Globalization and Culture

Understanding Global Interconnections

CHAPTER 6

IN THE EARLY 1980s, Walpiri (Wal-*peer*-ee) Aborigines living as hunter-gatherers in the remote Central Desert of Australia began watching movies and television in their temporary camps near cattle stations. By 1985, one observer wrote, "the glow of the cathode ray tube had replaced the glow of the campfire in many remote Aboriginal settlements . . . Of all the introduced Western technologies, only rifles and four-wheel-drive Toyotas had achieved such acceptance" (Michaels 1994:91). During the past century of contact with Europeans, the Walpiri had maintained their distinctive culture and language. Many observers began to worry, however, that the introduction of mass media would finally destroy their traditions.

But that was not what happened. The Walpiri turned this alien technology toward more familiar ends, by incorporating the genre of video and filmmaking into their own traditions of storytelling, and by imposing their own meanings on the videos they watch. In Walpiri settlements, viewing a video is a social event where people participate and collaborate in ways that are similar to how they view their traditional sand paintings or tell stories. If a movie like *Rambo*—that continues to circulate on DVD—fails to say who the main character's grandmother is, or who is taking care of his sister-in-law—meaningful kinship information for this hunting-gathering people—they debate the matter and fill in the missing content (Michaels 1994:92). Walpiri people view films in socially appropriate kin groups, on video players

Representing the Walpiri Landscape. Walpiri people of northern Australia have taken to watching—and producing—their own television programs. Their cinematic productions reflect particular social dynamics and cultural perspectives. (Image courtesy PAW Media/Warlpiri Media Association)

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that are collectively owned and shared according to traditional patterns. These practices help to reinforce rather than diminish their culture.

Walpiri also began making films to tell their traditional stories. Their films are disappointing to or misunderstood by Western audiences because of the slow and subtle way they unfold, taking their meaning from the Walpiris' own cultural style and aesthetic criteria. The camera pans slowly across a landscape, and the long, still shots seem empty of meaning to Westerners. But Walpiri examine these films closely for the important stories they are supposed to reveal, with the camera tracking locations where ancestors, spirits, or historical characters are believed to have traveled (Michaels 1994:93). Walpiri also pay close attention to what happens behind the scenes, because to them the authenticity of a film depends on whether the family that "owns" the story gave its permission to retell it and supervised its production. In short, the Walpiri use this global technology to express their own local traditions and worldviews, borrowing from the outside world what they want to maintain or even revitalize of their own.

The Walpiri fascination with television and film is not unique. Around the world, people living in even the most remote places now have television sets connected to video players or satellite dishes, on which they watch CNN International and movies from dozens of other countries. They also participate in a globalized world in other ways, by drinking Coca-Cola, wearing Western clothing, or migrating to and from distant lands. These international borrowings are happening everywhere, but does this mean that the world is losing its rich cultural diversity? Examples such as the Walpiri lead us to the question at the core of anthropologists' interest in globalization: *Are all the world's different cultures becoming the same because of globalization?* Embedded in this larger question are a number of problems, around which this chapter is organized:

Is the world really getting smaller?

Are there winners and losers in globalization?

Doesn't everyone want to be developed?

If the world is not becoming homogenized, what is it becoming?

What strategies can anthropologists use to study global interconnections?

We aim to deepen your understanding of culture as a dynamic process by showing its importance for understanding contemporary global processes. For anthropologists, the cross-border connections we refer to as globalization are not simply a matter of cultural homogenization. It is a process that illustrates how people create and change their cultures because of their connections with others. Not everybody participates equally in these diverse kinds of global connections, which means we also have to consider power relationships and social inequality.

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Is the World Really Getting Smaller?

Asian hip-hop in London. American retirement fund investments in a South Korean steel conglomerate. Indian "Bollywood" movies in Nigeria. Mexican migrants cooking Thai food in a North Carolina restaurant. Each of these situations confirms our sense that the world is getting smaller and cultural mixing is on the rise. This sense extends to anthropologists, who recognize that the people whose lives we study are often profoundly affected by global interconnections, migratory flows, and cultural mixing. During the past several decades, understanding how those processes of global interconnection affect culture has become an important issue for all anthropologists. For a discipline that has long tried to understand the differences and similarities between human groups and cultures, the idea that the world is getting smaller might suggest that the differences, in particular, are melting away. But is the world really getting smaller? To answer this question, we first need to understand what globalization is. Unfortunately, defining globalization is, as one scholar has observed, like eating soup with a fork (Nederveen Pieterse 2004). Why?

Defining Globalization

Defining globalization is a challenge for two reasons. First, different academic disciplines define globalization differently because they study different things. Economists focus on investment and the activity of markets, political scientists on international policies and interactions of nation-states, and sociologists on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other international social institutions. But there is a second problem. Is globalization a general *process* or a trend of growing worldwide intercon- [illegible]dness? Is it a *system* of investment and trade? Or is it the *explicit goal* of particular [illegible]ments or international trade bodies that promote free trade? Or is it, as some [illegible]obaloney," something that does not actually exist at all (Veseth 2005)?

[illegible]ropologists define **globalization** as the contemporary widening scale of cross- [illegible] interactions owing to the rapid movement of money, people, goods, images, [illegible]s within nations and across national boundaries (Kearney 1995; Inda and [illegible] 2002). But we also recognize that social, economic, and political intercon- [illegible] and mixing are nothing new for humanity. Archaeological and historic re- [illegible]how that humans have always moved around, establishing contacts with [illegible]rs of other groups, and that sharing or exchanging things, individuals, and [illegible]re deeply rooted in human evolutionary history.

• **Globalization.** The widening scale of cross-cultural interactions caused by the rapid movement of money, people, goods, images, and ideas within nations and across national boundaries.

[illegible] American anthropologists also recognized these facts. Franz Boas and his students Alfred Kroeber and Ralph Linton developed a theory of culture that emphasized the interconnectedness of societies. The Boasians thought of themselves as **diffusionists**, emphasizing that cultural characteristics result from either internal historical dynamism or a spread (diffusion) of cultural attributes from one society to another (Figure 6.1). Later, beginning in the 1950s, Marxist anthropologists like Eric Wolf argued against the isolation of societies, suggesting that non-Western societies could not be understood without reference to their place within a global capitalist system, which reaches across international boundaries with abandon. And yet, until the 1980s, such themes of interconnectedness rarely interested most cultural anthropologists.

• **Diffusionists.** Early twentieth-century Boasian anthropologists who held that cultural characteristics result from either internal historical dynamism or a spread (diffusion) of cultural attributes from other societies.

Mainstream anthropology was locally focused, based on research in face-to-face village settings. But as encounters among societies have seemed to increase, anthropologists have realized that paying attention only to local settings gives an incomplete understanding of people's lives. It also gives an incomplete understanding of the causes of cultural differences. As we will see, differences often emerge not in spite of, but *because of*, interconnections.

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Figure 6.1 A Global Ecumene. The Greeks referred to an ecumene as the inhabited earth, as this map shows. Much later, anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1876–1960) used the term to describe a region of persistent cultural interaction. The term became current again in the 1980s and 1990s as anthropologists adopted it to describe interactions across the whole globe.

• **Transnational.** Relationships that extend beyond nation-state boundaries without assuming they cover the whole world.

The World We Live In

How do anthropologists characterize the world in which we live today? Several factors stand out, including the scale of human interconnections and a growing awareness of these interconnections (Nederveen Pieterse 2004). But even if we acknowledge the intense interconnections, anthropologists know that these changes hardly mean everybody is participating equally in the same globalizing processes. Further, the word "globalization," unfortunately, tends to make us think of the entire globe, exaggerating the scale and expanse of financial and social interconnections, which, while great, are typically more limited and often more subtle than the word implies. Indeed some anthropologists prefer the term **transnational** to describe the circulation of goods and people instead of the word "global" because *transnational* imagines relationships that extend beyond nations without assuming they cover the whole world (Basch, Schiller, and Blanc 1993). Nevertheless, it is useful to think of globalization as indicating persistent interactions across widening scales of social activity in areas such as communication, migration, and finances.

Communication

At the heart of globalization are rapid increases in the scale and amount of communication. With cell phones, the Internet, and email possible in most parts of the world it is clear that the scale of contact has made a quantum leap forward over the past generation. Such rapid and much more frequent communication means that people

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Figure 6.2 Bollywood in Africa. "Bollywood" movies—musicals produced in India, which has the largest film industry in the world—have become popular in countries like South Africa (pictured here) and Nigeria because of recent increases in the global distribution of media.

in very remote places can be in contact with people almost anywhere on the globe (Figure 6.2). Never before has this capability been possible.

But access to these innovations is extremely limited for some, while readily accessible for the wealthier and better educated. In sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa), for example, only one in 5,000 people has computer access. As a result, some observers—to highlight real inequalities of access—prefer to talk about the globalization of communication in terms of wealth and poverty.

Migration

Another key feature of the changing scale of globalization is the mobility of people. Whether **migrants** (who leave their homes to work for a time in other regions or countries), or **immigrants** (who leave their countries with no expectation of ever returning), or **refugees** (who migrate because of political oppression or war, usually with legal permission to stay), or **exiles** (who are expelled by the authorities of their home countries) (Shorris 1992), people are on the move. These movements of people bring larger numbers of people in contact with one another, offering many possibilities for inter-cultural contact (Figure 6.3).

- **Migrants.** People who leave their homes to work for a time in other regions or countries.
- **Immigrants.** People who enter a foreign country with no expectation of ever returning to their home country.
- **Refugees.** People who migrate because of political oppression or war, usually with legal permission to stay in a different country.
- **Exiles.** People who are expelled by the authorities of their home countries.

Finance

In the modern era, financial globalization involving the reduction or elimination of tariffs to promote trade across borders began in the 1870s. Although the two World Wars disrupted those processes, the past sixty years have seen their re-emergence. In recent decades, finance and the rapid movement of money across national boundaries have allowed corporations to move factories from one country to another. A generation ago, U.S. factories moved their operations to Mexico and China, but now many of these same factories have been shuttered and relocated to Honduras or Vietnam because of rising hourly labor costs in Mexico and China.

Under these conditions of globalized capital, many transnational corporations have accumulated vast amounts of capital assets. A number of these corporations now exceed entire governments in terms of their economic size and power. For example, if Wal-Mart, the world's largest retailer, were its own economy, it would rank 24th in the world, just ahead of Norway (D. S. White 2010). Because powerful corporate interests often influence the policies of governments, some see in this situation a movement of power away from nation-states (Korten 1995). But this economic growth and trade are also highly

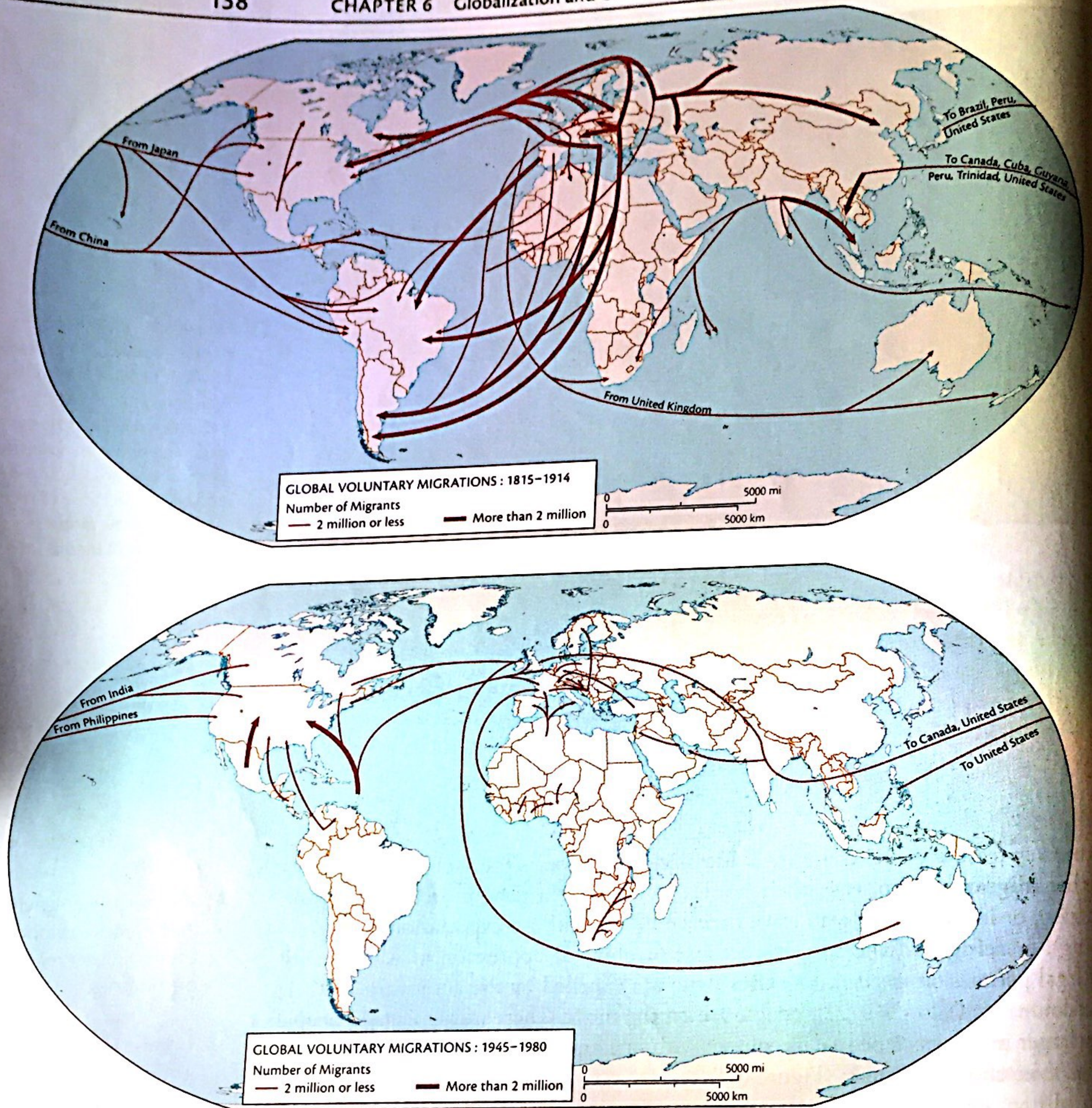

Figure 6.3 Global Voluntary Migrations. These two maps show dramatic differences in the directions of migratory flows. In Map A, during the European colonial era, Europeans were motivated to migrate out of Europe because of opportunities in the colonies. In Map B, after the Second World War, decolonization saw a reversal in the flow, as non-Europeans and non-U.S. Americans began moving into Europe and the United States in search of new opportunities for themselves.

uneven. "Thinking Like an Anthropologist: Understanding Global Integration Throug[h] Commodities" explores the complexities of contemporary economic globalization.

Such analyses raise a key question: who benefits from and who pays the costs [of] global interconnections? We turn to this important question in the next section.

THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

Beyond communications, migration, and finance, what are some other culturally significant forces that make the world feel smaller?

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Thinking Like an Anthropologist

Understanding Global Integration Through Commodities

ANTHROPOLOGISTS BEGIN THEIR research by asking questions. In this box, we want you to learn how to ask questions as an anthropological researcher. Part One describes a situation and follows up with questions we would ask. Part Two asks you to do the same thing with a different situation.

PART ONE: THE T-SHIRT ON YOUR BACK

Concepts like the "global economy," "economic integration," even "globalization" are pretty abstract. Here, by consider- ng the common t-shirt as a concrete example of economic obalization, we can show how your life is touched by emingly remote and abstract economic, social, and polit- l forces.

The things people want and need depend increasingly the interactions of numerous institutions, individuals, es, and corporations, many of which are anonymous to sumers. To understand these diffuse interconnections, helpful to start with some concrete object that circu- through and between these actors. All objects, such as humble t-shirt, have biographies, that is, particular life es and trajectories. You can learn a lot about a social em—especially global integration—by following the ectory of an object such as a t-shirt: who produced it, w it has changed hands, who has used it, and the uses to hich it has been put (Kopytoff 1986).

Let us begin in the most obvious place, the tag on your shirt. Chances are pretty good it says "Made in . . ." followed by an exotic port of call: Bangladesh, Malawi, Malaysia, the Philippines, Mexico, or maybe China, which since 1993, has been the world's largest producer and exporter of clothing, about 30% of the world's share. Each year, Americans buy about one billion garments from China, four for every U.S. citizen (Rivoli 2005:70).

Chinese Garment Factory. T-shirts are made in this garment factory.

To tell the full story of your t-shirt, though, we have to get the whole picture, which includes understanding the commodity chain, or the linked elements—labor, capital, raw materials, etc.—that contribute to the manufacture of a commodity. Quite likely, your t-shirt originated in a cotton field around Lubbock, Texas. The United States has dominated cotton production markets for two hundred years, thanks largely to our ability to be highly productive while controlling labor costs. Before the Civil War, slavery kept these costs down; now tractors and government subsidies do. Raw cotton is then shipped off, quite likely to China, to be made into thread and cloth, and then, if it does not stay in China to be manufactured into a t-shirt, off to somewhere else to be cut and sewn. The manufacturer then sells the t-shirts to a distributor, probably a U.S.-based business, and maybe after changing hands once again for silk-screening, it goes to the retailer who sells it to you.

But let's keep going. After you wear it for a while, you might toss it in the trash, where it finds its way into a landfill. Or you might donate it to a used clothing charity bin like those in the parking lots of grocery stores. The charities themselves rarely handle your clothing, but in turn sell it to companies like Ragtex or the Savers Company that sort, bundle, and ship used clothing in 1,000-pound bales to sub-Saharan Africa (the largest market for used U.S. clothing), Eastern Europe, East Asia, or Latin America. A whole new series of wholesalers and small traders take over from there (Veseth 2005).

In these markets, people rarely think of these clothes as cast-offs or rags, as we do. For example, in Zambia, in southern Africa, where anthropologist Karen Tranberg Hansen (2000) has researched the local trade in used clothing, people call this clothing *salaula*, which means opportunity, choice, and new chances. At the same time, the arrival of so many inexpensive t-shirts and other clothing to places like Zambia undermines the local clothing industry, which cannot compete with the low cost of these used items.

What questions does this situation raise for anthropological researchers?

(continued)

Thinking Like an Anthropologist (continued)

1. Is the supply chain that created your t-shirt really "global"?
2. Why are t-shirt production facilities no longer in the United States, and why are these facilities in the places they are?
3. Who are the different actors who participate in the processes of manufacturing and using your t-shirt, both before and after you own it?
4. What are the consequences for local people of this global trade in t-shirts?

PART TWO: CHILEAN TABLE GRAPES

In industrialized economies like the United States and Europe, food is also quite likely to come from far away. This is especially true of fruits and vegetables, which can be harvested in the Southern Hemisphere during the American winter when domestic fruits and vegetables are not available in the United States. Chile is a major exporter of fruits to the United States and Europe, because its summer harvests coincide with the winter off-season in the Northern Hemisphere. If you wanted to understand global economic integration through table grapes such as those produced in Chile, what questions would you ask as an anthropological researcher?

Are There Winners and Losers in Global Integration?

In public debates, the most common way of framing globalization is in terms of winners and losers. Globalization's promoters focus on winners, arguing that greater economic integration brings unprecedented prosperity to millions. They cite evidence that the more open a country is to foreign trade, the more rapidly its economy grows (Norberg 2006). Critics focus on losers, invoking images of sweatshops and poverty. They offer evidence that the gap between rich countries and poor countries has actually widened, and we are witness to a "globalization of poverty" (Chossudovsky 1997). In the face of such arguments, it is useful to remember that both sides are often discussing fairly narrow economic policy questions such as free trade, labor conditions, outsourcing of jobs, and so on. These are important issues, but they tend to ignore the cultural nuances of global interconnections, which include inequality, confrontation, domination, accommodation, and resistance.

World Systems Theory

- **World systems theory.** The theory that capitalism has expanded on the basis of unequal exchange throughout the world, creating a global market and global division of labor, dividing the world between a dominant "core" and a dependent "periphery."

For several decades, **world systems theory** has provided the social sciences with an important theoretical lens for understanding global inequality. Developed by economic historians André Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein, world systems theory rejects the idea that global interconnections are anything new, identifying the late fifteenth century as the beginning of a new capitalist world order that connected different parts of the world in new ways. During this historical period, according to world systems theory, European powers created a global capitalist market based on unequal exchange between a "core" (the home countries) and a "periphery" (the rest of the world). The core (the winners) develops its economy by exploiting the periphery (the losers), whose role is to provide labor and raw materials for the core's consumption. The result is the periphery's long-term poverty, underdevelopment, and dependency on the core. Anthropologists have made a particular contribution to world system

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Classic Contributions

Eric Wolf, Culture, and the World System

Eric Wolf.

ERIC WOLF (1923–1999) studied issues of power, inequality, and politics in Latin America. He insisted that the discipline needed to discover history, "a history that could account for the ways in which the social system of the modern world came into being" (1984:ix). He was interested in the origin and workings of peasant and tribal societies, but always in relation to the powerful governmental and business interests that so often kept peasants poor. In this selection, Wolf presents why anthropologists should view most societies over the past five hundred years as societies linked to other societies, often with tragic consequences for some of the people involved.

While some anthropologists thus narrow their focus to the ever more intensive study of the single case, others hope to turn anthropology into a science by embarking on the statistical cross-cultural comparisons . . . drawn from large samples of ethnographically known cases. . . .

What, however, if we take cognizance of processes that transcend separable cases, moving through and beyond them and transforming them as they proceed? Such processes were, for example, the North American fur trade and the trade in native American and African slaves. What of the localized Algonkin-speaking patrilineages, for example, which in the course of the fur trade moved into large nonkin villages and became known as the ethnographic Ojibwa? What of the Chipewayans, some of whose bands gave up hunting to become fur trappers, or "carriers," while others continued to hunt for game as "caribou eaters," with people continuously changing from caribou eating to carrying and back? . . . What moreover, of Africa, where the slave trade created an unlimited demand for slaves, and where quite unrelated populations met that demand by severing people from their kin groups through warfare, kidnapping, pawning, or judicial procedures, in order to have slaves to sell to the Europeans? In all such cases, to attempt to specify separate cultural wholes and distinct boundaries would create a false sample. These cases exemplify spatially and temporally shifting relationships, prompted in all instances by the effects of European expansion. If we consider, furthermore, that this expansion has for nearly 500 years affected case after case, then the search for a world sample of distinct cases is illusory. (Wolf 1984:17–18)

Questions for Reflection

1. What happened about five hundred years ago that changed the relations between societies from what they had been?
2. Why does Wolf feel that most societies have been in touch with Europeans and others outside of their society for the past five hundred years?
3. How would you explain to your younger brother or sister why Wolf feels anthropologists should not view societies as bounded and unconnected to other societies?

studies by posing a question other social scientists had not: How has this world system affected the native peoples and cultural systems of the periphery?

In his influential book *Europe and the People Without History,* anthropologist Eric Wolf took on this question. Wolf argued that long-distance trade and cultural interaction were around long before the development of capitalism, but that the expansion

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of European colonialism and capitalism drew non-European people into a global market, in which, as producers of commodities, they were to serve the cause of capital accumulation as a subordinate working class (Wolf 1984:352–3). These processes disrupted, even destroyed, many societies (Bodley 1999).

But Wolf rejected the customary divisions we make between "West" and "non-West." He insisted that people in the periphery also have helped shape the world system because they have not responded passively to capitalist expansion. In fact, they have often resisted it. These are the common people usually ignored by the victorious elites when they wrote their histories. Wolf argued that we need to pay close attention to the peripheral people's active role in world history. As we explore in "Classic Contributions: Eric Wolf, Culture, and the World System," Wolf's argument not only challenged popular stereotypes of indigenous people as isolated and passive, but he also challenged anthropology's bias toward the local, that is, the traditional ethnographic focus on villages and other small groups.

Because world systems theory focused on the rise of capitalism as a global system, this perspective did not readily lend itself to ethnographic research of smaller communities and non-global economics. But the theory helped anthropologists better explain the historical emergence and contemporary persistence of uneven development patterns around the world and has been of critical interest to scholars of **postcolonialism**, the field that studies the cultural legacies of colonialism and imperialism. It has also helped anthropologists understand the linkages between local social relations (families, kin networks, communities) and other levels of political-economic activity, like the regional, national, and transnational.

- **Postcolonialism.** The field that studies the cultural legacies of colonialism and imperialism.

Resistance at the Periphery

As Wolf observed, expansion of the capitalist world system did meet resistance from the peripheral peoples affected. Anthropologists have devoted considerable attention to this resistance, finding examples that range from open rebellion and mass mobilizations to more subtle forms of protest and opposition.

Many forms of resistance may not be obvious to us. For example, in one factory in Malaysia, spirit possession episodes have erupted, disrupting work and production goals (Ong 1988). According to the factory women of Malaysia, the facility violated two basic moral boundaries: Close physical proximity of the sexes, and male managers' constant monitoring of female workers. Young female workers, who as Muslims are expected to be shy and deferential, believe these two factors force them to violate cultural taboos that define social and bodily boundaries between men and women. They also believe that the construction of modern factories displaces and angers local spirits, who then haunt the toilets. For the women, these three transgressions combine to provoke spirit possession, in which the women become violent and loud, disrupting work in the factory. Spirit possession episodes help the women regain a sense of control over both their bodies and social relations in the factory (Ong 1988:34). Such resistance interests anthropologists because it shows how people interpret and challenge global processes through local cultural idioms and beliefs.

Globalization *and* Localization

Perhaps greater global integration also creates opportunities for local cultures to express themselves more vividly. This is a phenomenon that some anthropologists call **localization**, and it's the flip side, or side effect, of globalization. Localization is the creation and assertion of highly particular, often place-based, identities and

- **Localization.** The creation and assertion of highly particular, often place-based, identities and communities.

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communities (Friedman 1994). This is evidenced by the recent rise of autonomy movements among Hawaiian separatists and the Zapatistas in Mexico, movements that seek self-determination; nationalist and ethnic movements like the Basques in Europe; and other movements engaged in reinforcing local control, such as community-supported agriculture and local currencies (Friedman 1994). Each of these movements seeks to recuperate and protect local identities and places in the face of greater economic and cultural integration within a nation or a transnational network.

Other evidence of localization lies in people's patterns of consumption, which is a common way people express their local identities and ways of being. In our own society, people choose certain clothing and shoe brands because they believe it says something about them as individuals: their social status, lifestyles, and outlook on the world, in particular. People in other countries do this too, but because of local culture and history, patterns of consumption can communicate very different things.

For example, among the Bakongo in the People's Republic of Congo, a former French colony in Central Africa, poor Bakongo youths in urban shanty towns of the capital city, Brazzaville, compete with each other to acquire famous French and Italian designer clothes (Figure 6.4). Calling themselves *sapeurs* (loosely translated as "dandies"), the most ambitious and resourceful go to Europe where they acquire fancy clothes by whatever means they can. By becoming hyper-consumers, *sapeurs* are not merely imitating prosperous Europeans. Europeans may believe that "clothes make the man," but Congolese believe that clothes reflect the degree of "life force" possessed by the wearer (Friedman 1994:106). The *sapeur*'s goal is not to live a European lifestyle; his goal is to accumulate prestige by linking himself to external sources of wealth, health, and political power. In highly ranked Congolese society, the poor Bakongo urbanite ranks lowest. By connecting to upscale European fashion worlds, the *sapeur* represents an assault on the higher orders of Congolese society who normally dismiss him as a barbarian.

Whether they are Walpiri Aborigines watching video, Malay factory women, or Congolese *sapeurs*, people continue to define their identities locally. What is different today from previous generations, perhaps, is that people increasingly express their local identities through their interaction with transnational processes, such as communications or consumerism, and with institutions, such as transnational businesses.

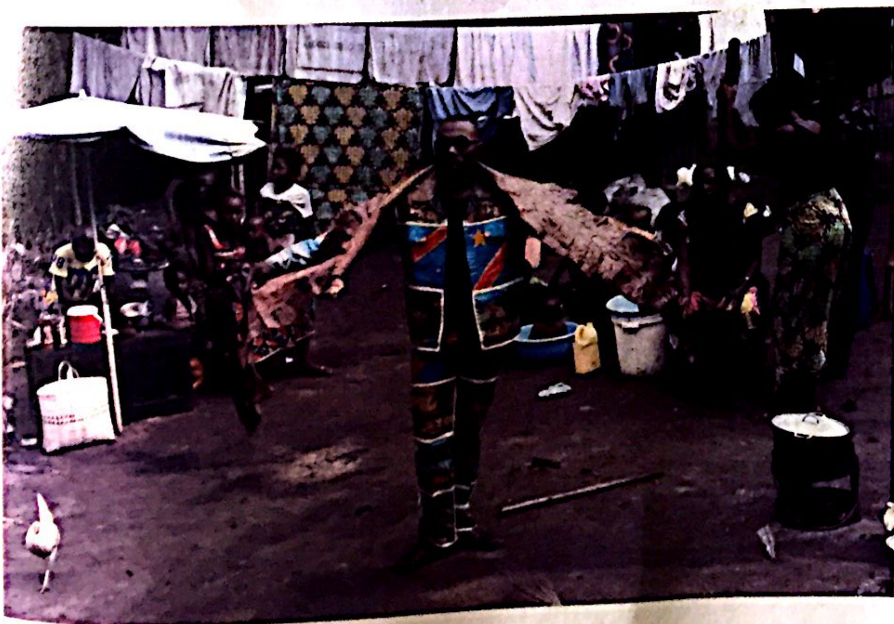

Figure 6.4 Bakongo *Sapeur*. The *Sapeur*'s engagement in both transnational fashion worlds and local processes of social stratification destabilizes any strong local-global dichotomy.

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In today's world people participate in global processes *and* local communities simultaneously. But they rarely participate in global processes on equal footing, because of their subordinate place in the world system or in their own countries. Nevertheless, many anthropologists feel that to identify them in stark terms as *either* winners *or* losers of global integration greatly simplifies the complexity of their simultaneous involvement in globalization and localization processes.

As these examples show, people can be accommodating to outside influences, even while maintaining culturally specific meanings and social relations, whether because of defiance or because they actively transform the alien into something more familiar (Piot 1999). In these circumstances, cultural differences exist not in spite of, but because of, interconnection. But it still seems difficult to deny that so many millions of people are striving to become developed and pursue lifestyles similar to middle-class Americans.

THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

Who should define who is a winner or loser in the processes of global integration? What kinds of criteria (financial, social, political, etc.) do you think are most appropriate for defining such a thing?

Doesn't Everyone Want to Be Developed?

Long before the current globalization craze, discussions about global integration were often framed as the problem of bringing "civilization" (Western, that is) and later, economic development, to non-European societies. But the question we pose here—Doesn't everyone want to be developed?—has no easy answer. Ideas differ about what development is and how to achieve it, so first we must ask: What is development?

What Is Development?

In 1949, U.S. President Harry Truman gave his inaugural address in which he defined the role of the United States in the post–World War II world, when the West confronted the communist nations. He said, "We must embark on a new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of the underdeveloped areas" (Truman 1949). He defined two-thirds of the world as "underdeveloped" and one-third as "developed." Truman believed that if poor people around the world participated in the "American dream" of a middle-class lifestyle, they would not turn toward communism (Esteva 1992).

The Cold War is over, but development is still with us. It is a worldwide enterprise that was never solely American. Many European nations give aid to their former colonies. The stated goals of this aid range from expanding capitalist markets through trade and new building to alleviating poverty, improving health, and conserving natural resources. Key actors include the United Nations, the government aid agencies of most industrialized countries, lending agencies like the World Bank, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like CARE International.

Contemporary international development still aims to bring people into the "modern" world and correct what it identifies as undesirable and undignified conditions like

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poverty and lack of modern conveniences. And, just as in the colonial era, "advanced" capitalist countries still provide the economic and social models for development.

But there is ambiguity to the concept of development. Is it a means to a particular end? Or is it the end itself? Who defines the shape and course of development? More importantly for our purposes, development has an ambiguous relationship with cultural diversity. Is its goal to foster the unfolding potential and purposeful improvement of people—from their own local cultural perspective? Or is it a program of forced change that is eliminating cultural diversity to create a world ordered on the universal principles of capitalist societies? Is it an effort to remake the world's diverse people to be just like us?

There are two distinct anthropological approaches to development: **development anthropology** and the **anthropology of development** (Gow 1993). While development anthropologists involve themselves in the theoretical and practical aspects of shaping and implementing development projects, anthropologists of development tend to study the cultural conditions for proper development, or, alternatively, the negative impacts of development projects. Often the two overlap, but at times they are in direct conflict.

- **Development anthropology.** The application of anthropological knowledge and research methods to the practical aspects of shaping and implementing development projects.

- **Anthropology of development.** The field of study within anthropology concerned with understanding the cultural conditions for proper development, or, alternatively, the negative impacts of development projects.

Development Anthropology

Development anthropology is a branch of applied anthropology. It is a response to a mple fact: many development projects have failed because planners have not taken al culture into consideration. Planners often blame project failures on local peoples' posed ignorance or stubbornness (Mamdani 1972). But it is often planners thems who are ignorant of local issues or set in their ways. Projects are more likely to their goals when they are fine-tuned to local needs, capacities, perspectives, and rests.

classic example recognized by many anthropologists is the work of Gerald Murray eforestation in Haiti. In the 1970s and 1980s, the U.S. Agency for International elopment (USAID) invested millions of dollars in Haitian reforestation projects consistently failed (Murray 1987). Poor farmers resisted reforestation because it oached on valuable croplands. Worse yet, aid money directed to farmers kept ppearing in the corrupt Haitian bureaucracy. Murray saw that planners misunderd the attitudes and needs of local farmers, not to mention the most effective ways et the resources to them. He suggested a different approach. Planners had coned of this project as an environmental one. He convinced the United States Agency International Development (USAID) instead to introduce it to farmers as planting ew cash crop, and to avoid involving the Haitian bureaucracy. Farmers would plant es along the borders of their lands, allowing crops to continue to grow (Figure 6.5). ter several years, they could harvest mature trees to sell as lumber. It was a very sucssful project: within four years, 75,000 farmers had planted 20 million trees, and many discovered the additional benefits of having trees on their land.

Development anthropologists often think of themselves as advocates for the people living at the grassroots—the poor, small farmers, women, and other marginalized people—who could be most affected, negatively or positively, by development but who lack the political influence to design and implement projects (Chambers 1997). As a result of pressure from anthropologists and other social activists, governments and major development organizations like the World Bank began to commission social impact studies to understand the potential impacts of their projects, and to try to alleviate the negative effects on local populations. Today, many anthropologists work in development agencies, both internationally (such as in USAID) and domestically (in community development organizations). One indication of how successful

Figure 6.5 Haitian Farmers Planting Saplings for Reforestation.

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anthropologists' contributions to development have been is that the current director of the World Bank, Dr. Jim Yong Kim, is an anthropologist.

And yet there are limits to what anthropologists can do. Policy makers and development institutions may not pay attention to their advice. Or the anthropologist may not have enough time to fully study a situation before having to make recommendations (Gow 1993).

Anthropology of Development

A number of anthropologists have supported the work of development anthropology by analyzing the social conditions that might help projects succeed. Other anthropologists have examined the development enterprise itself, and challenged its unpredictable and often harmful impacts on local cultures. These critics argue that no matter how well intentioned the developers, the outcome of most development projects is to give greater control over local people to outsiders, or the worsening of existing inequalities as elites shape development projects to serve their own political and economic interests (Escobar 1995). They also charge that the notion of development itself is ethnocentric and paternalistic (Escobar 1991).

Anthropologist James Ferguson applied some of these perspectives in his study of the Thaba-Tseka Rural Development Project. This project was a World Bank and U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) project that took place between 1975 and 1984 in the southern African country of Lesotho (J. Ferguson 1994). Its goal was to alleviate poverty and increase economic output in rural villages by building roads, providing fuel and construction materials, and improving water supply and sanitation. But the project failed to meet its goals.

Ferguson argued that intentional plans like this one never turn out the way their planners expect, because project planners begin with a distinctive way of reasoning and knowing that nearly always generates the same kinds of actions. In this particular case, the planners believed that Lesotho's problems fit a general model: its residents are poor because they are subsistence farmers living in remote and isolated mountains, but they could develop further if they had technical improvements, especially roads, water, and sanitation.

But, according to Ferguson, this perspective has little understanding of on-the-ground realities. He noted that people in rural Lesotho have been marketing crops and livestock since the 1840s, so they have already been involved in a modern capitalist economy for a long time. They are also not isolated, since they send many migrants to and from South Africa for wage labor. In fact, most of the income for rural families comes from family members who have migrated to South Africa.

Ferguson's point is that people in rural Lesotho are not poor because they live in a remote area and lack capitalism; they are poor because their labor is exploited in South Africa. But by viewing poverty as a lack of technical improvements in the rural countryside, the project failed to address the socioeconomic inequalities and subordination that are the underlying causes of poverty in rural Lesotho. All of this misunderstanding led to one major unexpected consequence: the arrival of government development bureaucrats to put the development project's technologies in place undermined the power of traditional village chiefs. Ferguson concluded that development exists not to alleviate poverty, but to reinforce and expand bureaucratic state power at the expense of local communities.

Not all anthropologists, especially those working in development, are comfortable with such critiques. Some anthropologists counter that we cannot sit on development's sidelines, that we have a moral obligation to apply our knowledge to protect the interests of the communities we study. Others insist that critics ignore the struggles within

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development institutions that indicate that there is not simply one discourse of development but a variety of perspectives among developers (Little and Painter 1995). Still others insist that development is less paternalistic and more accountable to local communities than it has ever been (Chambers 1997).

These debates remain unresolved, but now that we have some background, we can begin to answer the bigger question: do people really want to be developed? The answer often depends on how much control over development processes people will have.

Change on Their Own Terms

In indigenous and poor communities around the world, it is not uncommon to hear variations on the following phrase, originally attributed to Lila Watson, an Australian Aboriginal woman: "If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come here because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together." According to this perspective, outside help is not automatically virtuous, and it can undermine self-determination. Some scholars view this basic desire—to negotiate change on one's own terms—as a fundamental challenge to development's real or perceived paternalism and negative effects on local culture (Rahnema and Bawtree 1997). As confirmation of that fact, they point to the explosion of grassroots social movements throughout the Third World that challenge capitalist development schemes and seek alternatives such as social justice and environmental sustainability (Escobar, Alvarez, and Dagnino 1998).

Understandably, in the face of forced change, people want to conserve the traditions and relationships that give their lives meaning. This point is one of the keys to understanding culture in the context of global change. Culture helps people make sense of and respond to constant changes in the world, and is itself dynamic. But culture also has stable and conservative elements, and different societies have different levels of tolerance for change, both of which mean that cultural change is not a uniform process for every society. This situation of uneven change partly explains why we see the persistence of cultural diversity around the world in spite of predictions that it would disappear.

THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

Are anthropologists ethically obligated to help communities develop if members of the community want it?

If The World Is Not Becoming Homogenized, What Is It Becoming?

Like the previous question about whether everyone wants development, this one has no simple answer. Anthropologists are divided on this question. The interaction of culture with political, economic, and social processes is complex, and in many ways the world's material culture and associated technologies are becoming homogeneous. Anthropologists who study these processes pursue one or another form of cultural

convergence theory. Other anthropologists however, see conflict and a clash of cultures. And still others see hunter-gatherers like the Walpiri using aspects of modern technology in their own ways and on their own terms. These scholars use an approach called hybridization theory. In this section we examine the strengths and relevance of each theory.

Cultural Convergence Theories

In the 1960s the famous media scholar Marshall McLuhan suggested that the world was becoming a "global village" in which cultural diversity was in decline. Many social scientists agree. The British philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, for example, believed the spread of industrial society created a common worldwide culture, based on similar conditions of work within the same industry. Making t-shirts in a factory is going to be similar whether situated in Honduras, Tanzania, or Vietnam. Gellner wrote that "the same technology canalizes people into the same type of activity and the same kinds of hierarchy, and that the same kind of leisure styles were also engendered by existing techniques and by the needs of productive life" (1983:116–17). Gellner's view was that local distinctions and traditions will gradually fade as Western ideas replace those in non-Western communities.

Another version of convergence theory envisions a worldwide convergence of consumer preferences and corporate practices, invoking the image of "McDonaldization." Advocates of this version assert that the principles of the fast food restaurant—efficiency (quick service at a low cost), calculability (quantity over quality), predictability, tight control over production, and using technology over human labor—characterize American society and, increasingly, the rest of the world (Ritzer 1996).

- **Cultural imperialism.** The promotion of one culture over others, through formal policy or less formal means, like the spread of technology and material culture.

- **World culture.** Norms and values that extend across national boundaries.

Still another variation on this theme imagines "Coca-Colonization," alternatively called Westernization or Americanization. This model proposes that the powerful and culturally influential nations of the West (especially the United States) impose their products and beliefs on the less powerful nations of the world, creating what is known as **cultural imperialism**, or the promotion of one culture over others, through formal policy or less formal means, like the spread of technology and material culture.

The appeal of these theories is that they address the underlying causes of why the world feels smaller, as well as how rich societies systematically exploit poor societies by drawing them into a common political-economic system. They also appear to explain the appearance of a common **world culture**, based on norms and knowledge shared across national boundaries (Lechner and Boli 2005; Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6 World Culture and the Olympic Games. The Olympic Games is a quintessential global event: currently 203 countries participate in the Olympic Games, even more than are members of the United Nations. Drawing on certain core values—competitiveness, internationalism, amateurism, etc.—they foster an awareness of living in a single world culture.

But many anthropologists disagree with the basic assumptions convergence theorists make about culture, and in fact most proponents of convergence are not anthropologists. As we discussed earlier in this chapter, the fact that people might consume the same goods, wear the same clothes, or eat the same foods does not necessarily mean that they begin to think and behave the same ways. A major limitation of convergence theories is that they underestimate variability and plasticity as key features of human culture and evolutionary history (J. Nash 1981).

Clash of Civilizations

One alternative to convergence theories is the "clash of civilizations" theory. Advanced by political scientist Samuel Huntington,

it offers a direct challenge to convergence theorists by explaining why cultural differences have not disappeared. It argues that consciousness of culture is becoming greater around the world, and that states and people band together because of cultural similarities, not because of ideological similarities, as in the past (Huntington 1996). As a result, the world is divided into civilizations in perpetual cultural tension with each other. For example, Huntington pits Western civilization against Islamic and Confucian (Chinese) civilizations, arguing that their divergent values and worldviews generate geopolitical conflicts.

American neoconservatives used this theory during the early 2000s to justify the "War on Terror" as a clash between what they saw as an enlightened and democratic West versus a closed and autocratic Islam. Although a handful of anthropologists accept Huntington's premises (Wax and Moos 2004), most have dismissed this theory and its mosaic vision of the world as crude, ethnocentric, and inaccurate. Not only does it assume that cultural difference automatically generates conflict—which is not supported by historical facts—but it also denies overwhelming evidence of cultural mixing and fluidity.

Hybridization

An alternative theory that many anthropologists prefer is **hybridization**, which refers to open-ended and ongoing cultural intermingling and fusion. The word is ...ally drawn from nineteenth-century racial thinking, which idealized "racial" ...ty and abhorred racial mixing as hybridism (Nederveen ...erse 2004). The difference is that anthropologists have re...gined the word so it is no longer perceived as a negative pro... but descriptive of a key feature of human existence. While ...onvergence and clash of civilization theories imagine a world ...ed on or moving toward cultural purities, hybridization em...sizes a world based on promiscuous mixing, border crossing, ... persistent cultural diversity (García Canclini 1995; Piot ...9) (Figure 6.7).

Hybridization. Persistent cultural mixing that has no predetermined direction or end-point.

Figure 6.7 **Kabuki Meets Shakespeare.** As an illustration of hybridization, consider how in recent years a quintessential Japanese theater form, Kabuki, has been used to stage the plays of William Shakespeare, such as this performance of *Twelfth Night*.

Hybridization has several aliases, including syncretism and cre...ation. Anthropologists have usually applied the word *syncre...* to the fusion of religious systems; *creolization* is used to mean ... intermingling of languages. Still another metaphor is the ...tion of "friction," which anthropologist Anna Tsing (2005) ...ploys: just as rubbing two sticks together creates light and ...eat, the coming together of diverse and conflicting social inter...ctions creates movement, action, and effects. Tsing's broader as...ertion is that globalizing processes produce important effects around the world but that these effects are rarely predictable given the particularities of how people situated in their local cultures relate to those effects. Debates continue over the relative useful...ness of each of these terms. But anthropologists recognize that each revolves around a common theme: the synthesis of distinct elements to create new and unexpected possibilities.

Hybridization theory does have critics. Some argue that cultural mixing is merely a superficial phenomenon, the real underlying condition being convergence. Others charge that all the talk about boundary-crossing and mixture ignores the fact that boundaries—national, social, ethnic, and so on—have not disappeared (Friedman 1999). At the heart of this

criticism is the charge that hybridization theory ignores real political and economic power and inequalities. Others assert that these three approaches do not have to be mutually exclusive, but that convergence is happening in some places, cultural conflict in others, and hybridization everywhere, all at the same time.

Although these debates can be contentious, for a discipline historically accustomed to studying culture from a local vantage point (the stereotype of the anthropologist in a village), there is widespread consensus that taking on big questions like these opens up exciting new possibilities for research.

THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

Can you identify any examples of cultural hybridization in your community? How does the example you came up with connect to transnational dynamics and processes?

What Strategies Can Anthropologists Use to Study Global Interconnections?

Nowadays nearly every anthropologist accepts that it is impossible to make sense of local cultural realities without some understanding of the broader political, economic, and social conditions that also shape people's lives (Kearney 1995). The problem is that anthropologists have typically conducted their studies in a single field site (a village, community, tribe, or district), while the transnational or transregional connections may be very far away. So how can anthropologists simultaneously study a local phenomenon in a community and the national or international factors and forces shaping that community?

Defining an Object of Study

Some anthropologists, such as Eric Wolf, have defined their object of study as the world system itself. They focus on the role of culture in that system. Others who take a global system more or less for granted have focused on specific components within that system, especially objects, money, and ideas that "flow" and "circulate" around it (Appadurai 1996), or the "cosmopolitan" people (journalists, city people, world travelers) who move within and through it (Hannerz 1992). Some go a step further, observing that in a transient world, the migrant offers the most productive object of study (Kearney 1995; García Canclini 1995).

But some reject the notion of a unified global system altogether, and propose investigation of what Tsing (2000:348) describes as "interactions involving collaboration, misunderstanding, opposition, and dialogue" between transnational and local actors. A key component of this approach is learning how people find meaning in their places within broader political, economic, and cultural systems. For example, in September 2012, riots erupted throughout many Muslim countries after a crude video produced in the United States was posted on Youtube that portrayed the Muslim prophet

Doing Fieldwork

Studying Chernobyl's Aftermath With Adriana Petryna

IN APRIL 1986, the worst nuclear disaster of the twentieth century occurred in the Soviet Union, when Unit Four of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor exploded. Its radioactive cloud spread over Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, and Western Europe, exposing millions of people to dangerous levels of radiation. Three years later the Soviet Union and its socialist economy collapsed, leaving the newly independent country of Ukraine, where the ruined reactor lies, to deal with the reactor's technical maintenance, extensive radioactive contamination, and a major health crisis. Some 3.5 million Ukrainians (one of every 20 people) are suffering from the effects of radiation poisoning.

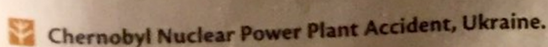
University of Pennsylvania anthropologist Adriana Pet-yna was one of the first to examine the political, scientific, nd social aftermath of the disaster systematically (Petryna 02). She was particularly interested in how technical, scitific, and political actors understood and responded to e disaster as well as its impacts on the everyday lives of e people.

How did Petryna go about studying a topic as complex the way science, politics, and people intersected in their everyday lives in the aftermath of a nuclear disaster? The radiation did not simply involve Ukrainians; Petryna writes that "It became apparent that in order to do a fair analysis of the lived experience of Chernobyl, I had to do multisited work" (2002:17). First, between 1992 and 1997, she lived and worked for several brief and long periods of time in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. There, she conducted participant observation among resettled families, radiation-exposed workers, and mothers of exposed children. Next, she interviewed government officials and civil servants in charge of dealing with Chernobyl's aftermath, as well non-governmental disability rights organizations. During some of this time she also did participant-observation research in the state-supported Radiation Research Center, where she studied the everyday activities and interactions of medical personnel and patients.

In between her stints in Kiev, the research also took her to other countries. She went to Russia to study the scientific knowledge and technical experience nuclear and radiation experts gained from the disaster. She conducted interviews and participant observation in the United States at the International Atomic Energy Agency in New York and in government laboratories such as the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, in California, where she learned techniques for measuring the biological impact of radiation at the cellular and genetic levels, which helped her better understand the scientific dimensions of these matters.

Multi-sited research like Petryna's requires following certain common themes and processes across widely dispersed research settings. Its goal is not to study the world system in its totality, but identify the connections that link these dispersed settings. The settings can be geographically dispersed, both within and across nation-states. But they can also be socially dispersed, as in the social distance that exists between a state-run research clinic and a neighborhood where resettled families live.

Her transient method provided rich perspectives on the complex changes in people's lives that came following the breakdown of state socialism following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the sudden rise of global capitalism and new laws. On the one hand, citizens gained new democratic opportunities, including the right to information and the ability to pressure their government to provide benefits for their suffering. On the other hand, to deal with the


Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Accident, Ukraine.

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Doing Fieldwork (continued)

suffering, the Ukrainian state's welfare system had to expand instead of contract, defying any predictions that the end of state socialism would automatically lead to a capitalist, free-market economy.

These complex changes have expressed themselves through what Petryna calls "biological citizenship." In the normal sense of citizenship, citizens bear certain natural and legal rights as their birthright. But in Ukraine, themes like biological damage, scientific knowledge, and suffering have become the grounds upon which many people claim citizenship.

Questions for Reflection

1. What would Petryna have gained if she had stayed in one place to do her research? What would she have lost?
2. What do you think are some of the practical problems facing an anthropologist who wants to conduct multi-sited research?
3. Do you think that multi-sited research raises any particular ethical issues?

Mohammed in a highly negative light. These riots ended in many injuries and even deaths. While American officials scrambled to communicate their agreement that the video was reprehensible, such arguments had little effect on Muslim publics who invoked a longer history of frustration with what they perceive to be a pattern of Western disrespect of Islam throughout the twentieth century.

Each of these approaches raises questions about the adequacy of anthropology's most distinctive methodological tool, ethnographic research. Understood as intensive participation and observation in the everyday life of a single place over a long period of time, ethnographic research has yielded incredibly rich insights into how people live and make sense of their lives. Yet ethnographers also assume that to learn about a community one should stay in one place. But what if the community or the issues one wants to study extend beyond that place?

Multi-Sited Ethnography

- **Multi-sited ethnography.** An ethnographic research strategy of following connections, associations, and putative relationships from place to place.

One technique is to use **multi-sited ethnography**, which is a strategy of following connections, associations, and putative relationships from place to place (Marcus 1995). Its goal is not a holistic representation of the world system as a totality. Rather, it seeks to track cultural themes as they express themselves in distinct places and settings that are typically connected in some concrete way. Its goal is to describe relationships and connections between these different places. In this sense, multi-sited ethnography offers a comparative method. Comparisons emerge from juxtaposing phenomena that were once thought "worlds apart" (Marcus 1995:102). "Doing Fieldwork: Studying Chernobyl's Aftermath With Adriana Petryna" considers how one anthropologist has taken advantage of the opportunities multi-sited ethnography presents for studying culture in transnational contexts.

Multi-sited fieldwork has been productive for studying transnational phenomena like environmentalism and other social movements, the media, certain religious societies whose membership extends across the borders of many countries, and the spread of science and technology. As the object of anthropological research has expanded to include topics like these, more and more anthropologists are doing multi-sited research. Multi-sited research is not appropriate for every research topic, but it is now becoming a common anthropological research strategy.

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THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

Can you identify any practical difficulties or ethical dilemmas involved in multi-sited research that might be different from traditional ethnographic research in a single community setting?

Conclusion

No anthropologist can claim to have easy answers to the dilemmas, dislocations, and problems raised by globalization. But anthropological research can provide critical perspectives on how and why people relate to large-scale social, economic, and political changes in the ways they do.

As we have established in this chapter, culture helps people make sense of and respond to constant changes in the world, which is itself dynamic. But cultural change is not a uniform process. There are many reasons for this. Different societies have differing levels of tolerance toward change, and some are more protective of their cultural traditions than others. In addition, as the story about Walpiri watching television demonstrates, people can be open to outside influences even while maintaining culturally specific meanings and social relations. They do this by actively transforming the alien into something more familiar. Even more important, perhaps, is that not all people participate in global processes on equal terms. Their position within broader political-economic processes helps shape their consciousness and experience of global cultural integration.

For these reasons alone, it is possible to see why cultural diversity continues to exist in the world. But there is another key reason. It is because cultures are created in conjunction with other cultures, not in isolation, as many anthropologists had previously thought. This is not to say that there are not certain elements that make the world feel smaller, including empirical changes in communications, migration, and finances. But does this mean we live in a global village as Marshall McLuhan once claimed? Only if we think of a village as a place in which diversity, and not uniformity, is the defining feature of that village.

KEY TERMS

- Anthropology of development p. 145
- Cultural imperialism p. 148
- Development anthropology p. 145
- Diffusionists p. 135
- Exiles p. 137
- Globalization p. 135
- Hybridization p. 149
- Immigrants p. 137
- Localization p. 142
- Migrants p. 137
- Multi-sited ethnography p. 152
- Postcolonialism p. 142
- Refugees p. 137
- Transnational p. 136
- World culture p. 148
- World systems theory p. 140

Reviewing the Chapter

Chapter Section	What We Know	To Be Resolved
Is the World Really Getting Smaller?	It is impossible to make sense of local cultural realities without some understanding of the broader political, economic, and social conditions that also shape people's lives.	Anthropologists do not have easy answers for the cultural, economic, and political dilemmas raised by globalization.
Are There Winners and Losers in Global Integration?	Not everybody participates equally in the diverse kinds of interconnections that make up globalization, and taking globalization seriously means taking power relationships and social inequality seriously.	While some anthropologists emphasize the destructive and dominating effects of global capitalism's spread for many non-Western societies, others have argued that the expressions of resistance and creative localization are meaningful and important responses.
Doesn't Everyone Want to Be Developed?	Development raises complex and politically charged issues about socioeconomic and cultural change for anthropologists and the indigenous and poor communities that are the target of development initiatives.	Anthropologists are deeply divided over the positive and negative impacts of development, and they continue to debate the merits and drawbacks of anthropological involvement in development and other projects that promote globalization.
If the World Is Not Becoming Homogenized, What Is It Becoming?	Globalization is a complicated matter that illustrates how people create and change their cultures not in isolation but through connections with others.	Although many anthropologists accept that globalization is a process primarily of hybridization, others argue that it is a process of cultural convergence.
What Strategies Can Anthropologists Use to Study Global Interconnections?	Multi-sited ethnography is one approach for tracking cultural themes as they express themselves in distinct places and settings, and it seeks to identify concrete connections between those places and settings.	Anthropologists continue to debate whether or not multi-sited research is as effective for understanding culture as traditional community-based ethnographic methods.

Readings

Although anthropologists have been interested in cultural transmission from one society to another for more than a century, very few of these studies are studies of globalization as anthropologists now understand the concept. *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*, edited by Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007) offers a rich overview of the history, topics, and debates in the anthropological study of globalization, including essays on themes such as migration, the creation of transnational identities, and the movement of goods and capitalist economic structures across political, economic, and cultural boundaries.

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Although he is not an anthropologist, Pico Iyer's book *The Global Soul: Jet Lag, Shopping Malls, and the Search for Home* (New York: Vintage, 2001) captures rich description of many of the cultural dilemmas and situations that draw anthropological attention about global processes. Anthropologist Michael Jackson's book *At Home in the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995) is a rich ethnographic and philosophical counterpart to Iyer's book, juxtaposing the author's own global travels and sense of uprootedness with how Australian

Walpiri construct a concept of home as hunter-gatherers who move across large geographic distances.

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Many anthropologists have written noteworthy ethnographic monographs exploring the intersections of culture and globalization. Among the more thought-provoking are Anna Tsing's book *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Interconnection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), which asserts the many global institutions and interactions that shape the problems facing Indonesian rain forests and indigenous peoples; Charles Piot's *Remotely Global: Village Modernity in West Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), which explores how village life among the Kabre of Togo is shaped by a complex mixture of local traditions and colonial and postcolonial histories; and Adriana Petryna's *Life Exposed: Biological Citizens After Chernobyl* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), which is described in the "Doing Fieldwork" box.

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