

SCOTT STRAUS | BARRY DRISCOLL

SECOND EDITION

# INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

.....  
GLOBAL FORCES,  
INTERACTIONS,  
AND TENSIONS



# International Studies

Second Edition

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# International Studies

## Global Forces, Interactions, and Tensions

### Second Edition

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# Preface

International Studies is a relatively new addition to many universities. Students are flocking to the field as they discover how exciting and relevant it can be; indeed, the major has become one of the most popular at many large universities. At the same time, anyone who has put together a syllabus for the introductory course has had to confront the inherent challenge of the field: It can be, frankly, a little amorphous. What exactly is International Studies? How is it different from International Relations? Is there some kind of framework that can make the course more coherent?

The origins of this book stem from more than a decade of teaching the large Introduction to International Studies lecture course at The University of Wisconsin—Madison, where we asked ourselves those same questions right from the start. When it came time for us to put meat on the bones of that course, we had trouble defining International Studies beyond the core concepts of “interdisciplinary” and “global.” Colleagues from other disciplines gently teased that International Studies was “Political Science light”; others dismissed the field as not serious. When we looked for guidance in some existing textbooks, International Studies seemed like a parade of disciplines, anchored around the concept of globalization. It often amounted to how an anthropologist, a sociologist, and a geographer—and others—would approach globalization in all its many facets. There was nothing per se wrong with these approaches, but we craved a program of study that had stronger conceptual foundations and analytical cohesion.

In our search for something more satisfying, our students were our inspiration. We knew that fundamentally they wanted to understand the world around them. We also knew that they did not care primarily about disciplinarity or interdisciplinarity. Over time, we learned that they were drawn to the course for two main reasons. First, they wanted a course of study that provided insight into the complex and fascinating world in which they lived. Many fashioned themselves as students of global issues and as aspiring global travelers. Others sought a career with strong international dimensions. They wanted a course of study that gave them purchase on their world. This textbook, therefore, takes a “problems first” approach. We place issues front and center, drawing on social scientific research to help students understand issues but not as a means of introducing the disciplines themselves.

Second, they wanted flexibility in course selection; they came from a wide variety of backgrounds, had a diverse set of interests, and did not want to be confined to a particular discipline. Many of our students intended to, or had, studied abroad; others wanted a way to combine their core interests in, say, a language, literature, business, health sciences, anthropology, or political science with a dedicated *international* course of study. With a wide lens, this book pays tribute to the broad range of interests that draw students to International Studies.

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## FRAMEWORK

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*International Studies: Global Forces, Interactions, and Tensions* is our long answer to the question of what International Studies is. The book introduces students to four interrelated themes that run throughout: In *International Studies* we focus on *global interactions*,

the *tensions* produced by those interactions, the *global forces* that animate interactions, and the *outside-in and inside-out* dynamics that shape interactions. These are not new ideas, but we think taken together they usefully organize the field in a way that is pedagogically manageable, intellectually stimulating, and discipline-agnostic. We say more about each of the themes below.

First, **global interactions** are the myriad ways in which people, things, information, and ideas intersect in our world. The concept of interactions allows us to capture under one umbrella a broad range of exchanges—economic, political, environmental, informational, and cultural—that take place within and across borders. International studies can claim all these interactions as part of its purview because it is interdisciplinary. A typical international studies course or program will therefore encompass a broad range of topics, from global governance, to global economics, to culture and language, to human rights, to migration, to the environment, to global health. The lens is wide. What can unite it is the study of interactions. Each instructor will craft their course to emphasize particular themes and topics; we designed our framework to be flexible but concrete enough to accommodate different ways of organizing an International Studies introductory class.

Second, **global tensions** are the unintended resentments, frustrations, and conflicts that arise from global interactions. While our interconnected world creates many new kinds of opportunities and possibilities, global interactions also create winners and losers. New ideas and new ways of living rub against more traditional ones. Although greater oversight from intergovernmental organizations can help solve collective problems and bring stability, such governance can make ordinary people and local politicians feel like they are losing control. While increased mobility in the world is exciting, the influx of populations from one place to another can spawn raw feelings of losing one's community and identity. These are among the many ways that interactions stimulate tension, a perspective that we think is essential to understanding our contemporary world.

Third, **global forces** are powerful, cross-cutting drivers of global interactions and tensions. We focus attention on four primary forces that shape interactions and matter for almost any contemporary global challenge. *Global markets* is the reach and depth of supply and demand across borders. *Information and communications technology* power global online interactions and speed the spread and reach of ideas and information. *Shifting centers of power in the world* reflects how large, developing countries are rising to assert their power on a global stage in new and significant ways. *Global governance* is the way in which multiple institutions and actors seek to manage complex international issues by making and enforcing rules. Examine nearly any global problem that faces our world today, and we argue that these forces are fundamental to how the issue plays out and to how solutions could be crafted.

Fourth, the idea of **inside-out and outside-in** interactions focuses attention not only on exchanges across borders. Interactions across borders, or from the outside-in, is clearly one dimension of International Studies. But actors, institutions, and ideas from *within* countries exert influence on the world, and they often shape and reshape products and meanings that come from outside traditional boundaries of state or nation. Disciplines that focus on the micro-level, such as anthropology, are especially attentive to these inside-out dimensions. International Studies as the study of outside-in and inside-out interactions is, therefore, a concrete and relatable way of incorporating interdisciplinarity without highlighting interdisciplinarity per se.

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## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

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*International Studies* has two major parts. *Part 1: Foundations* introduces core concepts and major actors that appear throughout the textbook, including multinational corporations, states, markets, intergovernmental organizations, and civil society. Chapters in *Part 1* are intended to be short. The goal is not to downplay the importance of social scientific concepts—indeed, their importance is very much *the point* of this entire endeavor—but rather to provide students with a basic understanding of core concepts and terms in order to get the most out of later chapters. We also believe that International Studies students need that conceptual foundation; moving away from disciplines does not mean abandoning rigor.

There are seven chapters in the Foundations section. *Chapter 1: Global Interactions and Global Tensions* uses the COVID-19 pandemic to introduce students to the basic framework used in the textbook, which is the global tensions that result from global interactions. We describe the four global forces that we argue drive global interactions, explained above. We explain how international studies differs from globalization and how international studies opens career opportunities for students. In addition to COVID-19, this chapter draws on a variety of examples, including Islamic State, the International Criminal Court, iPhone production, how Chinese currency affects Zambian poverty, surveillance capitalism, BRICs, and Greta Thunberg.

*Chapter 2: The Making of Our Global Age* provides students with a broad chronological account of the first and second global ages, spanning the mid-1800s to the early 1900s and post-1990s, respectively. We explain to students that our present global age is not new, inevitable, or irreversible. We incorporate a variety of examples, including Reddit, colonialism, the Gold Standard, and China's (re)emergence, and the populist/nationalist backlash to globalization, including Donald Trump and Brexit.

*Chapter 3: States* contends that states have been, and remain, the key actors in the world. Understanding what states are, where they came from, and how they work in theory and in practice is crucial for understanding the subsequent chapters, especially chapters on intergovernmental organizations as well as on civil society. Examples include states' use of drones during COVID-19, the role of states in producing technology such as Siri or GPS, how colonialism shaped the state in the Philippines, state capacity, state failure in Afghanistan, and 21st-century challenges faced by states.

*Chapter 4: Intergovernmental Organizations* (IGOs) introduces students to the concepts of realism, liberalism, and constructivism and places IGOs in relation to other international actors. We explain to students what roles IGOs perform, provide a detailed case study of United Nations bodies, and introduce research on tax havens and gridlock in global governance.

*Chapter 5: Civil Society* introduces students to the Tocquevillian and Gramscian views of civil society, which helps frame debates concerning the nature and impact of transnational advocacy networks and global social movements. We draw examples from anti-poverty, LGBT, #MeToo, and animal rights movements.

*Chapter 6: Social Identities and Culture* focuses attention on how ideas, meanings, and identities are fundamental to how people behave and how the world works. We introduce students to some of the most important social identities and how they matter; we also discuss major traditions in the study of culture and why culture matters. We explain the differences between primordialism, instrumentalism, and constructivism. We draw

on examples from hip-hop, sports, Trump, Jair Bolsonaro, food, and women's health in Zambia, among others.

*Chapter 7: Money* introduces students to major concepts, trends, and debates in international trade, finance, and monetary systems. Topics include how global capitalism in the 21st century differs from what came before, how trade is relatively simple in theory but controversial in practice, and how financial globalization and shadow banking is linked to financial instability. We draw examples from the 2007–2008 Global Financial Crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic, the U.S.–China Trade War and washing machines, the Eurozone crisis, the World Trade Organization, and the International Monetary Fund.

*Part II* of the book moves away from foundations to global challenges. In this section of the book, we focus on contemporary problems in the world that interest many students. These Global Challenges chapters are a little longer than the Foundations ones. We summarize major debates about the problems, but we also provide a number of examples and present data trends where possible. In addition, we weave our framework and the material from the Part I Foundations section into our discussion of these contemporary global challenges, showing how the first half of the book illuminates an understanding of global problems.

*Chapter 8: Democracy and Representation* is about the struggle for freedom. We introduce students to the basic ways that democracy is defined and measured, to the historical trends in democratization, and to theories of why democracies survive or lapse into authoritarianism. We draw examples from the Arab uprisings, Pakistan, Uganda, the Umbrella movement in Hong Kong, and election tampering in the United States.

*Chapter 9: Human Rights* introduces students to the global human rights regime. That regime includes human rights treaties, institutions, regional bodies, and nongovernmental organizations. We discuss broad debates about what kind of power the human rights regime has, and we draw examples from Colombia, Myanmar, abortion in Ireland, and the Save Darfur movement.

*Chapter 10: Development* provides an overview of important terms in the study of development, including poverty measurement, Sen's "Development as Freedom," the Sustainable Development Goals, and the feminization of poverty. We contrast explanations for the poverty of some countries through an exploration of markets and states, and we introduce students to ideas and research on modernization theory, dependency theory, poverty traps, developmental states, neoliberalism, and good governance, as well as debates around foreign aid. We bring in a variety of examples, such as research on cash transfers, the "White Savior Complex," randomized controlled trials, and the operations of the World Bank.

*Chapter 11: Civil Wars and Terrorism* introduces students to the contemporary security threats beyond interstate war. This chapter discusses major explanations of civil war onset, patterns and trends in warfare around the world, and the consequences of such wars. It also discusses terrorism and gang violence. This chapter ends with a discussion of cybersecurity issues and draws on examples from Syria and the Democratic Republic of Congo, primarily.

*Chapter 12: Migration* clarifies the difference between a refugee, a migrant, an asylum seeker, and a stateless person. We provide an overview of trends in migration over time and between countries. We guide students through debates concerning "brain drain" versus "brain gain" and through the controversial topic of how immigrants affect host countries. We also introduce topics including sex trafficking, global care chains, modern slavery, and child labor, and we describe the patchy nature of global governance in the area.

*Chapter 13: Global Health* provides an overview of major health issues around the world. This chapter opens by making some fundamental distinctions about how global health is conceptualized. It then discusses the COVID-19 crisis as well as global health outcomes, and disparities in them, from maternal health to infectious disease to heart disease. This chapter takes a deeper dive on the global HIV and AIDS pandemic, tracing both the devastation it has caused and the progress made in the area.

*Chapter 14: Global Environment* introduces students to some global environmental challenges, such as invasive species, but quickly turns to climate change as the most pressing contemporary environmental challenge. This chapter details the main causes of climate change, the effects of it, and the human and nonhuman consequences of it. Examples are drawn from around the world, but there is sustained discussion of the effects of climate change on access to clean water in the Himalayas.

*Chapter 15: Global Food* links the major theories of global food control to the food-versus-fuel debate. We explain the difference between the food security and food sovereignty approaches to global hunger. Our examples include global cocoa/chocolate commodity chains, hunger in the wake of COVID-19, the 2007 Global Food Crisis, Malthus, and *La Via Campesina*.

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## THE FEATURES OF THE BOOK

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In addition to summarizing arguments and being careful about concepts, the book aims to be empirically rich. As the chapter summaries indicate, we thread case examples throughout the chapters. We also look for empirical trends and outcomes, as well as for ways to present them visually. The result, we hope, is a thick description, through words, tables, and figures, of the world around us.

We also introduce features that aim to illuminate our framework. Every chapter has at least one figure that plots the forces, interactions, and tensions under discussion. The feature is designed to help students conceptualize and make concrete the International Studies framework that anchors the book. Each chapter also has at least one **International Studies from the Inside-out** or **Outside-in** box. These boxes focus on a particular issue in a particular place and describe how inside-out or outside-in (or both) forces shape that issue. Each chapter ends with **Learn More**, which provides students with a list of additional resources to consult for more information about key concepts discussed in the chapter. There are also digital resources from which to learn more for each chapter in the instructor's manual on the companion website.

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## TEACHING RESOURCES

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This text includes an array of instructor teaching materials designed to save you time and to help you keep students engaged. To learn more, visit **sagepub.com** or contact your SAGE representative at [sagepub.com/findmyrep](http://sagepub.com/findmyrep).

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# About the Authors



**Scott Straus:** My first deep international experience, like that of many undergraduates, took place on a foreign study program. In my case, the program was in Kenya, where I studied the balancing act between pressing needs for development and the environmental demands to preserve Kenya's extraordinary patrimony of open space. I was interested in politics, and my program placed me in a family heavily involved in opposition politics. At that time, Kenya was undergoing a rapid transition from authoritarian, one-party rule to a more competitive process of multiparty competition. I had a life-changing experience

in Kenya. I never knew how much politics could matter. I could feel the intense yearning of people all around me to be free from dictatorship and to live better lives. From my comfortable life in the United States, I had little to prepare me for police beating demonstrators and for the intense poverty I witnessed in parts of Kenya, where an antibiotic eyedrop could make a huge difference in a child's life or a meal with meat was considered a luxury.

After graduating college, I traveled across Africa and eventually became a freelance journalist based in Nairobi, Kenya's capital. I began covering a range of topics, from politics, to the HIV crisis, to urban planning, to business, to conflict, and to reconciliation after wars ended. I ended up spending a good deal of time in the Great Lakes region of Africa, in particular, in the countries of Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. That region was in the throes of some of the worst political violence seen in the world since the end of the Cold War. Rwanda had experienced a genocide in 1994. The Democratic Republic of Congo was undergoing the first of two massive wars that devastated the country. My experiences with violence and suffering in these countries, as well as with the exceptionally difficult process of rebuilding states and repairing societies after war, also had a profound impact on me. I went on to graduate school in political science in which I wrote a dissertation that examined the sources of genocide in Rwanda.

After becoming a professor, I continued my focus on armed conflict, human rights, and genocide. I expanded my field research into West, Central, and South Africa. But as my interest in International Studies developed, I also traveled to other world regions—in Latin America, Europe, Asia, and the South Pacific. The more that I observed, the more that I read, and the more that I understood, the more convinced I became of the awesome complexity and fluidity of the world in which we live. International Studies offers a unique approach to understanding that complexity and to capturing how exciting and sometimes scary the world can be.





**Barry Driscoll:** My first memorable international experience was traveling from my home in Ireland to see the embalmed corpse of Mao Zedong, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, in his final resting place in Tiananmen Square. Before visiting, I had read that even the current government admitted that “grave mistakes” were made during Mao’s time, but to my surprise I encountered emotional and tearful crowds of mostly elderly Chinese mourning the deceased leader. Later that afternoon, I tucked into a burger and fries at an A&W restaurant, a U.S. fast-food chain that had recently opened its

doors in China. *Burgers & Mao* could easily have been the title of any number of books on globalization I read at the time.

Over time, through travel and work with international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, in countries as dissimilar as Mongolia and Madagascar, I developed my interest in the problem of global poverty. Today I teach at Grinnell College, an undergraduate liberal arts college. Despite its setting in a small midwestern town, the student body is highly diverse: One in four students come from outside the United States, and one in five students are U.S. students of color.

All college instructors know how hard it can be to put oneself in the mind of a 19-year-old from Indiana or Arizona, not to mention Pakistan or Brazil. It can be hard to visualize what undergraduates know, what they would like to know, or what they “ought” to know. But class discussions in small groups with Grinnell’s diverse student body helped me appreciate something that guided my writing: Students already know the world is complex. What they need help with is making the world appear less bewildering or chaotic.

Years ago, I found myself in conversation with Scott about the kind of textbook we wanted to see. I wanted a textbook that understood its primary mission to be excellence in covering basic terms, concepts, and debates. The textbook should not be complex, ideological, or discipline-specific, yet it should embrace nuance and expose students to leading social scientific research. Looking back, I see what seemed a modest set of aims was actually a high bar. I hope readers will appreciate the book’s ambition and feel it succeeded.

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**PART I**

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# Foundations



# Global Interactions and Global Tensions

## 1



**Philippines under lockdown.**

Ezra Acayan via Getty Images

By May 2020, after just over four months of the COVID-19 pandemic, 250,000 people had died and over four million had been infected. On a tiny island just off New York City, workers dug large trenches to bury the unclaimed dead. Ninety countries—nearly half the world’s nations—had inquired about financial bailouts from the International Monetary Fund.<sup>1</sup> Tens of millions of children in Mexico and Cambodia went without essential vaccinations for polio and measles—diseases that kill tens of thousands each year—for fear that health staff could spread COVID-19 during house visits.<sup>2</sup> Lockdowns affected 2.7 *billion* workers worldwide, a staggering 81% of the global workforce.<sup>3</sup> Money sent home by migrant workers dropped 20%.<sup>4</sup>

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After finishing this Introduction, you should be able to:

- Define international studies.
- Summarize the relationship between the concepts of global “interactions” and “tensions.”
- Explain why international studies uses inside-out and outside-in approaches.
- Define each of the four forces that shape global interactions.
- Identify the utility of international studies for you.



**U.K. shopkeeper open for business during pandemic.**

Hollie Adams/Getty Images

Trump administration banned the export of protective masks and ordered U.S. companies producing masks overseas to redirect their orders back to the United States. This led to accusations that the United States had dramatically “hijacked” a plane full of Chinese-made masks that were about to be flown to France.<sup>7</sup> In all, 69 countries restricted the export of medical equipment or medicine.<sup>8</sup> This fueled further commentary about de-globalization, an idea born before the pandemic with the election of Donald Trump and the United Kingdom’s vote to leave the European Union (EU). Forces for greater international interaction and integration were said to be weaker now than in past decades. On issues such as climate change, migration, and trade, the world appeared to lack leaders interested in global solutions.

This is not to say that powerful actors were uninterested in asserting themselves. Only weeks after the world watched China put 760 million people in various levels of lockdown, and as schools and offices in the United States began to close, China went from being the site of the outbreak to a would-be global leader.<sup>9</sup> China made 80% of the world’s antibiotics, half of the world’s surgical masks, and the majority of the core chemicals used in generic medicines.<sup>10</sup> As Donald Trump suspended U.S. contributions to the World Health Organization, China proudly dispatched medical personnel and equipment to Europe, leading to Serbia’s president to publicly kiss the Chinese flag. Away from the headline-grabbing tension between the United States and Chinese governments, scientific communities in both countries teamed up to learn more about the virus.<sup>11</sup> The pandemic revealed how, in the 21st century, the United States was no longer the sole superpower, China had become the world’s factory, and governments were not the only actors that mattered. It also revealed the unintended consequences that come with interconnectedness: As East African countries faced another year of devastating locust swarms, efforts to combat the crop-eating locusts were crippled by COVID-19-related restrictions that meant fewer deliveries of pesticides and fewer helicopters for spraying.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, Chinese ambassadors across Africa were summoned to answer for the use of evictions and harassment of China’s African migrations.<sup>13</sup> More Africans study in China than in Europe and the United States combined, but many suffered during the pandemic.<sup>14</sup> One Ugandan student in China said, “I’ve been sleeping under the bridge for four days with no food to eat. . . . I cannot buy food anywhere, no shops or restaurants will serve me.”<sup>15</sup> On some U.S. college campuses, Asian and Asian-American students reported racism and

Having turned the corner on its own outbreak, China began to reopen its factories and load ships with goods for export to Europe. As ships began their month-long journey, however, Europe shut down as the virus spread. Ships with billions of dollars’ worth of goods arrived in Europe only to find ports already full with goods with no consumer demand.<sup>5</sup> As the global demand for oil plummeted, some oil producers had to pay oil buyers to take oil off their hands.<sup>6</sup>

World leaders spoke of the need for the globe to act as one, but everywhere cooperation appeared to break down. India’s nationalist government banned the export of a drug that some countries hoped could help with the virus. The

xenophobia. The target of the abuse was an ethnic Asian student, yet the student is a U.S. citizen, not an international student. But, in the mind of the message's creator, a nonwhite student seemed international at a time when over 350,000 Chinese students studied in the United States.<sup>16</sup> Not only was the message biased on the grounds of nationality (against Chinese students), but also it was biased on the grounds of ethnicity and race (against Asian-Americans). As one Vietnamese student wrote to us, the photo "shows how the 'model minority' stereotype could quickly flip to the 'yellow peril' narrative because Asian people – US citizens or not – are always assumed to be foreign." This small example shows the complex ways the COVID-19 pandemic played out, even between people who were not sick from the virus. Similar anti-immigrant scenes unfolded in places as distant as Kuwait, Hungary, and Colombia.<sup>17</sup>

The pandemic revealed tensions between loyalties to global versus local communities, but it also revealed tensions within nations, as groups fought over which groups were most deserving of help. Thus, the pandemic was exacerbated in countries such as the United States and Brazil, where nationalist leaders spent weeks downplaying the severity of the crisis while taking aim at political opponents, media, and migrants.<sup>18</sup>

The challenge of this pandemic, the forces and interactions that propelled it, and the tensions that resulted are an unfortunate but stark illustration of themes in this textbook. In the examples above, we see a variety of actors, such as governments, international organizations, corporations, scientists, migrants, and students. We see a variety of places where these actors interact, such as ports, college campuses, and global cities. We also see tensions in the interactions, between global cooperation and taking care of one's own self first, or between countries with the power to change the behavior of corporations versus weaker countries where children go without vaccinations. These are the people, places, and themes we will learn about in this textbook.

The pandemic played out in the real lives of hundreds of millions of people who suffered sickness, unemployment, bankruptcy, and more. For billions more, the pandemic played out in a very 21st century way: online. On a handful of globally dominant social media platforms, people shared their experiences of the pandemic—the horror, the anxiety, the boredom—without filters from governments or media organizations. This was a new way for humans to experience global crises, thanks in large part to the global spread of smartphones and Internet access. Apple, for example, recently sold more than 60 million iPhones *every three months*, and more were sold in China than in any other country.<sup>19</sup> People all over the Global South have access to content on Facebook, YouTube, WeChat, Instagram, and Twitter that is generated from people and organizations around the world (see Figure 1.1). And people aren't just watching cats play piano. Smartphones have become essential tools in the

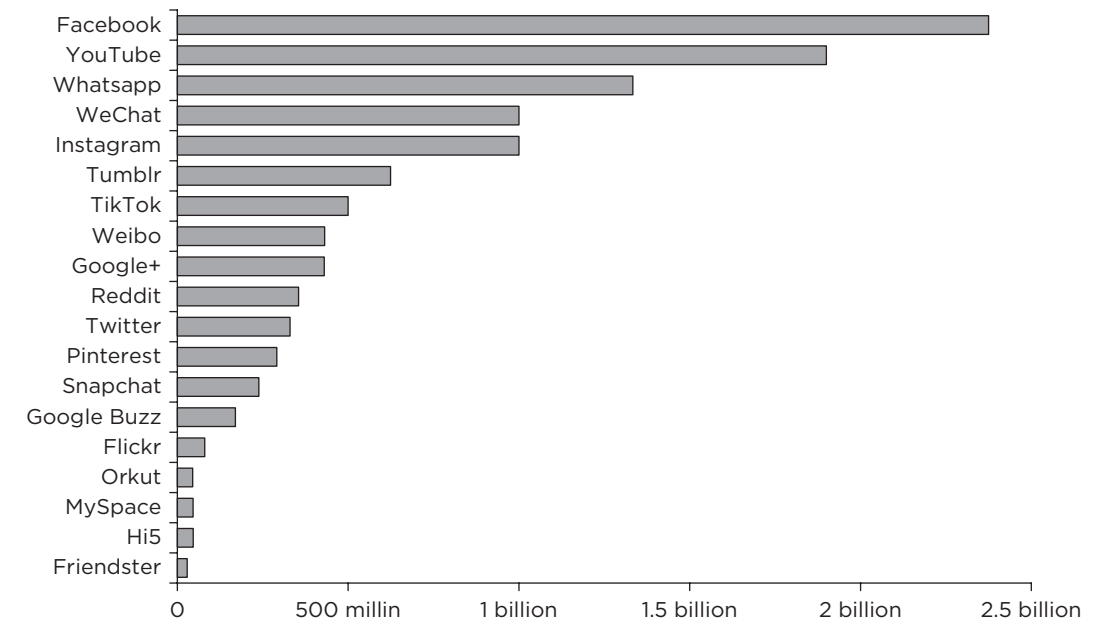


**This picture was taken in a student dorm and shared with the authors. The message, "Fuck Wuhan, Save USA," powerfully invokes the tensions of our global age.**

USA

Photo used with permission.

**FIGURE 1.1**  
Global Increase in Social Media  
Estimates for monthly active users in 2018.



Data source: <https://datacatalog.worldbank.org/dataset/world-development-indicators>  
World Development Indicators, The World Bank



**M-Pesa**  
Flickr user Rosenfeld Media, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/rosenfeldmedia/7171804334>.  
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management of everyday life. In Kenya, for example, mobile banking—whereby even at a stall in an open market you can pay with a mobile phone for rice or fruit—has taken the country by storm. The mobile money transfer system initially developed in East Africa now has spread to countries in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and other parts of Africa.

International studies, however, does not consider our world and the interactions that structure it as uniformly positive. The power and reach of information technology provide governments with a newfound ability to surveil, control, and censor. While mobile banking has taken off in Kenya, in nearby Ethiopia, the government has purchased technology that allows it to spy on opposition political forces. The international



connections run deeper. An Italian company, Hacking Team, sold it to Ethiopia, and we know this because other global actors, in this case Wikileaks, published a record of the relationship between the private Italian technology company and the Ethiopian government.<sup>20</sup> New media also allows for the spread of misinformation (so-called “fake news”). Myths about the virus, including how to cure it and who to blame for it, spread to millions online. This included the myth that 5G masts could spread the virus, leading to 40 masts being attacked by arsonists in the United Kingdom. One study found 59% of content on Twitter proven to be false remained online.<sup>21</sup>

These examples point to the interconnected and complicated world in which we live. It is a world marked by **globalization**, which through markets and information shrinks the space that separates people and connects them through products and ideas. It is a world with tremendous possibility and opportunity, in which technological advances and the flows of information, people, and material can improve and even transform lives. But it is also a world with winners and losers, where global markets and other global forces can negatively impact lives and reinforce inequality.

As a body of thought and teaching, international studies invites students to learn about and, in particular, to analyze and make sense of our complex world. At the same time, international studies can seem vague. What is international studies? What is an international studies approach? In this book, we offer a simple approach, one that we hope will help you understand your world better and provide you with the analytic foundations for a lifetime of learning. It is that framework and the core ideas in international studies that we detail in the remainder of the chapter.



**Rome's police use drones to monitor people during coronavirus.**

Alessandro Serrano"/AGF/Universal Images Group/Newscom

**globalization:**  
multidimensional and transnational ways in which people, things, information, and ideas interact and are interconnected across space and time.

Jim is a trapper in rural Wisconsin, near one of our homes. He traps raccoons, beavers, and coyotes, among other animals. When working, he prefers to wear camouflage outfits bought from a local superstore that caters to farmers, a Farm and Fleet, and he drives a highly accessorized Ranger all-terrain vehicle (ATV) that is the envy of many of his neighbors.

At one level, Jim would seem cut off from the rest of the world. Rural Wisconsin is not cosmopolitan New York, Shanghai, Paris, or Rio de Janeiro. Jim's town has a few thousand

residents; it is fairly isolated. The main issues of the day are local, such as whether to issue a bond for a new public school in the area. Jim lives off the land. But ask Jim about trapping, as one of us did recently, and he was quick to answer that business was really bad. Why? His answer opined on the state of the economy in Russia and China. It turns out the price of fur pelts depends on demand in those countries, which in turn is connected to the global price of oil (in Russia) and global consumer demand (in China).

*(Continued)*



(Continued)

The global connections do not stop there. The company Polaris makes Jim's Ranger. Based near Minneapolis, Minnesota, Polaris is a manufacturer of snowmobiles, ATVs, motorcycles, and a variety of other motorized equipment. The company has distributors in countries on all five continents, from Algeria and Afghanistan to Tanzania and Venezuela. Although its main manufacturing sites are in the United States, Polaris also makes vehicles in India, China, France, Mexico, and Poland. At our local Farm and Fleet, the clothing for sale—socks, T-shirts, dress shirts, hats, and boots, in addition to Jim's waders and camouflage jacket—is made in factories around the world, from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to Morocco and Mauritius.

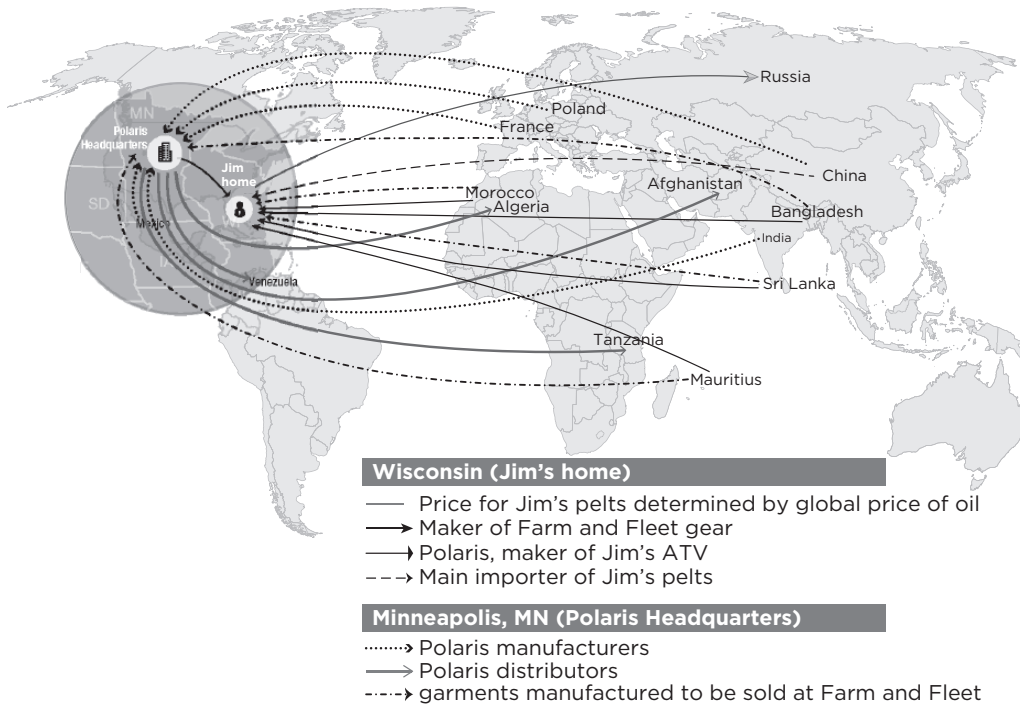


**Fur pelts for sale.**

Flicker user Joe Ross, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/joeross/6743972159>. Licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/>

**FIGURE 1.2**

### Mapping Our International Networks



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## A FRAMEWORK FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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**International studies** is the study of global interactions, the tensions those interactions produce, and the forces and actors that play a role in them. **Global interactions** are the myriad ways in which people, things, information, and ideas intersect in our world. Global interactions are the raw material of international studies. By focusing on global interactions, we can start asking a specific set of questions about issues or events taking place in the world. Who and what is interacting? From where do those interactions come? What are the policies and institutions that facilitate and govern those interactions?

International studies is concerned with the **global tensions** that result from these interactions. Our world and the interactions that structure it are not only a source of commonality and community but also rife with tension and conflict. Inequality is baked into our world order. Millions suffer who need not. Billions live on a dollar a day while others jet around the world on private planes. Many of the global challenges we discuss in this textbook are actually *tensions*, such as climate change or civil war, that have resulted from *interactions*.

We describe international studies as providing an **inside-out and outside-in perspective**. This means that we consider actors and events at the global level—such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, or human trafficking—to be no more or no less important than actors and events that occur within states—such as domestic politics, ethnic groups, labor unions, or life in slums. It is important to understand how “the local” affects “the global” as well as how “the global” affects “the local.”

Last, international studies is primarily interested in contemporary issues and challenges. International studies is not a single scholarly discipline, such as sociology or history. Rather, we are primarily concerned with the global challenges of the day, and we draw from across established scholarly disciplines for the analytical tools to help understand them. See Figure 1.3 for an illustration of how all of these pieces of the framework fit together.

**international studies:** study of global interactions, the tensions those interactions produce, and the forces and actors that play a role in them.

**global interactions:** ways in which people, things, information, and ideas intersect across and within borders.

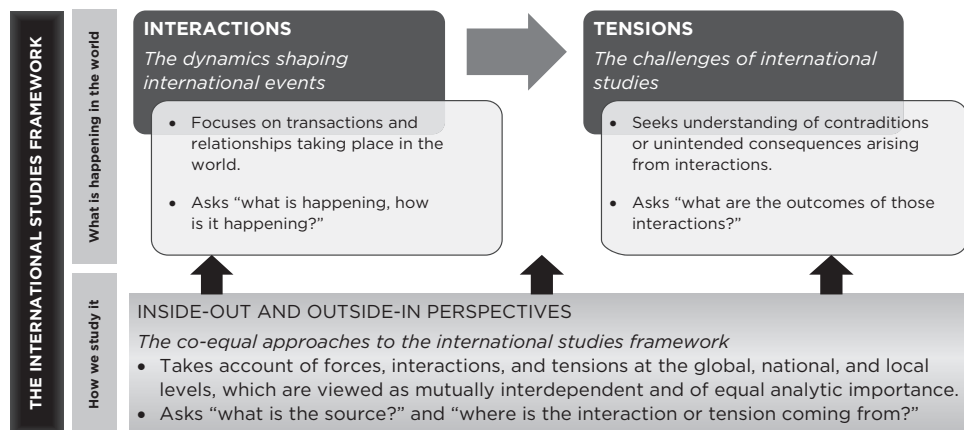
**global tensions:** resentments, frustrations, and conflicts that arise from global interactions.

**FIGURE 1.3**

### International Studies Framework

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*International studies* is the study of global interactions, the tensions those interactions produce, and the forces and actors that shape them. It seeks to explain those interactions and tensions by analyzing them from both “outside-in” and “inside-out” perspectives.



**inside-out and outside-in perspective:** approach that emphasizes looking at bottom-up, within-country processes and looking at top-down, international processes that cut across national borders.

In the sections that follow, we will further explore these concepts by illustrating what we mean by interactions leading to tensions, and we will explain the necessity for taking both “inside-out” and “outside-in” views of global issues and challenges.

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## GLOBAL INTERACTIONS

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Interactions occur whenever people come into contact, whenever they share ideas, or whenever they exchange objects with others. So, for instance, interactions can be about the movement of people across borders—as economic migrants, as refugees, as tourists, or as students. Interactions can be about the movement of goods and services across borders—from the food we eat, to the clothing we wear, to the music we hear, to the movies we watch, to the cars that we drive. Interactions can be about the movement of ideas across borders—ideas about gender equality, about the value of free markets, or about religion. Interactions can be about the movement of money across borders—from huge sums of currency or stock market trades, to small remittances of migrants in one country to their families back home. Interactions can also be social and political. They include the ways in which activists in one country may lobby on behalf of people in another country or the way in which intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) like the United Nations may deploy troops from many countries to help stabilize another country. In sum, by focusing on interactions, international studies allows us to study the multiple, overlapping types of exchanges that take place across and within national borders.

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## GLOBAL TENSIONS

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The movement of people through migration, goods, information, and ideas creates tensions. What counts as a tension? When the price of subsistence food or even water is subjected to global markets (an interaction), that can lead to real hardship and ultimately to protest, as it has in places such as Mexico and Bolivia. Those economic outcomes and the political protests are examples of tensions. The airing of certain movies and television shows in which women dress in short sleeves and skirts (an interaction) can unintentionally offend the tastes of traditionalists (a tension). To some observers, the rise of *jihadist* organizations such as the Islamic State (a tension) points to a backlash against the forces of globalization (an interaction). Islamic State leaders proclaim an aversion to Western values and power as domineering and dangerous, via global interactions, to Islamic values. At the same time, to communicate and recruit, the Islamic State employs the tools of international interactions: YouTube, Internet chat rooms, and texting connect an Islamic State partisan in Syria to a resident in Minneapolis, while global transportation networks enable the movement of would-be militants from England to Yemen. As you can see, interactions give rise to tensions, which give rise to other interactions, and so on.

Let’s consider another example of how tensions—in both positive and negative forms—can flow from interactions: the International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICC is at one level a pinnacle for human rights on a global scale. Based in the Hague (Netherlands),

the ICC tries individuals for crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes when domestic courts are unable or unwilling to prosecute such crimes. The premise is that these are global crimes, crimes that offend a universal sense of humanity. The ICC is one of the most potent symbols of the global reach of intergovernmental organizations. States around the world become members of the ICC, and the court's jurisdiction in turn extends to those states and in some cases beyond. The court itself is a site of multiple interactions—of lawyers and investigators from around the world, of members state from around the world, and of ideas of international human rights that in theory apply to all people everywhere. In some cases, the court has taken bold measures. For example, the court issued an arrest warrant for Omar al-Bashir, then-president of Sudan, on charges of committing genocide and crimes against humanity. Think about that for a moment: An international court based in the Netherlands indicted a sitting president of Sudan for massive crimes against civilians. For some, such a move is the epitome of the promise of human rights: to declare some crimes so horrible that they shock humanity and should be punishable in an international court.

When considered from another perspective, however, how would you feel if the president of your country were indicted by an international court? Perhaps not surprisingly, the court has aroused significant opposition among leaders in Africa and the Philippines, where to date the court has focused most of its cases. As a result, although some human rights activists see the ICC as the institution that can finally hold the perpetrators of the worst human rights crimes accountable for the worst human rights crimes, others in Africa and elsewhere see the court as an example of colonial-style power of the powerful over the weak. They see the court as imposing values on African states and disallowing Africans to solve their own problems—even if many African states had previously endorsed the court. In short, the ICC inspires tension and friction even while for some advocates it is the realization of a dream of universal punishment for the worst crimes. The examples are many. An international studies perspective brings these possible tensions into focus.

## International Studies and Globalization

### WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?

Is international studies any different from the study of globalization? They certainly overlap. In general, we are relaxed about using the two terms throughout the book, but we argue that they are not the same. The first problem with the term “globalization” is that it has come to mean many things to many people. To some,

globalization represents Americanization or McDonaldization, which means it is a process by which American actors, especially U.S. corporations and the U.S. military, and American ideas, including consumerism and individualism, extend their domination across the world at the expense of non-U.S. societies. But to

*(Continued)*

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others, globalization is a new age of reason, in which oppressive governments and poverty are becoming things of the past, and the fruits of which are globally minded citizens connected online and feeling unbound by national borders. For our purposes, however, a term that can mean such different things, while being so provocative, should not anchor a field.

Second, globalization usually refers to a specific historical period. Our current global era is probably only a few decades old. Societies go through phases of lesser or greater connectivity and interaction. International studies focuses on big global issues, but it is not tied to a specific historical period. So, globalization is a period in time, while international studies is an approach to studying the world at any time.

To make this point highlights the ways in which the history of the world is not marching progressively forward in some linear fashion. Our interconnected world also creates tension and conflict, sometimes in unpredictable ways, between actors within and across states (see the earlier discussion of de-globalization).

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## AN INSIDE-OUT/OUTSIDE-IN APPROACH

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International studies has a predominant focus on global issues. In that, international studies shares much with other fields of study, such as the international relations subfield of political science. Whereas international relations focuses mostly on what states are doing internationally and how that affects people within borders (i.e., from the outside-in), an international studies approach looks *also* at global processes from the inside-out, where “inside” means within a country. In other words, international studies takes seriously domestic, grassroots actors and bottom-up interactions in particular places, and the international studies approach seeks to adopt their perspectives on global problems as well.

International studies pays close attention to local context and to local meanings with the understanding that global processes and globalization occur in particular places. For example, human trafficking is global, yet each instance of a trafficked human does not take place “in a globe,” but in a specific location, and that specific location has a specific history and culture. If the topic is climate change, global health, or global poverty, an international studies approach will take seriously not only the global forces at work in shaping these issues but also how livelihoods and attitudes in particular places are fundamentally important.

One aspect of the spread of global markets is the spread of information technology. One approach to understanding that phenomenon would be to examine the global supply chains, the global flow of goods and services across borders, and the global financial markets that contribute to the production of an iPhone and that allow it to be sold all over the world. Indeed, different parts of the iPhone are made in different parts of the world, even if designed in California, and sold in almost every country of the world. These are outside-in perspectives: to look at how global markets shape consumer choices around

the world and are embedded in global supply chains, underpinned by economic policy that allows capital and goods to move easily across borders. International studies examines these processes, as we do later in the book.

But international studies also takes much more domestic, locally rooted processes into account. For example, on the question of iPhones, how do people in different countries use their technology? How do they inflect their own values, ideas, and priorities into their uses of smartphones? To Indians in New Delhi, are iPhones used in the same ways that New Yorkers in the United States use their iPhones? Are they used for social purposes, like connecting with friends or finding dates? Are they used for economic purposes, like selling in online marketplaces or checking market information like crop prices? Or are they used for purposes of identity, such as the desire to be seen with a smartphone? Moreover, an inside-out perspective might disaggregate the category of “Indians” to look at differences among economic classes, among religions, among language groups, or among gender groups. Those bottom-up, micro-level considerations that ground disciplines such as anthropology and sociology are as important as the top-down, macro-level concerns that often ground international relations or international political economy. This focus on *both* outside-in and inside-out processes *defines* international studies.



**Artists in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh take a selfie before a show.**

SAJJAD HUSSAIN/AFP via Getty Images

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## GLOBAL FORCES

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As you know by now, international studies is all about global interactions and the tensions that result. But what is driving these interactions? We focus on four specific global forces, which we argue are major influences on the contemporary world and matter for every global problem described throughout the book. These **global forces** structure interactions that drive change in the world. The four forces are as follows:

- **Global markets.** This is the reach and depth of supply and demand across borders. Through changes in communication, transportation, government policy, and computer technology, global markets are deep and powerful and they play a major role in all of our lives.
- **Information and communications technology.** Whereas much of the world was once cut off and limited from communication outside their home areas, today cell phone and Internet penetration are nearly universal. Information and communications technology power global online interactions, reshape the spread of information, and even impact security and elections around the world.

**global forces:** particularly powerful, cross-cutting drivers of global interactions and tensions. Global forces matter on almost any global issue. They are specific to our present global age.

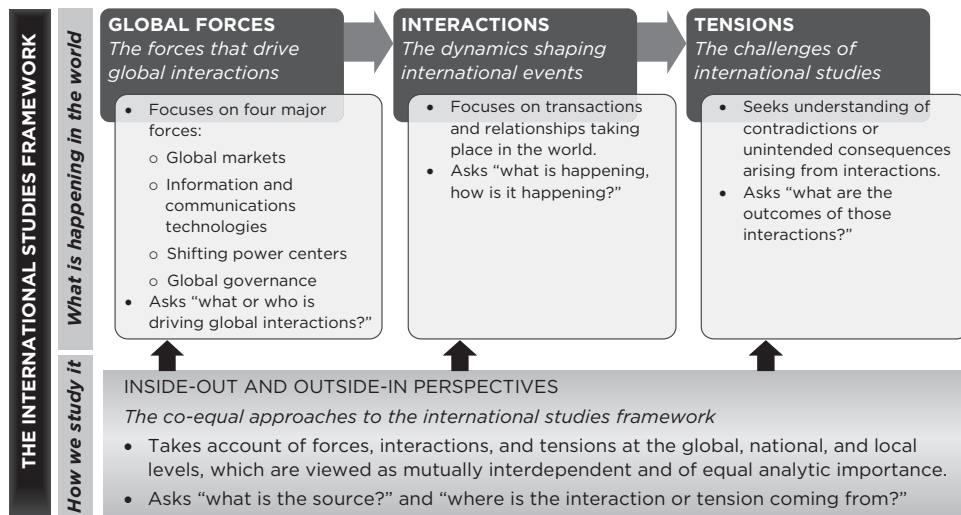


- **Shifting centers of power in the world.** In the past, the highly industrialized states of the global north—in western Europe, North America, and Japan—dominated world politics and global economics. That is no longer the case. Now global affairs are affected by the rise of large, developing countries, such as China, Russia, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, Mexico, Vietnam, Nigeria, and South Africa. While the advanced industrialized countries remain influential, several countries with immense populations are growing economically and asserting their power on a global stage in new and significant ways.
- **Global governance.** This is the way in which multiple institutions and actors seek to manage complex international issues by making and enforcing rules. We make two observations. First, global governance is *crowded*. Rule-making, rule enforcement, and rule management for global issues is no longer the unique purview of states. Today, a large range of actors enter into that process of governance—intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), advocacy networks, businesses, and even citizens are shaping public discourse about how to manage global issues. Second, global governance is *uneven*: There are major issues where global governance is present, such as trade and nuclear weapons, as well as areas where it is weak, such as climate change or global finance.

Let's look at these global forces in greater detail. Figure 1.4 also shows how our global forces fit into the overall framework.

**FIGURE 1.4**  
Global Forces

*International studies* is the study of global interactions, the tensions those interactions produce, and the forces and actors that shape them. It seeks to explain those interactions and tensions by analyzing them from both “outside-in” and “inside-out” perspectives.



## Global Markets

Our first global force driving interactions is **global markets** or what some people call economic globalization. Several elements of global markets—trade, finance, and production—each drive interactions between societies, and each can produce tensions. The Markets chapter 7 will go into further detail.

**global markets:** arena in which goods and services are traded across borders.

## Growth of Trade

The first way economic globalization constitutes a global force that drives interactions is the enormity of **global trade**, which we can think of as the cross-border movement of commercial goods (i.e., physical things for sale). The volume of that trade has exploded over time. In 1953, world merchandise trade was worth \$84 billion in U.S. dollars, but in 2018, it was worth \$19.5 *trillion*.<sup>22</sup> Because economies are so interconnected, and because of the speed with which goods, money, and information can flow, economic events in one corner of the globe have ripple effects that are felt far away.

For example, when China made its currency cheaper in 2015, it raised unemployment in Zambia. Why? Because investors knew that China devaluing its currency meant China was worried about its future economic growth. Investors then speculated that China's trading partners, like Zambia, would suffer as a result, so they sold their investments in copper, which is Zambia's major export. Lower prices for copper meant lower profitability for copper mining companies in Zambia, which responded by laying off workers. This all happened in the space of one month. While China represented an export market for Zambia, it also increased Zambia's sensitivity (or vulnerability) to developments in China.

**global trade:** buying and selling of goods and services across borders.

Trade also acts as a global force because of what are called **distributional effects** within countries, meaning that there are winners and losers from trade. For example, many of western Europe's manufacturing industries moved to Southeast Asia over the past decades. Although some people have moved from factories to office jobs in things like finance or insurance, it also led to unemployment and political agitation by working-class voters who were harmed. In some countries, unions that represented the workers became staunch opponents of trade liberalization, including the free movement of migrant workers. Today, many industrialized countries have strong anti-immigrant and xenophobic political parties. So, when boats carrying Arab or African refugees capsize off the Italian coast, we should see the connection between a decline in European manufacturing decades ago, the decline in public support for immigration that resulted, and reluctance in Europe today to help even the most desperate migrants. We will learn more about trade, including President Trump's trade war, in Chapter 7. We will also learn more about the role played by free trade in the election of Donald Trump and the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union in the next chapter.

**distributional effects:** how distinct people or places are differentially affected by an event, such as a change in taxation or import of a product.



Union workers protests outsourcing of jobs in Washington, DC.

Mark Wilson/Getty Images



## Growth of Finance

**financial globalization:** how people and places are linked through the cross-border flow of finance, such as foreign direct investment or the trading of stocks and bonds.

The growth of global finance or what some call **financial globalization** refers to flows of money around the world. This activity is centered on the world's major stock markets, where one can buy shares in a Chinese company through the Shanghai stock market, where a Costa Rican can buy shares in Germany's heavy industries, or where a German can buy and sell the currencies of Canada or Japan. Up until a few decades ago, however, one could not simply invest in whichever country one pleased. Many countries, including developed economies, placed limits on how much money could come in and out of their economy. But today about 75% of countries have stock markets.<sup>23</sup> The value of all the shares traded is in the tens of trillions of dollars. This does not even include bond markets, in which investors trade in loans to governments or corporations, which itself involves tens of billions in annual transactions. Although most countries, rich or poor, seek investment, not all money flowing into an economy is good. Let's look at an example of how money floating about in the international economy can produce tensions when it moves in and out of a state's borders.

The price of oil was high in the 2000s. This was good news for oil-exporting countries like Saudi Arabia and Russia. As they exported billions of barrels of oil, the world repaid them by pumping billions of dollars into their government bank accounts. Oil exporters then deposited the money in the world's largest private banks to earn interest. Eager to put the money to work, banks in turn loaned this money elsewhere, creating "easy money," meaning loans (credit) that were cheap for borrowers. Some of it was loaned to developing countries hungry for investment, but it was also loaned to consumers in places like Dublin and Arizona who were happy to have low interest rates on mortgages and credit cards. But once some borrowers could not repay—such as home owners in Cincinnati or the government of Greece—banks announced that they had loaned out too much money. It is tempting to think of the U.S. mortgage crisis of 2008 as being caused when people irresponsibly took out mortgages they could not afford. But there were deeper causes to be found in the growth of global finance, in which banks eager to loan their money engaged in risky lending and were tightly connected across borders.

**foreign direct investment (FDI):** ownership and management of a productive asset in another country, such as owning a factory or farm.

**multinational corporation (MNC):** corporation that undertakes production in more than one country. Also known as a *transnational corporation (TNC)*.

## Internationalization of Production

The internationalization of production means the proliferation of business activity across the globe. When a company expands abroad by building or buying a factory in a foreign country, that activity is called **foreign direct investment (FDI)**, and the company is then a **multinational corporation (MNC)**. The world's stock of FDI—the total amount of cumulated foreign investment everywhere in the world—went from less than \$700 billion in 1980 to over \$23 *trillion* in 2018.<sup>24</sup> The MNCs engaged in these investments number in the tens of thousands, and they employ almost 100 million people worldwide. But they are overwhelmingly headquartered in industrialized countries: 92 of the largest 100 MNCs are headquartered in just the United States, western Europe, or Japan.<sup>25</sup>

Although we are aware of global U.S. companies like Coca Cola and General Electric, some of the largest public companies in the world are Chinese, and that many products we think of as American are not: Budweiser (Belgium), 7-Eleven (Japan), Popsicle (England). So the internationalization of production is not a U.S. phenomenon. Moreover, about half of all goods imported into the United States are "intra-firm," which is when a company trades with itself. For example, when a car manufacturer in Kentucky imports tires from a

rubber factory it owns in Malaysia, that is an intra-firm trade. In Chapter 7, we will learn more about this with the example of iPhones.

Over the past few decades, most FDI has gone from one developed country to another, not to developing countries. In recent years, however, this has started to change, with developing countries receiving almost half of all FDI, with most going to Asia and especially China. FDI also creates major tensions within developing countries. In return for companies investing billions to construct heavy machinery to extract these materials, and for paying the highly educated engineers to operate them, governments offer things like no taxation of company profits for several years, relocation of local people from the area, or relaxation of environmental or labor standards. Some scholars are concerned about a **race to the bottom** among developing countries, who are eager to weaken labor laws and environmental protections in order to attract investment. An example of this was the circumstances contributing to the 2013 Dhaka garment factory disaster in which 1,134 people died.



Relatives of workers who died in the Rana Plaza disaster call on corporations to sign a safety accord.

MUNIR UZ ZAMAN/AFP via Getty Images

**race to the bottom:** theory that countries competitively lower their labor and environmental standards in order to attract foreign investment.

**information and communications technology (ICT):** information technology plus a variety of audio and visual communications technology, such as smartphones and television networks.

## Information and Communications Technology

At different points in international history, new forms of **information and communications technology (ICT)** have shrunk time and space, bringing people around the world closer together. Technologies such as the Morse Code, the telegraph, the radio, the printing press, a global postal system, and of course the telephone allowed people around the world to communicate with each other more efficiently and cheaply than ever before. The contemporary period, however, differs from previous ones in the scale and intensity of the effects of ICT. During the last 50 years, investment and development in these technologies have been massive, and the result has been the availability of more efficient, cheaper, faster, and more sophisticated devices.

Also crucial is the distribution of ICT. In previous periods, only elites had access to technologies such as the telegraph or the printing press. True, the Bible and the Koran reached large audiences via the printing press, and radio was a cheap means of communication with widespread adoption. But today advanced ICT touches all parts of the world. Many observers consider ours the “information age” and our society a “network society.”<sup>26</sup> Your parents probably did not grow up with a computer in their home or a cell phone. When they did get them, their first computers were likely clunky, slow, and heavy pieces of equipment that had primitive access to information, primarily through floppy disks. Computers then—until the mid-1990s—did not have access to the Internet and e-mail; when they did, it was through a dial-up modem. Today in the United States 92% of households own at least one computer device and 88% of households use the Internet.<sup>27</sup>

**democratization of information:**

ease and decentralized nature of how individuals may access and disseminate information using modern technology.

**cost of information:**

price to access and disseminate information; modern information and communications technology reduces the price drastically.

The rapid adoption of ICT certainly does not apply only to the United States. Over half of the global population uses the Internet.<sup>28</sup> In recent years, an average of 640,000 people went online each day for the first time.<sup>29</sup> Figure 1.5 shows the percentage of the global population using the Internet, as well as the percentage by regional and income groupings. While industrialized countries led the way, there has been rapid growth in Internet use globally in the past two decades.

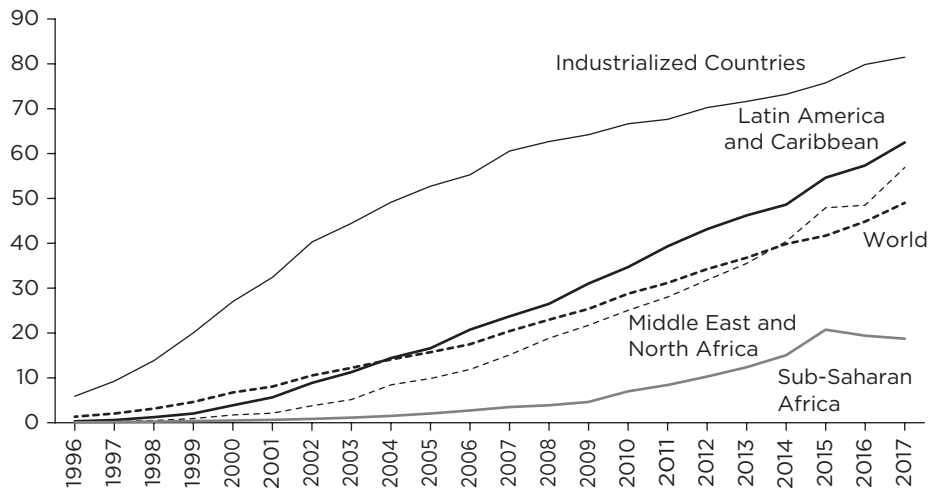
Mobile phone use has grown even faster: By 2016, there was one mobile phone subscription for every person in the world.<sup>30</sup> The pattern shown in Figure 1.6 reveals an extraordinary pace of increase, given that mobile phone subscriptions essentially began in the mid-1990s. The World Bank says that the spread of mobile technology is “unmatched in the history of technology.”<sup>31</sup>

The global implications of this surge in access to mobile and Internet communications are huge. We are witnessing a remarkable **democratization of information**. Although Internet access is correlated to income level, the reality is that even the poorest in the lowest income countries today have access to cell phones. In contrast to centralized information systems, such as radio and television, the spread of ICT in the contemporary world is decentralized. Information is moving in literally millions of directions at any one moment in time, rather than information flowing from a central point to points of reception, which is the case with traditional forms of media. At the most basic level, people can communicate much more easily with each other. That is, the **cost of information** has decreased so

**FIGURE 1.5**

Share of Populations Using the Internet, 1995–2017

All individuals who have used the Internet in the last three months are counted as Internet users. Includes use of computer, phone, games, TV, etc.

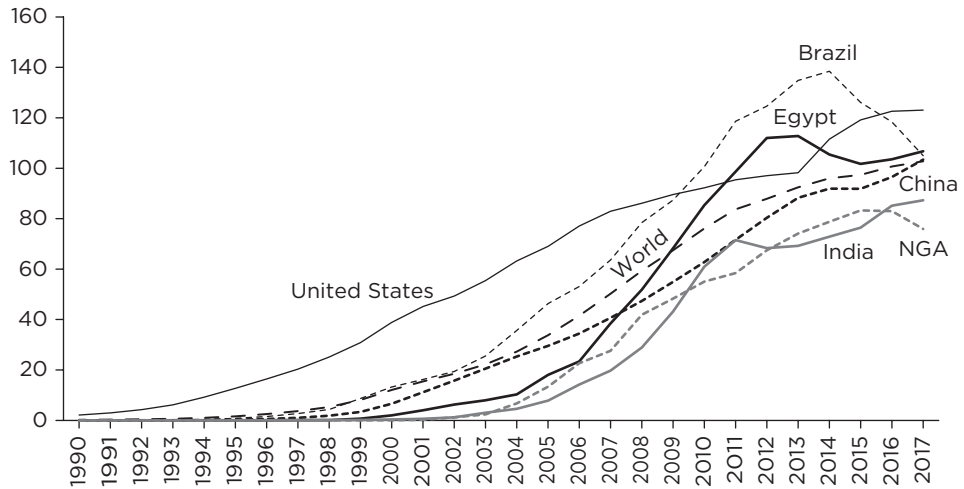


Data source: <https://datacatalog.worldbank.org/dataset/world-development-indicators>

World Development Indicators, The World Bank

**FIGURE 1.6**

Sharp Global Increase in Mobile Phone Use  
 Mobile phone subscriptions per 100 people, 1990 to 2017



Data source: <https://datacatalog.worldbank.org/dataset/world-development-indicators>

World Development Indicators, The World Bank

remarkably that information is almost free to many Internet users around the world. With Google or some other search engine, millions of bits of information are available in a second or two. In other words, in addition to the cost, the **speed of information** flows has increased exponentially. People can “self-inform.” When repression takes place, people know—and they can communicate it almost instantaneously. Citizens can organize more effectively. They can coordinate protests through Twitter accounts and film atrocities if the police crack down on them. ICT should democratize the world. Information is power, and many now have low-cost access to it.

We can identify these views as those of **technology optimists**. They look at the world, and they see that whole swaths of the global population—some five billion people—will now have information connectivity that they never had before. In the optimists’ view, the changes will be massive. In economics, people will be more productive than ever before. In finance, ordinary citizens and mega investors can affect trades immediately or move money around the world with great ease. In agriculture, local farmers can know through a text message what the market price of their product is. In health, consumers can research medicines and treatments without necessarily relying on physicians; they can receive text messages about when to take certain medications. Businesses can coordinate global supply chains in dozens of countries through sophisticated software. The depth of change is from politics, to finance, to agriculture, to health, to name a few. Soon computers will drive us to work and school! These are some of the key ideas that Eric Schmidt, the co-founder of Google, and Jared Cohen, a former adviser to the U.S. State Department and founder of Google Ideas,

**speed of information:** rate at which information may be accessed and disseminated.

**technology optimists:** those who believe that technology will have broad and positive impacts on society, culture, and politics.

stressed in their book, *The New Digital Age: Transforming Nations, Businesses, and Our Lives*. In their words, the new age will see “every crime and atrocity caught on camera,” “pills that tell your phone what’s wrong with your body,” “digital insurgencies bring down autocratic leaders,” and “unprecedented power in the hands of people,” among other major changes.

*Watch Schmidt and Cohen at [tinyurl.com/y7stxnqf](http://tinyurl.com/y7stxnqf).*

Technological advances, however, have also increased the capacity for surveillance, which can have profoundly anti-democratic effects. The same technologies that can harness people power to organize protests to challenge dictatorships also can help terrorist organizations recruit or radicalize people online. The same search engines that provide cheap access to streams of useful information also can lead to unhelpful or incorrect information.

Social networking allow us to know more about the lives of our friends and family; we can also be in touch with each other more quickly and cheaply. But in a major study, Sherry Turkle found that humans are losing the ability to meaningfully connect with each other. We are “alone together” in the sense that we have removed ourselves and do not know how to have meaningful conversations with one another.

*Compare Sherry Turkle’s TED Talk to Jared Cohen’s: [tinyurl.com/ybut2yup](http://tinyurl.com/ybut2yup).*

There are other, more skeptical voices in the technology debate. Like those who argue that the effects of markets will be to widen economic inequalities between populations around the globe, some claim that technology will benefit those who already have the skills and education to take advantage of such technology. Rather than levelling differences, as Cohen and Schmidt argue, information and communications technology will benefit the wealthy while doing little for the poor. Rather than being a source of innovation, according to some, the power of information and communications technology will allow big corporations to monitor, track, and target consumers better. In the end, big business will benefit, as Shoshana Zuboff argues:

Capitalism has always evolved by claiming things that exist outside the market and bringing them into the market for sale and purchase. This is how we turned making a living into “labor” and nature into “real estate.” Surveillance capitalism now claims private human experience as free raw material for translation into behavioral predictions that are bought and sold in a new kind of private marketplace. And it takes place almost completely without our knowledge. . . . It works like this: Ads press teenagers on Friday nights to buy pimple cream, triggered by predictive analyses that show their social anxieties peaking as the weekend approaches. “Pokémon Go” players are herded to nearby bars, fast-food joints and shops that pay to play in its prediction markets, where “footfall” is the real-life equivalent of online clicks. This digitally informed behavior modification is carefully designed to bypass our awareness . . . These firms know everything about us, while their operations are unknowable to us. Their predictions are about us but not for us.<sup>32</sup>

*Watch Shoshana Zuboff discuss her book *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism* [tinyurl.com/yaarouxr](http://tinyurl.com/yaarouxr)*

As with global markets, technology may undercut jobs. Where once humans did the work, now machines will. Last, in the realm of human rights, although it may be true that citizens around the world will know more and can harness that information to

generate public pressure, such cyberactivism is often shallow. Will retweeting a page on atrocities in Myanmar make a difference to the human rights in that country? Does the information that recirculates make violence a show, distribute naive recommendations, and ultimately harm victims? These are the kinds of questions that some scholars have begun to ask.<sup>33</sup>

## Shifting Centers of Global Power

The third global force reshaping the world is a reorganization of power. As we proceed through the 21st century, power will essentially shift from being concentrated in the hands of old, industrialized states in western Europe, North America, and Japan to a broader array of states as well as to other types of organizations, such as intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and multinational corporations. Some authors and politicians frame the issue as “American decline.” Rather, alongside some other influential thinkers, we think the right framework is the diffusion of power rather than the decline of any one state in absolute terms. Rather than being the sole, dominant superpower, the United States will share the global stage increasingly with other states and organizations that have gained power compared with their power in the 20th century.

In the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, global power was divided between several European states and eventually the United States and Japan. The major European powers were Britain, France, Germany, and to a lesser extent Spain and Portugal. There also were the key multinational empires: the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman empires, in particular. No one state dominated international relations, although Germany sought to establish worldwide domination in the two world wars, especially the second. After World War II, the world was primarily **bipolar**, or split between two major states—the United States and the Soviet Union. This period was also known as the Cold War because the two countries sought for primacy and prepared for war but never fought against each other directly. Then after the Soviet Union, we lived in a **unipolar** world in which the United States was hegemonic.

One central way that analysts express the coming global shift is the **rise of the rest**.<sup>34</sup> The main idea is that in the contemporary era, we shall witness the sustained growth and increased power of many large, developing countries. They are large both in terms of land mass but especially in terms of their population sizes. Central here is the rise of China, a country of more than 1.4 billion people that has experienced a period of astonishing and consistent growth during the past three decades. Also key is the rise of India and Brazil, countries with 1.3 billion and 210 million people, respectively, where growth also has been sustained. Also in the mix are countries such as Indonesia, with over 270 million people, Nigeria, Turkey, Pakistan, Mexico, and others.



**Pokemon Go takes a player to a supermarket in Bangkok, Thailand.**

Wachirawit Iemlerkchai / Alamy Stock Photo

**bipolar:** idea that global power is bifurcated between two primary holders, e.g., between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

**unipolar:** idea that a single power holder is dominant globally.

**rise of the rest:** expression indicating that nontraditionally dominant powers are rising in power and status globally.



**BRIC or BRICS:** expression to capture four or five large countries that are rising in global power and status; BRIC stands for Brazil, Russia, India, and China; the S stands for South Africa.

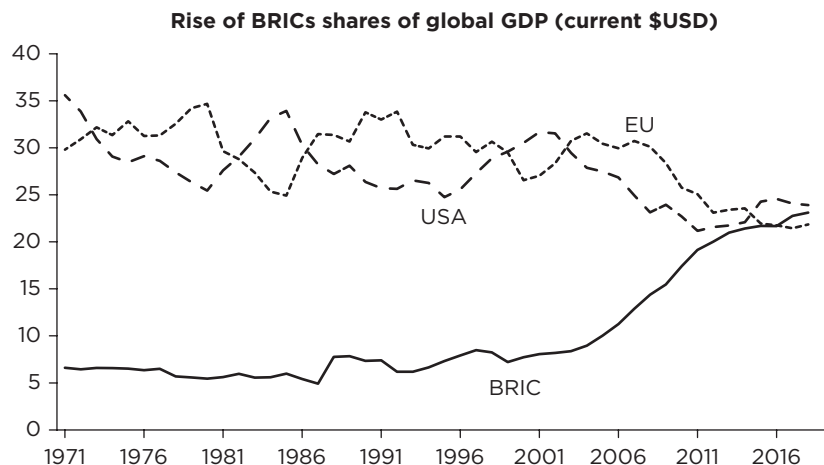
**next 11 or N-11:** like BRICS, N-11 refers to rising powers globally, in this case Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Turkey, South Korea, and Vietnam.

A few acronyms speak to these changes. Many scholars and journalists employ the acronym **BRIC or BRICS** to shorthand the rising power of new countries. A term first introduced by an analyst from Goldman Sachs, an investment firm, BRIC stands for Brazil, Russia, India, and China. The added “S,” which some include and some do not, refers to South Africa. One estimate captures the expected change nicely. In 2010, the five largest economies in the world were the United States, China, Japan, Germany, and France.<sup>35</sup> By 2050, the expected five will be China, the United States, India, Brazil, and Russia.<sup>36</sup> When these shifts will take place is uncertain, but many economists project that China will have the largest economy, measured by gross domestic product, by the mid-to-late 2020s. The rise of the BRICs is shown in Figure 1.7.

Read “COVID-19 exposes deficiencies of BRICS” at [tinyurl.com/y92gvbky](https://tinyurl.com/y92gvbky)

Goldman Sachs also has introduced the numeronym **next 11 or N-11** to refer to other developing countries that were rising in power and market share: Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Turkey, South Korea, and Vietnam. These countries are poised, according to the investment firm, to become the next BRICs. In 2000, only 5% of Fortune Global 500 list were headquartered in developing countries, but this is estimated to surge to 45% by 2025.<sup>37</sup> Emerging economies have large populations, increasingly urbanized populations, macroeconomic stability, and the human capital and technology to become a major part of the world economy in the next 50 years. Despite whether these in fact will be the “next 11,” the term indicates the rising relative power of many states that a generation ago were not seen as major world players.

**FIGURE 1.7**  
Rise of BRICs



Data from World Bank, World Development Indicators

How to characterize the contemporary era beyond the “rise of the rest” remains a question. Fareed Zakaria coins the idea of a “Post-American World.” In his account, the United States remains dominant, especially in military terms, but the rest of the world is catching up. In another influential book, political scientist Charles Kupchan employs the term “No One’s World,” which is synonymous with **nonpolarity**. He sees a world in which no one country will dominate. Even more crucially, Kupchan argues that the coming world will not be fashioned in the image of the West, which emphasizes liberal democracy, secular nationalism, and industrial capitalism. “The Chinese ship of state will not dock in the Western harbor,” writes Kupchan. The new world is one with proliferating ideologies and value systems, new economic models, and new ways to imagine the relationship between state and society. This view is shared by a variety of scholars who see the world as too complex to be easily managed by superpowers:

**nonpolarity:**  
a world in which  
there is no  
dominant power.

The danger comes not from fire – shooting wars among great powers or heated confrontations over human rights, intellectual property, or currency manipulation. The danger comes instead from ice – frozen conflicts over geopolitical, monetary, trade, or environmental issues. Given the immense costs of warfare, great powers that cannot resolve their disputes at the negotiating table no longer have the option – at least if they are rational – of settling them on the battlefield. When political arrangements do materialize, they will be short lived.<sup>38</sup>

This thesis underlines one of the themes of the book: Although the rise of the rest represents an exceptional moment of change and opportunity for literally billions of people worldwide, the tectonic shift could engender tensions that prove hard for any power to manage.

## Global Governance

Our final global force is global governance. **Global governance** refers to how something is managed: which actors are involved, what the rules are, and how strong the enforcement is. Every part of life involves some governance. In a typical Western, nuclear family, the governance structure involves parents who set rules. In a typical corporation, the board of directors establish rewards systems like pay and bonuses. But even parts of life in which no one is necessarily in charge involve governance. For example, when friends go camping, there is no parent or CEO, but there is some unspoken understanding that no one person gets to call all the shots. Campers discuss who will gather firewood, who will clean dishes, and so on. While government is about authority, governance is about common management of an issue.

**global governance:**  
formal and  
informal  
institutions,  
systems, or  
relationships  
that manage  
affairs that cut  
across national  
boundaries.

States engage in governance-making all the time. They meet to discuss highly specific things like how many miles out into the sea our “state” extends or how we should compensate the postal service in another country for delivering letters paid with our stamps. For any cross-border issue you can possibly conceive of, there is either some governance activity in the form of a United Nations (UN) treaty or convention, or there is a group trying to introduce some governance. Global governance does not mean global government; in fact, a major reason we are interested in global governance is because *there is no global government*. As we will see, there is extensive global governance of some issues but not of others.





**Extinction Rebellion activists symbolize mass death as part of nonviolent civil disobedience in Berlin, Germany.**

CHRISTOPH SOEDER/DPA/AFP via Getty Images

One issue in which we find extensive global governance is human rights, which we discuss in Chapter 9. The key actors are states but also intergovernmental organizations, like the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights, as well as civil society organizations such as Amnesty International and Physicians for Human Rights. The key rules are established in things like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Convention on the Rights of the Child. These agreements often represent the formalization of what were once norms, meaning unwritten rules about desirable behavior. One can speak of a “global human rights regime” because this issue is attended to by a multitude of actors,

and a multitude of types of actors, and they together monitor, shape, and enforce formal and informal rules.

In contrast to human rights, an issue with weak global governance is climate change. There are international civil society actors in the form of formal organizations like Greenpeace, people like Greta Thunberg, or movements like Extinction Rebellion. They have been effective in disseminating norms about environmentally sustainable behavior, but they have no legal power to punish bad behavior. Corporations are also involved in the area through the UN Global Compact, which allows corporations to publicly commit themselves to certain labor and environmental practices. But participation is voluntary, and the “only” punishment is public shaming. As we detail in Chapter 14, however, fashioning a global treaty to which all states of the world adhere has been difficult. There is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, but some key states, including the United States, Russia, and China, at various times have refused to ratify it.

These examples show us that global governance is a patchwork. On issues such as human rights there is significant activity by states, IGOs, NGOs, and even MNCs. Yet on issues such as climate change and the global environment, there is limited governance. The examples also reveal there are more levels of governance than just states and IGOs. Indeed, some speak of “multilevel” governance that simultaneously takes place at subnational (think megacities like Los Angeles or Lagos), state, regional (think European Union), or global levels (think UN).

Last, global governance does not have to be state-led. For example, on the issue of climate change, in the face of weak state action, nongovernmental groups, including NGOs and corporations, formed the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) to ensure the sustainable management of forests. The nonprofit’s membership comprises approximately 800 civil society actors from around the world, including NGOs and individuals, with thousands of corporations holding FSC certificates.<sup>39</sup> Outlets like Home Depot display the FSC stamp, which certifies that their materials were responsibly sourced.

No states or intergovernmental organizations are involved in any of this. There are no fines, invasions, or jail time for violating the code, but a company could lose certification, suffer public shaming, and lose market share as a result. Even in the face of weak governance at a global level, actors across multiple levels are jointly managing an issue of common concern.

These four global forces are dominant in our world today. They are the forces that are making and remaking our globe; they are driving the interactions and the tensions that are at the heart of this book. Highlighting them will help you understand the world around you and the forces that impact the issues about which you care.

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## WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL STUDIES GOOD FOR?

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This book provides an introduction to the field of international studies, and as we've explored, our goal in this Introduction has been to outline a framework that will allow you to understand better today's critical global challenges as you work your way through the book. But many students may rightfully ask what the practical purpose of such a course is.

First, our reality for today and the foreseeable future is global. The international intrudes on our daily lives in all kinds of ways, as the COVID-19 crisis showed so dramatically. As students, teachers, and citizens, it is incumbent on us to understand those processes—to understand the forces that influence our lives. A course such as this provides you with an intellectual foundation by which to understand global forces that shape our world.

Second, this book should help you develop a global awareness. Although much of the book is about how the global affects us, the book also should help you understand that which is unfamiliar. That might mean coral reefs in Australia, human rights in Eritrea, protests in Bolivia, or AIDS in Botswana. In other words, the book should help you to understand the world in which you live and provide you with the tools to make sense of it. We hope that stimulates a lifetime of learning and curiosity about our world.

Lastly, international issues shape many careers. The labor pool is increasingly a global one. From manufacturing, to service, to sports, music, medicine, and academics, the people who compete for positions often come from all parts of the world. Most businesses today—should they look to expand their markets—often play or aim to play on the international scene. The market for entertainment may be largest in the United States, but anyone in the business—from cinema, to gaming, to basketball—will tell you how global the market is. International studies is a fantastic gateway for a student interested in a globally engaged career, such as in international finance, humanitarian relief, or global health. And it is also useful for students who may not want a globally engaged career but wish to nonetheless understand how global affairs will relate to their lives. Whether you wish to be an organic potato farmer in Idaho, a ceramicist in New York City, a real estate agent in Chicago, a chef in New Orleans, a Lyft driver in Arizona, or a tech entrepreneur in San Francisco, your professional development will be strengthened with an appreciation for how you affect and will be affected by oil prices, climate change, free trade, or global food production.

In sum, understanding the international in as holistic a way as possible is an essential part of your education today, and this course will give you a core training in that subject from an interdisciplinary perspective.

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## KEY TERMS

bipolar 21	global governance 23	international studies 9
BRIC or BRICS 22	global interactions 9	multinational corporation (MNC) 16
cost of information 18	global markets 15	next 11 or N-11 22
democratization of information 18	global tensions 9	nonpolarity 23
distributional effects 15	global trade 15	race to the bottom 17
financial globalization 16	globalization 7	rise of the rest 21
foreign direct investment (FDI) 16	information and communications technology (ICT) 17	speed of information 19
global forces 13	inside-out and outside-in perspective 9	technology optimists 19
		unipolar 21

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## QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What are three ways in which global interactions affect your life?
2. Have you or anyone in your family experienced a negative outcome from a global interaction?
3. What is an outside-in and inside-out framework? What are some examples of each?
4. What are the four major global forces outlined in this chapter? Consider an issue you care most about (e.g., global health or climate change). Which forces matter and how for that issue?

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## LEARN MORE

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# The Making of Our Global Age

FORCES, INTERACTIONS, AND TENSIONS SINCE 1800

2



SAMUEL KUBANI/AFP/Getty Images

Steve Huffman, Reddit's CEO and co-founder, underwent laser eye surgery in 2015. But he did not do it because he disliked the look of glasses or the feel of contact lenses. He did it to improve his chances of surviving a massive disaster. As he told *The New Yorker*, "If the world ends—and not even if the world ends, but if we have trouble—getting contacts or glasses is going to be a huge pain in the ass."<sup>1</sup> Huffman is part of a broad community who prepare themselves for withstanding global chaos. They are known as survivalists or doomsday preppers. National Geographic Channel's "Doomsday Preppers" was a reality TV show centered on this community, and it became the most popular show in the channel's history. The show may have entertained some, but it seemed to speak to many: In one survey, 40% of

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After finishing this chapter, you should be able to:

- Articulate the main features of the first and second global ages.
- Describe events leading to the decline of the first global age.
- Contrast major actors in the first and second global ages.
- Identify the historical roots of today's global challenges.

Americans said stocking supplies or building a bomb shelter was a wiser investment than a retirement savings account.

Exactly what is being prepared for varies widely, from economic collapse in the United States to a global power grab by a “One World Order.” Companies such as Survivalist101.com describe one “doomsday scenario that could wipe out our way of life and set our civilization back a couple of centuries. The world is edging closer to a time when rogue nations will have the capability of detonating a nuclear bomb over Washington, DC. All they need is a barge anchored 100 miles off the coast, a missile launcher and a nuclear tipped missile.”<sup>2</sup> While some preppers fear war, others fear chaos brought on by economic crisis. As Robert Richardson of *Off Grid Survival* warned: “Economies around the world are crashing, countries are drowning in record amounts of debt, and governments continue to pile on new debt like there’s no tomorrow. At some point this debt train is going to come to a screeching halt; when that happens we are going to see panic and chaos like nothing we’ve ever seen before.”<sup>3</sup> Prepper companies sell peace of mind for a fee, and their market is experiencing rapid growth.<sup>4</sup> Even household names such as Costco have joined the market, selling a product with 36,000 servings of food for \$6,000.

These businesses are not just engaged in simple fear mongering. They are tapping into a more general anxiety with the tensions that came with global interactions and the speed of global change in the 21st century: in the global economy, communications technologies, the environment, and cultural influences. The complex interactions that characterize the world today, and the tensions that result from them, are driven by some of the major global forces discussed in our Introduction. At the turn of the 21st century, multinational corporations (MNCs) like Alcoa, Wal-Mart, and JP Morgan had vastly greater clout compared with many smaller states. These MNCs, in turn, struggled against other international actors, such as global civil society groups like Amnesty International or Save the Children, that monitored the behavior of MNCs and used social media to influence the companies’ behavior.

In the 1990s, technological and economic changes seemed to outpace humanity’s ability to govern them. Genocides in Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Sudan, and terrorist groups taking control of towns and cities in the Middle East added to a sense that a rapidly changing world was beyond anyone’s ability to manage. This gave rise to a flurry of popular books on globalization. Figure 2.1 shows the rapid increase in the 1990s in use of the word “globalization” as a percentage of all English-language books. But recent years have shown a different pattern, with observers now seeing threats to global integration lurking around every corner. With a U.S. president declaring a policy of “America First” and with the project to build a unified Europe appearing to fail, observers have started to talk about an end to globalization. The coronavirus has seemed to reveal the dangers of a world that is too interconnected. It could be another nail in the coffin for advocates of greater international integration.

Our current era of globalization is not new, however. A century ago, societies were also undergoing changes that seemed stunning at the time. The global forces driving intensified interaction included scientific advances such as the manufacture of steel in the late Industrial Revolution, which made it possible to build enormous buildings, reliable railways, and larger ships. Politically, Europe had experienced the growth of nation-states and the decline of monarchies, whereas the spread of colonial rule brought