Chapter 20: Culture and Community in the Global Age Chapter Introduction
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Chapter Introduction

Overarching Questions

1. How have social categories, roles, and practices been maintained and changed over time? (SIO)
2. How and why has globalization changed culture over time? (CDI)
3. How did responses to increasing globalization differ between 1900 and the present? (CDI)
4. How and why has globalization changed international interactions among states? (GOV)

AP® Framework Terms

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

globalization

popular culture

liberation theology

As discussed in the previous chapter, China began an ambitious program of economic reforms at the end of the 1970s. Until then, China, with the world's largest population, was a very poor nation with a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of approximately $309.00 per year (total goods and services produced divided by population). Even poor developing nations like Kenya or Bolivia outperformed the Asian giant. Since the reforms, China has experienced rapid economic growth, becoming one of the few socialist nations to successfully make the transition to a market-based economy. In 2020, China's GDP per capita reached almost $11,000.00 per estimates of the International Monetary Fund.

Despite this remarkable expansion, however, millions of Chinese still live in poverty or communities that have more in common with villages of the late nineteenth century than the

modern metropoles that dot their own nation today. Archaic technology and poverty can exist in close proximity to modernity and affluence, both in China and elsewhere. The contrasts of poverty versus prosperity and traditional society versus globally connected communities can be found across the globe. In an era of astounding technological change and—until the recession of 2008—spreading prosperity, more than a billion of the world's population still live on less than $1.25 a day, participating little—if at all—in the urban cultures where global economic networks generate wealth and prosperity.

In the first decades of the twenty-first century, population growth continues to outstrip economic resources in many of the nations of the developing world. Since the deep recession that began in 2008, politicians as well as social reformers in the wealthy industrialized nations have criticized the effects of high levels of unemployment, family breakdown, substance abuse, and homelessness. At the start of the twenty-first century, as in the Industrial Revolution, an era of relative affluence, increased global economic integration, and rapid technological progress has coincided with problems of social dislocation and mounting inequality.

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20-1 Calls for Reform and Responses After 1900

The last decades of the twentieth century saw expansions of democratic institutions and personal freedom. People in many countries recognized that elections offered a peaceful way to settle differences among a country's social classes, cultural groups, and regions. Although majority votes could swing from one part of the political spectrum to another, democracies tended to encourage political moderation. Moreover, wars between fully democratic states were extremely rare.

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20-1a Universal Rights and Values

Alongside the growing influence of religion on politics, efforts to promote adherence to universal human rights also expanded. The modern human rights movement grew out of secular statements like the French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) and the U.S. Constitution (1788) and Bill of Rights (1791).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (A 1948 United Nations covenant binding signatory nations to the observance of specified rights. (p. 587)) , passed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, culminated this movement by proclaiming itself "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations." Its thirty articles condemned slavery, torture, cruel and inhuman punishment, and arbitrary arrest, detention, and exile. The Declaration called for freedom of movement, assembly, and thought. It asserted rights to life, liberty, and security of person; to impartial public trials; and to education, employment, and leisure. The principle of equality was most fully articulated in Article 2:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, or political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

This passage reflected an international consensus against racism and imperialism and a growing acceptance of the importance of social and economic equality. Most newly independent countries joining the United Nations willingly signed the Declaration because it implicitly condemned Europe's colonial past. The Declaration's principles, however, have too often suffered from neglect under authoritarian regimes.

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20-1b States of Democracy

Rights-based discourses that challenged old assumptions about race, class, gender, and religion have flourished best in nations that have embraced democracy, access to education, political participation, and inclusivity in the professions. The global shift in granting the right to vote to women over the course of the twentieth century—seen in the United States (1920), Brazil (1932), Turkey (1934), Japan (1945), India (1947), and Morocco (1963)—illustrates this trend, as does the steady rise of female literacy and the increasing number of women in higher education in most parts of the world. These were the nations that permitted and fostered the emergence of protest movements highlighting the inequality of global integration and its environmental and economic consequences. However, the state of democracies around the world in the past half century has been mixed.

The nations of eastern Europe embraced democracy after the fall of the Soviet Union, though some newly democratic states became subject to great mood swings among the electorate. The shift to private ownership of businesses after decades of rigid state control brought riches to a select few, and the removal of trade barriers characteristic of Cold War rivalry opened up new markets and fostered investment from the West.

After 2008, however, rising unemployment and falling exports and stock prices threatened these experiments in free elections and free markets. In Russia, the popular but somewhat authoritarian leader Vladimir Putin followed his country's constitution by stepping down in 2008 after two terms as president. However, he engineered the election of his protégé Dimitri Medvedev as his successor and assumed the office of prime minister himself. This move led some political thinkers to fear a possible return to Soviet-era Russian domination, as did Russia's sudden seizure of the Crimea, a part of Ukraine, in 2014. The mutual admiration between Putin and Trump that became apparent in 2016 made American–Russian relations hard to predict.

Asian democracies proved somewhat more stable. Beginning with free parliamentary elections in 1999, the populous state of Indonesia moved from years of authoritarian and corrupt rule toward more open political institutions. The following years saw a violent independence movement of the Acheh (ah-CHEH) district of northern Sumatra, the secession in 2002 of East Timor after years of brutal Indonesian military occupation, terrorist bombings on the island of Bali in 2004, and a devastating earthquake and tsunami in the same year. But democratic elections were regularly held. The losing candidates left office peacefully, and the populace at large accepted the results.

Myanmar (formerly Burma), where stifling military governments had held sway since 1962,

experienced a rapid move toward democracy after free elections were held in 2010. The following year the military junta was dissolved, and the formerly banned opposition party led by female Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi (owng-SAHN-soo-chi) gained a significant role in parliament.

> AP® Exam Tip
>
> Understand the spread of democratic institutions following World War II.

In India a major political shift seemed to be at hand in 1998 when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) secured an electoral victory after four decades of Congress Party rule. The success of the BJP came through blatant appeals to Hindu nationalism, the condoning of violence against India's Muslims, and opposition to the social and economic progress of the Untouchables (those traditionally confined to the dirtiest jobs). In 2004 the Congress Party returned to power and governmental stability proved strong even in the face of sensational terrorist attacks in Mumbai by Pakistani gunmen in 2008. When the BJP returned to power in 2014, the new Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, committed himself to economic expansion rather than resuming his party's Hindu extremism.

Democracy in Pakistan proved uncertain. President and former military commander Pervez Musharraf's (pair-VEZ moo-SHAH-ref) abrupt firing of the country's chief justice, combined with his unpopular support of the Bush administration's war policies, sparked protests and calls for impeachment. He resigned the presidency in 2008. Asif Ali Zardari (AH-sef AH-lee zar- DAH-ree), who succeeded him, had inherited the leadership of the majority Pakistan People's Party after the assassination the year before of his charismatic wife Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of a popular earlier prime minister. Zardari faced difficulties forming a strong government because of the growing movement of the Pakistani Taliban to impose their own governance and a rigid Muslim behavioral code in outlying districts, as well as popular opposition to American antiterrorist attacks launched from Afghanistan.

In Turkey, an abortive military coup in 2016 bolstered the popularity of the president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan (REH-jep TIE-yip ER-do-wan). Claiming that a Muslim religious movement that he had been close to for most of his political career had engineered the coup, Erdogan imprisoned some 40,000 suspected plotters; fired 100,000 movement members from police force, government, and educational positions; arrested parliament members representing a Kurdish party; and pushed through a constitutional change to increase his presidential powers. These authoritarian actions alarmed many of Turkey's allies but brought Erdogan closer to Putin in neighboring Russia.

Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced political instability, military coups, civil wars, and conflicts over resources since independence. It has also remained among the poorest regions in the world. Southern Africa, however, has seen democratic progress and a steady decline in armed conflicts since 1991. A key change came in South Africa in 1994, when long-time political prisoner Nelson Mandela and his African National Congress (ANC) won

the first national elections in which the African majority could participate equally. Also hopeful has been the return to democracy of Nigeria, Africa's most populous state, after decades of military rulers. In 1999, after a succession of military governments, Nigerians elected President Olusegun Obasanjo (oh-LOO-she-gun oh-BAH-san-jo) (a former coup leader), and a 2003 vote gave him a second term, despite serious voting irregularities. Similarly, in 2002 Kenyans voted out the Kenya African National Union Party that had held power for thirty-nine years. Also in 1999, Nelson Mandela left office and was succeeded by the deputy president and ANC leader Thabo Mbeki (TAA-boh um-BEH-kee). Mbeki stepped down in 2008 amidst turmoil in the leadership of the ANC. But the democratic system did not seem threatened, even when his successor Jacob Zuma was charged with corruption.

Chronology

	Politics	Economics and Society
2000	2000 al-Qaeda attacks American destroyer USS Cole in Yemen	
2001	2001 George W. Bush becomes president of the United States 2001 Terrorists destroy the World Trade Center and damage the Pentagon on September 11 2001 United States armed forces overthrow Taliban regime in Afghanistan	2001–2003 Terrorist attacks trigger global recession 2001 Shanghai Cooperation Organization formed
2002		2002 Euro currency adopted in twelve European countries
2003	2003 Unfounded fears of weapons of mass destruction lead United States and Britain to invade and occupy Iraq	
2004	2004 Terrorists bomb Spanish trains 2004–2009 Genocidal conflict ongoing in Darfur region of Sudan	2004 Ten new members admitted to European Union

	Politics	Economics and Society
2005	2005 Terrorists bomb London transit system 2005 Mahmoud Ahmedinejad elected president of Iran	
2006	2006 Iraqis elect a government under a new constitution 2006 Hamas movement defeats PLO in Palestinian election 2006 Israel attacks Hezbollah in Lebanon in response to its seizure of Israeli soldiers	
2007	2007 Assassination of Benazir Bhutto deepens political crisis in Pakistan	
2008	2008 Barack Obama elected president of the United States	2008 Collapse of mortgage debt bubble in United States triggers global recession
2012	2012 Barack Obama re-elected president of the United States	
2013	2013 Argentinian becomes Pope Francis I	
2014	2014 Russia seizes Crimea	
2016	2016 Donald Trump elected president of the United States	2016 British vote to leave EU
	2016 Abortive coup in Turkey	
2020	2020 Joseph Biden elected president of the United States	

Elsewhere some elected leaders, such as Robert Mugabe (moo-GAH-bay) in Zimbabwe, used violence and intimidation to hold on to power, and other states, such as Congo, were plagued with internal revolts and civil wars. Liberians emerged from fourteen years of civil war in 2003 and two years later chose Nobel Peace Prize winner Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf (SUHRleef) to be Africa's first elected female head of state.

In Sudan, the general who had led a military coup in 1989, Omar al-Bashir, became the first sitting head of state to be charged with genocide and crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court in 2009. A festering conflict in Darfur in western Sudan, which had cost hundreds of thousands of lives and displaced over 2 million people, was at the heart of the charges. However, a long rebellion in the south finally came to an end in 2011 with the creation of a new country with a democratic constitution, the Republic of South Sudan. Unfortunately, civil unrest resumed in the new state almost as soon as it came into being.

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20-1c Women's Rights

> AP® Exam Tip
>
> Explain gender dynamics in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

The women's rights movement, which began on both sides of the North Atlantic in the nineteenth century, became an important human rights issue in the twentieth century. Rights for women became accepted in Western countries and were enshrined in the constitutions of many nations newly freed from colonial rule. In 1979 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and in 1985 the first international conference on the status of women, sponsored by the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, was held in Nairobi, Kenya. A second conference in Beijing ten years later added momentum to the movement. By 2012, all but seven UN member countries—Iran, Palau, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Tonga, and the United States—had failed to ratify the convention, though the United States and Palau had signed it without ratification. Besides highlighting the problems women face around the world, international conferences have also revealed great variety in the views and concerns of women. Feminists from the West, who had been accustomed to dictating the agenda and who had pushed for the liberation of women in other parts of the world, sometimes found themselves accused of having narrow concerns and condescending attitudes. Some non-Western women warned against Western feminists' endorsement of sexual liberation and the deterioration of family life in the West. They found Western feminists' concern with matters such as comfortable clothing misplaced and trivial compared to the issues of poverty and disease.

> Section Review
>
> - Universal standards of human rights have gained wider acceptance.
> - Concepts of human rights have expanded to address genocide and environmental protection.
> - There has been a general worldwide trend toward democracy, especially in Asian countries.
> - Global debates on women's rights have addressed a variety of economic, political, and social problems but have also involved clashes over cultural values.

Other cultures came in for their share of criticism. Western women and many secular leaders in Muslim countries protested Islam's requirement that a woman cover her head and wear loose-fitting garments to conceal the shape of her body, practices enforced by law in countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, many outspoken Muslim women voluntarily donned concealing garments as expressions of personal belief, resistance to secular dictatorship, or defense against coarse male behavior.

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20-2 Globalized Culture After 1900

Because of changes in electronic technology, today political and economic events have almost instantaneous impact in all parts of the world. A global language, a global educational system, and global forms of artistic expression have all come into being. Trade, travel, and migration have made a common popular culture unavoidable.

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Chapter 20: Culture and Community in the Global Age: 20-2a The Media and the Message
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20-2a The Media and the Message

The fact that the most pervasive elements of global culture have their origins in the West raised concerns in many quarters about cultural imperialism (Domination of one culture over another by a deliberate policy or by economic or technological superiority. (p. 590)) . Critics complained that entertainment conglomerates were flooding the world's movie theaters and television screens with Western images and that goods catering to Western tastes but manufactured in countries with low labor costs, like Bangladesh and Indonesia, were flooding world markets. In this view, global marketing seemed especially insidious in trying to shape a world with a single Western outlook based on capitalist ideology, and at the same time suppressing or devaluing traditional cultures and alternative ideologies. As the leader of the capitalist world, the United States was seen as the primary culprit.

The pace of cultural globalization began to quicken during the economic recovery after World War II. The Hollywood films and American jazz recordings that had become popular in Europe and parts of Asia continued to spread. But the birth of electronic technology opened contacts with large numbers of people who did not have access to movie theaters or phonographs.

The first step was the development of cheap transistor radios that could run on a couple of small batteries. Perfected by American scientists at Bell Telephone Laboratories in 1948, solid-state electronic transistors replaced power-hungry and less reliable electron tubes in radios and other devices. Tube radios, which in some countries required a license to own, had spread worldwide in the decades before the war, but small transistor radios reached parts of the world where homes lacked electricity.

Television, made possible by the electron-scanning gun invented in 1928, became widely available to Western consumers in the 1950s. In poorer parts of the world, TVs were not common until the 1980s and 1990s, after mass production and cheap transistors made sets more affordable. Outside the United States, television broadcasting was usually a government monopoly at first, following the pattern of telegraph and postal service and radio broadcasting. Governments expected news reports and other programming to disseminate a unified national viewpoint.

However, government monopolies eroded as the high cost of television production and the invention of video recording opened up global markets for rebroadcasts of American soap operas, adventure series, and situation

AP® Exam Tip

Identify and explain several examples of globalized popular and consumer culture.

comedies. By the 1990s a global network of satellites brought privately owned television broadcasting to even remote areas of the world, and the VCR (videocassette recorder) provided an even greater variety of programs. In the following decade DVD players continued the trend. As a result of wider circulation of programming, people often became familiar with different dialects of English and other languages. People in Portugal who in the 1960s had found it difficult to understand Brazilian Portuguese became avid fans of Brazilian soap operas. And immigrants from Albania and North Africa often arrived in Italy with a command of Italian learned from Italian stations whose signals they could pick up at home.

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20-2b Global Communication

CNN (Cable News Network) expanded its international market after becoming the most-viewed and informative news source during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when it broadcast the coalition aerial assault on Baghdad live. Other 24-hour news broadcasters followed this lead. Some offered fundamentally American viewpoints. Others were independent. Al-Jazeera, based in the Persian Gulf emirate of Qatar, broadcast statements by Osama bin Laden from 2001 onward and offered video footage and interpretation that differed greatly from American coverage of the war in Iraq. Yet during the Arab Spring it gained a reputation for vivid and generally reliable coverage of news events in the Muslim world.

The internet, a linkage of academic, government, and business computers developed by the U.S. Department of Defense in the 1960s, began to transform world culture in the early years of the twenty-first century. Personal computers proliferated in the 1980s, and with the introduction of the easy-to-use graphic interface of the World Wide Web in 1994, the number of internet users skyrocketed. Myriad new companies formed to exploit "e-commerce," the commercial dimension of the internet, and students were soon spending less time studying conventional books and more exploring the Web for information and entertainment. Blogs, or weblogs, offered a vehicle for anyone in the world to place his or her opinions, experiences, and creative efforts before anyone with access to a computer. E-commerce websites such as Amazon, eBay, or Alibaba became dominant players in the worldwide retail industry, heralding the decline of main-street and mall shopping. Easy access to the internet took a step forward with the establishment of "social media" sites like Facebook (2004) and Twitter (2006). Social media played a key role in mustering the massive popular demonstrations of the Arab Spring, and Donald J. Trump used Twitter as his preferred channel of mass communication during the presidential campaign of 2016.

As had happened so often throughout history, technological developments had unanticipated consequences. Although the new telecommunications and entertainment technologies derived disproportionately from American invention, industry, and cultural creativity, Japan and other East Asian nations took the lead in manufacturing and refining consumer electronic devices. Cellular mobile phones became increasingly used for taking and transmitting pictures and connecting to the internet. Non-Western countries that had adopted telephones late and had limited networks of copper wire benefited most from the improved communication. In 2012 the United States ranked 114th in per capita cellular phone use, sandwiched between the Congo Republic and the Dominican Republic. Qatar topped the list as the country with the highest per capita use.

Japanese Comic Books

After World War II comic magazines emerged as a major form of publication and a distinctive product of culture in Japan. Different series are directed to different age and gender groups. Issued weekly and running to some three hundred pages in black and white, the most popular magazines sell as many copies as do major newsmagazines in the United States.

Eye Ubiquitous/Photoshot

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20-2c The Spread of Popular Culture

For most of history, popular culture consisted of folktales and localized styles of dress, cooking, music, and visual expression (see Issues in World History: Popular Culture—Words of Warning). Only the literate few had full access to the riches of a broader "great tradition," such as Confucianism, Islam, or Buddhism. In modern times, government school systems increased literacy rates but also promoted specifically national values and cultural tastes. Prescribed languages of instruction eroded the use and memory of local languages and traditions. In their place there arose global popular culture (Popular cultural practices and institutions that have been adopted internationally, such as music, the internet, television, food, and fashion. (p. 592)) .

Initially, the content was heavily American. Singer Michael Jackson was almost as well known to the youth of Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania) and Bangkok (Thailand) as to American fans. Businesses sought out worldwide celebrities like basketball star Michael Jordan and championship golfer Tiger Woods to endorse their products. American television programs, following in the footsteps of American movies, acquired immense followings and inspired local imitations.

But the United States had no monopoly on global popular culture. Latin American soap operas, telenovelas, had a vast following in the Americas, eastern Europe, and elsewhere. Mumbai, India, long the world's largest producer of films, made or inspired more films for international audiences, like the 2009 Academy Award–winning Slumdog Millionaire. And the martial arts filmmakers of Hong Kong saw their style flourish in high-budget international spectaculars like director Ang Lee's Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon (2000) and the Matrix trilogy (1999–2003), which relied heavily on Hong Kong fight choreographers.

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20-2d Athletics

Organized baseball leagues arose in America after the Civil War. Football found favor as a college sport around the same time, while basketball originated in 1891 as a YMCA activity. In Britain soccer (football) and rugby leagues formed in the 1880s. All of these sports flourished as spectator activities in the early twentieth century and gave rise to lively press coverage in newspapers. Soccer and rugby, along with the much older sport of cricket, spread readily into Europe's colonies, while baseball found limited favor overseas, primarily in Japan, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic.

Internationally, the upsurge in the role of sports and spectating was closely tied to the revival of the Olympic Games. The ancient Greek games had been discontinued in 393 CE. The inspiration to create a modern form came from Baron Pierre de Coubertin (Founder of the modern Olympic movement, which held its first games in Athens in 1896. (p. 592)) (1863–1937), a French educator who was impressed by the sports played at English private schools like Eton and Rugby. He concluded that "organized sport can create moral and social strength." Coubertin's aristocratic vision of purely amateur international competition came to fruition in Athens in 1896 when fourteen countries, all of them European except Australia and Chile, sent athletes to compete in nonteam sports like tennis, fencing, shooting, cycling, and gymnastics. Women were not included, nor did Coubertin's vision of medals being given for sports-themed art and architecture survive past 1948. The male-only rule was dropped starting with the Paris Olympics of 1900, where women competed in tennis and golf. The role of women increased steadily after that.

Individual excellence was the touchstone of Olympic competition, but nationalistic pride increasingly marked the quadrennial events. The Berlin Olympics of 1936 thus became a showcase for Nazi ideology and spectacle. Sports entertainment since World War II has generally tried to maintain a balance between occasions for national pride, as is apparent in the singing of the national anthem prior to American baseball games, and celebrations of international relations, as seen in soccer World Cups, tennis championships, or the Olympics. Even still, sports have not avoided political controversy, as the black power protests of African American athletes during the Olympic Games in Mexico City showed in 1968. Similarly, American football quarterback Colin Kaepernick's decision to kneel during the national anthem in 2016, as a quiet protest against police violence toward African Americans, sparked criticism but also support and a worldwide following.

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Chapter 20: Culture and Community in the Global Age: 20-2e Emerging Global Elite Culture
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20-2e Emerging Global Elite Culture

While the globalization of popular culture has been criticized, cultural links across national and ethnic boundaries at a more elite level have generated little controversy. The end of the Cold War reopened intellectual and cultural contacts between former adversaries, making possible such things as Russian–American collaboration on space missions and extensive business contacts among former rivals. The English language, modern science, and higher education became the key elements of this global elite culture (At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the attitudes and outlook of well-educated, prosperous, Westernoriented people around the world, largely expressed in European languages, especially English. (p. 593)) .

The emergence of English as the first global language began with the British Empire's introduction of the language to far-flung colonies. After achieving independence in the wake of World War II, most former colonies chose to continue using English as an official language because it provided national unity and a link to the outside world that local languages could not. Countries that chose instead to make a local language official often found the decision counterproductive. Indian nationalists had pushed for Hindi to be India's official language, but they found that students taught in Hindi were unable to compete internationally because of poor knowledge of English. Sri Lanka, which had made Sinhala its official language in 1956, reversed itself after local reporters revealed in 1989 that prominent officials were sending their children to private schools that taught in English.

While similar postcolonial language developments extended the reach of French and Spanish, the use of English as a second language was greatly stimulated by the importance of the United States in world affairs. After the collapse of Soviet domination, students in eastern Europe flocked to study English instead of Russian. Ninety percent of students in Cambodia (a former French colony) chose to study English, even though a Canadian agency offered a sizable cash bonus if they would study French. In the 1990s China made the study of English as a second language nearly universal from junior high school onward.

English has become the language of choice for most international academic conferences, business meetings, and diplomatic gatherings. International organizations that provide equal status to many languages, such as the United Nations and the European Union, often conduct informal committee meetings in English. In cities throughout the world, including in officially anti-American Iran, signs are commonly posted in the local language and in English. Writers from Africa and India have received high honors for novels written in English, as have Arab and Caribbean authors for works written in French. Nevertheless, world literature remains highly diverse in form and language.

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20-2f Global Science and University Education

AP® Exam Tip

Compare reactions to Westernization in the previous time period to reactions in this time period.

By contrast, science and technology have become standardized components of global culture. Though imperialism helped spread the Western disciplines of biology, chemistry, and physics around the world, their importance expanded even further after decolonization as students from newly independent nations sought to compete at an international level. Standardization of scientific terms, weights and measures, computer codes, industrial practices, and even wordless instruction icons underlay the worldwide expansion of commerce.

The third pillar of global elite culture, along with science and globalized languages, is the university. The structure and curricula of modern universities are nearly indistinguishable around the world, making student experiences similar across national boundaries. Instruction in the pure sciences varies little from place to place. Some doctoral science programs in American universities now enroll mostly students from non-Western countries. Standardization is nearly as common in applied sciences such as engineering and medicine and only slightly less so in the social sciences. Although the humanities preserve greater diversity in subject matter and approach, professors and students around the world pay attention to the latest literary theories and topics of historical interest and look to a future of computerized analysis of massive online databases.

New universities, many of them privately funded, have mushroomed in many parts of the world as young people increasingly strive for learning that will improve their employment opportunities. Some American universities have contributed to this educational expansion by opening branches or research centers in foreign countries.

While university subjects are taught in many languages, instruction in English is spreading rapidly. Because discoveries are often first published in English, advanced students in science, business, and international relations need to know that language to keep up with the latest developments. Many courses in northern European countries have long been offered in English, and elsewhere in Europe courses taught in English have facilitated the EU's efforts to encourage students to study outside their home countries.

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20-2g Enduring Cultural Diversity

AP® Exam Tip

Understand the importance of the expansion of education in this time period.

Although protesters regularly denounce the "Americanization" of the world, a closer look suggests that cultural globalization is more complex. Just as English has spread widely as a second language, so global culture is primarily a second culture that dominates some contexts but does not displace other traditions. From this perspective, American music, fast food, and fashions are more likely to add to a society's options than to displace local culture.

Japan was first to demonstrate that a country with a non-Western culture could industrialize effectively. Individuality was less valued in Japan than the ability of each person to fit into a group, whether as an employee, a member of an athletic team, or a student in a class. Moreover, the Japanese considered it unmannerly to directly contradict, correct, or refuse the request of another person. From a Western point of view, these Japanese customs seemed to discourage individual initiative and personality development and to preserve traditional hierarchies. Japanese women, for example, even though they often worked outside the home, responded only slowly to the American and European feminist advocacy of equality in economic and social relations. However, the Japanese approach to social relations was well suited to an industrial economy. The efficiency, pride in workmanship, and group solidarity of Japanese workers played a major role in transforming Japan from a defeated nation with a demolished industrial base in 1945 to an economic power by the 1980s, but proved less well adapted to the severe economic slowdown that began in the 1990s.

As awareness of the economic impact of Japanese culture and society began to spread, it became apparent that Taiwan and South Korea, along with Singapore and Hong Kong (a British colony before being reunited with China in 1997), were developing dynamic industrial economies of their own. Today India and the People's Republic of China are following the same path without forsaking their national tastes and heritages.

Section Review

- The global pervasiveness of Western culture has provoked charges of U.S. cultural imperialism.

- Technology such as radio, television, and the internet has played a major role in the spread of Western culture since World War II.
- Technology has also contributed to the emergence of a global popular culture that blends a variety of cultural elements from different countries.
- A global elite culture has also developed combining the English language, science, and higher education.
- Despite globalizing forces, cultural diversity remains strong, if not completely secure.

This does not mean that the world's cultural diversity is secure. Every decade a number of minority languages cease to be spoken. Televised national ceremonies or performances for tourists may prevent folk customs and costumes from dying out, but they also tend to devitalize rituals that once had many local variations. While a century ago it was possible to recognize the nationality of people from their clothing and grooming, today most urban men dress the same the world over, although women's clothing shows greater variety. As much as one may regret the disappearance or commercialization of some folkways, most anthropologists would agree that change is characteristic of all healthy cultures. What doesn't change risks extinction.

Environment & Technology

Connected

The period since World War II witnessed wave after wave of technological innovations. None has had greater impact on the way people work, learn, and live than the computer. Until the 1970s most computing was done on large and expensive mainframe computers. These massive computers were primarily used for data storage and analysis, and the government agencies, universities, and large corporations that owned them controlled access.

Today most computers are in private hands, and most are devoted to communication and information searches and to personal entertainment, a transformation symbolized when the market value of the search engine Google surpassed that of IBM, the key developer of mainframe and PC computing. Before the 1970s few anticipated the technological innovations that revolutionized the computer industry through miniaturization during the last three decades. The key development leading to smaller and cheaper computers was the microprocessor, a silicon chip that contained the computer's brains. Today digital "smart" technologies made possible by this constantly evolving innovation help us manage kitchen appliances, automobiles, fitness routines, personal calendars, household lighting

and heating, and a host of other daily activities.

Initially developed to facilitate American defense research in the 1960s, the internet was the second key to the revolution in communication and publication. It allowed smaller, faster computers and now tablets and smartphones to become research, information, and entertainment portals that could access vast international databases of research, opinion, entertainment, and commerce. Small personal computers and related devices and the World Wide Web have had a revolutionary impact on modern culture, allowing individuals and groups—without the support of governments, corporations, or other powerful institutions—to collect and disseminate information more freely than at any time in the past (see Chapter 19). The disruptive potential of this new forum was indicated in February 2010 when WikiLeaks published more than 250,000 classified U.S. government cables on the Web. Many of the most embarrassing documents were then published by traditional print media. The rise of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, also known as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) has also depended in part on the potency of the Web as a political platform and recruitment tool. Donald J. Trump's dependence on Twitter posts in the 2016 presidential campaign is another indication of this technology's political potential.

In the last decade new technologies have permitted the integration of previously distinct devices and technologies. As a result, software and hardware providers now routinely blend the functions and uses of small laptop computers, cellular phones, and MP3 players to provide new business and professional applications and entertainment. Hand-held "convergence devices" evolving from the cellular telephone allow users to make phone calls, send email, search the internet, read books, play music and videos, find directions, and store digital texts. No corporation has played a more central role in this stage of the computer revolution than Apple, a computer company that has become a major innovator in the smartphone and tablet market. It is now the most valuable corporation in the world. Worth noting is the fact that other representatives of new technology—Google's parent company Alphabet, Microsoft, Facebook, and Amazon—are also at the pinnacle of international corporate wealth and power.

One result of these technological revolutions is the appearance of plugged-in, self-identifying communities in venues like blogs, social media, and chat rooms that transcend or supplement older forms of community based on ethnic, regional, or economic identities. At the same time these innovations have undermined traditional expectations of privacy as corporations and governments routinely follow online activity, dropping targeted advertisements into our online searches and routinely following our physical movements.

The Connected Crowd

On the floor of this crowded dance club patrons record the entertainment as

well as their own participation on smartphones, transmitting the event simultaneously to friends across the city, nation, and even internationally via Facebook, Instagram, and other social media services.

hurricanehank/Shutterstock.com

Three Gorges Dam on China's Yangzi River

The world's largest hydroelectric facility, completed in 2012, the dam is also designed to improve river shipping and reduce the danger of flooding. However, 1.3 million people were displaced in its construction and many archaeological sites inundated.

China/Alamy Stock Photo

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20-3 Resistance to Globalization After 1900

The turn of the millennium saw the intensification of globalization (The economic, political, and cultural integration and interaction of all parts of the world brought about by increasing trade, travel, and technology. (p. 596)) trends that had been building since the 1970s. These came together in a loose economic pattern known as neoliberalism (see Chapter 19). Accelerating trade and travel and new information technologies brought all parts of the world into closer economic, political, and cultural integration and interaction (see Map 20.1 and Map 20.3). The collapse of the Soviet Union completed the dissolution of territorial empires that had been under way throughout the twentieth century. As colonies disappeared, autonomous national states (numbering about two hundred) became the norm, and a growing number of them embraced democratic institutions and reduced government controls on private businesses. Selling off government-owned enterprises to private ownership enriched a new class of extremely wealthy transnational investors and managers. The sunny future that seemed in store for democracy and free enterprise exploded in 2008, however, when a massive accumulation of debt in American financial institutions became unsustainable and plunged the world into financial crisis.

Map 20.1

Global Distribution of Wealth

Early industrialization and efficient investment contributed to individual prosperity for the citizens of Japan and Western countries by the 1990s. However, economic dynamism in late-industrializing countries like China and India began to change the world balance of economic power in the early twenty-first century. In nearly all countries the distribution of wealth among individuals varies tremendously, with the gap between rich and poor generally increasing.

A color coded world map shows the shapes of countries designed out of small squares. A note mentions that each square equals G D P of 30 billion dollars in 2015. The map shows names of some countries and for some countries, the map shows their name and their G D P. A note reads, the top fifty countries are named; the G D P of the top twelve is given below the country name. Countries with G D P lower than 15 billion dollars are not shown. G D P rounded to nearest 30 billion dollars. The color coding is based on the per capita income. The countries and their G D P in billions of dollars, where the figures are provided, based on the per capita income in dollars are as follows. Over 40,000: United States, 18,037; Canada, 1,551; United Kingdom, 2,858; Germany, 3,363; Australia, 1,339; Ireland; Norway; Sweden; Denmark; Netherlands; Belgium; Switzerland; Austria;

Finland; United Arab Emirates; Hong Kong; and Singapore. Between 20,000 and 39,999: France, 2,419; Italy, 1,821; South Korea, 1,378; Japan, 4,383; Spain; Israel; and Saudi Arabia. Between 10,000 and 19,999: Chile, Argentina; Portugal; Poland; Czech Republic; Greece; and Kazakhstan. Between 5,000 and 9,999: Brazil, 1,775; China, 11,008; Mexico; Colombia; South Africa; Russia; Turkey; Thailand; and Malaysia. Between 2,000 and 4,999: Egypt; Nigeria; Indonesia; and Philippines. Under 2,000: India, 2,095; Pakistan; and Bangladesh.

Is per capita a good measure of wealth in countries where there is a deep chasm between the wealth of the elite and the incomes of ordinary people?

Map 20.2

World Religions

The distribution of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam reflects centuries of missionary efforts. Hinduism and Judaism have expanded primarily through trade and migration. Chinese governments have actively curtailed religious practice. As religion revives as a source of social identity or a rationale for political assertion or mass mobilization, the possibility of religious activism across broad geographic regions becomes greater, as does the likelihood of domestic discord in multireligious states.

A world map shows the spread of religions in the various regions. It also shows the percentage of minorities in those regions. The world region, the religion to which most of the population are adherents, and the percentage of the religious minorities in those regions are as follows. North America: Christians; 24 percent are unaffiliated. West Indies: Christians; 23 percent are unaffiliated. South America: Christians; 41 percent are unaffiliated. South and Central Africa: Christians, Northern Africa: Muslims, Southern coastal parts of Africa: Christians. 21 percent in Botswana are unaffiliated, 35 percent in Tanzania has Muslims, 35 percent in Ethiopia are Muslims, 33 percent in South Sudan are unaffiliated, 41 percent in Chad are Christians, 49 percent in Nigeria are Christians and 49 percent are Muslims, 24 percent in Benin are Muslims, 44 percent in Togo are Christians and 36 percent are fold religionists, 23 percent in Burkina Faso are Christians, 38 percent in Cote D'Ivoire are Muslims and 44 percent are Christians, 21 percent in Sierra Leone are Christians, 45 percent in Gambia are Muslims and 31 percent are folk religionists. Europe and Russia have Christians. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, 45 percent are Muslims and in Cyprus, 25 percent are Muslims. Central Asia and the Middle East region have Muslims as the majority population. In Lebanon, 38 percent are Christians and in Kazakhstan, 25 percent are Christians. India and Nepal have Hindus as the majority population. Bhutan has Buddhists in majority while 23 percent are Hindus. The majority in China are unaffiliated while 22 percent are folk religionists. The majority in Mongolia are

Source: Data from Pew Research Center, The Global Religious Landscape, ©2012, www.pewforum.org/global-religious-landscape.aspx

How important are differences between Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant in Christianity, and between Sunni and Shi'ite in Islam?

Map 20.3
Regional Trade Associations, 2004

International trade and development are major concerns of governments in developed and developing countries. NAFTA, Mercosur, and the EU are free-trade areas. The other associations promote trade and development.

A color coded map of the world shows the various regional trade associations as of 2004. NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement): Canada, Mexico, and United States. MERCOSUR (Mercado Comun del Cono Sur): Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay (suspended in 2012), Uruguay, and Venezuela. APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum): Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, United States, and Vietnam. E U (European Union): Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and United Kingdom. ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States): Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. PAFTA (Pan-Arab Free Trade Area): Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestinian Authority, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. S A D C (Southern African Development Community): Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Agreement): Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. S C O (Shanghai Cooperative Organization): China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Observers of S C O: Afghanistan, India, Iran, Mongolia, and Pakistan.

Do regional trade agreements signal increasing globalization or simply formalize linguistic and cultural connections with roots in earlier centuries?

People around the world tried to make sense of the increasing violence perpetrated by nonstate organizations like al-Qaeda in terms of their own value systems. With 7 billion people, the world was big enough to include many different approaches, whether religious or secular, local or international, traditional or visionary. Islam stood out, however, as the label most often attached to frightening acts of violence.

20-3a Faith and Politics

Religious beliefs had increasingly inspired political actions during the last third of the twentieth century, and the trend intensified in the new century (see Map 20.2). Though for Americans this change reversed a widespread assumption that religion was destined to diminish in importance as global forces brought countries closer and closer together, Western analysts disagreed on the causes of the religious revival.

The birth of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the revolution of 1979 made visible a current of Muslim political assertiveness that had been building for twenty years in several Muslim Countries (see Diversity & Dominance: Conflict and Civilization). But by the year 2000 acts of terrorism (Political belief that extreme and seemingly random violence will destabilize a government and permit the terrorists to gain political advantage. Though an old technique, terrorism gained prominence in the late twentieth century with the growth of worldwide mass media that, through their news coverage, amplified public fears of terrorist acts. (p. 597)) perpetrated by non-Iranian Muslim groups claiming to be acting for religious reasons were capturing the headlines.

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20-3b Terrorism

Terrorism is a political tactic by which comparatively weak militants use grotesquely inhumane and lethal acts to convince a frightened public that danger is everywhere and their government is incapable of protecting them. Although terrorism has a long history, the instantaneous media links made possible by satellite communications, and the journalistic tradition treating violence as headline news, increased its effectiveness from the 1980s onward.

Bombings, kidnappings, and assassinations made political sense to all sorts of political groups: secular Palestinians confronting Israel; national separatists like the Tamils in Sri Lanka, Basques in Spain, and Chechens in Russia; and Catholic and Protestant extremists in Northern Ireland, to name a few. But Muslim groups gained the lion's share of attention when they targeted the United States and Europe, recruited from Muslim populations all over the world, and made effective use of news coverage and audiovisual communications.

> AP® Exam Tip
>
> Explain how some movements (such as al-Qaeda) used violence against civilians to achieve political aims.

The political rationale put forward by al-Qaeda, based in Afghanistan, justified jihad, or holy war, as a defensive struggle against the United States and the former colonial powers in Europe, the "far enemy," which were seen as essential supports for Muslim monarchies, like Saudi Arabia, and military regimes, like Egypt and Syria, that oppressed their own citizens. If these outsiders were forced to withdraw from the Muslim world, therefore, the oppressive regimes would collapse. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 seemed to support this theory. Between 1989 and 2001, when the United States attacked that country in reaction to 9/11, the Afghans sought to govern their own affairs. These efforts led to the rise of an oppressive religious regime known as the Taliban, but the violence of Taliban rule, under whose protective umbrella al-Qaeda took shape, was little worse than that under the earlier Soviet occupation or later American control.

Al-Qaeda's media star and ideological spokesman was Osama bin Laden (Saudi-born Muslim extremist who funded the al-Qaeda organization that was responsible for several terrorist attacks, including those on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001. (p. 599)) . Born into a wealthy Saudi family and educated as an engineer, bin Laden fought against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and there recruited and trained a core group of al-Qaeda fighters. Al-Qaeda blew up American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, crippled the U.S. Navy destroyer Cole during a port call in Yemen in 2000, and then capped

everything by the attacks of 9/11. When the “global war on terrorism” declared by President Bush failed to eliminate bin Laden, his mystique grew. Further terrorist attacks—by Indonesians on tourists on the island of Bali in 2002, by North Africans on commuter trains servicing Madrid in 2004, by English-born Muslims on the London transit system in 2005, and by Pakistanis on luxury hotels in Mumbai, India, in 2008—made it clear that the current of violence unleashed by al-Qaeda had become decentralized and that recruits and cells might no longer be taking orders exclusively from bin Laden. Even after an American commando operation killed bin Laden in his hideout in Pakistan in 2011, affiliates like al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and Boko Haram continued to operate in Yemen, North Africa (the Maghreb), and West Africa, respectively.

In 2013 an offshoot of al-Qaeda known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) proclaimed independence from al-Qaeda and announced that a shadowy figure named Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi would henceforth be the Caliph (absolute religious ruler) of an Islamic State that would seek the allegiance of Muslims anywhere in the world. Departing from al-Qaeda’s justifications of violence based on the far enemy theory, ISIS maintained that it was recreating the original Islamic state of the seventh century and publicized atrocities—including beheadings of captives and wanton destruction of pre-Islamic historical monuments—that horrified the world. Spectacular attacks on civilians in Paris and Brussels in 2016 vaulted ISIS ahead of al-Qaeda as the most alarming perpetrator of violence in the name of Islam. They also demonstrated that flagrant criminality and vigorous recruitment through the use of social media could be successful in attracting fighters even as they outraged world opinion.

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20-3c Regime Change in the Muslim World

ISIS took root in the heart of the Arab world because an American invasion of Iraq in 2003, ostensibly in retaliation for the attacks of 9/11, had failed to establish an orderly and effective government there. And a civil war triggered by the "Arab Spring," a wave of popular anti-regime movements that struck five Arab countries in 2011, continued to wrack Syria.

The Taliban regime's provision of a safe haven for Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda clearly justified the American invasion of Afghanistan in December 2001. However, the rationale for invading Iraq was less clear. Leading up to the war the American government contended that Iraq was a clear and present danger to the United States because it possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) (Nuclear, chemical, and biological devices that are capable of injuring and killing large numbers of people. (p. 599)) : nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons that it might supply to terrorists like bin Laden. When United Nations inspectors failed to find any banned weapons, a split widened between those nations wanting to continue inspections and those, led by the United States, wanting to intervene militarily. Deciding to go it alone, an American-led "coalition of the willing" opened the invasion of Iraq with a spectacular aerial bombardment of Baghdad on March 20, 2003. Twenty-five days later the United States declared that "major fighting" had ended, little realizing that guerrilla insurgency, sectarian violence, and economic devastation would continue for years.

Refugees from Civil War in Syria

Though refugees from Afghanistan, Libya, and elsewhere play major roles in a growing world refugee crisis, Syrians have achieved special prominence because many of them travel through Turkey or across the sea to reach havens in Europe. This has intensified long-standing animosity toward Muslims among Europeans who believe they threaten their national cultures.

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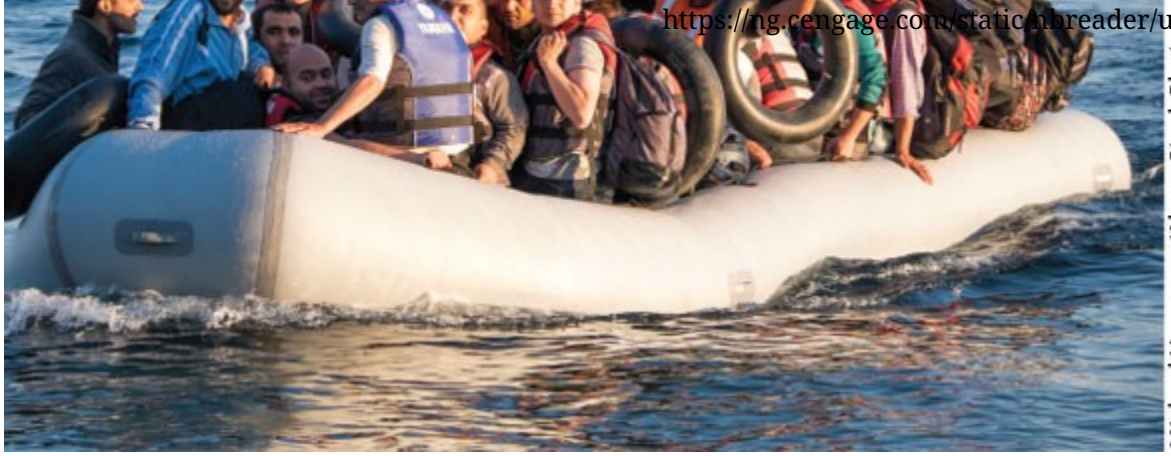

Michael Honegger/Alamy Stock Photo

While Iraq fell into a state of turmoil because the coalition army was too small or otherwise poorly equipped to prevent the looting and destruction of government facilities and other lawlessness, a thorough search for WMDs came up empty, and intelligence analyses failed to uncover any evidence that Saddam Husain, Iraq's fallen dictator, had played a role in the 9/11 attacks. American troops finally withdrew from the country in 2010, leaving behind an elected government divided by strong animosity between a Shi'ite majority and a Sunni minority. ISIS, a Sunni organization, took advantage of the turmoil and also attracted Sunni military officers who had been part of Saddam Husain's disbanded army. One-sided government policies favoring the Shi'ites added to the turmoil.

As for Syria, where the Islamic State was centered along the Euphrates River, the "Arab Spring" that toppled the rulers of Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen had failed to unseat the ruler Bashar al-Assad. With Russia and Iran supporting the Shi'ite al-Assad and fundamentalist (salafi) Sunni Muslims openly or covertly supporting the Islamic State and some smaller resistance groups, chaos reigned in Syria and millions of refugees took the road into exile. The decision by the United States to steer clear of most military operations in Syria that did not specifically target ISIS opened President Barak Obama to political attack as the refugee crisis and civilian death toll swelled and Russian president Vladimir Putin stepped forward as a decisive leader willing to use force to keep Bashar al-Assad in power. Syrian refugees flooding into Europe by way of Turkey exacerbated popular fears of terrorism and immigration there.

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20-3d North Korea and Iran

> AP® Exam Tip
>
> Explain how conceptualization of society and culture have changed throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

American worries about WMDs were not confined to Iraq. North Korea had an open program to build nuclear weapons, and Iran was suspected of having a covert plan based in part on technological aid secretly transmitted by the head of Pakistan's successful nuclear program. Iran's outspokenly anti-American and anti-Israeli president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, elected in 2005, and North Korea's dictators Kim Jong-il (kim jong-ill) and after 2011 his son Kim Jong-un Presented the United States with difficult challenges. But the invasion option chosen for Iraq, albeit favored by some Bush advisers for Iran, was held in abeyance in favor of diplomatic initiatives. As for North Korea, containment of nuclear threats was a concern for China, South Korea, and Japan as for the United States.

Arab Spring Demonstrators

Part of the enormous crowds that unseated the rulers of Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen, these women in Cairo's Tahrir Square wear the colorful head scarves that are commonplace in Egypt, sometimes to demonstrate allegiance to Islam and sometimes because they are stylish.

A photo shows many women protestors. The women are wearing the Muslim attire of Hijab.

20-3e Hezbollah and Hamas

Iran's challenge to America's hopes for a democratic reshaping of the Middle East took a step forward in 2005 when the Lebanese Shi'ite movement Hezbollah captured 23 out of 128 seats in the Lebanese parliament and in 2006 when the militantly anti-Israeli Hamas movement won an absolute majority of the vote in elections for the Palestine Governing Authority. Both groups were firmly allied with Iran. Attacks launched by Israel against both Hamas and Hezbollah in response to kidnappings of Israeli soldiers in 2006 further heightened tensions between Israel and Islamic movements in the region. These ongoing conflicts suggested that Arab world democratization would be difficult to achieve in the future, regardless of American preferences. Hezbollah also followed Iran's lead in sending fighters to Syria in support of Bashar al-Assad.

In 2007 the elected Hamas government succeeded in driving its Palestinian rivals out of the Gaza Strip. During the following months, largely inaccurate rocket barrages launched from there against Israel became a major factor in Israeli politics. The first stages of a planned 403-mile-long security barrier built on the West Bank had almost eliminated attacks by Palestinian suicide bombers, but the rockets provoked public outrage even though the number of casualties was small. At the end of 2008 the Israel Defense Force launched aerial bombardments and ground force incursions in the Gaza Strip that left over a thousand Palestinians dead. However, there was no sign that Hamas had been seriously harmed as a political organization. Indeed, in 2012 a renewed exchange of Hamas rockets and Israeli air strikes showed the persistence of the stalemate in Gaza.

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20-3f Muslims

Elsewhere in the Arab world a rash of popular demonstrations starting at the end of 2010 led to the "Arab Spring," an anti-authoritarian political current that toppled the rulers of Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen and plunged Syria into its civil war. Though not the instigators of the demonstrations, previously suppressed Muslim political parties like Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood emerged as the best organized contenders as shaky democratic regimes struggled into being. Tunisia alone, however, emerged from the turmoil with a reasonably democratic government, though one that still fell short in areas like youth employment that had helped trigger the demonstrations. Egypt reverted to military rule when the army overthrew the elected Muslim Brotherhood government.

In trying to explain a current of violence, analysts argued about the factors that may have contributed to the violence. One school of thought argued that the United States incurred al-Qaeda's wrath by enacting policies supporting Israel and stationing troops in Saudi Arabia and that those policies should therefore be reconsidered. Those who disagreed pointed out that despite its support for Israel and Saudi Arabia, the United States had championed the Muslim cause in Bosnia, driven the secular dictator Saddam Husain out of Kuwait, and expressed support for the popular uprisings of the Arab Spring.

After the interventionist attitude of President George W. Bush and the reluctance to get involved of President Obama, America's stance in the Middle East, and vis-à-vis Islam more broadly, remained uncertain when Donald J. Trump became president in 2017.

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20-3g Christians and Jews

As Muslims were rediscovering the political potential of their faith, evangelical Protestants became a powerful conservative political movement in the United States starting with the Moral Majority organization formed during Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign in 1979. Its deep roots in the Republican Party, particularly in state and local government, made evangelical fervor a significant force during the George W. Bush presidency and a major contributor to the election of Donald J. Trump.

Around the world, Catholic conservatives led by Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI, who succeeded him in 2005, forcefully reiterated politically sensitive teachings: opposition to abortion, homosexuality, marriage of priests, and admission of women to the priesthood. The elevation to the papacy in 2013 of Argentinian Jorge Mario Bergoglio as Pope Francis I, the first from either the Western or the Southern Hemisphere, restored Catholicism's gentler side known throughout the 1960s and 1970s as "liberation theology." This meant a new commitment to fighting poverty, reviving the biblical demand for man's stewardship over the environment, and condoning civil unions for gay couples.

In Israel, hyperorthodox Jews known as haredim played a leading role in the inexorable expansion of Jewish settlements in Palestinian territories captured by Israel in 1967. They vehemently resisted both Israel's dismantling of settlements in Gaza in 2005 and subsequent proposals for withdrawal from the West Bank. The settler movement solidified its political position under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's head of government since 2009.

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20-3h Global Financial Crisis

The global financial crisis had complicated roots. During an Asian financial crisis a decade earlier, vast amounts of European and American investment in Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea, and other East Asian countries had created an illusion of great economic dynamism. In 1997, however, the investment boom collapsed, leading to a severe economic downturn. Cautious investors responded by moving their money elsewhere. The United States became a favorite place to invest, helping spur a rapid increase in stock and housing prices and massive growth in the purchase of imported goods. Seeing the value of their houses increasing every year, Americans became wedded to borrowing money with their homes as collateral.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 shocked the world's financial system. The expansion of trade, global interconnections, and privatization of government enterprises that had gained momentum with the dismantling of socialist economies in the 1990s cooled abruptly in the wake of 9/11. The rate of growth in world trade fell from 13 percent in 2000 to only 1 percent in 2001. However, money from overseas invested in U.S. markets made it possible for the United States to fight wars in Afghanistan and Iraq while also lowering taxes. The Bush administration deemed it important to encourage business as usual after 9/11 so that al-Qaeda would not think it had seriously injured the United States. The American national debt soared, but the American financial system bounced back from the attacks and people continued to borrow money as if there was no limit on how much their homes were worth.

In 2008 the fevered boom in housing prices collapsed, leaving many homeowners so deeply in debt on their mortgages that they lost their homes. Their mortgages, however, were no longer being held by local banks in the traditional fashion. New and risky lending techniques based on homeowners' assumptions that home prices would continue to rise had caused the bad debts to be distributed throughout the banking system, not just in the United States but around the world. Similar housing speculation occurred in Spain and other countries.

When Lehman Brothers, one of America's foremost financial firms, declared bankruptcy in September, recession turned into catastrophic economic downturn. Stock prices fell, banks teetered on the brink of collapse, and unemployment climbed as employers laid off workers they could no longer afford or did not need to meet falling consumer demand. The effects spread worldwide. Knowledgeable political leaders and economists proclaimed it the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Growth in China and India had resumed quickly after 9/11, and the large populations of these two countries marked them as future economic powers. Their growth increased pressure on world energy supplies. Though the United States continued to consume a

quarter of the world's petroleum production, by 2012 it had resumed its position of world's largest producer through the practice of fracking to extract oil from shale deposits.

OPEC's manipulation of world oil prices, combined with political instability in the Middle East, had caused crude oil prices to soar between 1973 and 1985. But aside from those years, the average price of oil remained consistently below $20 per barrel (adjusted for inflation) throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In the year 2000, however, oil prices began a new period of increase caused not by OPEC but by rising demand and confidence in the fevered pace of world economic expansion. By the middle of 2006, the price of a barrel of crude had crept past $70, and in 2008 it spiked to $145 a barrel. This increase fueled ambitious economic programs in producing countries like Russia, Venezuela, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf, as well as in the newer OPEC members Ecuador, Nigeria, and Angola. With the financial crisis of 2008, prices fell abruptly, but by 2012 the price per barrel was back in the $90–100 range.

By 2014–2015 a world supply had overtaken world demand. In addition, Saudi Arabia decided to impose financial pain on Iran, a Shi'ite state that it considered a threat to Sunni Islam and Saudi leadership, by increasing production and thereby causing oil prices to drop as precipitately and unexpectedly as they had in 2008. Countries like Venezuela that depended overwhelmingly on oil revenues suffered badly, and Saudi Arabia itself began to face budget deficits.

Unlike the situation in 2008, the prospect of a quick return to high prices seemed dim. The slowing of rapid-growth economies like China's, combined with continuing sluggishness in the United States and European Union (EU), tarnished the vision of neoliberal global transformation and contributed to the reappearance of populist and nationalistic political movements reminiscent of the fascist movements of the Great Depression era. Moreover, the global COVID-19 pandemic (see Chapter 19) triggered a dramatic worldwide economic downturn that hit small businesses and poorer people especially hard, and is likely to accelerate the decline of brick-and-mortar businesses, boost online commerce and the tech sector, and thus create an increase in regional and global inequality.

Section Review

- The last third of the twentieth century saw an increase in political action inspired by religious belief.
- Militant Islam has risen in response to authoritarian oppression in many Muslim countries and to the theory that the United States supports such authoritarianism.

Abandoned Housing Development

The bursting of the housing finance bubble brought hundreds of planned development projects to a sudden halt. This picture in Arizona shows sold homes with landscaping, unsold homes without landscaping, and vacant lots.

Kristoffer Tripplaar/Alamy Stock Photo

Diversity & Dominance

Conflict and Civilization

In 1993 Samuel P. Huntington, a professor of government at Harvard University, published “The Clash of Civilizations?” in the journal Foreign Affairs. This article provoked extraordinary debate, particularly after the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Some readers deemed it an accurate description of a post–Cold War world in which Islamic countries were destined to conflict violently with the countries of Europe and North America. Others saw it as imprecise in its failure to clarify what a “civilization” is, imperialistic in its unquestioning assumption of Western superiority, and encouraging of anti-Muslim prejudice.

Civilizational identity will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another.

Why will this be the case?

First, differences among civilizations are not only real; they are basic. Civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and, most important, religion. The people of different civilizations have different views on the relations between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife, as well as differing views of the relative importance of rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centuries. They will not soon disappear. They are far more fundamental than differences among political ideologies and political regimes. Differences do not necessarily mean conflict, and conflict does not necessarily mean violence. Over the centuries, however, differences among civilizations have generated the most prolonged and the most violent conflicts.

Second, the world is becoming a smaller place. The interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing; these increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations. North African immigration to France generates hostility among Frenchmen and at the same time increased receptivity to immigration by "good" European Catholic Poles. Americans react far more negatively to Japanese investment than to larger investments from Canada and European countries....

Third, the processes of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation state as a source of identity. In much of the world religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements that are labeled "fundamentalist." Such movements are found in Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism, as well as in Islam. In most countries and most religions the people active in fundamentalist movements are young, college-educated, middle-class technicians, professionals and business persons....

As people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an "us" versus "them" relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion. The end of ideologically defined states in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union permits traditional ethnic identities and animosities to come to the fore. Differences in culture and religion create differences over policy issues, ranging from human rights to immigration to trade and commerce to the environment.... Most important, the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism to universal values, to maintain its military predominance and to advance its economic interests engender countering responses from other civilizations....

The interactions between civilizations vary greatly in the extent to which they are

likely to be characterized by violence. Economic competition clearly predominates between the American and European subcivilizations of the West and between both of them and Japan. On the Eurasian continent, however, the proliferation of ethnic conflict, epitomized at the extreme in "ethnic cleansing," has not been totally random. It has been most frequent and most violent between groups belonging to different civilizations. In Eurasia the great historic fault lines between civilizations are once more aflame. This is particularly true along the boundaries of the crescent-shaped Islamic bloc of nations from the bulge of Africa to central Asia. Violence also occurs between Muslims, on the one hand, and Orthodox Serbs in the Balkans, Jews in Israel, Hindus in India, Buddhists in Burma and Catholics in the Philippines. Islam has bloody borders.

Rejoinders to Huntington's thesis saw it as a cornerstone of the aggressive policies adopted by the Bush administration after 9/11. As an alternative, they stressed the common values held by peaceful societies and the need for intercultural understanding. Mohammed Khatami, the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, found support for a more positive framing of the matter when the United Nations, following his proposal, declared 2001 the year of "Dialogue Among Civilizations." Almost simultaneously, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (now called the Organization of Islamic Cooperation), a 57-member international body headquartered in Saudi Arabia and composed of states with large Muslim populations, elaborated upon this concept in the "Tehran Declaration on Dialogue Among Civilizations."

Tehran Declaration on Dialogue Among Civilizations

Praise be to Allah and peace and blessing be upon His prophet and kin and companion.

The representatives of Heads of State and Government of OIC member states . . . [recognizing] the United Nations General Assembly resolution 53/22, designating the year 2001 as the United Nations year of Dialogue among Civilizations;

Guided by the noble Islamic teachings and values [each of the following principles is accompanied by reference to a verse in the Quran] on human dignity and equality, tolerance, peace and justice for humankind, and promotion of virtues and proscription of vice and evil;

Drawing upon the Islamic principles of celebration of human diversity, recognition of diversified sources of knowledge, promotion of dialogue and mutual understanding, genuine mutual respect in human interchanges, and encouragement of courteous and civilized discourse based on reason and logic;

Reaffirming the commitment of their Governments to promote dialogue and understanding among various cultures and civilizations, aimed at reaching a global

consensus to build a new order for the next millennium founded in faith as well as common moral and ethical values of contemporary civilizations;

Requests the Secretary-General of the OIC to submit this declaration for endorsement to the Chairman of the Eighth Islamic Summit and the 26th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers for appropriate action:

A) General principles of dialogue among civilizations

1. Respect for the dignity and equality of all human beings without distinctions of any kind and of nations large and small;
2. Genuine acceptance of cultural diversity as a permanent [quality] of human society and a cherished asset for the advancement and welfare of humanity at large;
3. Mutual respect and tolerance for the views and values of various cultures and civilizations, as well as the right of members of all civilizations to preserve their cultural heritage and values, and rejection of desecration of moral, religious or cultural values, sanctities and sanctuaries;
4. Recognition of diversified sources of knowledge throughout time and space, and the imperative of drawing upon the areas of strengths, richness and wisdom of each civilization in a genuine process of mutual enrichment;
5. Rejection of attempts for cultural domination and imposition as well as doctrines and practices promoting confrontation and clash between civilizations;
6. Search for common grounds between and within various civilizations in order to face common global challenges;
7. Acceptance of cooperation and search for understanding as the appropriate mechanism for the promotion of common universal values as well as for the suppression of global threats;
8. Commitment to participation of all peoples and nations, without any discrimination, in their own domestic as well as global decision-making and value distribution processes;
9. Compliance with principles of justice, equity, peace and solidarity as well as fundamental principles of international law and the United

Nations Charter. . . .

A few years later, a joint proposal by the governments of Spain and Turkey received a similar endorsement by the United Nations. This led to the creation of the Alliance of Civilizations. The underlying principles of this organization were expressed in the 2006 report of its "High-Level Group," a body of eminent political, intellectual, and spiritual figures from around the world.

Alliance of Civilizations Report of the High-Level Group

I. Bridging the World's Divides

1.1 Our world is alarmingly out of balance. For many, the last century brought unprecedented progress, prosperity, and freedom. For others, it marked an era of subjugation, humiliation and dispossession. Ours is a world of great inequalities and paradoxes: a world w here the income of the planet's three richest people is greater than the combined income of the world's least developed countries; where modern medicine performs daily miracles and yet 3 million people die every year of preventable diseases; where we know more about distant universes than ever before, yet 130 million children have no access to education; where despite the existence of multilateral covenants and institutions, the international community often seems helpless in the face of conflict and genocide. For most of humanity, freedom from want and freedom from fear appear as elusive as ever.

1.2 We also live in an increasingly complex world, where polarized perceptions, fueled by injustice and inequality, often lead to violence and conflict, threatening international stability. Over the past few years, wars, occupation and acts of terror have exacerbated mutual suspicion and fear within and among societies. Some political leaders and sectors of the media, as well as radical groups have exploited this environment, painting mirror images of a world made up of mutually exclusive cultures, religions, or civilizations, historically distinct and destined for confrontation.

1.3 The anxiety and confusion caused by the "clash of civilizations" theory regrettably has distorted the terms of the discourse on the real nature of the predicament the world is facing. The history of relations between cultures is not only one of wars and confrontation. It is also based on centuries of constructive exchanges, cross-fertilization, and peaceful co-existence. Moreover, classifying internally fluid and diverse societies along hard-and-fast lines of civilizations interferes with more illuminating ways of understanding questions of identity, motivation and behavior. Rifts between the powerful and the powerless or the rich and the poor or between different political groups, classes, occupations and nationalities have greater explanatory power than such cultural categories. Indeed, the latter stereotypes only serve to entrench already polarized opinions. Worse, by promoting the misguided view that cultures are set on an unavoidable collision course, they help turn negotiable disputes into seemingly intractable identity-based

conflicts that take hold of the popular imagination. It is essential, therefore, to counter the stereotypes and misconceptions that deepen patterns of hostility and mistrust among societies.

AP® Historical Thinking Skills

Making Connections How important are culture and religion, as opposed to political ideology or economic inequality, in explaining current world conflicts?

Contextualization How have the structure and goals of global interactions both changed and remained the same since the attacks of 9/11?

Sources: Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs 72, no. 3 (1993); "The Tehran Declaration on Dialogue Among Civilizations," Organization of the Islamic Conference, www.isesco.org.ma/english/publications/dig/CH11.php; United Nations, Alliance of Civilizations: Report of the High-level Group, 13 November 2006 (New York: United Nations, 2006).

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20-4 Institutions Developing in a Globalized World

The sense that Barack Obama had a firm understanding of the financial crisis and the ability to lead the country out of it contributed to his election as president. During the first weeks after he took office in January 2009, he proposed a series of steps, including massive increases in government spending, to improve the economy. However, a massive legislative deadlock ensued after Republicans gained control of the House of Representatives in 2010, curbing plans to address unemployment through increased government spending. Economic recovery was slow but steady, though in both the United States and the European Union the trade expansion that globalization had promised at the beginning of the century faded from memory, and the interdependence that had bound the world's economies in a cycle of growth became a dead weight that dragged many countries down.

A growing gap between the very rich and the common working people alarmed both politicians and economists. Donald J. Trump, a businessman and television presence, grasped the feeling of abandonment and irrelevance besetting a significant number of Americans. His election to the presidency with a popular vote deficit and narrow Electoral College victory shocked the world, especially Americans who had voted for the democratic nominee Hillary Clinton, a former first lady, New York senator, and lifelong policy maker.

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20-4a The Future of International Cooperation

Trump's promise to "Make America Great Again" meant a turn away from international cooperation and an alienation of alliances that had made up the institutions of global governance since World War II (see Chapter 17). In short order, the Trump administration withdrew from the Paris Climate Accords, the Iran Nuclear Deal—a plan to prevent nuclear proliferation in that nation—and the Trans-Pacific Partnership. During his one term in office, Trump also cut funding to the United Nations, obstructed the World Trade Organization, threatened NATO allies with the dissolution of the strategic defense treaty, and withdrew the United States from the World Health Organization over his disagreement with the organization's public health measures against the COVID-19 pandemic (see Chapter 19). In November 2020, the presidential election of Joe Biden—a former vice president with over a quarter century of experience in the Senate—signaled a return to national and international institutions of governance, and a turn away from the nationalist and anti-immigrant politics of Trump, who tried in vain to challenge the presidential election results both in court of law and public opinion. On January 6th, 2021, when Congress was scheduled to count the electoral college votes submitted by the states, a large group of Trump supporters who had gathered at the request of the president overpowered police and broke into the U.S. Capitol with the intent of preventing the final vote count, forcing lawmakers to flee for safe shelter. This insurrection marked the first time the Capitol had been breached since the War of 1812 and is what prompted the second impeachment of Donald Trump. Trump was acquitted in the second impeachment trial, but the insurrection raised troubling questions about the willingness of the outgoing president and his congressional allies to end democracy.

The rising unilateralism during Trump's presidency was not the only challenge to the institutions governing a globalized world since World War II. Even before the 2016 election, the United States had to wrestle with their diminished ability to drive the international agenda against the growing influences of China and a third global political center—the European Union. Along with the economic recovery after the global financial crisis, nationalism resurged across Europe, Asia, and Latin America, combining the promises of cultural traditionalism with the mischaracterizations of international collaboration as "globalist" conspiracies against ordinary people. The Brexit movement in the United Kingdom (seeking that nation's withdrawal from the European Union), the authoritarian regime of Victor Orban in Hungary, the right-wing populism of Narendra Modi's government in India, and the aggressive deforestation of the Amazon under Jair Bolsonaro's government in Brazil are just the most glaring examples of the new worldwide popularity of unilateralism.

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20-5 Conclusion

Historians often use the term “long nineteenth century” to signify a strong continuity in world political, social, and economic patterns between the end of the nineteenth century and World War I. Whether the twenty-first century is better viewed as having its own distinctive character or as being a prolongation of tendencies rooted in the twentieth century depends on how one weighs the importance of certain events.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 established terrorism as a worldwide fear and suspicion, if not outright hatred, of Islam and Muslims as a growing popular attitude in some countries. ISIS, whose atrocities have been publicized around the globe by new means of communication, aroused significant consternation in the twentieth century.

The worldwide financial crisis that began in 2008 revealed global linkages between economic transactions that seemed fundamentally local, such as refinancing homes, and the survival of major financial institutions: banks, insurance companies, and accounting firms. The effects of this crisis resembled the Great Depression of the twentieth century, but the underlying causes had more to do with new patterns of investment and electronic communication between financial institutions than with basic matters of supply and demand.

Democracy advanced in some regions of the world as a preferred governing system in the post–Cold War environment, but the memories of colonial exploitation that had fueled so many independence movements became less acute. In many countries, controversies over national and personal identity involved religious debates that had been less important than social class or secular nationalism throughout most of the twentieth century.

At a cultural level, the electronic information age that had begun with the development of computers after World War II encouraged the growth of global cultural attitudes, both popular and elite. The roots of these cultural developments clearly lay in the twentieth century, but the internet and social media transformed them into something that seemed altogether new.

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