War.

ASEAN

Another well-established economic partnership is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN. Established in 1967 by the foreign ministers of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines, its principal objectives were to accelerate economic development and promote political stability in southeast Asia. Originally conceived as a bulwark against the spread of communism in the region,

the economic focus of ASEAN became sharper after it signed cooperative agreements with Japan in 1977 and the European Community in 1980. In 1992 member states agreed to establish a free-trade zone and to cut tariffs on industrial goods over a fifteen-year period.

The United States, although still home to the largest national economy in the world, also saw the need to become involved in regional trade groupings. The United States entered its own regional alliance, approving the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Canada and Mexico in 1993. NAFTA, which went into effect in 1994, constitutes the world's second-largest free-trade zone, but it is a much looser bloc, lacking the economic coordination so typical of the European Union. There are plans to expand NAFTA to all noncommunist nations in the Americas, underscoring the increasing commitment to the elimination of tariffs and other barriers to regional and global free trade.

NAFTA

The global economy is still very much a work in progress, and it not clear what the long-term effects will be on the economies and societies it touches. To its supporters, the global economy delivers markets that operate with maximum efficiency, speedily directing goods and services wherever there is demand for them and always expecting the highest returns possible. Proponents of globalization also argue that the new economy is the only way to bring prosperity—the kind previously enjoyed only by industrialized nations—to the developing world. To its critics—nongovernmental organizations ranging from labor unions to tribal-rights activists—the global economy is an untamed juggernaut that is neither inevitable nor desirable, a force that rewards the few and impoverishes the many. The specific charges leveled by antiglobalization groups and coalitions are many. They assert that globalization diminishes the sovereignty of local and national governments and transfers the power to shape economic and political destinies to transnational corporations and global institutions such as the IMF and the WTO. Detractors of globalization also claim that the hallmark of globalization—rapid economic development—is responsible for the destruction of the environment, the widening gap between rich and poor societies, and the worldwide homogenization of local, diverse, and indigenous cultures. It is certain that globalization has been accompanied by serious social and economic problems. It is less certain, however, if anyone can succeed in taming its power.

Globalization and Its Critics

Cross-Cultural Exchanges and Global Communications

The demise of European colonial empires, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the end of the cold war brought down the most obvious political barriers of the post-World War II world. Long before then, however, cultural and technological developments had started a similar process of breaching boundaries. By showcasing the consumer goods of capitalist societies and spreading news of each new chapter in the fall of communism, television in fact had helped spur the revolutions that ended the cold war. As Kristina Matschat testified, before the Berlin Wall fell she had seen West Berlin only on television. One of the first products of the global consumer culture imbibed by East Germans was Coca-Cola, served to them by store owners in West Berlin.

Like trade and business organizations, cultural practices have also become globalized, thriving on a continuous flow of information, ideas, tastes, and values. At the turn of the twentieth century, local traditions—commonly derived from gender, social class, or religious affiliation—still determined the cultural identity of the vast majority of people. At the end of the twentieth century, thanks in part to advances in

technology and communications, information and cultural practices were becoming truly global. Their impact was summarized in a jingle popularized by the Walt Disney corporation during the 1964–1965 World’s Fair in New York City: “It’s a small world after all.”

Global Barbie

In October 1996 the Associated Press flashed a news story over its wires (and onto the Internet, through CNN Interactive) with the headline “Iran’s Answer to Barbie.” The story described the creation of the Sara doll, who would fight American cultural influences as embodied in the Barbie dolls on store shelves in Tehran. Sara’s creator clearly meant the doll to compete with Barbie while promoting the chaste dress and pure values expected of Islamic girls and women. Sara is clothed in long flowing robes and head coverings. She and her brother doll, Dara (an Islamic cleric), pose a stark contrast to the plastic couple from the United States, Barbie and Ken, who show no shame in exposing their bodies and premarital relationship to the world. The cultural gulf between Sara and Dara and Barbie and Ken was intentional; according to Majid Ghaderi, the designer of the dolls and the director of Iran’s Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults, “Barbie is an American woman who never wants to get pregnant and have babies. She never wants to look old, and this contradicts our culture.”

*Sara versus
Barbie in Iran*

Ghaderi viewed Barbie as a metaphor for unwanted cultural dominance: “Barbie is like a Trojan Horse. Inside it, it carries Western cultural influences, such as makeup and indecent clothes. Once it enters our society, it dumps these influences on our children.” Whether Sara will effectively counter Barbie in Iran is still an open question, but the influence of Islamic clerics on Iranian notions of feminism is apparent. Shopkeepers in Tehran do not expect the doll to do well against Barbie but generally support the idea behind Sara. As one merchant said, “I myself believe that Barbie dolls are not good for our children, although they are beautiful.” Feminists might chafe at the idea of Barbie representing a type of emancipated woman that is not welcome in the Islamic world. Iranian Muslims equate women’s liberation with not getting pregnant, staying young, and wearing makeup and little else. They associate it with a plastic figurine whose impossibly ideal dimensions have given women fits. However, Barbie does serve as one symbol of the U.S. cultural products that are swamping global markets. And Iran’s Sara demonstrates how countries have attempted to maintain their cultural traditions.

Barbie in Japan

That Iranian officials perceived Barbie as a Trojan horse bringing in foreign, feminist values—and created the traditional Sara doll to oppose Barbie’s influence—suggests how strongly some societies strive to counteract foreign cultural influences. At the same time, however, the U.S. cultural system adapted to the demands and sensibilities of the world, modifying its products to conform to indigenous expectations. When Mattel Corporation wanted to market Barbie in Japan, it had to adjust to Japanese cultural sensibilities. Japanese girls preferred Licca, a doe-eyed, brunette, younger doll. They found Barbie’s eyes scary, her smile too aggressively toothy, and her attitude too much of a professional woman on the go. Because Barbie challenged Japanese notions of a less-emancipated femininity, Mattel reformed Barbie: she was marketed in family settings, with stroller and children, and she had a rounder face, bigger eyes, a closed mouth, and less shockingly blonde hair. Barbie sales increased. As the manager at a major Japanese toy company concluded, “I don’t think their doll is considered American like before. Now there are kids who play with Licca and Barbie together. It’s a borderless era.”

Consumption and Cultural Interaction

New communications media have tied the world together and have promoted a global cultural integration whose hallmark is consumption. Beginning in the eighteenth century, industrialization and the subsequent rise in per capita income gave birth to a type of society in which the consumption of goods and services satisfied wants and desires rather than needs or necessities. Although the desire to consume is hardly novel, the modern consumer culture means more than simple consumption. It implies that consumers want more than they need and that the items they consume take on symbolic value. Consumption, in other words, has become a means of self-expression as well as a source for personal identity and social differentiation. The peculiar shape of this consumer culture resulted from two seemingly contradictory trends: a tendency toward homogenization of cultural products and heightened awareness of local tastes and values. Critics sometimes refer to the homogenizing aspect of global culture as the “Americanization” or “McDonaldization” of the world.

Those terms suggest that the consumer culture that developed in the United States during the mid-twentieth century has been exported throughout the world, principally through advertising. Thus it is no accident that young people clad in blue jeans and T-shirts sing the same Usher or Eminem lyrics in San Francisco, Sarajevo, and Beijing. Still, nothing symbolizes the global marketing of U.S. mass culture more than the spread of its food and beverage products. While Pepsi and Coca-Cola fight battles over the few places on earth that their beverages have not yet dominated, fast-food restaurants such as Burger King, McDonalds, and Pizza Hut sell their standardized foods throughout the world. The closing of many bistros and cafés in France, for instance, is the result of more French people opting for fashionable fast food instead of taking the time for more traditional and lengthy lunches. So successful has the global spread of U.S. mass culture been that it seems to threaten local or indigenous cultures everywhere.

The export of U.S. products and services is not the sole determinant of global cultural practices, however, as the Barbie examples illustrate. Because the contemporary consumer culture stresses minute differences between products and encourages consumers to make purchase decisions based on brand names designed to evoke particular tastes, fashion, or lifestyle, it also fosters differentiation. Indeed, global marketing often emphasizes the local or indigenous value of a product. Genuinely Australian products, such as Drizabone wet-weather gear and Foster’s Lager, have become international commodities precisely because they are Australian in origin. Likewise, young upwardly mobile consumers continue to prefer Rolex watches from Switzerland, Armani clothes from Italy, miniature electronics from Japan, and Perrier mineral water from France.

The experiences in the Americas demonstrate that U.S. patterns of cultural consumption have not simply dominated the globe without competition or critical evaluation. For example, as she was dying, the Argentine political and cultural icon Eva Perón is reputed to have said, “I will return and I will be millions.” Her prophecy has come true in the images of her that continually appear around the world, especially in the Americas. In Buenos Aires, city housing projects are named after her, a new Argentine film about her life played in 1996, and her face appears on souvenir T-shirts sold in the streets. In an Argentine supper club, the show’s cast members sing “Don’t Cry for Me, Argentina” as their grand finale, and audiences rise to their feet applauding. The song is from the musical *Evita* by Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice, which was first performed in London and subsequently became a hit on Broadway (1979). While Argentine performers sing a Euro-American song, their

*Pan-American
Culture*

Evita has become an icon in the United States and Europe, not only in the musical, but also in the 1996 film *Evita* starring Madonna.

Although Latin American critics often decry the spell cast by North American popular culture on Latin American audiences, Evita-mania has indicated that the sharing or imposing of cultural practices is a two-way phenomenon. A trend in Latin America is Music Television (MTV) Latino, perceived by many critics as another case of foreign cultural intrusion, where Latin video deejays speak “Spanglish” or “Chequenos” (“check us out”), mixing Spanish and English. Yet, whereas Latin Americans once had called for protection against such alien influence, by the 1990s many had relaxed their guard. They see evidence of increased cultural sharing among Latin societies, noting that MTV and cable television have come to serve as a means of communication and unity by making the nations of Latin America more aware of one another. While the sheer dominance and size of the U.S. entertainment-technology industry keeps cultural sharing lopsided, cultural dominance is also limited by those societies’ ability to blend and absorb a variety of foreign and indigenous practices.

The Age of Access

Throughout history technological advances such as in shipbuilding provided the means to dissolve boundaries between localities and peoples and thus allowed cultural transmission to take place. Today virtually instantaneous electronic communications have dissolved time and space. Contemporary observers have labeled our era “the age of access.” Communication by radio, telephone, television, fax machine, and networked computers has spawned a global village that has swept away the social, economic, and political isolation of the past. However, because it takes capital to purchase the necessary equipment, maintain and upgrade it, and train people to use it, many societies find it difficult to plug into the global village. The existing gulf between the connected and the unconnected has the potential therefore to become one border in a world without borders.

This new world of global interconnectedness is not without its detractors. Critics have charged, for instance, that mass media are a vehicle for cultural imperialism because most electronic media and the messages they carry emanate from advanced capitalist societies. A specific consequence is that English is becoming the primary language of global communications systems, effectively restricting vernacular languages to a niche status.

The Internet reinforces the contemporary fact that English has become the universal tongue of the twenty-first century. As a result of British colonialism, subjugated peoples the world over had been compelled to learn English and become at least bilingual, speaking their own languages along with those of the colonizer. In more recent times, many peoples have voluntarily adopted the language of a politically and economically preeminent English-speaking society, especially the United States. In this fashion, English has almost become a universal language, enjoying acceptance in scientific, diplomatic, and commercial circles. However understandable, English-language dominance on the Internet rankles some users. Xia Hong, a manager for an Internet access provider in Shanghai, articulates this concern:

There’s no question about it: the Internet is an information colony. From the moment you go online, you’re confronted with English hegemony. It’s not merely a matter of making the Net convenient for users in non-English-speaking countries. People have to face the fact that English speakers are not the whole world. What’s the big deal about them, anyway? Our ideal is to create an exclusively Chinese-language network. It will be a Net that has Chinese characteristics, one that is an information superhighway for the masses.

Preeminence of the English Language

Such sentiments apparently reflect the thinking of Chinese political leaders, for authorities are going to great lengths to ensure that China and its communications system do not become a spiritual colony of capitalist powers such as the United States. Accordingly, officials of China's Public Security Bureau—an agency that concerns itself with crimes ranging from murder to cultural espionage—are trying to contain the influence of the Internet by erecting around China a so-called “firewall” or *fanghuo qiang* (a direct translation from the English). The more prevailing and popular phrase for it is *wangguan* (literally, “net wall”), a name that invokes many centuries of Chinese efforts to repulse foreign invaders. However, because the original Great Wall had limited success, the fate of its digital successor remains an open question.

Some societies have managed to adapt European and U.S. technology to meet their needs while opposing cultural interference. Television, for example, has been used to promote state building around the world, since most television industries are state controlled. In Zaire, for example, the first television picture residents saw each day was of Mobutu Sese Seko. He especially liked to materialize in segments that pictured him walking on clouds—a miraculous vision of his unearthly power. The revolution in electronic communications has been rigidly controlled in other societies—including Vietnam and Iraq—where authorities limit access to foreign servers on the Internet. They thus harness the power of technology for their own purposes while avoiding cultural interference.



A citizen of Kuwait lugs a television through streets filled with European and U.S. consumer products. From tennis shoes to automobiles to English-language signs, cultural interpenetration is occurring around the globe.

Adaptations of Technology

Global Problems

By the end of the twentieth century, many traditional areas of state responsibility—whether pertaining to population policies, health concerns, or environmental issues—needed to be coordinated on an intergovernmental level. Global problems demanded global solutions, and together they compelled the governments of individual states to surrender some of their sovereignty to larger international organizations such as the United Nations. Issues concerning labor servitude, poverty, epidemic diseases, terrorism, and human rights demanded attention and action on a scale greater than the nation-state.

Population Pressures and Environmental Degradation

The past hundred years or so have been accompanied by vast population increases. As the result of advances in agriculture, industry, science, medicine, and social organization, the world experienced a fivefold population increase over a period of three hundred years: from 500 million people in 1650 to 2.5 billion in 1950. After World War II

Table 40.1 Population (in Millions) for Major Areas of the World, 1900–2050

<i>Major Area</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1950</i>	<i>1975</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2050</i>
Africa	133	224	416	906	1937
Asia	947	1396	2395	3905	5217
Europe	408	547	676	728	653
Latin America	74	167	322	561	783
North America	82	172	243	331	438
Oceania	6	13	21	33	48
World (total)	1650	2519	4074	6465	9076

SOURCE: *World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision. Highlights*. New York: United Nations, 2005.

the widespread and successful use of vaccines, antibiotics, and insecticides, along with improvements in water supplies and increased agricultural yields, caused a dramatic decline in worldwide death rates. The rapid decline in mortality among people who also maintained high levels of fertility led to explosive population growth in many areas of Asia and Africa. In some developing nations, population growth now exceeds 3.1 percent, a rate that ensures the doubling of the population within twenty-three years. In 2005 roughly 6.5 billion people shared the planet, and the population division of the United Nations has estimated that the earth's population will stabilize around 9 billion in 2050. In the meantime, 75 million people are joining the world's total population each year, and unless fertility declines to replacement levels—that is, two children per woman—the world's population will grow forever.

More optimistic voices, however, have pointed out that the odds of a population explosion and its dreaded consequences are exaggerated and are in fact receding. In part this decline is the result of the AIDS crisis, which is taking a heavy demographic toll in societies where fertility rates are high. More important, fertility rates have been falling fast in the past two decades, both in rich and in poor societies. The same optimists also argue that despite rapid population growth, wages have risen and the cost of everything extracted or grown from the earth has declined. Equally significant is the fact that food production has more than kept pace with the growing population.

A large population changes the earth and its environment, raising an important question: How many people can the earth support? The exact carrying capacity of the planet is, of course, a matter of debate, but by many measures the earth seems to strain already to support the current population. Scientists and concerned citizens have become increasingly convinced that human society cannot infinitely expand beyond the physical limits of the earth and its resources. Beginning in 1967 a group of international economists and scientists—dubbed the Club of Rome—attempted to specify the limits of both economic and population growth in relation to the capacity of the planet to support humanity. Praised by some observers as the conscience of the world and decried by others as being excessively negative, the club issued a report in 1972 with the subtitle, “The Limits to Growth.” Because the world's physical resources are in finite supply, the Club of Rome concluded, any transgression of those limits would be calamitous. Two decades later, fifteen hundred scientists, including ninety-nine Nobel laureates and representatives from a dozen of the world's most prestigious academies, signed a document titled, “Warning to Humanity” (1992). The report sounded a clear alarm, stating that “human beings and the natural world are on a collision course . . . [that] may so alter the living world that it will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know.”

The Planet's Carrying Capacity



■ Smokestacks in Siberia releasing carbon dioxide emissions into the atmosphere.

The prophets of doom are not without their detractors, who have eagerly pointed out that the predictions of the Club of Rome and similar ones by other organizations and by concerned governments have not been borne out by the facts. For example, the Club of Rome predicted that the global reserves of oil, natural gas, silver, tin, uranium, aluminum, copper, lead, and zinc were approaching exhaustion and that prices would rise steeply. In every case but tin, reserves have actually grown since 1972. Eight years later the price for virtually all minerals—excepting only zinc and manganese—had dropped and continue to do so. The Club of Rome’s inaccurate predictions have not diminished its dystopian confidence. In a more recent and widely acclaimed work, *Beyond the Limits* (1999), the Club of Rome, while acknowledging that its earlier predictions had been too pessimistic, persisted in being equally pessimistic about the future.

The problem is not simply one of depleting nonrenewable resources or expanding populations. The prodigious growth of the human population is at the root of many environmental problems. As people are born, pollution levels increase, more habitats and animal and plant species disappear, and more natural resources are consumed. In recent decades, two environmental issues have taken center stage: biodiversity and global warming.

Biodiversity relates to the maintenance of multiple species of plants and animals. The most serious threat to biodiversity emerged from the destruction of natural habitats in the wake of urbanization, extension of agricultural activity, and exploitation of mineral and timber resources. Extinction currently threatens some 4,500 animal

*Environmental
Impact*

Sources from the Past

Silent Spring

One of the earliest and most effective warnings about modern environmental damage appeared in 1962. Silent Spring, written by scientist Rachel Carson (1907–1964), offers a critical and dramatic investigation into the environmental disaster caused by chemical pesticides. Carson’s book created a sensation, and Silent Spring is often credited with inspiring the environmental movement. Carson began her exposé of chemical pollution with “A Fable for Tomorrow,” where she metaphorically details the results of chemical pollution on a symbolic American town and suggests the true meaning of a “silent spring.”

There was once a town in the heart of America where all life seemed to live in harmony with its surroundings. The town lay in the midst of a checkerboard of prosperous farms, with fields of grain and hillsides of orchards where, in spring, white clouds of bloom drifted above the green fields. In autumn, oak and maple and birch set up a blaze of color that flamed and flickered across a backdrop of pines. Then foxes barked in the hills and deer silently crossed the fields, half hidden in the mists of the fall mornings.

Along the roads, laurel, viburnum and alder, great ferns and wildflowers delighted the traveler’s eye through much of the year. Even in winter the roadsides were places of beauty, where countless birds came to feed on the berries and on the seed heads of the dried weeds rising above the snow. The countryside was, in fact, famous for the abundance and variety of its bird life, and when the flood of migrants was pouring through in the spring and fall people traveled from great distances to observe them. Others came to fish the streams, which flowed clear and cold out of the hills and contained shady pools where trout lay. So it had been from the days many years ago when the first settlers raised their houses, sank their wells, and built their barns.

Then a strange blight crept over the area and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the community: mysterious maladies swept the flocks of chickens; the cattle and sheep sickened and died. Everywhere was a shadow of death. The farmers spoke of much illness among their families. In the town the doctors had become more and more puzzled by the new kinds of sickness appearing among their patients. There had been several sudden and unexplained deaths, not only among adults but even among children, who would be stricken suddenly while at play and die within a few hours.

There was a strange stillness. The birds, for example—where had they gone? Many people spoke of them, puzzled and disturbed. The feeding stations in the backyards were deserted. The few birds seen anywhere were

moribund; they trembled violently and could not fly. It was spring without voices. On the mornings that had once throbbed with the dawn chorus of robins, catbirds, doves, jays, wrens, and scores of other bird voices there was now no sound; only silence lay over the fields and woods and marsh.

On the farms the hens brooded, but no chicks hatched. The farmers complained that they were unable to raise any pigs—the litters were small and the young survived only a few days. The apple trees were coming into bloom but no bees droned among the blossoms, so there was no pollination and there would be no fruit.

The roadsides, once so attractive, were now lined with browned and withered vegetation as though swept by fire. These, too, were silent, deserted by all living things. Even the streams were now lifeless. Anglers no longer visited them, for all the fish had died.

In the gutters under the eaves and between the shingles of the roofs, a white granular powder still showed a few patches; some weeks before it had fallen like snow upon the roofs and the lawns, the fields and streams.

No witchcraft, no enemy action had silenced the rebirth of life in this stricken world. The people had done it themselves.

This town does not actually exist, but it might easily have a thousand counterparts in America or elsewhere in the world. I know of no community that has experienced all the misfortunes I describe. Yet every one of these disasters has actually happened somewhere, and many real communities have already suffered a substantial number of them. A grim specter has crept upon us almost unnoticed, and this imagined tragedy may easily become a stark reality we all shall know.

FOR FURTHER REFLECTION

What were the multiform effects of the “strange blight” creeping over the American environment, and who proved responsible for these disasters?

SOURCE: Rachel Carson. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962, 1994, pp. 1–3.



■ A poster advertising China's one-child family rule.

species. Global warming refers to a rise in global temperature, which carries potentially dire consequences for humanity. Atmospheric pollution causes global warming because the emission of greenhouse gases prevents solar heat from escaping from the earth's atmosphere.

Like the glass panes in a greenhouse, hydrocarbon emissions from automobiles, carbon dioxide emissions from burning fossil fuel, and methane emitted from the stool of farm animals trap heat within the atmosphere, leading to a rise in global temperatures. Even a seemingly modest rise of one to three degrees Celsius in the temperature of the atmosphere might have serious consequences, such as a rise in sea levels that would completely inundate low-lying islands and coastal areas on all continents. In the ancient Japanese capital of Kyoto, at a conference dedicated to pressing environmental problems, the delegates of 159 countries agreed in 1997 to cut greenhouse gas emissions blamed for global warming. Although the conference delegates agreed that developed nations should cut the emissions of carbon dioxide and other dangerous gases, the conference did not require developing countries—some of them major polluters, such as India and China—to reduce their emissions.

For decades the issue of population control was highly politicized. Political leaders in developing countries, for example, charged representatives of industrialized countries with racism when they raised concerns regarding overpopulation. Industrialized nations were also accused of trying to safeguard their outrageous consumption patterns of the world's nonrenewable resources. Some leaders, such as Mexico's Luis Echeverria, went so far as to promote pronatalist measures (to increase births), urging his fellow citizens to have numerous children. The problems caused by rapid population growth eventually persuaded many governments to take action to control fertility. By that time, the old pervasive notion that a large population is a source of national power had given way to the idea that the best way to promote the health and well-being of a population is to control its growth.

As death rates declined persistently throughout the world during the latter part of the twentieth century, reducing birthrates became a central concern of many governments, and to date some eighty countries have adopted birth control programs.

Population Control

The United Nations and two of its specialized agencies, the World Health Organization and the UN Fund for Population Activities, have aided many countries in organizing and promoting family-planning programs. However, the availability and promotion of contraceptives does not guarantee effective control of fertility. Whereas China has, however stringently, significantly reduced its population growth rate and some Latin American societies also have a decline in their birthrates, people in other societies have resisted efforts to reduce birthrates. In some instances, resistance stems from both religious and political motives. In India, for example, the Hindu emphasis on fertility has impeded birth control efforts. Thus global attempts to prevent excessive population growth have had mixed results.

Economic Inequities and Labor Servitude

The unequal distribution of resources and income, and the resulting poverty, have materialized as key concerns of the contemporary world. Several hundred million people, especially in the developing areas of eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia, struggle daily for sufficient food, clean water, adequate shelter, and other basic necessities. Poverty is a lack of basic human necessities, and its effects are as wide-ranging as they are devastating. Malnutrition among the poor has led to starvation and death. As one of the most persistent effects of poverty, malnutrition is also responsible for stunted growth, poor mental development, and high rates of infection. Typically, vitamin and mineral deficiencies accompany malnutrition, causing mental disorders, organ damage, and vision failure among poor children and adults. Because of inadequate shelter, lack of safe running water, and the absence of sewage facilities, the poor have been exposed disproportionately to bacteria and viruses carried by other people, insects, and rodents. Poverty has correlated strongly with higher-than-average infant mortality rates and lower-than-average life expectancies.

The Causes of Poverty

The division between rich and poor has been a defining characteristic of all complex societies. Although relative poverty levels within a given society remain a major concern, it is the continuing division between rich and poor societies that has attracted the attention of the international community. A worldwide shortage of natural resources as well as the uneven distribution of resources have figured as major causes of poverty and have divided nations into the haves and have-nots. Excessively high population densities and environmental degradation have caused the depletion of available resources, leading to shortages of food, water, and shelter and ultimately to poverty. The other major cause of poverty, the unequal distribution of resources in the world economy, resulted from five hundred years of colonialism, defined by the appropriation of labor and natural resources. Pervasive poverty characterizes many former colonies and dependencies. All of these developing societies have tried to raise income levels and eliminate poverty through diversified economic development, but only a few, such as South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia, have accomplished their aims. In the meantime, economic globalization has generated unprecedented wealth for developed nations, creating an even deeper divide between rich and poor countries.

Labor Servitude

Poor economic conditions have been closely associated with forms of servitude similar to slavery. Although legal slavery ceased to exist when Saudi Arabia and Angola abolished slavery officially in the 1960s, forced and bonded labor practices continue to affect millions of poor people in the developing world. Of particular concern is child-labor servitude. According to the International Labor Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, more than 250 million children between ages five and fourteen work around the world, many in conditions that are inherently harmful to their physical health and emotional well-being. Child-labor servitude is most pronounced in south

and southeast Asia, affecting an estimated 50 million children in India alone. Most child labor occurs in agriculture, domestic service, family businesses, and the sex trade, making it difficult to enforce existing prohibitions and laws against those practices. Many children are born into a life of bonded labor because their parents have worked in debt bondage, a condition whereby impoverished persons work for very low wages, borrow money from their employer, and pledge their labor as security.

A growing and related global problem that touches societies on every continent is the trafficking of persons. In this insidious form of modern slavery, one to two million human beings annually are bought and sold across international and within national boundaries. Trafficking has appeared in many forms. In Russia and the Ukraine, for example, traffickers lure victims with the promise of well-paying jobs abroad. Once the victims arrive in the countries of their destination, they become captives of ruthless traffickers who force them into bonded labor, domestic servitude, or the commercial sex industry through threats and physical brutality—including rape, torture and starvation, incarceration, and death. Most of the victims of trafficking are girls and women, which is a reflection of the low social and economic status of women in many countries. In south Asia, for instance, it is common for poverty-stricken parents or other relatives to sell young women to traffickers for the sex trade or forced labor. The trafficking industry is one of the fastest growing and most lucrative criminal enterprises in the world, generating billions of dollars annually in profits.

Trafficking

Global Diseases

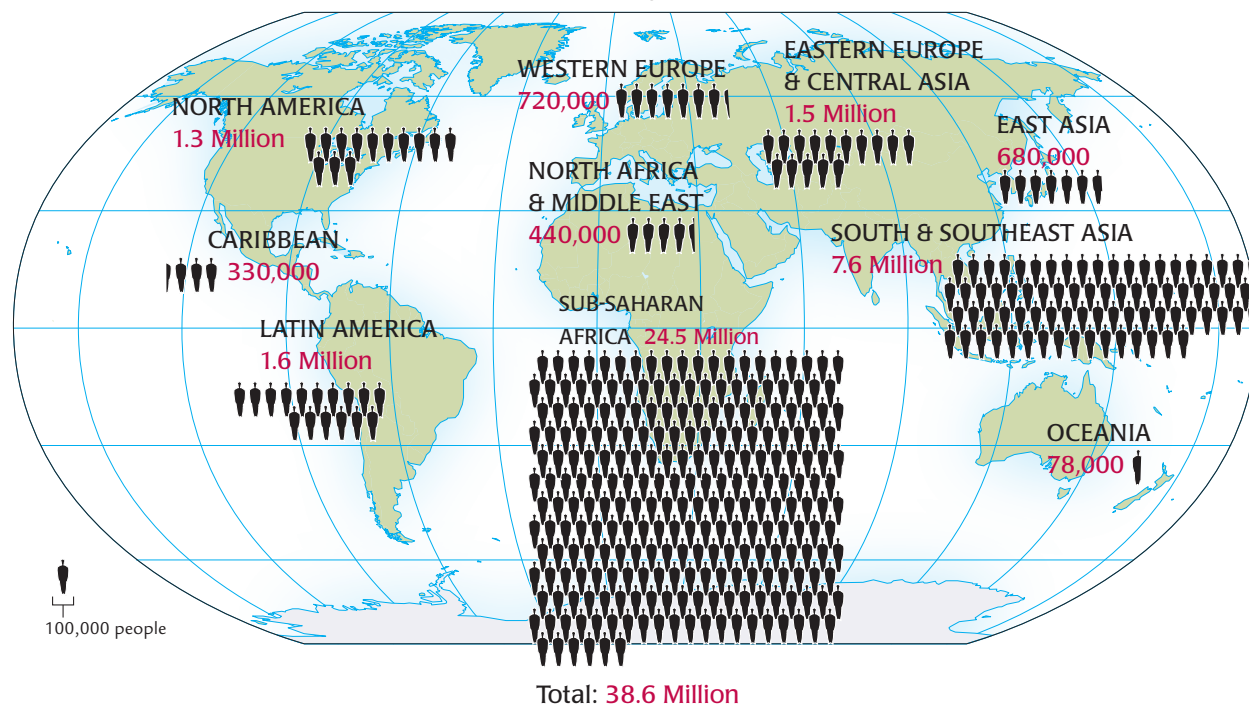
Since the dawn of history, disease has played a significant role in the development of human communities. Its impact has been as dramatic as it has been destructive. For example, the most devastating impact of the Columbian exchange (see chapter 23) came in the wake of diseases that Europeans introduced into the Americas following the voyages of Christopher Columbus and others. The introduction of diseases to populations that lacked any form of immunity killed perhaps as many as 90 percent of native Americans in the span of 150 years. More recently, an influenza pandemic that swept the globe in 1918 and 1919 killed between twenty and forty million people, far more than died as the result of the Great War that had just ended. Since then, medical experts, public health officials, and scientists scored major victories in their fight against diseases, eradicating smallpox and diphtheria, for example. Buoyed by those successes, the United Nations in 1978 called for the elimination of all infectious diseases by the year 2000. That goal was unrealistic, and in the meantime ancient diseases once thought under control, such as malaria and tuberculosis, are on the rise again. Equally ominous, public health officials have identified new lethal diseases such as Ebola fever and HIV/AIDS.

The most serious epidemic threat comes from acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). This fatal disorder of the immune system is caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which slowly attacks and destroys the immune system, leaving the infected individual vulnerable to diseases that eventually cause death. AIDS is the last stage of HIV infection, during which time these diseases arise. The HIV infection is spread through sexual contact with an infected person, contact with contaminated blood, and transmission from mother to child during pregnancy and, after birth, through breast feeding. Factors contributing to the spread of AIDS include poverty, ignorance, the prohibitive cost of drugs, and, some say, sexual promiscuity.

Medical experts identified AIDS for the first time in 1981 among homosexual men and intravenous drug users in New York and San Francisco. Subsequently, evidence for an epidemic appeared among heterosexual men, women, and children in sub-Saharan

HIV/AIDS

Adults and children estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS as of December 2005



Map 40.2 Global estimates of HIV/AIDS. HIV infection in humans is one of the most destructive pandemics in recorded history, having claimed the lives of twenty-five million people since scientists first identified it in 1981. What regions of the world have been most affected?

Africa, and rather quickly AIDS developed into a worldwide epidemic that affected virtually every nation. At the end of 2005, the number of people living with HIV/AIDS was 38.6 million, and over 20 million AIDS deaths had occurred since the beginning of the epidemic.

AIDS in Africa

The AIDS epidemic is a serious public health threat throughout the world, but the disease has struck the developing world hardest, especially sub-Saharan Africa. Statistics paint a grim picture. Of the 38.6 million people identified with HIV/AIDS worldwide, 24.5 million of them currently live in sub-Saharan Africa. If current trends persist, AIDS deaths and the loss of future population from the demise of women in childbearing ages will lead to a 70-million drop in population by 2010. Between 2005 and 2010, the life expectancy in the region is expected to decline from fifty-nine years to forty-five. Africa is also home to 80 percent of the children who are living with HIV/AIDS worldwide. AIDS has touched children in two ways: as a disease infecting children and as a disease that leaves them orphans. Thus far the epidemic has orphaned 10 million children, and unless this pattern is reversed Africa will have 40 million AIDS orphans, most of whom will grow up with little or no social nurturing.

The AIDS epidemic threatens to overwhelm the social and economic fabric of African societies, rolling back decades of progress toward a healthier and more prosperous future. The health infrastructure of most African nations cannot cope with the impact of the AIDS epidemic. Although sophisticated palliative treatments—no cures—are available, only the wealthy can afford them. Most Africans are desperately poor. As the AIDS epidemic deepens, it leaves an economically devastated continent in its wake. Families who must care for a member who is ill with AIDS often deplete financial resources that would otherwise be used to cover necessities or to invest in

children's futures. When AIDS claims the lives of people in their most productive years, grieving orphans and elders must contend with the sudden loss of financial support, communities must bear the burden of caring for those left behind, and countries must draw on a diminishing number of trained and talented workers.

There are signs that HIV incidence may stabilize in sub-Saharan Africa. So many people in the sexually active population have been affected that only a small pool of people is still able to acquire the infection. In addition, successful prevention programs in a small number of countries, notably in Uganda, have reduced infection rates and contributed to a regional downturn of the epidemic.

The good news from Africa is tainted by bad news from Asia. Although infection rates in Asia remain low, health officials fear that the disease will spread faster as it traverses India, the world's second most populous nation. There is fear that the infection rate will escalate during the next decade, causing the epidemic in India to dwarf the problems seen in Africa. Although no vaccine has yet emerged to prevent or cure HIV infection, some advances have been made. When scientists first identified AIDS, there was no treatment for the disease. Existing anti-viral drugs at best delayed the inevitable and at worst failed completely. By 1995, though, researchers succeeded in developing a new class of drugs known as protease inhibitors and, in combination with some of the older drugs, they produced what is now known as highly active anti-retroviral therapy or HAART. In most cases, HAART can prolong life indefinitely. The high cost of these sophisticated drugs initially prevented poor people from sharing in their benefits, but this too is changing. By 2007 over one million people in sub-Saharan Africa routinely received anti-AIDS drugs, and optimistic estimates suggest that by 2010 effective AIDS drugs will be available to all who might benefit from them. New prevention techniques parallel improved drug treatments. Although an effective vaccine remains elusive, scientists have come up with new prevention techniques that, unlike condom use, do not require male involvement. Holding out great promise are vaginal microbicides designed to prevent the virus from entering the body and prophylactic drug regimens that create a hostile environment for any virus that does make it into the bloodstream.

Global Terrorism

Terrorism has become a persistent feature of the globalized world. Although not a recent phenomenon, since it has been practiced throughout history, terrorism attained its greatest impact in a world distinguished by rapid technological advances in transportation, communications, and weapons development. Heightened media awareness, especially the ubiquity of worldwide television coverage, has exposed the grievances and demands of terrorists to millions of viewers, but it has also transformed the practice of terrorism. Acts of terror therefore punctuated the era following World War II, as individuals and groups the world over attempted to destabilize or overthrow political systems within or outside the borders of their countries. Terrorism figured prominently in anticolonial conflicts in Algeria and Vietnam; in struggles over a homeland between national groups such as Israelis and Palestinians; in clashes between religious denominations such as Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland; and between revolutionary forces and established regimes in lands such as Indonesia, Iran, and Nicaragua.

No universally agreed-on definition of terrorism exists, a fact underlined by the often-cited glib observation that "one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter." Most experts agree, nevertheless, that a key feature of terrorism is the deliberate and systematic use of violence against civilians, with the aim of advancing political,

Defining Terrorism

religious, or ideological causes. Terrorists use violent means—from hijackings and hostage-taking to assassinations and mass murder—to magnify their influence and power. In contrast to the populations and institutions they fight, terrorists and their organizations are limited in size and resources. Despite their ability to destabilize societies, terrorist organizations have rarely if ever realized their stated goals. In fact, terrorist tactics have more commonly discredited otherwise potentially worthy and commendable causes. During the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, terrorism increasingly assumed a global character because sustained terror campaigns require sophisticated financial support networks, a reliable and sustained supply of weapons technology, and places of sanctuary. Aside from regional initiatives such as those emanating from the European Union, however, the international community did not respond to the threat of global terrorism in a coherent or unified manner. The thorny issues of what constitutes terrorism and how to respond to it gained renewed attention, however, as a result of the terror attacks against the United States in September 2001.

11 September

On the morning of the second Tuesday in September, New York City and Washington, D.C., became the targets of a coordinated terrorist attack that was unprecedented in scope, sophistication, and destructiveness. Hijackers seized four passenger jetliners and used them as guided missiles. Two of the planes crashed into the World Trade Center towers, causing the collapse of the two towers, the ancillary destruction of adjacent skyscrapers, and thousands of deaths. Before the morning was over, another plane crashed into the Pentagon, the nerve center of the U.S. military in Washington, D.C., and the fourth jet crashed into a field outside Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Intended for another Washington, D.C., landmark, the fourth jet was thwarted in its mission when passengers stormed the hijackers. As millions around the world watched events unfold on television, the U.S. government launched an intensive investigation and identified the Islamic militant Osama bin Laden (1957–) as the mastermind behind the attacks. Officials also accused bin Laden of directing previous attacks on U.S. interests in Africa and southwest Asia. Before the dust of the collapsed World Trade towers had settled, U.S. President George W. Bush (1946–) declared war on Osama bin Laden and global terrorism itself.

Osama bin Laden headed *al-Qaeda* (“the base”), the core of a global terrorist network. The estranged son of a Saudi construction magnate and the seventeenth of fifty-two children, Osama bin Laden became a popular figure in the U.S.-backed effort to aid *mujahideen* (Islamic warriors) who fought Soviet forces in Afghanistan. By the end of the Persian Gulf War (1990–1991), however, he began to regard the United States and its allies with unqualified hatred. The stationing of U.S. troops on the holy soil of Saudi Arabia, the bombing of Iraq, and supporting Israeli oppression of Palestinians, bin Laden claimed, were tantamount to a declaration of war against God. Convinced that he was carrying out God’s will, bin Laden in 1998 publicly called on every Muslim to kill Americans and their allies “wherever he finds them and whenever he can.” Viewed by many as the personification of evil, yet admired by some for his convictions and aims, Osama bin Laden has moved to the forefront of Islamist violence.

War in Afghanistan and Iraq

Another related radical manifestation of Islam’s resurgence was the creation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan in 1996 by the Taliban movement. The Taliban emerged out of the disorder and devastation of the Afghan-Soviet war (1979–1988) and the later civil war (see chapter 38). Promoting itself as a new force for unity and determined to create an Islamic state according to its own austere interpretation of Islam, the Taliban proclaimed its followers the liberators who brought peace to Afghanistan. In that pursuit of the purest Muslim state on earth, Taliban intolerance figured prominently, and Islamist strictures quickly alienated people both inside and outside

Afghanistan. Dominated by Pashtuns—the majority ethnic group of Afghanistan—the Taliban under its leading *mullah* (male religious leader) Mohammed Omar fought a series of holy wars against other ethnic and Muslim groups, such as Afghanistan's Shia minority. At the same time, the Taliban provided sanctuary and training grounds for Islamist fighters in southwest and central Asia, most notably for Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda.

The Taliban espoused a strict brand of Islam that barred women from education and the workplace. As all forms of European and American dress became taboo, women had to be completely veiled in *burkas*, and men had to eschew neckties and grow full, untrimmed beards. The stringent form of Taliban-promoted Islam also called for a ban on television, movie theaters, photographs, and most styles of music. Some of those rules had little to do with pure Islam, but a religious police, the Ministry of the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, enforced them with an extremely harsh code of justice. The United Nations and most governments in the world withheld recognition of the Taliban as Afghanistan's legitimate government. De jure recognition came instead to a Taliban opposition force, the Northern Alliance, composed of the country's smaller religious and ethnic groups, mainly Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras. The Northern Alliance became a crucial ally of the United States in its mission to find and punish those responsible for the 11 September attacks.

When the United States government announced its war against global terrorism it also pointedly targeted “those harboring terrorists,” that is, governments and states that supported and provided sanctuary for terrorists. The refusal of the Taliban government to surrender Osama bin Laden prompted the United States and its allies on 7 October 2001 to begin military operations against Taliban military positions and terrorist training camps. The U.S. military and its international allies generally limited their operations to intelligence missions and massive air strikes, fighting the war on the ground through Afghan proxies, most notably the forces of the Northern Alliance. By November, U.S.-led bombardments permitted Northern Alliance troops to capture Kabul and other key Afghan cities. In a decisive military campaign, the United States' coalition smashed both the Taliban and al-Qaeda. The war against terrorism beyond Afghanistan, however, promised to be a long-term struggle necessitating a great deal of international cooperation.

Another international action against terrorism came in March 2003, when President Bush coordinated what he termed “Operation Iraqi Freedom.” A multinational coalition force some three hundred thousand strong, largely made up of U.S. and British troops but also including those from approximately two dozen other nations, carried out an invasion of Iraq designed to wage further war on terrorism by ousting the regime of Saddam Hussein and creating a democratic state. One special target was Hussein's suspected stockpile of chemical and biological weapons, otherwise termed “weapons of mass destruction,” devastating implements of war that could presumably be employed by global terrorists to wreak destruction on a scale even greater than that of 11 September 2001. Hussein himself made another special target, although he eluded capture for months. Coalition forces managed to establish their military supremacy in Iraq, but they did not uncover any such cache of weapons nor did they immediately control Hussein. President Bush declared an end to major battle operations on 1 May 2003, and coalition forces since that time struggled in their efforts to occupy and stabilize Iraq. Hussein was finally caught in December 2003 and executed in 2006, but deadly resistance in Iraq persisted.

The costs of the Iraq war climbed in terms of both casualties and expenditures. Tens of thousands of Iraqi military personnel and civilians have died, as have almost four thousand coalition soldiers by mid 2007. The United States has spent approximately



A photographer captured the ruin of Saddam Hussein in this image of a tiled mural pitted and pocked by the destruction in Baghdad as a result of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

\$4 billion per month to maintain troops in Iraq. While President Bush sustained the United States' willingness to pay such a price, some critics in the United States and around the globe balked at the president's aggressive approach to the war on terrorism. Dubbed by some the "Bush Doctrine of Deterrence," his preemptive strike against Iraq—which had not overtly committed a terrorist act or been proven to harbor terrorists—set a troubling precedent in U.S. foreign policy. Moreover, the increased presence of foreign military personnel in Iraq may only serve to intensify the sort of Islamist fervor already fanned by Osama bin Laden.

Coping with Global Problems: International Organizations

Although the world's nations and peoples are becoming increasingly interdependent, governments still operate on the basis of the territorially delimited state. Because global economic and cultural interdependence demands that political activity focus on cross-societal concerns and solutions, nations are under pressure to surrender portions of their sovereignty. Moreover, as national borders become less important in the face of new economic and cultural connections, the effectiveness of national governments has declined. The widespread recognition that the national state is ill equipped to handle problems of a global magnitude has led to an increase in the number of organizations dedicated to solving global problems through international coordination and action. Often categorized as nongovernmental international organizations and governmental international organizations, these institutions are impor-

tant because they have the potential to tackle problems that do not respect territorial boundaries and are beyond the reach of national governments.

Contemporary efforts at global cooperation have antecedents in the past. A prototypical nongovernmental organization (NGO) is the Red Cross, an international humanitarian agency. Founded on the initiative of the Swiss philanthropist Jean Henri Dunant (1828–1910), this agency was originally dedicated to alleviating the sufferings of wounded soldiers, prisoners of war, and civilians in time of war. In 1864 the representatives of twelve nations signed the first Geneva Convention, which laid down the rules for the treatment of the wounded and the protection of medical personnel and hospitals. The convention adopted the red cross as a symbol of neutral aid. (Most Muslim countries use a red crescent.) Later protocols—signed by most nations—revised and amended the original principles enunciated in the first Geneva Convention to include protection for noncombatants as well. The Red Cross ultimately extended its mission to peacetime, rendering medical aid and other help for victims of natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes, and famines.

An especially prominent contemporary NGO is Greenpeace, founded in 1970, an environmental organization dedicated to the preservation of the earth's natural resources and its diverse animal and plant life. In their pursuit of a green and peaceful world, Greenpeace activists have gained international notoriety and fame for their daring exploits, which are calculated to attract media attention to environmental concerns. With the world watching, Greenpeace members in small rubber rafts have disrupted whaling expeditions by placing themselves between the whales and the hunters' harpoons. On other occasions, Greenpeace has convinced major news networks to broadcast disturbing pictures of the slaughter of baby harp seals. After getting the attention of the media, Greenpeace activists worked to prevent further slaughter by spraying red paint on the seals, making their fur worthless for commercial purposes.

The premier international governmental organization is the United Nations, which superseded the League of Nations (1920–1946). This association of sovereign nations attempts to find solutions to global problems and to deal with virtually any matter of concern to humanity. Unlike a national parliament, the UN does not legislate. Yet, in its meeting rooms and corridors, representatives of the vast majority of the world's countries have a voice and a vote in shaping the international community of nations.

Under its charter a principal purpose of the UN is “to maintain international peace and security.” Cynics are quick to point to the UN's apparent inability to achieve that goal, citing as evidence the eight-year war between Iraq and Iran, the civil war in Somalia, and the many years of bloodshed in Afghanistan. However flawed its role as an international peacemaker and a forum for conflict resolution, the UN has compiled an enviable record with respect to another role defined in its charter, namely, “to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character.” Quietly and without attracting attention from the news media, the specialized agencies of the UN have achieved numerous successes. For example, in 1980 the World Health Organization proclaimed the worldwide eradication of smallpox as a result of its thirteen-year global program. On other fronts, UN efforts resulted in more than a 50 percent decrease in both infant and child mortality rates in developing countries between 1960 and 2002. The organization's efforts also promoted an increase in female literacy, especially in Africa, where for the first time in history the majority of women—50.8 percent in 2000—were deemed to be literate. The UN as well worked to provide access to safe water for over one billion people living in rural areas.

Governmental and nongovernmental organizations have focused much of their attention on the protection of human rights, the notion that all persons are entitled

Nongovernmental Organizations

The United Nations

Human Rights

to some basic rights, especially rights that protect an individual against state conduct prohibited by international law or custom. The concept of human rights originated with Greco-Roman natural law doctrines and subsequently evolved into specific efforts to protect the rights of humanity such as the abolition of slavery and the implementation of universal suffrage. Universal recognition and acceptance of the concept of human rights came in the aftermath of World War II, especially with the exposure of crimes that the Nazi regime unleashed on its own citizens and all those that had come under Nazi control during the war. The Nuremberg war crimes trials, designed to bring Nazi leaders to justice, challenged the notion of unlimited national sovereignty and created the concept of “crimes against humanity,” which warranted international judgment and punishment. In the charter establishing the United Nations in 1945, fifty member nations pledged to achieve “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights, and fundamental freedoms.” In 1948, the National Assembly of the UN adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which contributed to the codification of international human rights laws. The declaration singled out specific human rights violations such as extrajudicial or summary executions, arbitrary arrest and torture, and slavery or involuntary servitude as well as discrimination on racial, sexual, or religious grounds. The concern for human rights is shared by nongovernmental organizations such as Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch, which bring the pressure of world public opinion to bear on offending governments. By the late 1980s, human rights had emerged as one of the principal themes of global politics.

Given the present level of global interaction, international coordination to solve global problems is a necessity. However, collaboration within and between international organizations has often been inadequate. Meetings, talks, and consultations have frequently deteriorated into arguments. At the height of the cold war, this situation hampered progress in finding solutions to crucial problems. Contentious issues have sometimes paralyzed the UN and its affiliated organizations, because societies at different stages of economic development have pursued sometimes conflicting social and political goals. Cultural diversity continues to make it difficult for people to speak a common language. Despite the shortcomings of international organizations, however, for the present they represent the closest thing humanity has to a global system of governance that can help the world’s peoples meet the challenges of international problems.

Crossing Boundaries

Human populations also underwent radical transformations. Peoples throughout the world challenged gender definitions and embarked on large-scale migrations. Women in Europe, the United States, China, and the Soviet Union gained greater equality with men, partly by advocating women’s liberation and a nonbiological or culturally defined understanding of gender. Elsewhere, women continued to follow their societies’ dictates for acceptable female behavior, although extraordinary circumstances propelled some women to prominence even in countries that resisted the feminist revolution. Both women and men also experienced either forced or voluntary migrations and in the process helped to create an increasingly borderless world.

Women’s Traditions and Feminist Challenges

The status of women began changing after World War II. Women gained more economic, political, social, and sexual rights in highly industrialized states than in devel-



Women belonging to the U.S. feminist group the National Organization for Women march for equal rights in Washington, D.C., in 1992.

oping nations, but nowhere have they achieved full equality with men. Although women have increasingly challenged cultural norms requiring their subordination to men and confinement in the family, attainment of basic rights for women has been slow. Agitation for gender equality is often linked to women's access to employment, and the industrialized nations have the largest percentage of working women. Women constitute 40 to 50 percent of the workforce in industrial societies, compared with only 20 percent in developing countries. In Islamic societies, 10 percent or less of the workforce is composed of women. In all countries, women work primarily in low-paying jobs designated as female—that is, teaching, service, and clerical jobs. Forty percent of all farmers are women, many at the subsistence level. Rural African women, for example, do most of the continent's subsistence farming and produce more than 70 percent of Africa's food. Whether they are industrial, service, or agricultural workers, women earn less than men earn for the same work and are generally kept out of the highest paid professional careers.

The discrimination that women faced in the workplace was a major stimulus for the feminist movement in industrialized nations. Women in most of those nations had gained the right to vote after the Great War, but they found that political rights did not guarantee economic or sexual equality. After World War II, when more and more women went to work, women started to protest job discrimination, pay differentials between women and men, and their lack of legal equality. In the 1960s those complaints expanded into a feminist movement that criticized all aspects of gender inequality. In the United States, for example, the civil rights movement that demanded equality for African-Americans influenced the women's movement and provided a training ground for many women activists.

Women started to expose the ways in which a biologically determined understanding of gender led to their oppression. In addition to demanding equality in the

*Feminism and
Equal Rights*



■ Education offers hope for the future of Muslim and Arab women.

workplace, women demanded full control over their bodies and their reproductive systems. Access to birth control and abortion became as essential to women's liberation as economic equality and independence. Only with birth control measures would women be able to determine whether or when to have children and thus avoid the notion that "biology is destiny." The U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination on the basis of both race and sex, and the introduction of the birth control pill in the 1960s and legal protection of abortion in the 1970s provided a measure of sexual freedom. The gender equality that an Equal Rights Amendment would have secured never materialized, however, because the amendment failed to achieve ratification before the 1982 deadline.

Gender Equality in China

Some socialist or communist societies transformed their legal systems to ensure basic equality. Legally, the position of women most closely matched that of men in communist or formerly communist countries such as the Soviet Union, Cuba, and China. "Women hold up half the sky," Mao Zedong had declared, and that eloquent acknowledgment of women's role translated into a commitment to fairness. The communist dedication to women's rights led to improvement in the legal status of Chinese women once the communists gained power in China. In 1950 communist leaders passed a marriage law that declared a "new democratic marriage system, which is based on free choice of partners, on monogamy, on equal rights for both sexes, and on protection of the lawful interests of women and children." The law abolished patriarchal practices such as child betrothal and upheld equal rights for men and women in the areas of work, property ownership, and inheritance.

Critics argue that despite such laws China's women have never gained true equality. Certainly few women have gained high status in the Communist Party's leadership. And although most women in China have full-time jobs outside the home, they do not receive wages equal to those of men. They do most of the work at home as well. Nevertheless, they are able to enter most professions, although most Chinese women engage in menial work. Long-standing Confucian values continue to degrade the status of women, especially in rural areas. Parents almost universally prefer boys over girls. One unintended consequence of China's population policies, which limits couples to one child, is the mysterious statistical disappearance of a large number of baby girls. Demographers estimate that annually more than one-half million female births go unrecorded in government statistics. Although no one can with certainty account for the "missing" girls, some population experts speculate that a continued strong preference for male children causes parents to send baby girls away for adoption or to be raised secretly, or in some cases to single them out for infanticide.

Although girls and women in industrial and communist nations are guaranteed basic if not fully equal legal rights and are educated in roughly the same numbers as boys and men, women in other areas of the world have long been denied access to education. Expected to stay at home, girls and women have high illiteracy rates in these societies. In Arab and Muslim lands, women are twice as likely as men to be illiterate, and in some places nine of ten women are illiterate. This situation is beginning to change. Fifty years ago most women in these societies were illiterate, but in the past twenty-five years girls have begun to catch up with boys in education.

The same cannot be said for girls and women in India, despite some real advances made during the late twentieth century. By 2001 female literacy had reached 54 percent, and yet women remained largely confined to the home. Labor force participation remained low. Fewer than one-quarter of women of all ages were engaged in work, while the birthrate remained high even with the greater availability of birth control measures. This condition has ensured a life of domesticity for many Indian women. The issue that has most dramatically illustrated the perilous status of women in south Asia, though, is the prevalence of dowry deaths. What makes the birth of girl children in India so burdensome is the custom of paying dowries (gifts of money or goods) to the husband and his family upon a woman's marriage, a requirement that is difficult for many Indian families to meet. If the husband and his family perceive the dowry as inadequate, if the husband wants a new wife without returning his first wife's dowry, or even if the wife has simply annoyed the husband or her in-laws, the wife is doused with kerosene and set on fire—so that her death can be explained as a cooking accident. In 1995 the government of India reported six thousand dowry deaths, though unofficial estimates put the number closer to twenty-five thousand.

This form of domestic abuse has not been restricted to India and Hindu women, but has spread through south Asia. In Pakistan more than five hundred husbands set fire to their wives between 1994 and 1997. The motives for burnings go beyond dowry, because husbands have set fire to wives who overcooked or oversalted the men's food. The victims themselves, some of whom survive, voice perhaps the saddest aspect of this treatment: resignation to their fate. One Pakistani survivor noted, "It's my fate. From childhood, I have seen nothing but suffering." These attitudes may be changing, though, as Indian and Pakistani women activists challenge these practices and establish shelters for women threatened with burning.

Around the world most women have the right to vote. They do not, however, exert political power commensurate with their numbers. Some women have nonetheless attained high political offices or impressive leadership positions. The same south Asia that revealed so many continued barriers to women's rights on a day-to-day basis

Domesticity and Abuse

Women Leaders



Opposition leader and Nobel Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi at a gateside meeting in Rangoon, Myanmar.

also elevated numerous women to positions of power, breaking down other political barriers. Indira Gandhi (1917–1984) and Benazir Bhutto (1953–) led India and Pakistan as effective politicians, having been raised by fathers who themselves were prominent in politics. In 1994 Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (1945–) became the first female president of Sri Lanka. Both her parents had previously served as prime ministers; her mother, Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1916–), became the first elected woman prime minister in 1960. As president, Kumaratunga appointed her mother to serve a third term as prime minister.

In Myanmar (formerly Burma), Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (1945–) has emerged as a leader, also deriving her political authority from her father Aung San, assassinated in 1947. Assuming the leadership of the democracy movement after her return from exile in 1988, Suu Kyi called for a nonviolent revolution against Myanmar’s “fascist government.” The government placed her under house arrest from 1989 to 1995, during which time she created a new political institution, the “gateside meeting,” speaking to her followers from behind the gates of her home. In the 1990 elections Suu Kyi and her party won a landslide victory, but they were not allowed to come to power. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts in 1991, she could not accept the award personally because she was still under house arrest.

Women demonstrated their leadership abilities in a variety of ways. They became highly visible political figures, as in south Asia, or they more anonymously joined organizations or participated in activities designed to further the cause of women’s rights. The United Nations launched a Decade for Women program in 1975, and since then global conferences on the status of women have been held regularly, attracting large crowds. Even in Iran, where the Islamic revolution severely limited opportunities for women, internal forces could radically transform the image and role of women. Today revolutionary patrols walk the streets of Tehran making sure that women conform to the society’s rule of dress and behavior, but during the war with Iraq, Iranian women became revolutionaries, picking up guns and receiving weapons training. They protected their national borders while defying gender boundaries.

Table 40.2 World's Urban Areas of 10 Million or More Inhabitants in 1996

Rank	Urban Area	Country	Population (thousands)
1	Tokyo	Japan	27,242
2	Mexico City	Mexico	16,908
3	São Paulo	Brazil	16,792
4	New York	United States	16,390
5	Bombay	India	15,725
6	Shanghai	China	13,659
7	Los Angeles	United States	12,576
8	Calcutta	India	12,118
9	Buenos Aires	Argentina	11,931
10	Seoul	Republic of Korea	11,768
11	Beijing	China	11,414
12	Lagos	Nigeria	10,878
13	Osaka	Japan	10,618
14	Delhi	India	10,298
15	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	10,264
16	Karachi	Pakistan	10,119

SOURCE: United Nations, *World Population Prospects: The 1998 Revisions*.

Migration

Migration, the movement of people from one place to another, is as old as humanity and has shaped the formation and identity of societies throughout the world. The massive influx of outsiders has transformed the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural composition of indigenous populations. With the advent of industrialization during the eighteenth century, population experts distinguished between two types of migration: internal migration and external or international migration. Internal migration describes the flow of people from rural to urban areas within one society, whereas external migration describes the movement of people across long distances and international borders. Both types of migration result from push factors, pull factors, or a combination of both. Lack of resources such as land or adequate food supplies, population pressure, religious or political persecution, or discriminatory practices aimed at ethnic minorities push people to move. Conversely, opportunities for better employment, the availability of arable land, or better services such as health care and education pull people to move. In the most general sense, migration is caused by differences, and because differences among societies are widening, the potential for migration has increased.

The largest human migrations today are rural-urban flows. During the last half of the twentieth century, these internal migrations led to rapid urbanization in much of the world. Today the most highly urbanized societies are those of western and northern Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and temperate South America and North America. In these societies the proportion of people living in urban areas exceeds 75 percent; in some countries, such as Germany, it exceeds 85 percent. (A more recent phenomenon visible in developed countries is a reverse migration, from the city to the country.) The societies of tropical Latin America are in an intermediate stage of urbanization, with 50 to 65 percent of the population living in cities. In many countries in Africa and Asia, the process of urbanization has just begun. Although most people still reside in rural areas, the rate of urbanization is very high.

Internal Migration



■ A Rio de Janeiro slum.

Urbanization

Urbanization has proved to be a difficult and challenging transformation for rural folk who have chosen or been forced to adjust to a new way of life. In Latin America, Africa, and south Asia, large numbers of people have migrated to metropolitan areas in search of relief from rural poverty. Once in the cities, though, they often find themselves equally destitute. Life is bleak in the slums outside Bombay; in the shantytowns around Kinshasa or Nairobi; and in the *barriadas*, *barrios*, and *villas miserias* of Lima, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires. More than ten million people cram the environs of cities such as Calcutta, Cairo, and Mexico City, straining those cities' resources. The few services originally available to the slum dwellers—potable water, electricity, and medical care—have diminished with the continuous influx of new people. Among the unemployed or underemployed, disease runs rampant, and many suffer from malnutrition.

External Migration

A combination of voluntary and forced international migrations has transformed the human landscape, especially during the past five hundred years. Between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, more than sixty million European migrants, for example, colonized the Americas, Australia, Oceania, and the northern half of Asia. Between 1820 and 1980, in the course of the Atlantic migration, thirty-seven million migrants of European descent made their home in the United States. Slave migrations supplemented those voluntary movements of people. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, slave traders consigned about twelve million Africans to the Americas, though many died in the appalling conditions of the Atlantic voyages.

During World War II the Nazi regime initiated the largest mass expulsions of the twentieth century, deporting eight million people to forced-labor sites and extermi-



Afghan refugees fled to Iran in 1986, joining the ranks of the hundreds of thousands of forced displaced persons in the contemporary world.

nation camps. Following the war, the Soviet regime expelled ten million ethnic Germans from eastern and central Europe and transported them back to Germany. The largest migrations in the second half of the twentieth century have consisted of refugees fleeing war. For example, the 1947 partition of the Indian subcontinent into two independent states resulted in the exchange of six million Hindus from Pakistan and seven million Muslims from India. More recently, three million to four million refugees fled war-torn Afghanistan during the 1980s. According to UN estimates, at the end of 2003 there were some ten million refugees who lived outside their countries of origin and who could not return because of fear of persecution.

Many of these migrants left their home countries because they wanted to escape the ravages of war, but economic inequities between societies have caused most international migration. That is, people leave their country of birth in search of better jobs and more readily available health care, educational opportunities, and other services provided by the new society. Thus most contemporary mass migrations involve movement from developing countries to developed ones. Since 1960 some thirteen million “guest workers” from southern Europe, Turkey, and northern Africa have taken up permanent residence in western Europe, and more than ten million permanent migrants—mostly from Mexico—have entered the United States. Foreigners currently make up more than half the working population in the oil-producing countries of southwest Asia. Approximately 130 million people currently live outside their country of citizenship, collectively constituting a “nation of migrants” equivalent in size to Japan, the world’s eighth most populous nation.

International mass migrations have accelerated and broadened the scope of cross-cultural interaction. After their arrival on foreign shores, migrants established cultural and ethnic communities that maintained their social customs and native languages. The sounds of foreign languages as well as the presence of ethnic foods, arts, and music have transformed especially large cities into multicultural environments. Although the arrival of migrants has enriched societies in many ways, it has also sparked resentment and conflict. People in host countries often believe that foreigners and their ways of life

Migrant Communities

undermine national identity, especially if defined by language and other cultural characteristics. Beyond that, many citizens of host societies view migrants, who are often willing to work for low wages and not join labor unions, as competitors for jobs. When unemployment rates climb, there is a tendency to look for scapegoats, and all too frequently the blame falls on migrants. In many countries, governments have come under pressure to restrict immigration or even expel foreign residents. Moreover, xenophobia, or an unreasonable fear of foreigners, has sometimes produced violence and racial tension, as when skinheads (shaved-head youths) in England assaulted members of ethnic minority groups or when neo-Nazis in Germany bombed the community centers of Turkish workers. Thus, while migrants are reshaping the world outside their home countries, international mass migration poses challenges both to the migrants themselves and to the host society.

Cross-Cultural Travelers

A more recent and transient form of migration is tourism. Although travelers have established cultural links between societies since the beginning of recorded history, travel for a long time took place mainly in connection with military conquest, religious pilgrimage, trade, or diplomacy. If more people did not take to travel, it was because most had little incentive to leave their homes, especially when transport was slow, expensive, and inconvenient. So risky was travel that most people regarded travelers as either very courageous or very foolish.

Mass Tourism

Industrial society gave birth to mass tourism by providing both safer and faster transport and by institutionalizing two modern features of social life—leisure and travel. By the mid-nineteenth century, tourism—travel for recreation or study—had become a growing industry in western Europe and the United States. In England, Thomas Cook (1808–1892) established the first travel agency, bearing his name and offering guided tours first of Europe in the 1850s and subsequently of the United States. For the more independent-minded travelers, his agency arranged travel and hotel accommodations. In Germany, Karl Baedeker (1801–1859) and his son exploited the economic potential of tourism. They established a publishing firm that specialized in travel guides that were popular not only in their original German editions but also in French and English translations.

In the early and mid-1800s, it became fashionable in Europe for the affluent to vacation, often for extended periods, and then later in the century working people began to copy the fashions of the wealthy. Working-class families took to the road during holidays to escape the grimy drudgery of the industrial city and, in the process, created working-class pleasure zones such as seaside resorts in Britain, Coney Island in the United States, or Varna at the Black Sea. People journeyed for pleasure and engaged in activities they normally did not do, such as breathing fresh air, wearing oddly colorful clothes, or taking long walks for no reason at all. By the twentieth century, leisure travel took on added symbolic value when travelers could show off the special clothes required for their journeys, such as ski apparel or bikinis. Others established that they had traveled through changes in their physical appearance, which could include varying degrees of sunburn or a leg encased in plaster. After World War II, companies created the packaged tour, which enabled millions of tourists to swarm across the world. Today middle-class tourists, new age travelers, and ecotourists—often weighted down by duty-free goods—busily crisscross the entire planet in their search for rarely visited sites.

Effects of Mass Tourism

Travel and tourism have become the largest industry on the planet. The industry is sustained by growing personal wealth, which continues to produce more tourists, and

by cheaper and more efficient transport, especially the jet plane. According to World Travel and Tourism Council estimates, the total economic value of goods and services attributable to tourism in 1996 were \$3.6 trillion, or 10.6 percent of the gross global product. The tourism business also provided work for approximately 255 million people. The attraction of an industry that generates wealth and jobs relatively quickly—and often with minimal investment compared with establishing a manufacturing industry, for example—has served as a powerful incentive for both governments and businesses in the developed and the developing worlds to further promote tourism. On the downside, tourism most often creates low-paying jobs, and most of the profits flow to the developed world, where the majority of tourism businesses are located. The travel boom has also sparked concerns connected to the cultural impact of mass tourism. Tourism has acted as a globalizing influence, sometimes initiating dramatic and irreversible changes within the cultural traditions of host communities. Large numbers of visitors have the tendency to transform local cultural traditions into commodities, which are then consumed like any other commodity. Religious rituals, ethnic rites, and festivals are reduced and sanitized to conform to tourist expectations, resulting in a “reconstructed ethnicity.”

The decades following World War II were largely dominated by cold war politics and by nations seeking their independence from colonial rule. Borders created by the bipolar world and European empires dissolved and reshaped the world’s landscape. Another barrier-crushing development that became visible at the end of the century was economic globalization, a process responsible for the unprecedented integration of the global economy. A growing share of the world’s societies embraced market-oriented economies and thus hitched their fortunes to the vagaries of the global marketplace.

Globalization pointed to the new relevance of international organizations and to the increasing irrelevance of national boundaries; it signified the arrival of a world without borders. Technological and cultural developments likewise combined to break down barriers and create a global village that connected diverse peoples. Although many societies resisted cultural influences from Europe and the United States, the prevalence of communications technology and cultural diffusion made interactions and encounters inevitable. Women’s efforts to achieve greater equality with men also collided with cultural traditions; and, although many barriers to women’s liberation remain, others have fallen. The global movement of human populations crisscrossed boundaries, both internal and external, and contributed to global problems that could be solved only through international cooperation. In the borderless world of contemporary times, nothing less is acceptable.

CHRONOLOGY

1947	Establishment of GATT
1948	UN adopts Universal Declaration of Human Rights
1950	World population at 2.5 billion
1960	Introduction of birth control pill
1960	Creation of OPEC
1967	Establishment of ASEAN
1967	Birth of European Community
1970	Founding of Greenpeace
1981	Identification of AIDS
1982	Defeat of Equal Rights amendment in U.S.
1992	Beginning of socialist market economy in China
1993	Establishment of NAFTA
1995	WTO supersedes GATT
2000	World population at 6 billion
2001	China joins WTO
2001	Terrorist attacks against the United States
2003	Operation Iraqi Freedom

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