

Crossing Borders

Fourth Edition

To my wife, Elaine, for a lifetime of loving support, and to Rena, Chris, Nathan, and Vivian —Harry

With love to my husband, Steve, and our children, Perry and Madison

—Heidi

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Crossing Borders

International Studies for the 21st Century

Fourth Edition

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• Brief Contents •

List of Tables, Figures, and Maps		xiii
Preface		xvii
Acknowledg	jments	xxi
About the A		xxiii
Chapter 1	Getting Your Global Bearings: Navigating the World	
	Point of Departure: Planet Earth	24
	 Jump-Starting the Trip: The Role of Technology 	54
Chapter 4	Searching for Security: The Political World	
	Challenges to Security	
	Seeking Prosperity: The Global Economy	
	Challenges to Prosperity	166
	Protecting Identity: The People of the World	
	Challenges to Identity	
	Managing the World: Cooperation at the Global Level	
Chapter 11	Challenges to Cooperation	
	• Connecting to the World: Where Do You Go from Here?	
Notes		309
Index		339

• Detailed Contents •

List of Tables, Figures, and Maps	xiii
Preface	xvii
Acknowledgments	xxi
About the Authors	xxiii
Chapter 1 • Getting Your Global Bearings: Navigating the World	xxiv
Learning Objectives	1
Toward a Working Definition of International Studies	1
Different Ways of Looking at the World's Borders	2
How You Can Connect	
The Evolution of Globalization	5
Globalization: Winners and Losers	7
The Changing Definition of Citizenship in a Global Era	12
WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? Preparation for a Life Abroad	
Conclusion: Where Do We Go from Here?	17
Key Concepts	19
To Learn More	20
Chapter 2 • Point of Departure: Planet Earth	24
Learning Objectives	25
Getting Our Heads around the Earth: Geography as a Field of Study	26
IN THEIR OWN WORDS: Alexander Von Humboldt	
Where We Live	28
Population Management	30
PRO/CON: Is Population Growth a Major Concern?	
Food and Hunger	36
Energy Security	41
The Human Factor: Contributing to the Problem?	42
UNDERSTANDING CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT: How Can International Charlies Marked The Courth Obies Con	
Studies Help? The South China Sea	44
The Global Response	46
Conclusion: What Can You Do? • How You Can Connect	47 48
How fou can connect WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? Composting in India	
Key Concepts	51
To Learn More	51
	51

Chapter 3 • Jump-Starting the Trip: The Role of Technology	54
Learning Objectives	55
The Technological Frontier	56
The Virtual Frontier	61
The Role of Technology in Crossing Borders	63
UNDERSTANDING CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT:	
 PRO/CON: Should the United States Respond to Russian 	
How You Can Connect	
WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? Technology 24/7	
Conclusion: A Final Thought on Technology	78
Key Concepts	79
To Learn More	80
Chapter 4 • Searching for Security: The Political World	82
Learning Objectives	83
Defining Political Borders: The Origins of the Modern State System	84
IN THEIR OWN WORDS: Niccolò Machiavelli	
The Balance of Power System: Its Failures and the Outbreak of War	86
The Cold War	89
The Post–Cold War World	91
UNDERSTANDING CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT: How Can International	
• TURNING POINT: APRIL 17, 2019: The United States and Cuba	
• PRO/CON: Will U.S. Sanctions Force Iran to the Negotiating Table?	
Conclusion: The Quest for Security	104
Key Concepts	105
To Learn More	106
Chapter 5 • Challenges to Security	108
Learning Objectives	109
Persistent Conflict: The Case of Israel and Palestine	110
Weapons of Mass Destruction	114
WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? Implementing	
PRO/CON: Is Limited Nuclear War a Viable Battlefield Option?	124
Terrorism	126
Conclusion: What Can Be Done?	133

Key Concepts	134
To Learn More	134
Chapter 6 • Seeking Prosperity: The Global Economy	138
Learning Objectives	139
Defining Economic Borders: A Very Short History	140
IN THEIR OWN WORDS: Adam Smith	
The Bretton Woods System	143
Beyond Bretton Woods: The Roots of Contemporary Globalization	146
Emerging Economic Centers	149
PRO/CON: Could China Supplant the United States as	
UNDERSTANDING CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT: How Can	
International Studies Help? Tragedy in Bangladesh	156
Key Players in Transition	157
Conclusion: The Evolving World Economy	162
Key Concepts	163
To Learn More	163
Chapter 7 • Challenges to Prosperity	166
Learning Objectives	167
Free Trade versus Protectionism	169
• TURNING POINT: June 26, 2016: The New Panama Canal	
Moving Forward	179
Transnational Investment: Blessing or Curse?	180
Finance and Aid: Promoting or Hindering Development?	186
 PRO/CON: Does Foreign Aid Reliably Spur Sustained Economic Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa? 	
WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? International	
Conclusion: What Can Be Done?	192
Key Concepts	193
To Learn More	193
	4.04
Chapter 8 • Protecting Identity: The People of the World	196
Learning Objectives	197
Cultural and Social Borders: Understanding Identity	200
The Age of Enlightenment	201
Social Borders	203
IN THEIR OWN WORDS: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels	
The Study of Social and Cultural Borders	206
How You Can Connect BRO (CON) Chauld Indianaus Decelor De Educated in	
 PRO/CON: Should Indigenous Peoples Be Educated in Their Own Languages? 	

Globalization: Homogenization or Hybridization?	209 210
Conclusion: Identity at the Crossroads	216
Key Concepts	216
To Learn More	216
	210
Chapter 9 • Challenges to Identity	220
Learning Objectives	221
The Role of Religion	222
PRO/CON: Is an Islamic Caliphate a Viable Threat to Africa?	
WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? In between Two Worlds	228
Ethnic Conflict	229
Fragile States	231
Conclusion: What Can Be Done?	234
 UNDERSTANDING CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT: How Can International Studies Help? South Sudan: Will the World's Newest Country Survive? 	
Key Concepts	237
To Learn More	237
	237
Chapter 10 • Managing the World: Cooperation at the Global Level	240
Learning Objectives	241
Defining the Global Order: International Law and Organizations	242
IN THEIR OWN WORDS: Hugo Grotius	
The Creation of International Organizations	243
The United Nations	245
Interdependence and Regional Intergovernmental Organizations	248
PRO/CON: Is the European Union in Danger of Unraveling? TUDNING DOINT January 21, 2020, Danuit	
TURNING POINT: January 31, 2020: Brexit	252
Nongovernmental Organizations	253
The Evolution of the United Nations and Civil Society How You Can Connect	256 260
The Expansion of International Law and the International Criminal Court	260
Conclusion: Compliance and Enforcement	261
Key Concepts	262
To Learn More	262
	202
Chapter 11 • Challenges to Cooperation	<mark>266</mark>
Learning Objectives	267
Poverty	268
Global Health and the Threat of Disease	274
PRO/CON: Should the Trade in Wildlife for Human Consumption Be Banned?	
UNDERSTANDING CROSS-BORDER CONFLICT: How Can International Churches Using Control of the Control of th	
Studies Help? COVID-19: A Global Health Crisis	277
Human Rights WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? One Student's 	278
Journey to Address Human Trafficking by Establishing Her Own NGO	

Conclusion: What Can Be Done?	284
Key Concepts	286
To Learn More	286
apter 12 • Connecting to the World: Where Do You Go from Here?	288
Learning Objectives	289
International Studies beyond the Classroom	289
How You Can Connect	
International Career Opportunities	294
How You Can Connect	
Educational Options	299
WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES? My Journey	
Conclusion: Where Do You Go from Here?	304
Key Concepts	305
To Learn More	305
tes	309
ley	

• List of Tables, Figures, and Maps •

Tables

1.1	The Borders of International Studies	2
2.1	The World's Forest Areas, 2020	43
5.1	Members of the Nuclear Club, 2019	122
5.2	Chemical Weapons States	123
	Biological Weapons States	125
6.1	Measuring China's Growth	151
7.1	Merchandise Trade 2019: Select Exporters and Importers	170
7.2	Merchandise Trade 2019 (in Billions of U.S. Dollars)	171
7.3	Country and Transnational Corporation Revenues, 2020	181
7.4	Buying an American Automobile?	185
8.1	Commonwealth Member Countries	203
8.2	Billboard Global 200 Top Ten Songs, December 5, 2020	212
9.1	Nationalist Parties in Europe	227
9.2	Fragile States Index Data, 2020	233
10.1	Key Meetings in the Formation of the United Nations	244
10.2	European Union Members, 2020	249
10.3	European Social Survey on EU Membership	250
11.1	Millennium Challenge Corporation Country Selection Indicators	271
11.2	Compact and Threshold Grant Recipients	273
12.1	Interdisciplinary PhD Programs in International/Global Studies	300
12.2	Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs:	
	Member Schools	301

Figures

1.1	Countries with the Largest Numbers of International Migrants,	
	2000 and 2019 (Millions)	13
1.2	Kickstarter Project: weMori App to Regenerate the Earth	14
2.1	Ptolemy's Map of the World	27
2.2	The World's Most Populous Countries	31
2.3	Countries with Leading Population Growth Rates, 2020	31
2.4	Population Distribution by Country, Age, and Gender	33
2.5	The World's Most Undernourished Populations	
	(by Percentage), 2016–2018	38

2.6	WFP Direct Expenditures—Leading Recipients (\$ Millions), 2018	39
2.7	The Shifting Cost of Food	40
2.8	The World's Largest Carbon Dioxide Emitters, 2018 (Million Metric Tons)	45
3.1	World Internet Penetration Rates, by Geographic Region, 2020	56
3.2	The Penetration of Communications Technology Worldwide, 2005–2019 (per 100 Inhabitants)	59
	Top Ten Smartphone Apps in the World, 2019	61
3.4	Most Popular Social Network Sites Worldwide as of April 2020, Ranked by Number of Active Users (in Millions)	76
	Leading Philanthropists in the United States, 2019 (in Millions of Dollars)	79
5.1	North Korea's and Iran's Nuclear Weapons Capabilities	121
5.2	The Fight against the Islamic State	132
6.1	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries Members: Proven Crude Oil Reserves, 2019 (Billions of Barrels)	160
6.2	Average World Crude Oil Prices (U.S. Dollars per Barrel), 2000–2019	161
6.3	World Crude Oil Prices (U.S. Dollars per Barrel), 2019	161
7.1	Global Wealth Inequality Compared to Average World GDP	168
7.2	U.S. Merchandise Trade with NAFTA Partners, 1993–2017	177
7.3	Number of Global 500 Companies, 2020	182
7.4	Emerging Market Private Capital Inflows, 2013–2020 (in Billions of US Dollars)	191
8.1	The W Curve	198
8.2	India's Caste System	204
9.1	Violent Events Linked to Islamic State in the Greater Sahara	224
10.1	United Nations Organizational Chart	245
10.2	Types of Nongovernmental Organizations	254
11.1	Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs	270
12.1	Host Regions of U.S. Study Abroad Students	290

Maps

2.1	The South China Sea	44
4.1	The Roman Empire: An Example of the Imperial System	85
4.2	Yugoslavia: Before and After 1991	92
5.1	Israel: A Map of Disputed Areas	111
<mark>6.1</mark>	Group of 77 (G77) Countries	145
<mark>6.2</mark>	Real Gross Domestic Product Growth, 2020	155
	Dhaka, Bangladesh	156
8.1	A Map of Cultures in Africa	201
9.1	Shona and Ndebele Tribal Lands	232

9.2	South Sudan and Sudan	235
10.1	Doctors without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières Operations	257
10.2	United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, 2020	259
11.1	Top 20 Countries with the Highest Number of COVID-19	
	Cases as of March 2, 2021	279
11.2	Countries Where LGBT Activities Are Illegal	281

Preface

he proliferation of international studies majors at colleges and universities across the United States has created both a new frontier for understanding the world and a challenge for those of us trying to identify the key components of these programs. We are asked to structure distinct disciplines into a coherent multidisciplinary major, where learning outcomes and objectives are most often in the eye of the beholder. Not only is this difficult intellectually; it is challenging administratively as well. International studies is the intersection of anthropology, political science, geography, culture, language, science, technology, art, health, and so many other disciplines. Historically, it has lacked an integrative framework. This eclectic scheme of organization is reflected in the way international studies has developed in colleges and universities. While the growth of majors and minors has been fueled by an increasing interest in all that is "international," it is the "studies" aspect that has varied from one academic institution to the next. As a result, it has become difficult to define a core curriculum.

This book addresses this issue by providing a framework for students that is built on an understanding of the many borders they cross every day that define the international system. In adopting this view, we are able to address the diverse fields that constitute international studies and provide instructors with a starting point from which they can pursue their own disciplinary interests. The task for students majoring in international studies is less about what anthropology, political science, or sociology is and more about what each of these disciplines contributes to their understanding of the world.

Features

The various features we have included are designed to engage students directly with the material.

- **In Their Own Words** includes a quotation from a noted scholar in the various disciplines examined, giving students an opportunity to become familiar with their contributions.
- The Pro/Con feature introduces students to opposing arguments put forward with respect to contentious global issues and is followed by probing questions that ask What Do You Think?
- The feature **What Can You Do with International Studies?** profiles some of our former students who have gone on to apply their studies through their activities and work in the field. It fits particularly well with our intent in Chapter 12, which surveys the array of educational, experiential, and career opportunities that await students of international studies.
- The How You Can Connect feature encourages students to identify how they can engage with global issues at the local level.

- **Understanding Cross-Border Conflict: How Can International Studies Help?** appears in six separate chapters and offers examples of particular conflicts that can be better understood by applying the multidisciplinary approach of international studies. We also include focused questions that invite students to think about how each of the approaches would help identify the key factors affecting possible solutions.
 - The **Turning Point** feature highlights critical junctures impacting the direction of some important issues and relationships.
 - **To Learn More** includes an annotated list of books, videos, and websites students can reference to gain additional information about the key topics covered in each chapter.

Organization of This Book

Global citizenship as an organizing concept for international studies is critical to our perspective. Whatever the focus of international studies may be at your college or university, we are dedicated to the belief that students must have a greater understanding of the world around them and the role they will play in it. This sense of cosmopolitanism will be critical as they navigate their daily lives and consider the range of career opportunities available to them. We have designed this work to provide a dialogue between academic frameworks and to include practical components that suggest how students can put an international studies degree to work. The book is organized to reflect these goals by including chapters on both the disciplines that address international studies and the global challenges we all confront. It concludes with a how-to guide for students offering suggestions for study abroad, internships, service learning, and future training. We hope it will serve as a road map for students to better understand the world and to become important actors in it.

New to This Edition

All of the book's chapters have been updated to reflect recent events and trends that amplify the material under consideration. Supporting tables, charts, graphs, and pictures have also been adjusted. Developments that are significantly transforming political relationships are addressed in Chapters 4 and 5. These chapters pay particular attention to the global security challenges posed by continuing conflicts across the Middle East and other hot spots, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and terrorism. In Chapters 6 and 7, the evolution of the global economy and deepening controversy over the consequences of globalization is examined, emphasizing the role of China and other emerging actors in trade, investment, and finance. The tensions surrounding persistent racial and gender inequities around the world are considered in Chapters 8 and 9. Chapters 10 and 11 explore various efforts to promote cooperation to solve global problems, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations and COVID-19.

This book offers several features that help students integrate the various perspectives on international issues and think about how to apply them. We have added **Pro/Con** debates to ten of the twelve chapters as a way for students to explore critical issues in the global arena, ranging from election interference to nuclear war. These debates are a useful instructional device for remote learning. We have updated the **Understanding Cross-Border Conflict: How Can International Studies Help?** feature to include the political crisis in Venezuela and the COVID-19 pandemic.

To help readers better identify the major conceptual take-home points and provide a platform for review, we have included a revised set of **Learning Objectives** at the start of

each chapter. We have also inserted some new resources in the **To Learn More** sections at the end of the chapters. Finally, this edition includes updated **Turning Points** on the United States and Cuba, the Panama Canal, and Brexit.

Teaching Resources

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**.

Acknowledgments

The broad nature of this subject matter has been difficult to capture in a text, and we are very grateful to the people who have played important roles in this process. First, we must thank Darin Van Tassell for his many intellectual contributions to the first edition, most notably that fated conversation in Starbucks that really laid out the borders theme we would subsequently adopt, as well as his work on Chapter 1. Thanks to those who have thoughtfully worked on the conceptualization of international studies and to the participants in the many International Studies Association (ISA) panels on this topic, especially Ann Kelleher, Rob Blanton, Barron Boyd, and Marijke Breuning. Thanks also to our academic homes, The University of North Carolina at Charlotte and North Carolina State University, which have supported us through this endeavor.

Pulling from so many disciplines has been challenging. The work of several teaching assistants in the Master of International Studies program at North Carolina State University has been critical, from the early days with Shirreef Loza, Lisa Sands Shelton, and Carl Booksing, as well as Sarah Cowles, Margaret Jackson, Chantell LaPan, Leah McManus, Chris Sawyer, Lesa Sexton, Mary Sloan, Shari Tate, Nicole Zapata, Leah Gardner, and Paul Kamer. We thank our former students who contributed to the What Can You Do with International Studies? features and the many students who have taken our classes and inspired our decisions in crafting this work.

We are indebted to the editors and staff of SAGE and CQ Press for their support and assistance. We greatly appreciate the initial and continuing enthusiasm of Charisse Kiino for this project. It is contagious. We thank Elise Frasier for all her efforts on our behalf and for her invaluable contributions to the first and second editions. We are grateful to Sarah Calabi for her oversight of this work and to Laureen Gleason and Cate Huisman for their production work on the first edition and Veronica Stapleton Hooper and Megan Markanich on the second. The editorial work of Anna Villarruel and Duncan Marchbank, as well as the production work of Bennie Clark Allen and Laureen Gleason, was essential for the third edition. We are indebted again to Anna Villarruel for her oversight of the project and Jennifer Jovin-Bernstein, Lauren Younker, and Karin Rathert for their editorial support on this fourth edition.

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Getting Your Global Bearings

Navigating the World

Selfie on a bridge over the river Seine in Paris, France. Westend61/Getty Images

Learning Objectives

After studying this chapter, you will be able to do the following:

- Define the field of international studies
- Contrast the different borders that shape the modern world and their main units of analysis
- Understand the different stages of globalization
- Examine the pros and cons of globalization
- Explain the concept of citizenship and how it has changed over time

You can't escape it. The world has become smaller as the food you eat, the clothes you wear, and the products you use come from all around the globe. Your own daily routines are closely connected to the world beyond your doorstep. As distances shrink and traditional borders become fuzzy, we have to approach the world in a new way. We have to learn to think differently. In Douglas Adams's science fiction classic, *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, the protagonist, Arthur Dent, is thrust into a tour of the galaxy without warning. Overwhelmed by this new challenge, he is relieved upon receiving his hitchhiker's guide emblazoned with the words DON'T PANIC.¹

Anyone embarking on a journey to understand the world today might benefit from similar advice. You must embrace the many changes taking place, but you might want some help in planning your trip. What you really need to set you at ease is a "hitchhiker's guide to the global arena" that will provide a road map for the world of today and the people who inhabit it. This book will serve as that guide as it lays out the foundations of international studies and describes the knowledge, skills, and experience you will need to get your global bearings.

Our ability to navigate the world's borders has been transformed by the emergence of new technologies—we can find our way through a completely new city with the touch of a screen. Still, most of us will face geographic, political, economic, social, and cultural challenges as we traverse these borders for the first time. Our job in this book is to introduce you to ways of approaching some of these new and potentially strange challenges. So, don't panic! This book will be your resource through the entire journey.

Toward a Working Definition of International Studies

The goal of international studies is to prepare students for meeting the challenges of a rapidly changing world. A working definition of **international studies** is a field of inquiry that examines the broad array of human relationships that involve cross-border interactions. International studies is one of the fastest growing majors in the United States today—in large part because students and teachers alike recognize that we live in a rapidly changing landscape and know that we need a new set of tools to engage with it. The field is different from traditional studies of international relations and their narrower emphasis on politics, in that it offers a unique and broader way to examine the challenges of a global world order. While a focus on politics helps us think about how countries around the world interact with one another, it does not tell us very much about how ordinary people are connected to or impacted by the world around them and how they, in turn, affect it.

international studie

a field of inquiry that examines the broad array of geographic, political, economic, social, and cultural interactions and relationships that cross borders As a course of study, international studies draws upon multiple disciplines and perspectives. These may include anthropology, business, communication, economics, geography, health care, history, languages, literature, political science, religion, and sociology. Relationships among these different disciplines are often hard to manage for academic institutions, but the changing nature of the international system and the ability to understand it requires looking at the world through these multiple lenses. Ultimately, international studies is designed to help students forge a new identity for themselves that is responsive to their environment.

Different Ways of Looking at the World's Borders

Each of these academic disciplines represents a different way of studying the world, focusing on a particular aspect as its unit of analysis. For our purposes, we can think of those units as making up different kinds of "borders," the features that most strongly define the various parts of any given system (Table 1.1). Every day, you cross borders physically and intellectually. You leave your home to cross from street to street, city to city, state to state, or even country to country. In your classes, you look at the world through different lenses that guide your educational experience from art to science. As we look to understand the multiple dimensions of the international system from a variety of perspectives and vantage points, we will examine five major types of borders: geographic, political, economic, social, and cultural.

Geographic	Physical earth	Geography	
Political	States	Political science	
Economic	Markets	Economics	
Social	Class	Sociology	
Cultural	Nations	Anthropology	

TABLE 1.1 • The Borders of International Studies

In the highly regarded 2014 documentary series *Cosmos: A Spacetime Odyssey*, host Neil deGrasse Tyson notes that our cosmic address begins on earth, then proceeds to the solar system, then expands to the Milky Way galaxy, and reaches all the way to the observable universe! Looking at earth from outer space, it appears as a peaceful blue globe distinguished by landmasses and bodies of water. Upon closer inspection, we can begin to identify rivers, deserts, and mountain ranges (refer to Map 0.1 in the color insert). These **geographic borders** affect how and where humans have settled and the degree to which they interact with one another. The academic field of geography studies these borders, measured by bodies of water, various elevations, and expanses of forest and desert.

Over time, these geographic borders have changed, expanded, and shrunk. Volcanoes, glaciers, earthquakes, and meandering rivers transform the landscape. Geographic borders are also altered by the environmental impact of melting polar ice caps, retreating wetlands, and expanding deserts. Furthermore, the migration and relocation of people to certain areas can be problematic. In addition to potentially straining the absorptive capacity of these spaces, these inhabitants may be susceptible to their particular properties. The

geographic borders

borders that delineate the physical world (mountains, oceans, rivers, deserts, ozone) and affect how and where humans have settled and the degree to which they interact with one another valleys subject to monsoon flooding in Bangladesh and the converted deserts of wildfireprone areas of southern California are just two examples of our sometimes precarious interface with nature.

While geographic borders may shift, they are still fairly simple to identify. The rest of the borders of international studies, however, are distinguished in a more nuanced manner. Looking at a modern map of the world (refer to Map 0.2 in the color insert), we see a series of recognizable lines and boundaries. These lines represent the **political borders** of the world. These political borders form states, critically powerful actors in the world today. Defined largely by governments in control within these boundaries, states remain a primary focus for students of international studies.

The sheer number of states is important to recognize as well. Today, there are almost 200 independent states. Only 100 years ago, roughly fifty states existed. By the start of World War II, there had been little change. Because the end of World War II brought incredible devastation to the European continent and consequently ended the formal trappings of colonialism, some thirty-six new states had come into existence by 1960. The existence of so many relatively new political entities itself is important to recognize, particularly when observing that these new political borders sit on top of—and often divide—very old cultures. The field of political science focuses on these important actors.

International studies involves much more than government members sitting around a table discussing issues of war and peace. Beyond political borders that form states, the existence of **economic borders**—those that form markets—is central to the relationships among states, nations, and individuals (refer to Map 0.3 in the color insert). Markets, or the exchange of goods and services within a given system, represent dynamic forces that provide almost everyone with the items they consume. As a result, the emergence of a global marketplace is driven not just by states but by other actors, such as transnational private corporations and individuals. The discipline of economics examines these borders and their effect on you and the international system.

Think about your morning routine:

You may have woken up to the sounds of the alarm emanating from your Korean-made smartphone, checked your e-mail and social media accounts— Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat—gotten out of a bed that had been made with linens from Egypt or Malaysia, and struggled to get to the kitchen. Once there, perhaps you made a cup of Brazilian coffee or tea grown in Sri Lanka. You might have even had a banana from Costa Rica or an orange from Morocco. Next, you headed into the shower with the fixtures possibly made in Germany. Then, you slipped into your Levi's made in Vietnam, T-shirt made in India, and Converse made in China, and then headed for school in your Toyota, assembled in Kentucky. You stopped to buy gas, imported from Saudi Arabia or Venezuela, arrived on campus, and then searched for a parking space—a problem confronted worldwide!

Your ability to purchase goods across international borders has much to do with economic success, but access is not equal. Goods and services and the resources needed to produce them are not distributed evenly across the world's population—they go to those who can afford them and who have access to them. As a result, this uneven distribution and contact produces a divide along **social borders** (refer to Map 0.4 in the color insert). In other words, it separates people into different social classes.

Karl Marx is the best known advocate of using class as an important means of analysis. His ideas were implemented by some of his most prominent followers—Lenin and Stalin in Russia and Mao in China—in the formation of governing bodies to oversee political states. But social divisions remained even in these proposed utopian societies. Such political borders borders that delineate the governing entities of the world and that are distinguished on the basis of territory, population, governments, and recognition by others

economic borders borders that delineate the markets that promote the exchange of goods and services across the world

social borders borders that delineate the class divisions of the world that are formed by inequality of opportunity



A jogger and his dog run toward the U.S.-Mexico border fence at its end in the Pacific Ocean on May 12, 2017, in Tijuana, Mexico. The border spans almost 2,000 miles, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and is fenced for some 700 miles of its total length.

cultural borders borders that delineate the nations of the world that form identities in terms of language, religion, ethnicity, or a common historical experience

citizenship the duties, rights, privileges, and responsibilities of individuals to and in the community in which they reside divisions are even more pronounced today along the north-south line formed by the equator, such that societies to the south of the equator, known as the Global South, are less economically viable than those that lie to the north. The inherent structure of the world's political and economic systems creates a world of haves and have-nots that furthers class distinctions. Understanding these divides and the hardships they impose is part of the field of sociology.

The **cultural borders** that form nations constitute a related area and additional layer that must be considered. Nations can be defined in terms of language, religion, ethnicity, or a common

historical experience. Such cultural distinctions provide us with some of the most important insights into the world's people. There may be some 200 different states, but there are more than 6,000 languages, dozens of global religions, countless folk religions, and hundreds of different ethnic groups (refer to Map 0.5 in the color insert).

Though governments decide who belongs or has membership (generally referred to as **citizenship**) in a state, it is largely up to individuals to determine their cultural identity. The language of international studies makes these distinctions between political and cultural borders confusing. The countries that are members of the United Nations (UN), for example, are referred to as *nation-states*; with this term, there is an implicit assumption that political borders and cultural borders generally coincide. This symmetry is not always the case, and the African continent offers an excellent example. There are fifty-four African states and more than 300 distinct nations on the sub-Saharan African continent. Many of the problems surrounding the violence, leadership, and economic stagnation in that region must begin with the recognition that there are many new states that have been formed that split very old nations. Questions of identity and their relationship to the international system are studied in the field of anthropology.

One of the striking characteristics of our world today is that its inhabitants routinely cross these borders. This is due, in large measure, to advances in technology that enable us to circumvent many existing barriers. This is perhaps best exemplified by the telecommunications revolution and the presence of the World Wide Web. We can now connect with one another in ways previously unimaginable. In just over 100 years, the transition from horse and buggy to cars and planes enhanced physical mobility, while communications, through radio and television, transformed society. In the twenty-first century, access to smartphones, computers, and cloud technologies is bridging geographic, political, economic, social, and cultural divides, particularly as the costs of these devices continue to shrink while their capabilities grow.

At the same time, our responses to this transformation have been mixed. Following decades of policies aimed at extending these connections, we have seen a growing backlash fueled by frustrations over some of their uncontrollable or unanticipated effects. These misgivings accelerated in the aftermath of a global financial crisis in 2008–2009 that accentuated the complexities and vulnerabilities of an increasingly interconnected world. More recently, resistance has intensified and has found its voice in the United States and other countries that had been at the forefront of previous efforts to deepen these global ties. This is reflected in the abandoning of international agreements and treaties, the retreat from free

trade, the adoption of restrictive immigration laws, and other initiatives to harden existing borders. As the rapid spread of the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 has so vividly revealed, however, these borders remain highly porous and exposed despite efforts to secure them.

As we address these different borders—and how they are changing—in subsequent chapters, we will offer an historical context within which to view them. We cannot understand the present or attempt to project the future without appreciating how situations and circumstances have evolved over time. We are also mindful of the infamous warning from philosopher George Santayana more than a century ago that those who do not remember the past are doomed to repeat it.²

How You Can Connect

You can define and establish your sense of personal identity through connections to your . . .

- Country
- State, province, or local community
- Religion
- Language
- Race or ethnic group
- Gender
- Some combination of all these identities

The Evolution of Globalization

The most useful concept to frame our understanding of the dynamics of today's world is **globalization**, a buzzword that emerged during the latter stages of the Cold War and the ensuing interconnectedness of the international arena. Originally coined by Theodore Levitt in a 1983 *Harvard Business Review* article titled "The Globalization of Markets," it referred to changes in behaviors and technology that allowed companies to sell the same products around the world.³ Today, the definition is much broader. Generally, the term is used to describe the political, economic, social, and cultural flows across the international system. It includes a broad range of interactions, from trade and financial relationships to the integrated communication networks that have developed to facilitate those connections.

There is still some controversy, however, as to the extent and impact of this connectivity. Some have argued that the most recent acceleration marks the beginning of the end of the current global system—that something even bigger than globalization is happening. They point to the emergence of a new era of **hyperglobalization**, as it has come to be called, with the progressive erosion of the borders that have differentiated national economies and sustained the centrality of nation–states. They argue that this development has resulted in a significantly altered environment, as defined by the following changes:

1. The nation–state is in steady decline and is now merely one of a growing number of players or actors on an increasingly multilevel world stage, where the practical limits to sovereignty have become more pronounced.

globalization the political, economic, social, and cultural flows across the international system; the term includes a broad range of interactions, from trade and financial relationships to the integrated communication networks that have developed to facilitate those connections

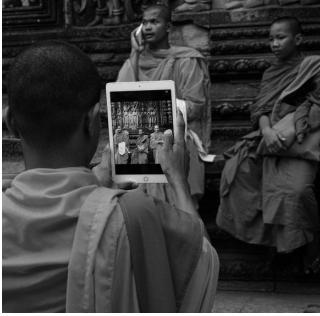
hyperglobalization the view that emphasizes the progressive erosion of the borders that have differentiated national economies and sustained the centrality of nation-states

- 2. There are a growing number of issues that are global in scope and cannot be dealt with effectively by individual countries or even small groups of countries without some overarching system of global governance.
- 3. The mobility of capital has produced new patterns of finance and commercial exchange that do not necessarily correspond to flows that fit neatly within existing political borders.
- 4. The future will be marked by an increasing number of transnational interactions and institutions that will lead to a widening and deepening of integration processes—politically, economically, and socially.⁴

Not everyone agrees with this assessment. Skeptics point to the resiliency and political endurance of the nation-state system and the continuing capacity of states to regulate the global economy. While not disputing some of the important changes that are bringing disparate parts of the world closer together, these critics are less certain of the uniqueness or overarching significance of these developments. They argue that expansion of trade and investment is occurring within prevailing structures and continues to be shaped by existing borders. While more and more trade across the world is between transnational companies, trade balances are still measured on a country-to-country basis. In addition, the resurgence of nationalism and other more restricted forms of identity shaping relationships across the planet suggests potential limits to the cooperative spirit required to nurture and maintain global connections.

There is certainly historical evidence to substantiate this claim, as previous waves of interconnectivity were frequently strained or even severed due to emerging conflicts. The high levels of trade and investment that characterized the global economy of the late nineteenth century, for example, came to an abrupt halt with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The volume of trade had risen sharply, with merchandise exports rising from 5 percent of the world's **gross domestic product (GDP)** in

1870 to 8.7 percent in 1913.⁵ Merchandise trade represented 12 percent of the **gross national product (GNP)** for developed countries, a level unmatched until the 1970s.⁶ Postwar efforts to revive the global economy and political order were hindered by lingering distrust and failure to devise an effective collective security system. Key elements of this story ring true today, particularly in light of the concerted efforts of some states to limit their international exposure following the global financial crisis of 2008 and the more recent backlash against globalization in the United States and



A Buddhist monk on a trip to Angkor Wat takes a photo with his Apple iPad while his colleague talks on the phone. Increasingly, we are connected via technologies such as these, even in the most hard-to-reach areas of the world. other parts of the world. The inconsistent and somewhat fuzzy patterns of integration evident across global political and economic arenas are reflected in what some have labeled the *third wave* of globalization theory.⁷ This view, often referred to as the *transformationalist* perspective, emphasizes the complexity of globalization. Its proponents see globalization as an extended historical process that goes back as far as the early "globalizers" in the third century BCE who traveled the Silk Road trade route linking the Chinese and Roman empires. This initial wave was

gross domestic product (GDP) the value of all the goods and services produced within a country

(GNP) the value of all the goods and services produced by a country's citizens, regardless of where they may be living followed by a more pronounced period in the 1500s with the rise of European metropolitan centers and merchant classes. The activities of the Dutch and British East India trading companies marked the expansion of these centers into previously uncharted areas.

Transformationalists view the more recent trends that have been stimulated by major advances in technology as unprecedented in terms of their growth and intensity and as serving to alter fundamental political, economic, and social relationships. The lines between what is domestic and what is international have become increasingly blurred. The national origin of particular products, for example, may be difficult to discern given the multiple sources of inputs or assembly. This is portrayed quite vividly by business professor Pietra Rivoli, who follows the life cycle of a T-shirt from its origins in a Texas cotton field to its manufacture in a Shanghai factory and its eventual appearance at a used clothing market in Tanzania.⁸ Similar challenges present themselves when it comes to music, food, and fashion, as they have become increasingly influenced by styles and tastes originating in many places.

Even as the sovereign authority of states has diminished and the world economy has become increasingly deterritorialized, third-wave theorists emphasize the importance of recognizing the uneven patterns of and different responses to these globalizing trends.⁹ Nation–states still enjoy the legal right to sovereignty. Territorial boundaries maintain both their political and commercial significance, despite the fact that they may no longer serve as the "primary markers of modern life."¹⁰ As crops are raised and goods are produced locally, countries across the global economy tend to operate within regional contexts that often serve to limit contacts or integration outside those networks. While there are considerable and mutual stakes in sustaining these ties and relationships, their strength will be affected by the behaviors and policy choices of those who are most directly impacted.

Globalization: Winners and Losers

Given these disagreements and differing interpretations, it may not be so easy to get a clear sense of what globalization is all about. When you think about globalization, what is the first thing that comes to mind? Is it a generally positive or negative image? What do you

consider the primary strengths and weaknesses of globalization? Who benefits from the increasingly connected world in which we live?

In fact, globalization has become a highly contentious issue. While many argue that everyone benefits from these changes—as the saying goes, a rising tide raises all boats—that has not always been the case. Consumers may gain from access to more goods and lower prices, but they have become more vulnerable to political and economic fluctuations abroad that affect these supply chains. As economic interdependence has promoted a free trade agenda, concerns have arisen

USD 50-100	30.35	31.39	00.66	
EUR	34.24	35.50	36.66	
HKD	3.73	0.00	4.18	
GBP		39.90	42.99	
SGD	22.64	0.00	23.82	
JPY	0.2719	0.2824	0.3018	
X AUD	21.41	22.04	23.47	
CNY	4.20	0.00	4.91	

as to the consequences of unfettered competition on companies and workers seeking to establish their niche in the global market. People may be living and interacting with their global neighbors on a level unprecedented in human history, but they are apprehensive when such interactions are perceived as threatening their traditions and customs. An increasingly connected world has meant that more currencies cross the global each day. The value of currencies is determined by their exchange rates. At the heart of the matter for many of those who support globalization is the idea that it promotes a better quality of life for a greater number of people. Enhanced access to goods produced around the world, the argument goes, serves to improve overall standards of living while giving people the opportunity to accommodate more of their basic needs. Not only is more "stuff" obtainable, it is also available at a cheaper cost through a more open and integrated marketplace. Items once considered luxuries restricted to the more affluent are now more accessible due to more efficient production processes adopted by companies looking to maintain their competitive postures. Diversification in the types and locations of manufacturing facilities may also create jobs in places—particularly across the Global South—where there may have been only limited opportunities before. If we happen to examine the label of one of our shirts, for example, it is likely that it was made by workers in Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Mexico, or some other country where production costs are relatively lower.

Proponents of globalization further believe that it empowers individuals both economically and politically. Advances in communications, coupled with greater opportunities to travel and experience unfamiliar places, increase awareness of the challenging and vexing issues facing the world. They also create opportunities to network, organize, or even join in protest with others who may be similarly impacted by these matters. In addition to facilitating direct engagement, these activities may serve as catalysts in promoting cooperative and collaborative cross-border policy initiatives involving both governmental and nongovernmental actors.

While everyone may be directly or indirectly affected by globalization, not all benefit equally from it. This reality has produced frustration among those who feel unable to control their destiny. *New York Times* columnist and best-selling author Thomas Friedman talked about the difficulties in keeping up with globalization or adapting to its demands— what he referred to as a hardware/software type of problem—and went on to address reasons for broader social and political resistance to the process in his seminal book on globalization, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*.¹¹ Ultimately, he came to label the policies that would be required to get with the globalization program and reap its benefits the "golden straitjacket," whereby a state would need to balance its budget, cut state bureaucracy, promote the private sector, and encourage free trade to compete effectively in the global market. Even in a Western-based, politically democratic, and relatively free trade economic environment, these objectives are hard to achieve.

For many of the less advantaged people of the world, these prescriptions may not even be necessarily advisable. They see themselves as being left behind, as transnational corporations (TNCs) and other key agents of the globalization system manipulate their status in pursuit of their own economic interests. Consequently, this loss of economic control makes them susceptible to decisions that are made in faraway places that do not necessarily consider local interests. This trend has prompted many to argue that while globalization may well expand the economic pie, it is also contributing further to the divide between the rich and the poor.

Examples of these differential impacts abound in both developed and developing countries. Globalization skeptics decry the transfer or outsourcing of jobs as manufacturing moves from traditional industrial countries to offshore locations. While relocation may create jobs where they did not previously exist, it displaces workers who do not necessarily have the background or skills to pursue opportunities that offer comparable wages. The workplace conditions for those now performing these tasks are often unhealthy or unsafe, resembling the sweatshops of a bygone era. Furthermore, outsourcing is not limited to manufacturing.

One of the fastest-growing areas is in information technology (IT). The global outsourcing market is valued at around \$92.5 billion and growing. India has been the prime

golden straitjacket a term used by journalist Thomas Friedman to describe what states must do to participate competitively in the global market beneficiary to date (accounting for 65 percent of transferred jobs), owing chiefly to its large pool of trained professionals and relatively low labor costs.¹² By 2020, three of India's largest IT services firms-Tata Consultancy Services (TCS), Infosys, and Wipro-employed a combined total of nearly 700,000 workers.13 The creation of these types of jobs in India and elsewhere is drawing people from rural areas to the city, contributing to the increasing urbanization of the world. While IT workers may be compensated relatively well by local standards, as people move to the emerging megacities of Latin America, Asia, and Africa to pursue employment opportuni-



ties, living conditions for those at the lower end of the economic ladder are often below acceptable human standards. The problems of sanitation, inadequate housing, overcrowding, and serious health-care issues are pervasive.

In addition to impacting our political and economic lives, globalization is influencing how we perceive ourselves and our place in the world. At a time when it appears critical to preserve a rich diversity of perspectives and approaches to address common challenges, globalization may be undermining that process. For some, the increasing integration of people across the planet makes it more difficult to protect what is unique and different. They see the diffusion of a particular set of customs, symbols, and ideas—cultural homogenization as a threat to their basic ways of living and how they define themselves. The pressures to conform to the practices and beliefs of the dominant culture could also jeopardize the very survival of those whose traditions are deemed unacceptable.

Opposition to globalization has become more public and pronounced, resulting in largescale protest demonstrations. One of the first was in late November 1999, when trade ministers from 135 countries assembled in Seattle, Washington, to launch a new round of global trade talks. Delegates to the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting were greeted by tens of thousands of demonstrators who disrupted the proceedings. The "Battle of Seattle," as it was labeled, was a debate about more than trade. It turned into a broader discussion about globalization. Since that time, similar protests have occurred almost every time there has been a meeting of a major international organization associated with promoting the globalization agenda. While it may not be particularly useful to think of globalization as good or bad, it has become increasingly apparent that there have been winners and losers.

What, then, might be the alternatives for those who do not see their interests served? Throughout history, states have turned inward when they thought the intrusion of the outside world would jeopardize their way of life. They have believed that minimizing contact would limit their vulnerability. China tried it twice. The first was during the fifteenth century under the Ming dynasty with the decision to ground all seagoing vessels to protect the Chinese base of knowledge. Later, under Mao Zedong in the 1960s, the Cultural Revolution was instituted to shield the country from outside forces that were deemed responsible for perverting the basic principles and ideology of the communist revolution. Iran assumed a more insular posture after the revolution in 1979 and the establishment of an Islamic republic. Under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran's government sought to sever all ties to Western influences to strengthen its Islamic hold on the country.

The United States also has a history of avowed isolationism (with the notable exception of its intervention in Latin America). It can be traced from the farewell address of President

rowd of young people in urope carrying nti-globalization banner earing the words "global George Washington to the events following World War I. While America was reluctant to enter World War I, when it did, then President Woodrow Wilson characterized it as "the war to end all wars." Immediately thereafter, Wilson advocated the creation of the League of Nations to provide collective security for its members. His colleagues in the U.S. Senate did not agree, however. When the Treaty of Versailles that ended the war and embraced Wilson's ideals came to them for ratification, they did not approve it.

In all these cases, and to varying degrees, isolation did not work. Today, China has adopted a global economic strategy while maintaining a closed, nontransparent political system. Its economic prowess is impressive, even as an extended run of annual growth averaging approximately 10 percent has ended. In addition to coping with the fallout from its souring trade relationship with the United States, China—like all other countries—has experienced significant economic dislocation because of the COVID-19 pandemic.¹⁴ Distrust of outsiders remains. In contrast to the Great Wall of China that was built hundreds of years ago, an electronic wall has now been constructed that filters Internet content and monitors those who engage with it. Over time, Iran has rejected isolationism as well and is presently seeking to bolster its influence and prestige in the Middle East and beyond through political engagement and the development of nuclear capabilities.

Despite domestic pressure to limit the role of the United States in world affairs during the early twentieth century, the ensuing turbulence punctuated by the financial crash of 1929 and the rise of extreme nationalist political ideologies in Europe and Asia returned the United States to an activist role. This commitment remained intact throughout the post-World War II period. Despite periodic efforts to rein in its obligations and reduce its liabilities, the United States maintained a proactive posture to counter far-ranging threats to its global interests. More recently, there have been significant departures from this path. Through its "America first" platform, which underscored the need to prioritize domestic needs, the Trump administration looked to reduce the country's global footprint. This set off vigorous debate over the advisability of the approach and how best to secure the role of the United States in the world. The Biden administration is more globally focused.

Today, technological innovation, the integration of markets, and overlapping financial networks preclude absolute isolation. Britain can vote to limit obligations by exiting the European Union (the so-called Brexit strategy), but its external entanglements and vulnerabilities do not disappear. We cannot build up the walls, disconnect the computers, cut the phone lines, take out the satellite networks, and turn off the TV indefinitely in the face of an emerging set of challenges—more commonly known as **global issues**. They are global not simply because they are happening all over the world but because they transcend state boundaries and require a collective response. No single entity (government, company, nation, organization, group, or individual) possesses the ability to deal with, much less solve, these issues by itself. While this is not an exhaustive list, some of the most pressing global issues include protecting our physical environment, terrorism, developing "cleaner" energy sources, guaranteeing basic human rights, managing population growth, creating sufficient wealth to alleviate abject poverty, and halting the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

The difficulty of addressing these issues is compounded by the fact that they are growing exponentially. The metaphor of the lily pond used by Lester Brown—borrowing from the philosopher Jean Boudin—illustrates the use of a riddle to teach schoolchildren the nature of exponential growth.¹⁵ A lily pond contains a single leaf. Each day, the number of lily pads doubles—two leaves the second day, four leaves the third day, eight leaves the fourth day, and so on. If the pond is one-fourth full on Day 28, on what day is the pond half full? Although this may seem somewhat counterintuitive, the answer is actually the next day—Day 29. Perhaps even more surprising at

global issues challenges that transcend state boundaries and require a collective response; no single entity possesses the ability to deal with or solve these issues by itself first glance, it is completely full by Day 30! After that, the lilies overflow beyond the pond and begin to die. By that time, the pace of growth has overwhelmed the pond's absorptive capacity and a solution is no longer possible. And so it is for global issues.

The growing interconnectedness of the global system compounds the difficulty of responding to these types of challenges effectively. Governments and other actors can no longer disregard what happens in other parts of the world, as no one country has the capability to address all the



ramifications of problems that spill across borders and require a coordinated response. The stakes are high as we consider the daunting tasks of minimizing violence, addressing global health, protecting human dignity, promoting social justice, and insuring the sustainability of the planet. Furthermore, progress in one area may have adverse effects on another. Such is the nature of a complex interdependent world.

The metaphor of a spider's web is also useful in conceptualizing today's global problems and challenges. Touch that web anywhere, even lightly, and it vibrates everywhere. Similarly, the reach of global problems resonates beyond any immediate locale. This book is not only an introduction to international studies and the different borders it crosses but an introduction to some of the global issues confronting the world today and the tools that must be employed to address them.

What are the tools we can use to make sense of these global issues and assess their impact? The first step is to clearly define them—what are the facts, data, and trends that delineate the challenges and the stakes? Who are the actors who are most directly engaged and impacted, and what are their perspectives? How can divergent perspectives and views be accommodated and reconciled to identify an approach that benefits every-one? As we have noted, it is often borders—political, economic, social, or cultural—that inhibit cooperation and elevate self-interests over a common good. University of Chicago psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi has suggested that it is imperative to recognize the actual interconnections of causes and effects.¹⁶ One example is the debate over the environment. As corporations use the Amazonian rain forests to generate wealth, subsistence farmers also are clearing them to survive. While these actions may be justifiable in the short term, they are contributing to the destruction of the world's vital oxygen supply. Experts estimate the following:

We are losing 137 plant, animal and insect species every day due to rainforest deforestation. That equates to 50,000 species a year. As the rainforest species disappear, so do many possible cures for life-threatening diseases. Currently, 121 prescription drugs sold worldwide come from plant-derived sources. While 25 percent of Western pharmaceuticals are derived from rainforest ingredients, less than 1 percent of these tropical trees and plants have been tested by scientists.¹⁷

As reflected by this dilemma, the intricacies of our interconnected world are often difficult to master. Even as we may make considerable progress in addressing one set of challenges, we may aggravate other problems that we cannot afford to ignore. Collective action is required, but it is not always easy to attain. n Giverny, erved as the famous

The Changing Definition of Citizenship in a Global Era

The extent to which global issues come to our attention frequently depends on the individuals who champion them. What do Indian actress Priyanka Chopra, pop star Katy Perry, rock icon and U2 front man Bono, Microsoft founder Bill Gates, entrepreneurial banker Muhammad Yunus, Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg, chef Jose Andres, and activists Denis Mukwege and Nadia Murad have in common? All have taken it upon themselves to participate directly in efforts to protect the vulnerable, promote prosperity, or advocate for peace.

For her work to defend the rights of children across the world, Priyanka Chopra was the recipient of the 2019 Danny Kaye Humanitarian Award of UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund). As a UNICEF goodwill ambassador, Chopra has traveled widely to campaign on behalf of the needs of children.¹⁸ As cofounder of ONE, a global campaign to fight extreme poverty, Bono lobbies governments to take action. ONE's sister organization, RED, has partnered with global brands to raise awareness of health crises threatening large numbers of people around the world. It has generated more than \$600 million through the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria.¹⁹ The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is also changing lives through various initiatives to combat poverty and improve global health. As founder of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, Muhammad Yunus received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006 for pioneering the microlending movement that provides loans to the poorest of the poor. Greta Thunberg leaped onto the world scene for orchestrating and inspiring protests against climate change. Spanish-American chef Jose Andres founded the World Central Kitchen that provides meals to those displaced by natural disasters, and Denis Mukwege (a physician from the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Nadia Murad (a young Yazidi woman abducted and held as a sex slave during the civil war in Syria) were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2018 for their activities in support of women who are victims of sexual violence.20

Reading about the contributions of celebrities, bankers, and social activists is one thing, but where do individuals fit in? What role can we play in making a difference in the world? How do we make a personal connection? One way is to take a fresh look at the idea of citizenship.

Traditional notions of citizenship date back to the time of the ancient Greek city-state and have focused on membership in distinctive political communities

that are very much tied to a particular place. Since the mid-seventeenth century, that place has been the state. In return for certain protections and rights, citizens are expected (and often compelled) to assume responsibilities and obligations to it. While not necessarily prevented from acting in venues or on behalf of ideals that might transcend territorial boundaries, citizens may do so only if those actions are deemed consistent with state interests. Primary political loyalties and identities are defined



Many well-traveled individuals consider themselves to be members of a global community. by a connection to a particular physical space and have been differentiated based on geo-political borders.²¹ In the early days, the Romans came from Rome and owed their allegiance to their state and its leaders.

People across the world are reconsidering these matters. Much of the turmoil that can be observed today can be traced, in part, to a fundamental rethinking of both individual and collective identity and belonging. In addition to an increasing number of states that cannot sustain themselves, such as Yemen and Somalia, countless others are struggling to satisfy the basic needs of their citizens.

Until the outbreak of the COVID-19 crisis, people were also moving around the world at an accelerated and unprecedented rate. The United Nations has estimated there were 272 million international migrants in 2019, up from 173 million in 2000. Of that number, refugees and asylum seekers accounted for around 29 million, with two-thirds of these coming from five countries—Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar.²² The migration phenomenon has touched every region of the world and has had considerable impacts (Figure 1.1). Access to citizenship rights and privileges for noncitizens has become a controversial topic in many countries. The magnitude of this challenge is exemplified by the European Union (EU). The EU had gone a long way toward redefining citizenship by extending entitlements available to citizens of member states residing elsewhere in the

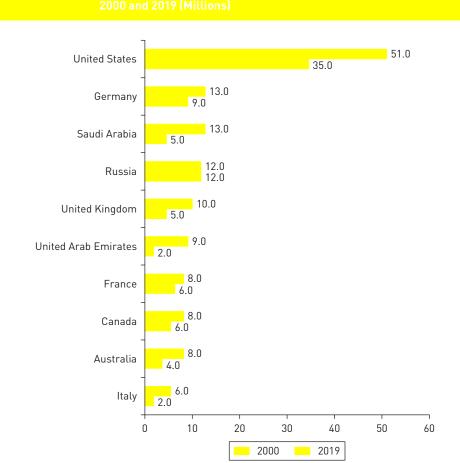


FIGURE 1.1 Countries with the Largest Numbers of International Migrants, 2000 and 2019 (Millions)

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). International Migration 2019: Wall Chart (ST/ESA/SER/A/431).

union. For instance, a citizen of France, one of the EU member states, can travel freely throughout Germany by virtue of both states' membership in the organization. The arrival of increasing numbers of refugees, asylum seekers, and displaced persons from outside the EU over recent years has produced considerable debate and has resulted in some new directives that impact the future course of the policy.²³

Once again, the question of borders arises. Matters of national or regional security fuel support for policies that are more exclusionary. Yet there are relationships between people, ideas, and problems that are not defined or confined by existing borders. Consider the experience of Nathan, a young professional from Charlotte, North Carolina, working as an analyst at a major U.S. financial institution. While sitting on his couch with his laptop in hand, Nathan is actively involved in the global microfinancing effort to assist budding entrepreneurs across the developing world. As noted earlier, this movement has been spurred by the work of the Grameen Bank and its founder, Muhammad Yunus. Nathan participates by interfacing with Kiva (www.kiva.org), a web-based organization originating in San Francisco, to match aspiring businesspeople with prospective lenders across the globe. He reviews the business plans and checks the repayment records of potential recipients before extending online loans. After a satisfactory first pass, which consisted of \$25 loans to four separate borrowers, Nathan is considering a significant increase in his lending activities and encouraging many of his friends to get involved.²⁴

By his own admission, Nathan pursued this endeavor as an opportunity to broaden his experience and to sharpen his professional skills. He had also been affected by the extreme poverty he observed during a visit to Mexico and was looking for an outlet to address that concern. In his own way, Nathan stretches the boundaries of his citizenship by exploring new ways to express his connection to the world. He is not alone. The growing popularity of crowdsourcing or collaborative funding via the web through platforms like Kickstarter is a way to personally engage with the world beyond our immediate circles and to generate funds for important causes. The example shown in Figure 1.2 is a plan that seeks to replenish forests across the world. It involves the development of an app that enables users to fund proposed regeneration projects and to track the impact of their contributions in terms

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With weMORI you can fund high-impact, community-driven forest projects from all over

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of the amount of area restored, carbon locked in, endangered species protected, or other vital indicators.

As Nathan and others come to grips with the realities of an increasingly interconnected world, the idea of global citizenship has gained popularity. What does it mean to be a global citizen? Nigel Dower suggests that **global citizens** are individuals who see themselves as members of a global community and who confront the challenges we face from a global perspective.²⁵ From this vantage point, global citizenship is about belonging and taking responsibility. Global citizens are those with the knowledge, skills, and desire to act on behalf of a set of beliefs and ideals to bring about a more just and compassionate world.

Oxfam, a British nongovernmental organization (NGO) noted for its extensive development and relief activities, has offered one of the more widely cited definitions of global citizenship. It defines a global citizen as someone who

- Is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen
- Respects and values diversity
- Has an understanding of how the world works
- Is outraged by social injustice
- Participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global
- Is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place
- Takes responsibility for their actions²⁶

The notion of global citizenship is not new. The 1993 Parliament of World Religions, for example, suggested the need to adopt a global ethic that included a commitment to a culture of nonviolence, a just economic order, tolerance, and equal rights. Similarly, the 1995 Commission on Global Governance urged the inclusion of an ethical dimension that incorporated respect for the rights of all people and shared responsibilities to contribute to the common good based on the values of justice and equity.²⁷ These ideas may not have seemed particularly problematic at first glance, but they have generated a considerable response.

Even as advocates of global citizenship encourage the acquisition of knowledge and skills to promote proactive engagement with the world, their efforts have not been universally welcomed. Critics argue that the very notion of global citizenship is vague and does not really have much meaning to most people, particularly those who do not think of themselves in these terms and have no effective means to become involved in these matters. Moreover, with no institution in place to confer such citizenship—no global organization that can say, "Congratulations, you're now a citizen of the world!"—the very idea is seen to lack serious practicality.

Others have not been so quick to dismiss the growing interest in this new thinking; they view global citizenship as problematic and have been quite pointed in their criticisms. Global citizenship, they suggest, undermines the foundations of national citizenship. It provides a rationale for strengthening global institutions and forms of global governance that threaten state sovereignty. Perhaps most disconcerting to these critics is that global citizenship promotes a particular set of values and a partisan political agenda with its emphasis on social justice, human rights, and environmental conservation. They oppose the empowering of organizations or institutions designed to impose policies reflecting these principles, no matter how reasonable or lofty they might appear.²⁸ Some have gone even further by contending that the idea of an overarching global ethic smacks of cultural imperialism; it does not allow for how these ideals—universal human rights, for example—might be defined or applied differently in distinct societies around the globe.²⁹

global citizens individuals who perceive themselves as members of a global community; such people are aware of the wider world, respect and value diversity, and are willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place Does the notion of global citizenship pose a threat to national interests and potentially undermine the foundation of our current international order? Supporters argue that it reinforces formal and informal networks, as well as governmental and nongovernmental contacts, that have expanded considerably as the world has been brought closer together. With the growing number of global issues that confront us, they suggest a common set of principles upon which to build cooperative action. With the destinies of people across the world closely intertwined, individual actions—no matter how limited or trivial they may appear—can impact others in profound ways. Our ability to manage the consumption of resources, our interface with the environment, commercial and financial practices, and support for those under duress requires a set of coordinated and mutually derived strategies.

At least some of the controversy surrounding the idea of global citizenship stems from its terminology. For many proponents, a *global* citizen implies nothing much more than a globally oriented or globally minded person who is both sensitive to the effects of globalization and interested in some form of personal engagement. Rather than posing any threat or danger to existing forms of citizenship, this view offers the possibility for additional outlets for expression and action. Globalization has not rendered national citizenship obsolete. Rather, it is believed to present avenues to exercise multiple citizenships that reflect the different stages and venues—local, regional, national, global—that many people find themselves occupying these days.³⁰

Finally, broader acceptance of this approach might, at the very least, help offset the divisiveness that has hindered efforts to resolve so many recent conflicts. Martha Nussbaum, a leading contributor to the discussion of citizenship and a proponent of this more expansive view, suggests the need for a cosmopolitan perspective that accentuates our obligations and commitments to others.³¹ For physician Arthur Clark, there is no other choice. Decrying the rise of extreme forms of ethnic nationalism, he worries about our ability to counter this trend and the behaviors they legitimize. Responsible citizenship, he proposes, is similar to the practice of good medicine; it requires empathy and respect for others, solid grounding in the basic principles that must be applied in confronting challenges that arise, and an approach to problem solving that combines pragmatism with a healthy dose of optimism.³²

WHAT CAN YOU DO WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDIES?

Preparation for a Life Abroad

By Rachel Werz, International Studies Graduate, United States

Over ten years ago, I was sitting in a class just like yours, wondering what international studies was actually about and what I could do with it in the future. International studies can be hard to pin down because it's so fundamentally interdisciplinary. I didn't realize it at the time, but now I believe that's its biggest strength.

As a freshman, I only knew I was interested in current events and wanted to study abroad. International studies helped me narrow and define my interests while still taking classes that contributed to my major. I took an anthropology class about Israel and Palestine, a history class about the Holocaust, and an Islamic politics course, and I participated in Model UN. Eventually, I discovered a passion for the Middle East and North Africa, studied abroad in Morocco, and graduated with a minor in Islamic Studies.

I don't think I could have explored my interests as much as I did if it weren't for international studies with its interdisciplinary nature. By letting me take courses on language, culture, history, and politics, international studies widened the lens through which I view the world, while at the same time making it seem like a smaller, more understandable place. Studying it gave me the confidence to navigate the world as a global citizen and prepared me for a life abroad.

Despite graduating during the recession, I felt like I was entering a world full of opportunities. Within a few months, I was leaving the United States with my future husband and a one-way ticket to Indonesia in my hand. As we explored a new continent together, we knew we wanted to find a way to stay. I started applying for ESL jobs in South Korea while traveling through Southeast Asia, using computers in hostels to fill out applications and having Skype interviews in the quietest Internet cafés I could find. Before long I found myself in Seoul teaching English at a private academy. It was there that I realized I actually enjoyed teaching and might be good at it. I spent my evenings working through an online TEFL certification course, applied for the Korean public school system, and was offered a job at an elementary school in a small city named Yangsan.

I had only intended to stay in South Korea for another year, but I found myself staying four more. What started as a "work-abroad experience" turned into a whole new life abroad. I got married, changed apartments four times, bought a car, paid my bills (even paid off my student loans!)—all the things you associate with "real life." I made a close group of friends from all over the world, went to their weddings, threw baby showers, and watched their babies when I wasn't busy. I attended training sessions to become the best teacher I could be, learned the Korean language after a lot of hard work and countless late night classes, and all the while



hoto courtesy of Rachel Werz

pursued my hobbies, like spoken-word poetry and the local theater scene.

After almost six years of this, the decision to leave was extremely difficult. South Korea was our home. When people asked if we were "returning home," I didn't know what to say. Should I understand that as America, or South Korea?

During our last year in Korea, my husband and I were accepted into the Peace Corps, fulfilling a longheld dream for us both. Today we are training teachers in Indonesia, back where our journey first began six years ago. I feel like my education and experience have come full circle. I'm still in Asia, my new comfort zone, but now I'm dusting off my old Arabic books and teaching in a middle school madrasah in the most populous Muslim nation in the world. My dream of helping bridge the Muslim world and America, born in an international studies classroom ten years ago, is now my job.

Conclusion: Where Do We Go from Here?

International studies seeks to introduce the perspectives and competencies required to prepare for citizenship in the global community of the twenty-first century. This book contributes to that mission by addressing the following objectives:

- 1. It examines the geographic, political, economic, and socio-cultural borders that shape our world and considers the forces that have reshaped those borders over time.
- 2. It explores the dynamics of globalization by tracing the various ways it has influenced the underlying structure and operation of an increasingly interdependent world.
- 3. It introduces the key actors, ideas, institutions, and relationships that shape the global system and influence policy responses to significant events and challenges that arise.

- It surveys some of the critical issues that are affecting political security and economic prosperity across the world and the ability of different groups to preserve their heritage and cultural identities.
- 5. It reviews the contributions of the academic disciplines that comprise international studies to our understanding of the complexities of the world.
- 6. Finally, it suggests different paths that students might pursue to acquire the knowledge, skills, and experiences that will enable them to navigate and contribute to the betterment of the world of the twenty-first century.

To achieve these objectives, this book embarks on a journey that crosses the borders of the world and those that define international studies. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 delineates the physical or geographic borders. Today, more than ever, people are cognizant of planet earth as a finite resource, and we explore some of the more significant challenges we face in sustaining our ecosystem and the people who rely on it. Chapter 3 provides the jump-start to this trip by examining the critical role of technology in fueling development over time and in facilitating the crossing of global borders. At the same time, we note how differential access to the more advanced tools of innovation adds to the difficulty of alleviating persistent inequities and imbalances.

The next six chapters launch the voyage in earnest, as we encounter the various borders that frame our interactions and the challenges affecting their operation. Chapter 4 introduces the political borders of the world and the events that have shaped and transformed the structure of the nation–state system. Maintaining security is the key task of these borders. Chapter 5 takes a closer look at the risks posed by the persistence of conflict and war (as reflected in the case study of Israel/Palestine), weapons of mass destruction, and terrorism. Chapter 6 uncovers the economic borders that have operated over time, from barter economies to the transnational financial networks that function around the clock today. The ongoing struggle to reconcile divergent interests while maintaining sufficient levels of activity and output—most notably in the areas of trade, investment, finance, and development—are addressed in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, identity and the importance of social and cultural borders are examined. This section of the text concludes with Chapter 9, which considers how religion, ethnic conflict, and fragile states threaten identity and, in some cases, the very existence of certain groups of people.

We then take the journey beyond borders to look at the prospects for global cooperation. Chapter 10 explores the efforts to promote a more global view of the world, including the expansion of international law and the development of different types of transnational organizations. Chapter 11 tackles some of the issues that transcend borders and require a more global response—poverty, disease, and human rights—while also considering enhancements to global governance.

We end with Chapter 12 by providing a road map for what you can do—where you can go from here. This chapter addresses the role individuals can play in influencing the direction of this new global order and what steps students might take to connect to the world and become effective citizens. It includes an overview of the career opportunities that are available to respond to the challenges presented throughout the book.

In addition to the narrative that lays out the information in the text, we have incorporated various features designed to place the discussion in a broader context and to bring the chapters to life. Each of the chapters that define the borders (2, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 10) include a historical overview and a review of how particular academic disciplines have contributed to our understanding of these respective borders. Prominent scholars who have shaped these fields are introduced, and their words are transmitted directly for your consideration through **In Their Own Words**. In an effort to get you thinking about potential remedies and policy approaches, the chapters delineating the challenges impacting the various borders (5, 7, 9, and 11) close with a **What Can Be Done?** section. You will find additional features interspersed throughout the book to help focus your attention:

- **How You Can Connect** boxes offer suggestions on steps you might take to engage directly with your world.
- **Pro/Con** boxes, accompanied by **Where Do You Stand?** questions, present alternative perspectives on some important controversies we need to address and invite you to consider your own position on these matters.
- Understanding Cross-Border Conflict: How Can International Studies Help? narratives explore the dimensions of some critical global conflicts and how they are impacted by the different borders that are the focus of international studies.
- **Turning Point** discussions identify important milestones in the evolution of select issues that have considerable bearing on matters of security, prosperity, and identity.
- What Can You Do with International Studies? showcases interviews with current and former international studies students from around the world reflecting on how international studies has led them to where they are today.

There is a popular saying that suggests that everything local is global and everything global is local. While this may seem confusing at first, the message is quite clear. If we want to understand the world and get to a point where we might make a difference, we must learn to *think globally and act locally*. This is the essence of international studies. It is not enough simply to acknowledge the linkages that exist; it is necessary to construct an action plan to embrace those connections, take advantage of the opportunities they present, and tweak them to insure that they advance the common good. The goal of this book is to offer you a path to do exactly that—to provide you with an intellectual map that will show you the many borders you will cross and the tools you will need to be an effective citizen of the world. As we said at the beginning of the chapter, "Don't panic!"

citizenship 4 cultural borders 4 economic borders 3 geographic borders 2 global citizens 15 global issues 10 globalization 5 golden straitjacket 8 gross domestic product (GDP) 6 gross national product (GNP) 6 hyperglobalization 5 international studies 1 political borders 3 social borders 3 Nigel Dower, *An Introduction to Global Citizenship* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

This classic provides a theoretical and historical context for considering the idea of global citizenship and suggests how it may be applied in dealing with an array of current global issues.

Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

This best seller, which is still widely quoted today, broke important ground in offering a comprehensive look at the dynamics of globalization and highlighting the tensions between the forces of change and the desires of some to maintain traditional ways of life.

Thomas L. Friedman, *Thank You for Being Late: An Optimist's Guide to Thriving in the Age of Accelerations* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016).

Thomas Friedman's latest epic focuses on three forces technology, globalization, and climate change—that are accelerating all at once and are transforming our lives in truly fundamental ways.

Jeffrey E. Garten, *From Silk to Silicon: The Story of Globalization through Ten Extraordinary Lives* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2017).

This book explores the history of globalization by tracing the lives of ten people who changed the world through their activities.

Richard Haass, *The World: A Brief Introduction* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2020).

The book, written by one of the more influential analysts of international affairs and American foreign policy, is intended as a primer that provides the background and context necessary to make sense of our interconnected world.

Marc Levinson, *Outside the Box: How Globalization Changed from Moving Stuff to Spreading Ideas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).

Levinson traces the historical evolution of globalization, suggesting that it is entering a new phase where the movement of services, information, and ideas takes precedence over the movement of "stuff."

James Organ and Ben Murphey, *A Voice for Global Citizens: A UN World Citizens' Initiative* (Berlin, Germany: Democracy Without Borders, 2019).

This report of the International Campaign for a UN World Citizens' Initiative recommends that the UN should strengthen its legitimacy by developing procedures that allow individual citizens to put proposals on the UN agenda. Although unlikely to have a serious hearing, it is an intriguing report that speaks to the idea of global citizenship and the need to democratize global institutions.

Michael O'Sullivan, *The Levelling: What's Next after Globalization* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2019).

This book looks at how globalization has restructured the world and its economy in the post-Cold War era, looking at both the benefits and the costs—or what O'Sullivan terms the peaks and valleys.

Peter Singer, *One World Now: The Ethics of Globalization* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

Singer takes a look at some of the important challenges facing the world and addresses them from an ethical perspective. He makes a strong case for a global approach, arguing that these problems cannot be solved at the national level.

Kenneth A. Stahl, *Local Citizenship in a Global Age* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Stahl examines some of the complexities of citizenship today, suggesting the need to reconsider traditional notions in the face of increasing exclusionary pressures.

Manfred B. Steger and Paul James, *Globalization Matters: Engaging the Global in Uncertain Times* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Arguing that globalization is still relevant, the authors develop a new "engaged theory of globalization" to address and assess its challenges.

Peter Zeihan, Disunited Nations: The Scramble for Power in an Ungoverned World (New York, NY: Harper-Collins, 2020).

Zeihan surveys some of the critical changes reshaping the world over recent years against the backdrop of the retreat of the United States from a preeminent global role and the absence of broad consensus as to where we ought to be headed.

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), https://www.csis.org/

CSIS is an important think tank on international affairs and offers information and policy perspectives on a wide array of topics. The website also includes material on its many programs and projects.

Council on Foreign Relations, "Backgrounders," https:// www.cfr.org/backgrounders

These informative summaries provide useful background and source information on significant issues confronting the world today.

Foreign Policy in Focus, https://fpif.org/

FPIF takes a critical look at the way that the U.S. engages with the rest of the world, calling for a more cooperative approach in addressing a wide array of global issues.

The Globalist, https://www.theglobalist.com/

An online magazine that provides daily features that covers developments that shape global economics, politics, and culture.

Global Citizen, https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/

This platform offers information about significant global issues and provides a pathway to action in addressing these challenges.

International Forum on Globalization, http://ifg.org/

The International Forum on Globalization is an international organization that analyzes and critiques the effects of globalization on culture, society, politics, and the environment.

International Monetary Fund (IMF), "Globalization: A Brief Overview," https://www.imf.org/external/np/ exr/ib/2008/053008.htm; "Globalization: Threat or Opportunity?" https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ ib/2000/041200to.htm. These two early pieces offer a concise overview of the key aspects of globalization and its effects, as well as a summary of its more significant opportunities and threats.

State University of New York (SUNY) Levin Institute, "Globalization 101," http://www.globalization101.org/

This website is a project of the Levin Institute in the SUNY system. It provides a very good overview of what globalization is and an in-depth analysis of numerous issues. It also includes a series of videos.

UNESCO Global Citizenship Education, https://gcedc learinghouse.org/

This is the clearinghouse for materials relating to a range of global issues that is part of the Global Citizenship Education program sponsored by the UN agency focusing on education, scientific, and cultural matters.

YaleGlobal Online, https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/

The Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale University published this informative online magazine, *YaleGlobal*, as well as scholarly articles and multimedia presentations by globalization experts from around the world. Unfortunately, it ceased publication in July 2020. However, the archive remains online and offers considerable material on a range of topics.

Babel (2006)

Winner of the Golden Globe award for Best Motion Picture, Drama, this movie depicts a crosscutting set of events taking place in Morocco, Japan, and Mexico that highlight global interconnectedness.

The Big Debate: Has Globalization Gone Too Far? (2018), available on YouTube.

This is a spirited exchange regarding the advantages and disadvantages of globalization on national economies.

Globalization at a Crossroads (2011), available on YouTube.

This is a concise documentary produced by Films for the Humanities & Sciences that highlights the debate over the impacts of globalization.

Globalization Isn't Declining—It's Transforming (2018), available on ted.com.

Arindam Bhattacharya argues in this TED talk that globalization, which some have argued is on the decline, is actually on the rise in a number of important ways.

Globalization: Rise of Networks (2019), available on YouTube.

This short film looks at how globalization is transforming the world through the ongoing expansion of information networks.

Life 8 (2009), http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/ 18.html

This is a sixteen-part series about the effects of globalization on people around the world. Although the segments were filmed a while back, they offer a close-up view of how the global economy directly impacts the lives of people. Programs from previous series are also available. Bullfrog Films also offers a wide selection of videos focusing on climate change, sustainability, and social justice.

Life in a Day (2010), available on YouTube.

From *National Geographic*, this fascinating documentary was created from 80,000 clips submitted to YouTube depicting daily life from 192 nations on July 24, 2010. It

offers insight into how similar and different life is across the planet.

The True Cost (2015), https://truecostmovie.com/about/

This documentary captures the essence of globalization as it explores the impact of fashion on people and the planet. As it looks at the clothes we wear, the people who make them, and the environmental impact of production processes, it asks us to consider who really pays the price.

What Does It Mean to Be a Citizen of the World? (Hugh Evans, 2016), available at ted.com.

This brief yet compelling TED Talk by Hugh Evans of Global Citizen puts forward a strong case for personal engagement. A World on the Brink (2018), https://vimeo.com/ 265833444

This is the first of a multi-part series that examines some critical transformations and uncertainties facing the world. This episode considers the basis of today's global order and how mass migration, global trade, and terrorism pose new threats and challenges.

A World Without Borders (2016), https://iai.tv/video/a-world-without-borders

This is an admittedly dry yet highly informative debate over the benefits of a borderless world offered by the British nonprofit Institute of Art and Ideas.

Westend61/Getty Images



Point of Departure Planet Earth

This familiar National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) image is the most requested photo of the earth, depicting it as a watery blue marble floating alone in a sea of space. Viewed this way, it is easy to see how important stewardship of our global commons is for our mutual well-being. In this chapter, we will explore a variety of other ways of looking at and understanding the earth—the starting point for our journey.

NASA and the National Space Science Data Center.

Learning Objectives

After studying this chapter, you will be able to do the following:

- Define the field of geography and explain its key units of analysis and measurement
- Understand the key challenges facing our physical world
- Analyze sources and trends in population growth
- Explain the sources of food insecurity
- Distinguish alternative sources of energy and how each affects environmental security
- Evaluate the impact human beings are having on the sustainability of the planet
- Review key global initiatives designed to address climate change
- · Reflect on ways personal behaviors can be adjusted to promote sustainability

Everyone has responsibility for the earth as a common resource, and we all must work together to maintain it. It is a shared resource that represents a **global commons**, a natural asset that is available to all. Clean air, a healthy environment, and access to the oceans and outer space all fall into this category. But sharing this global commons requires that all people use it in a responsible way to protect not only their individual interests but those of future generations. Noted economist Jeffrey Sachs, director of Columbia University's Center for Sustainable Development from 2002–2016, suggests that our ability to manage our interconnectedness to the planet is perhaps the most significant challenge of the twenty-first century.¹

Ecologist Garrett Hardin captured the tension between individual interests and shared resources in his famous essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons," first published in 1968.² Hardin posed a hypothetical scene in which a village of herdsmen shares a common pasture for grazing their sheep. If each herdsman adds a sheep, he alone will benefit from future sales, but the costs of grazing for that sheep will be shared by all. An individual herdsman will add sheep because he does not feel the negative effects by himself. The benefits to him are great, but everyone shares the negative impacts. The incentive, then, would be for each herdsman to increase his personal flock. The ultimate result, however, would be overgrazing of the commons until there is nothing left and, hence, the tragedy of the commons. Hardin concludes with the sobering warning that the freedom of individuals to pursue their own interests without considering the impact of their choices on others could bring ruin to all.³

The tragedy of the commons helps us appreciate the challenge of sustainable development. The term *sustainable development* can be traced back to the World Commission on Environment and Development, better known as the Bruntland Commission, convened by the UN General Assembly in 1983 to address growing concerns about the deterioration of the environment stemming from economic and social development.⁴ The commission's 1987 report, *Our Common Future*, would provide what has become the most widely used definition of **sustainable development**: "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."⁵

global commons a natural asset of the earth that is available to all

sustainable development

"development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs," as defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development **geography** the study of the earth and its characteristics

This chapter explores our connection to the earth as the starting point of our journey toward understanding the borders that have shaped our world. First, the study of **geography** will be introduced as a way to appreciate the expanse of our planet and how it is represented through maps. This will give us a sense of the patterns of human settlement—why we have come to live in certain places but not in others and why some areas flourish while others do not. Some of the critical issues that impact the health of our environment will then be examined: population growth, food production, energy, and climate change. Finally, we will explore some ways that you might enhance the physical sustainability of our habitat for future generations.

Getting Our Heads around the Earth: Geography as a Field of Study

Viewed from space, the earth appears as a physical mass marked by oceans, mountains, deserts, rivers, forests, and fields. From this perspective, it appears static, when in fact it is not. Over the course of time, the borders that have differentiated this mass have been changed by natural events, from continental drift thousands of years ago to more recent hurricanes, wildfires, earthquakes, tsunamis, droughts, and floods. The earth's physical attributes, such as where arable land, mineral riches, or waterways are located, have to a large extent determined where people have settled. The fundamental challenge of geography has been that there is no one place where any of us can stand on the planet in order to observe the whole thing at once. It is also nearly impossible for any one person to conceive of all the ways in which people are connected to one another and to the planet. Our image of what the earth looks like has changed radically over time and has been profoundly shaped by technological developments.

Scholarly attempts to understand the physical world date back to the earliest philosophers. For starters, we owe the word *geography* to Greek scholar Eratosthenes, who was born around 275 BCE. Eratosthenes was interested in writing and learning about the earth, and the term he coined for this activity came from the Greek language—*geo*, meaning earth, and *graphos*, meaning description.⁶ His greatest accomplishment in this regard was the first scientific calculation of the circumference of the earth based on his observations of the sun.

One of the earliest investigators whose impressions had lasting effects was Claudius Ptolemy. Born sometime late in the first century CE, Ptolemy was of Greek origin but lived in Alexandria, Egypt. Two of the major texts he produced, *Geography* and *Almagest*, were efforts to map the world in a system of degrees that measured distances from the equator.⁷ Relying on limited knowledge, Ptolemy created a map that introduced the concepts of latitude and longitude (see Figure 2.1). While his calculations were off and much of the world was not known to him at the time, his contribution to measurement was significant and enduring.

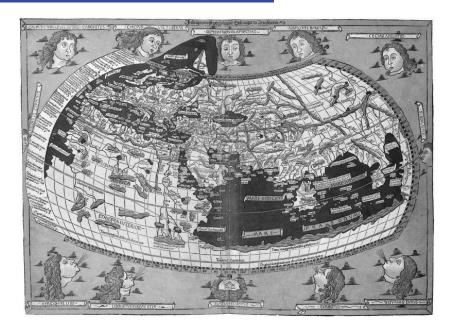
The modern discipline of geography developed much later in the mid-1800s. Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) was a German naturalist who is often called the "father of modern geography" for his contributions to an understanding of the dynamics of the physical world and the interface of humans with their environment.⁸ His great work, *Cosmos*, included some of the first systematic observations about climate and its link to geography. Juxtaposing a review of ancient writings about the natural universe with the technologies emerging during his time, von Humboldt sought a scientific way to understand the earth.

Today, the discipline of geography is generally divided into two branches: physical geography and human geography. **Physical geography** focuses on the study of the earth and its resources. **Human geography** refers to how humans interface with the physical environment and how political, economic, social, and cultural factors influence these connections.

physical geography the study of the earth and its resources

human geography the study of how humans interface with the physical environment and how political, economic, social, and cultural factors influence these connections

FIGURE 2.1 • Ptolemy's Map of the World



Source: Lord Nicolas the German (Donnus Nicholas Germanus), cartographer Johann the Blockcutter of Armsheim (Johannes Schnitzer or Johannes de Armssheim), engraver Ptolemy Jacobus Angelus, translator, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

The study of maps, or **cartography**, unravels how these physical and human borders are depicted. Maps can show **topography**—any of the earth's physical features, including mountains, rivers, lakes, and streams, and their relationships to one another in terms of location and elevation. They can also portray political borders, which are frequently influenced by topography but fundamentally drawn by people to serve political interests. Many modern states, for example, are the artificial constructs of former colonial powers that do not necessarily recognize the historical patterns and natural relationships of a given area's inhabitants. Another type of map can show economic distinctions, such as the location of resources and trade routes. Social and cultural divisions can also be uncovered by noting how ethnic and cultural identities interface with political and economic borders. Even cooperation across borders can be mapped in terms of regional and international organizations.

Modern technologies have changed the field of geography and how mapping occurs. Geographic information systems (GIS) combine the power of computers with satellite imagery to produce new ways of understanding spatial relationships and include new tools such as Google Earth and the global positioning system (GPS). These technologies are able to utilize different kinds of information about geography, from physical dimensions to human interventions, to track changes in the environment.⁹ As a result, they offer a far more comprehensive picture than what had been available previously. This is particularly useful in understanding some of the critical challenges we face. For example, the National Snow and Ice Data Center has used Google Earth to track changes in the polar ice cap over time.¹⁰ Countries are also using GIS technology for more strategic purposes that include pinpointing the location of military installations, potential improvised explosive devices (IEDs), or even the whereabouts of suspected terrorists.

cartography the depiction of physical and human-made borders

topography the depiction of the earth's physical features and their relationships to one another in terms of location and elevation These technological innovations have made us more sensitive to the finite nature of the planet on which we live. This capacity has enabled us to become more aware of the hazards that can affect everyone, regardless of where they are located. The earth is not an unlimited resource, and our charge must be to extract and utilize the resources we need to sustain our lives while not inflicting undue harm that might threaten future generations. The historical record suggests that we have not done a particularly good job to this point.

With its interdisciplinary perspective and approach, international studies can help us appreciate why we may have difficulty interfacing appropriately with our environment. Dealing with such issues as population management or climate change is not simply a matter of negotiating physical space or utilizing the tools at our disposal. Political considerations may constrain efforts to devise solutions, as they have in the case of finding suitable living arrangements for waves of refugees from Syria and elsewhere. When it comes to implementing policies to protect rain forests or limit unhealthy emissions, financial considerations can undermine the effort. As we have seen in parts of Africa and elsewhere, moreover, social and cultural traditions might frame resistance to vaccination programs designed to eradicate deadly diseases that know no borders. Our relationship with planet earth is a complicated one. The following sections address some of the challenges of managing resources and how they have been handled.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT

Although expressing himself in a way that may be unfamiliar, Alexander von Humboldt conveys a message that is as relevant today as it was in the nineteenth century the need to systematically explore both the potential and limits of the planet.

There dwells an irresistible charm, venerated by all antiquity, in the contemplation of mathematical truths—in the everlasting revelations of time and space, as they reveal themselves in tones, numbers, and lines. The improvement of an intellectual instrument of research—analysis has powerfully accelerated the reciprocal fructification of ideas, which is no less important than the rich abundance of their creations. It has opened to the physical contemplation of the universe new spheres of immeasurable extent in the terrestrial and celestial regions of space, revealed both in the periodic fluctuations of the ocean and in the varying perturbations of the planets.¹¹

As you move through the chapter, what are some of the new methodologies and recent scientific insights that might help us gain a greater understanding of the strategies to better sustain life on the planet?

Where We Live

As a starting point, it is important to understand that where people settle is not always a choice made freely. The borders that shape where we live are human-made. People can be uprooted by conflict and forced to flee their homes. They often have few, if any, options as to where they resettle and under what terms and circumstances. The result is they may end up having to live in inhospitable environments. In 2020, there were an estimated 79.5 million displaced people in the world. This figure has risen steadily over the years, with children accounting for more than half the total. Conflicts across Africa in countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia, South Sudan, and the Middle East

(stemming from the wars in Syria and Yemen) are responsible for a considerable share of recent movements. While 33.8 million are refugees relocating across national boundaries, an even greater number—45.7 million—are displaced within their own countries.¹²

Those escaping violence may be forced to seek temporary shelter in large refugee tent cities that are established with direct assistance from humanitarian agencies. It is not uncommon for these camps to continue for years as the hatreds and political maneuverings producing these conflicts do not dissipate easily. This is certainly the case with the Dadaab camps in Kenya, the oldest of which were created in 1991 to house refugees from Somalia. For years the world's largest refugee complex, they have been administered by the United Nations.¹³ Conditions are harsh and residents are susceptible to natural dangers, ranging from wild animals attacking small children who have invaded their environment to flooding from the annual rains. The temperatures in this area can soar well above 100 degrees Fahrenheit, but the camps may offer the only hope for shelter, food, and water. Kenya's government has grown weary of the camps, arguing that they are a drain on resources and cultivate extremist ideologies. Previous efforts to close them have been blocked, but pressure remains to do so. This would have dire consequences for those who would face repatriation to their homeland and a very uncertain future.¹⁴

The Kutupalong refugee camp is the largest in the world today. It is one of numerous facilities surrounding the town of Cox's Bazaar in Bangladesh, estimated to house more than 900,000 Rohingya refugees from Myanmar. The Rohingya are a Muslim minority that have endured discrimination and persecution in their homeland for many years. One of the ironies is that the leader of Myanmar who failed to stem the violence was Aung San Suu Kyi, long regarded as a champion of human rights who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. She was ousted the country's military in early 2021. The Rohingya have endured harsh conditions in exile, compounded by additional displacements stemming from seasonal monsoon rains. Despite efforts by the United Nations and private humanitarian agencies to extend health care and humanitarian assistance, it has proven difficult to provide sufficient care and the crisis persists.¹⁵

Economic pressures can also lead people to relocate. Sometimes, the best option is to migrate to places within their home countries where they can find work but where human

habitation is not particularly sustainable over time. These areas are often along borders, where factories have been built and shantytowns are constructed with homes built from cardboard and any other materials that can be found. Overcrowding, coupled with the absence of electricity, running water, and adequate sewage and waste, make for a difficult existence. Many of the communities hosting the manufacturing facilities or maquiladoras across the U.S. border, in Mexico, exemplify these conditions.

Living and working in this type of situation can further deepen and aggravate social and cultural divisions. While those who move to more central cities for work frequently have rising expectations



about their futures, they may easily find themselves relegated to marginal status. The success that was so eagerly anticipated often goes unrealized. This is why many look beyond their borders in the search for a better life. The considerable uptick in migration from the

Mexican authorities face off against a caravan crossing into Mexico from Guatemala

impoverished Northern Triangle of Central America (El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras) to the United States speaks directly to the significance of this economic imperative. More than half of the Salvadorans surveyed who joined the well-publicized and highly contentious 2018 "caravan" to the United States, for example, cited economic opportunity as their primary motive for participating.¹⁶

Finally, it is important to note that settlement patterns may be significantly influenced or altered by environmental considerations. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre of the Norwegian Refugee Council estimates that between 2008 and 2018 a total of 265.3 million people were displaced as a result of disasters. In 2018 alone, 17.2 million relocated, with 16.1 million of these seeking shelter from weather-related events. This figure exceeded the 10.8 million people fleeing conflict during the year. Disasters are not restricted to any particular area, but their burdens often fall disproportionally on those in the poorest regions, where management capabilities are more limited. More than 70 percent of the displacements stemming from disasters in 2018, for example, were in South Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific.¹⁷ Resettlement is further complicated by the fact that environmental refugees are not generally covered under international provisions designed to assist displaced people. They may have a particularly difficult time finding safe haven in places where the political backlash against migration has gained traction.¹⁸

Population Management

One of the underlying factors perpetuating uneven development has been the rapid growth of the world's population. As more and more people come to inhabit the planet, protecting and managing shared resources becomes even more problematic. Burgeoning populations are consuming natural resources at unprecedented rates. Whether intentional or not, the actions of this growing population have significantly impacted our environment, from the destruction of natural habitats and extinction of animal and plant life to the pollution of the atmosphere.

To put this growth in perspective, in just one minute, taking births and deaths into account, the population of the world expands by 150 people, with a growth rate of 2.5 per second.¹⁹ This growth is uneven, as the more significant increases often occur in those regions or countries that are least able to provide for the added numbers. By 2050, it is estimated that world population will reach 9.9 billion. The fastest rates are expected across Africa, where population will likely double. This will account for around 58 percent of the total increase in the number of people inhabiting the planet between now and then.²⁰ Figure 2.2 shows the most populous countries in 2020 and their projected growth by 2050. In 2020, the top ten countries accounted for 57.7 percent of total world population; it is estimated they will account for 53.8 percent in 2050.

What are the factors that affect these disparities? There are several that can be examined. One of the most frequently cited is education. For example, in the largest, least educated, and most populous Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, the total fertility rate (TFR) is 2.74 children per woman. The rate for India as a whole is 2.18, down from 2.68 a decade ago.²¹ The proportion of women using birth control is considerably less than the national average and is lowest among those with little or no education who often have the most difficulty feeding and sustaining their families. While the overall growth rate for India has slowed, population continues to expand annually at the rate of 1.17 percent, and the country is poised to surpass China in the coming years.²² Cultural values also continue to push births in many areas, as the desire for a boy is great, family planning practices may be discouraged on religious grounds, and rural parents are still influenced by the need for large families to support them. Figure 2.3 suggests where the greatest growth in population is occurring—primarily in sub-Saharan Africa, as discussed later in the chapter—by measuring crude birth rate, which is the most commonly used indicator in determining population growth.