

Fall 2002

explore, Fall 2002, Vol. 6, no. 1: Globalization

Ignatian Center for Jesuit Education

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarcommons.scu.edu/explore>



Part of the [Catholic Studies Commons](#), and the [Higher Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ignatian Center for Jesuit Education, "explore, Fall 2002, Vol. 6, no. 1: Globalization" (2002). *explore*. Book 2.
<http://scholarcommons.scu.edu/explore/2>

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the SCU Publications at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in explore by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact rscroggin@scu.edu.

FALL 2002
VOLUME 6
NUMBER 1



explore

**An examination
of Catholic identity
and Ignatian character
in Jesuit higher education**

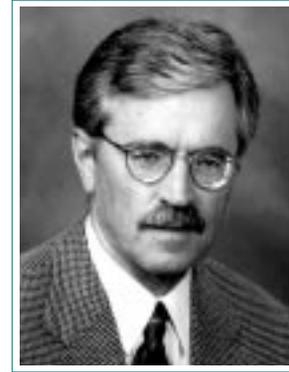
IN THIS ISSUE

Letter from the Director	1	Can Globalization Green the World? Reflections on Globalization and the Environment	28	Call for Grants	43
Globalization and Localization: New Dilemma for National Cultures	4	<i>by Leslie C. Gray</i>		Bannan Grants	44
<i>by Emile G. McAnany</i>	4	Globalization and Development: Some Personal Reflections	32	Coming Events	
Globalizing the World: Linking Integration and Solidarity	12	<i>by Michael Kevane</i>		Conference:	
<i>by Paul Locatelli, S.J.</i>	12	The Akbar Project: Ritual Observances and Religious Pluralism in Contemporary Pakistan	36	Globalization as Seen from the Developing World	45
Reflections of Globalization	18	<i>by David Pinault</i>		Santa Clara Lectures	46
<i>by Robert Finocchio</i>	18			Bannan Visitor	46
Sweatshops in a Global Economy	24			Next Issue	47
<i>by Patricia Adams</i>	24				



Dear Friends,

Globalization is the word at Santa Clara this year. The whole campus will be reflecting on the significance of this integration of the world's economies and cultures in a year long series of speakers, courses, and special events in the Institute on Globalization. We asked some of the key players in this discussion to write for this issue. In the spirit of Jesuit education, they raise key questions about this complex process: Can this integration be made more humane, or is it beyond human control? Will the new technology integrate the world or divide it in mutual suspicion? Will the wealth that it generates go to only a few or will all people benefit from it?



William C. Spohn

An internationally known scholar in the field of communications, SCU's Emile G. McAnany, examines the global impact of television. As international broadcasting emerges, will local cultures generate their own programming or will they view only what the wealthy countries produce? Paul Locatelli, S.J., asks how this world-spanning

In the spirit of Jesuit education, this issue's contributors raise key questions about the complex process of globalization: Will the new technology integrate the world or divide it in mutual suspicion? Will the wealth that it generates go to only a few or will all people benefit from it?

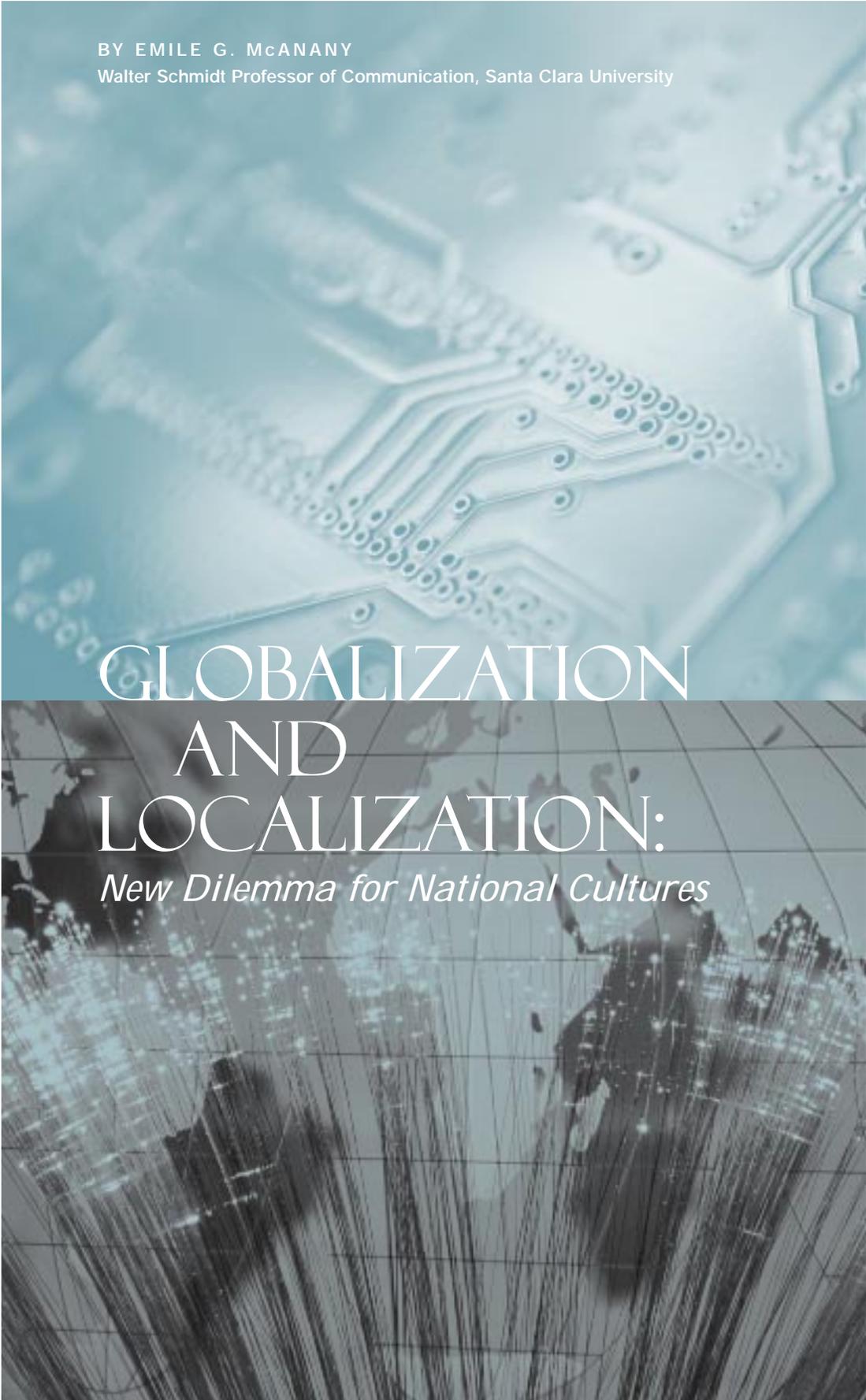
integration of economies and culture can create moral solidarity among peoples, particularly the three billion who have so far missed out on its prosperity. Robert Finocchio, Santa Clara trustee and Dean's Executive Professor of Management, draws on his extensive experience in international business to chart the promise of globalization as the best way to alleviate poverty. Patricia Adams '02 examines the issue of sweatshop labor, which she and other members of Santa Clara Community Action Program have been actively engaged in. Leslie Gray, from political science and environmental studies, describes the impact of globalization on the environment and the constructive role of non-governmental organizations. Michael Kevane, from economics, gives us an "on the ground" report of how the process affects his village friends in Burkina-Faso, one of the world's poorest countries. Finally, David Pinault of religious studies reports on his trip to the Muslim communities of Lahore, Pakistan, in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

In Sept. 2002, Fr. Locatelli and Bob Finocchio and I went on SCU's annual faculty/staff trip to El Salvador. We saw a microcosm of globalization's impact: campesinos whose coffee no longer competes in the world market leaving their plots to work in factories set up by international corporations; church leaders and politicians who either heralded or feared the process. Can globalization get a human face? Read on and join the conversation.

William C. Spohn
Director

BY EMILE G. McANANY

Walter Schmidt Professor of Communication, Santa Clara University



GLOBALIZATION AND LOCALIZATION:

New Dilemma for National Cultures

INTRODUCTION¹

Arjun Appadurai some years ago argued that globalization posed a series of disjunctures among what he identified as five fundamental aspects of this process.² These were defined as *flows*, indicating a dynamic and ever-changing system of connections among people, technologies, finance, media, and ideologies. His argument was that these flows were more complex, unpredictable, and difficult to theorize than previous explanations of globalization had understood. His conclusion was that although all of the flows were intimately related, nevertheless, there was more disjuncture and contradiction to the process than the Enlightenment clarity of preceding theories had proposed. Many of these theories argued for trends toward homogenization of culture and domination of economies by capitalism that Appadurai thought were overly simplistic and lacking in nuance. Rather, he called for a more postmodern thinking about globalization that would grant the disjunctures and play up the differences while recognizing some trends toward a greater interconnectedness of people around the world.

In this essay, I begin with the recognition of complexity and even contradiction in the process, but I will attempt to make some sense out of the process by concentrating on only three of Appadurai's five *flows* or *scapes* as he calls them: mediascapes (flows of mediated messages), technoscapes (flows of technologies to carry those messages) and ideoscapes (ideas that are contained in the messages and whose impacts on people are often at the heart of the cultural controversies over globalization). I will argue that the process of globalization is not as thoroughly haphazard as Appadurai seems to posit but that there are some clear trends in the growth of global communications that have a logic and a strategy that can be identified.

IS THE WORLD MORE CONNECTED TODAY?

We are all aware of how mediated communication, especially electronic media like telephony, radio, film, television, and the Internet, have made the world a smaller place. Historically, we have known globalization in mostly military, political, and economic forms, from the Roman empire to the colonial empires of the 16th through the 19th centuries, and all of these encompassed communication as a basic form of governance and control.³ Yet it is only in the last century that people all over the world have been incorporated into a system of mostly one-way communication that is unprecedented in history. It is not only that the electronic media have made messages more universally available, but the diffusion of these *messages* has been potentiated in the last forty years by a series of sophisticated *technologies*. Television, for example, has become less a land-based medium with limited geographical ranges around major cities and more a deterritorialized, satellite-based medium that can reach a third of the earth's surface with its signals. Add to satellites a digital capability and you have a distribution system that can carry the Internet medium as well. Thus, the media and their changing distribution technologies have transformed global communication into a more common experience for most of the world's populations today.

What these changes mean for peoples' lives involves the third element identified by Appadurai in his globalization model, the flow of ideas and *ideologies*. We may consider the ideas or ideologies as content plus impacts on people who are exposed to the messages that the media and their distribution technologies bring. There may be disagreement as to whether content can be equated with ideology in this context, but for the sake of brevity, I will use content to include not

only the information contained in the messages but the intentions of the senders who approach audiences who must interpret and perhaps act upon the messages. In short, there are *consequences for people and their cultures* in receiving these mediated messages.

The diffusion of media and their messages is dramatic and unique, and it is this difference historically that makes recent globalization distinct from previous historical experiences and, therefore, the ideological aspects more troubling. It is impossible to describe in detail this process of mediated message diffusion over the past century, but it helps to remind ourselves that the creation and diffusion of telephones, movies, radio, television, and the Internet are all the inventions of about 100 years. To take an example, the diffusion of television is not only indicative of this transformation of peoples' daily lives, but its centrality in many societies has made it more important in some senses than other media innovations of the 20th century. Television began as a *mass* medium only in the 1950s when it created a national audience in the United States. It reached significant audiences in Europe and elsewhere over the next three decades. In the last twenty years, however, it has added millions, even billions, of regular viewers. China, for example, had only 19 million television sets in 1980, but sev-

enteen years later in 1997 it had 400 million sets,⁴ making it an almost universal medium for the 1.25 billion viewers in that country. India had 3 million television sets in 1980 but 63 million by 1997, a more than twenty-fold increase in those years for its almost 1 billion people.⁵ I could cite other dramatic increases in the spread of television, but China and India are representative of the huge numbers of people incorporated into this global *mediascape* in the last decades of the 20th century. The consequence is that today a medium like television has become a critical link in the global communication system, linking people together in an unprecedented way.

SATELLITES AS THE GLOBAL SUPERNETWORK

Incorporation of a medium such as television into a national system does not mean that Indians and Chinese have access to only local content (that distinction goes to radio which has remained basically a local medium⁶). In the last decade of the 20th century, communication satellites have become the most compelling symbol of the increasingly interconnected world, carrying not only global advertising but bringing global popular culture into the homes of audiences around the world. To illustrate how satel-



Television, for example, has become less a land-based medium with limited geographical ranges around major cities and more a deterritorialized, satellite-based medium that can reach a third of the earth's surface with its signals. Add to satellites a digital capability and you have a distribution system that can carry the Internet medium as well. *Thus, the media and their changing distribution technologies have transformed global communication into a more common experience for most of the world's populations today.*

Despite the best intentions of its owners, Star TV was not an immediate economic success. What was important about its launch, however, was that it challenged legal and cultural barriers that had kept satellite television from expanding beyond national boundaries for more than two decades. In practice, although certain programs like the Olympic Games and World Cup soccer had been regularly carried by international satellites since the 1960s to global audiences, any signal reaching a given country's population had to be approved by national telecommunication authorities who pulled the signal down and redistributed it over national terrestrial systems.

lites have impacted globalization, let us reflect on the experience of India. In late 1991 a major step toward the globalization of television took place. A Hong Kong-based company launched a refurbished C-band satellite with a signal that could carry its five television channels to the approximately 2.6 billion people in Asia. The owners' intention was to reach at least the wealthiest five percent of this vast audience who could afford to capture its open broadcast signal—and buy the consumer goods offered by its global corporate advertisers. Star TV immediately caused a stir throughout the region.⁷

THE HISTORY BEHIND THE LAUNCH

Despite the best intentions of its owners, Star TV was not an immediate economic success. What was important about its launch, however, was that it challenged legal and cultural barriers that had kept satellite television from expanding beyond national boundaries for more than two decades. In practice, although certain programs like the Olympic Games and World Cup soccer had been regularly carried by international satellites since the 1960s to global audiences, any signal reaching a given country's population had to be approved by national telecommunication authorities who pulled the signal down and redistributed it over national terrestrial systems. What Star had done was to send out television programming on a regular basis to potential audiences in countries who had not asked for or authorized its reception. For individuals or middle class communities who could afford a relatively cheap antenna dish (as little as \$400), the five channels could be cap-

tured for home viewing. To fully understand the political and cultural impact of the launch of Star TV, we need to return to two decades before this event.

The first communication satellite to operate on a commercial basis was Early Bird, which had begun with a historic television broadcast in 1965 between Europe and the United States. Some would even date the beginning of the era of globalization from that moment, although Early Bird and subsequent satellites of the Intelsat system were mainly used for telephony and data transmission. The USSR quickly followed with its own Sputnik system that connected the socialist countries, again chiefly through telephony and data transmission. At that time in the Cold War, the U.S. and USSR competed intensely over the development of satellite technology, including powerful spy satellites. But the USSR and some other members of the United Nations in the late 1960s were beginning to worry about another issue. By this time television had been broadly diffused in many Western countries and even to a great extent in the USSR. The video tape technology (developed in California in the early 1960s) had made the export of television programs to other countries feasible and, in the thinking of the USSR, posed an ideological and cultural threat to the Socialist bloc as well as to the Third World. In 1968 when satellites carried the Olympic Games from Mexico for the first time to the entire world, some nations became alarmed at the prospect of a future when Hollywood programs might arrive uninvited into the homes of audiences around the world. A little more than two decades later, Star TV brought that threat to reality. By then, however, the world had changed and the USSR was history.

The history of the debate in the United Nations, however, illustrates something about the development of globalization as an attitude among politicians and world audiences. The USSR at the end of the 1960s sensed that a Direct-to-Home (DTH) satellite technology would spell ideological trouble for socialist countries. Even though the technology itself was years away from commercial development, the USSR was proposing a moratorium on further steps toward DTH unless UN members agreed on an international treaty to control the development and deployment of direct broadcast satellite technology. The U.S. and its allies wanted no limits on the further development of satellite technology, but when it came to concerns about television signals being carried by satellites beyond a country's border, even European countries had second thoughts. In a crucial vote at the UN, the U.S. lost by an unprecedented margin of 101 to 1.⁸ The upshot of the debates in the early 1970s over satellite television was never a clear victory for either side. Although no formal agreement was created by the UN, member nations accepted the international practice of gaining permission of other nations to broadcast within their borders. That is, until Star TV was launched and simply ignored the prior twenty years of international legal practice.

Satellites had become increasingly important to television during these two decades. They had been a key to the innovation in cable television in the U.S. when Ted Turner had used existing communication satellites in 1975 to create his cable empire and begin to make cable competitive with the networks, first with his TBS super channel and later in 1980 with Cable News Network (CNN). His use of satellites for this 24-hour news service inadvertently began to carry CNN's unscrambled signals to audiences in the Caribbean and Mexico because of satellite spillover. By the mid-1980s Turner began to exploit this technological accident and created agreements with governments around the world to receive CNN news (an early customer ironically was the USSR). By the time of the 1990 Gulf War, CNN had a major advantage in reporting the conflict not only to U.S. but to global audiences. Many date the globalization of television news from the time of that conflict.

Also by the late 1980s Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. had launched a satellite system intended solely for the distribution of television programs within the European Union, which had cleared the way legally for such an adventure. So by the time of the launch of Star in 1991, much had changed for policy makers concerned about political and cultural sovereignty and satellite television, but even more was about to change for globalizing the television system.

A NEW CULTURAL STRATEGY FOR GLOBAL TELEVISION

The old strategy of exporting U.S. popular culture already created for its own audiences was the governing wisdom in 1991 and Star TV's originators assumed that it would work for them as it had for Hollywood for more than 60 years. It had been assumed by Star's management that the elite five percent in all Asian countries would be strongly attracted to Hollywood products and would prefer these to the ones offered in its own language. Second, it was assumed that English would be widely spoken by these elite audiences and no dubbing of the four English language channels was called for. Third, the elite would buy the international products advertised and eventually would be willing to pay a fee for these premium channels. Finally, most Asian governments in the post-Cold War era would not restrict satellite dish ownership. All of these assumptions proved wrong. But before all of this became entirely clear, Rupert Murdoch had purchased Star TV from its original owners in 1993 for \$950 million and proceeded to put millions into making the Asian satellite a key part of his global television empire. This strategy consists of not only owning the products or content of television and film media but of controlling the distribution systems as well, in this case a global network of satellites. It has taken Murdoch eight years and approximately \$650 million more in losses and investments to turn around his Asian satellite television business to what he hopes is finally a winning strategy.⁹

The strategy is an important turning point in the globalization of television. Murdoch's current

approach turns on its head the former thinking about pushing Hollywood exports to global audiences. Unlike the assumptions of Star's original owners, Murdoch now believes in producing more local programming. It is not that Murdoch has suddenly accepted the thinking behind the cultural imperialism arguments that had been at work in the debates of the 1970s and 1980s. Rather Murdoch recognizes that in order to penetrate the mega markets of Asia such as China, India, and Indonesia, he needs to appeal to the interests of national audiences in language- and culture-appropriate programs. Warmed over and dubbed over Hollywood product cannot attract the kinds of numbers he needs to succeed economically.

The longer-term strategy of Murdoch contains some important lessons about how global corporations operate successfully as both global and local actors. To examine this, we can look at how Star TV went from being an outsider in India in 1991 when it arrived uninvited to some primitive cable systems to producing 40 of the top rated 50 locally made television shows in India at the end of 2001.¹⁰ We can examine briefly some of the important practices of Murdoch's new strategy to better understand how globalization works in this case. First, historically, Star's satellite signals helped to transform India's primitive cable system into its primary urban distribution system with

multiple channels for millions of viewers. Later, Star was allowed to compete on the ground with other commercial television companies, both local and foreign. Clearly, Doordarshan, the original government monopoly, had already begun to transform India's television into a commercial system with the aid of its own national satellite, but Star was the critical foot in the door to set this transformation onto a more global level. It can be argued that without Star, Indian television might have remained a state monopoly with much less commercialization and far fewer programming channels.

Second, the business of making and marketing television products was greatly influenced by the practices of global companies like Star TV, AOL Time Warner, and Disney. Geetika Patania, an Indian scholar, mentions many of the Western business practices that were introduced into the Indian environment within the first three years of global television companies' presence: "bundling" of programs and even of cable channels, changing local tastes in programming to suit global standards, promoting global brands in advertising and adapting U.S. formats like *Wheel of Fortune* or *Who Wants to be a Millionaire* to Indian contexts.¹¹

Third, Star and other global firms as well as their national competitors seek the same narrow audi-



Ironically, the challenge for many countries is how to best compete for their own domestic market with global companies. The struggle is not only economic but cultural. It asks the question: who should be responsible for creating the content for a cultural and political dialogue with a given audience through one of the most powerful mediums available for reaching people?

ence of middle- and upper-class viewers to set the norm for program popularity since it is this audience that can afford the consumer products advertised and to whom program creators direct their programs. Additionally, the ultimate strategy for Star is an audience that will pay more for television service, either on a premium cable channel basis or in a DTH system. The strategy of “windowing” or reselling a number of times a single film or television program is part of the generation of maximum revenue that global companies seek and a practice introduced into India by Star. Global companies seek those who can afford to pay extra to see films or television programs and eventually separate them out from the broad mass audience.

Fourth, the “language of advantage” strategy that Star has pursued since 1993 targets large language groups like speakers of Chinese, Hindi, and Indonesian and programs in those languages. This has implications for India and elsewhere in this satellite age. It means that the large cultural linguistic groups will get programming aimed at them (or at least their consumer elite) while those from smaller cultural and linguistic groups will not be served by global companies.

Fifth, a critical strategic factor for Star and other global companies is that they have deep pockets that permit them to invest large amounts of capital to make sure their strategies succeed in the long term. They can outspend their national competitors and can afford to wait longer for success. Few other companies and certainly no other national ones in India could have afforded to make the investment of hundred of millions of dollars that Star has made since its purchase in 1993. The power to succeed becomes more difficult for smaller local companies when they are in competition with huge global corporations.

CONCLUSION: FUTURE OF A GLOBAL TELEVISION SYSTEM

The basic lesson of television in India is that when global companies compete with national companies, the global often win. In the analysis of program production and business strategies, I have used Star TV in India as an example that has applications to other contexts. I recognize that India is a unique case and its experience cannot easily be generalized beyond its historical circumstances, but I would propose that global companies like Star TV have similar strategies and goals in the many other locales in which they work. On the broadest level there is no one who does not recognize the vast changes in the production of television culture that have taken place in India since 1991. Indian television has been totally transformed in the past nineteen years since the launch of their national satellite, but the speed and, I would argue, the direction of that transformation has been affected by the first arrival of Star TV’s satellite signals and even more so by the presence of Star as a market leader in Indian television today.

We can ask the question we began with once again: What is the future of satellite-based television and how might it affect the global and local mix of content for local audiences? One of the factors that is key to understanding globalization is the sheer size of the top five or ten global entertainment and information companies. In the past ten years or so the U.S. and to a lesser extent Europe have all experienced the growth of huge global companies like AOL Time Warner, Disney, News Corp., Viacom, Vivendi, Bertelsmann, and a few others. Among these, there are a few such as News Corp. and AOL Time Warner that control distribution systems (satellites, cable, and increasingly the Internet) as well as content. Some have speculated in the past that the trend

toward concentration would lead to just a few companies that would control much of our information and entertainment content that audiences receive¹² and that trend has continued and promises to continue into the future.¹³

Size is only one aspect of this phenomenon. As others have pointed out, there is a certain kind of treatment of content that is also critical. Local or national interests do not and cannot dominate the thinking of global players whose concern is primarily economic and not political or cultural. The economics of dominance of global film and television companies in the past has favored directly exporting content that they have produced elsewhere (often in the U.S.) to national systems as an important secondary source for national programming, as the evidence from Europe, for example, has shown.¹⁴ The case of India shows a new strategy for globalization of media production and distribution: a global corporation localizing content and becoming the primary source for national audiences as Star TV has done recently. Ironically, the challenge for

many countries is how to best compete *for their own domestic market* with global companies. The struggle is not only economic but cultural. It asks the question: who should be responsible for creating the content for a cultural and political dialogue with a given audience through one of the most powerful mediums available for reaching people? The answer in this debate is in the hands of both policy makers and audiences in each country, but the dialectic of local versus global is being redefined by outside forces as the discussion continues. *



By Emile G. McAnany
Walter Schmidt
Professor of
Communication,
Santa Clara University

ENDNOTES

¹ Parts of this article are taken from a longer paper: "Globalization and Satellite Television: New Technology and Cultural Dominance," given at the Conference on International Relations and Cultural Communication, Beijing Broadcasting Institute, Beijing, April 14-15, 2002.

² Arjun Appadurai. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." In Mike Featherstone (ed.). *Global Culture, Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (New York: Sage Publications, 1990).

³ The Canadian economist Harold Innis argued that the Roman Empire had a critical interest in communicating with its conquered subjects, but he pointed out that each kind of communication medium (whether it be roads, a mail system, or forms of writing) contained biases that had political and economic consequences. See his *Empire and Communication* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950) and *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951).

⁴ *Unesco Statistical Yearbook 2000* (New York: 2000).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Because of satellites, even radio is beginning to lose its local flavor in the U.S. "All the great things about radio, including identity and community, are being devalued [by satellite radio]." Edna Gundersen. Article in *U.S.A Today* (June 5, 2002).

⁷ Margaret Scott. "News from Nowhere." *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Nov. 28, 1991), 32-34.

⁸ Paul Laskin and Abraham Chayes. "A Brief History of the Issues." In Russell Wills (ed) *Control of the Direct Broadcast Satellite: Values in Conflict*. (Palo Alto: Aspen Institute Program in Communication and Society, 1974). Also, Emile McAnany. "Reflections on the International Flow of Information." *Ibid.*

⁹ Mary Hyland. "Star Turns for Young Murdoch." *Australian Financial Review*, Jan. 23, 2002.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

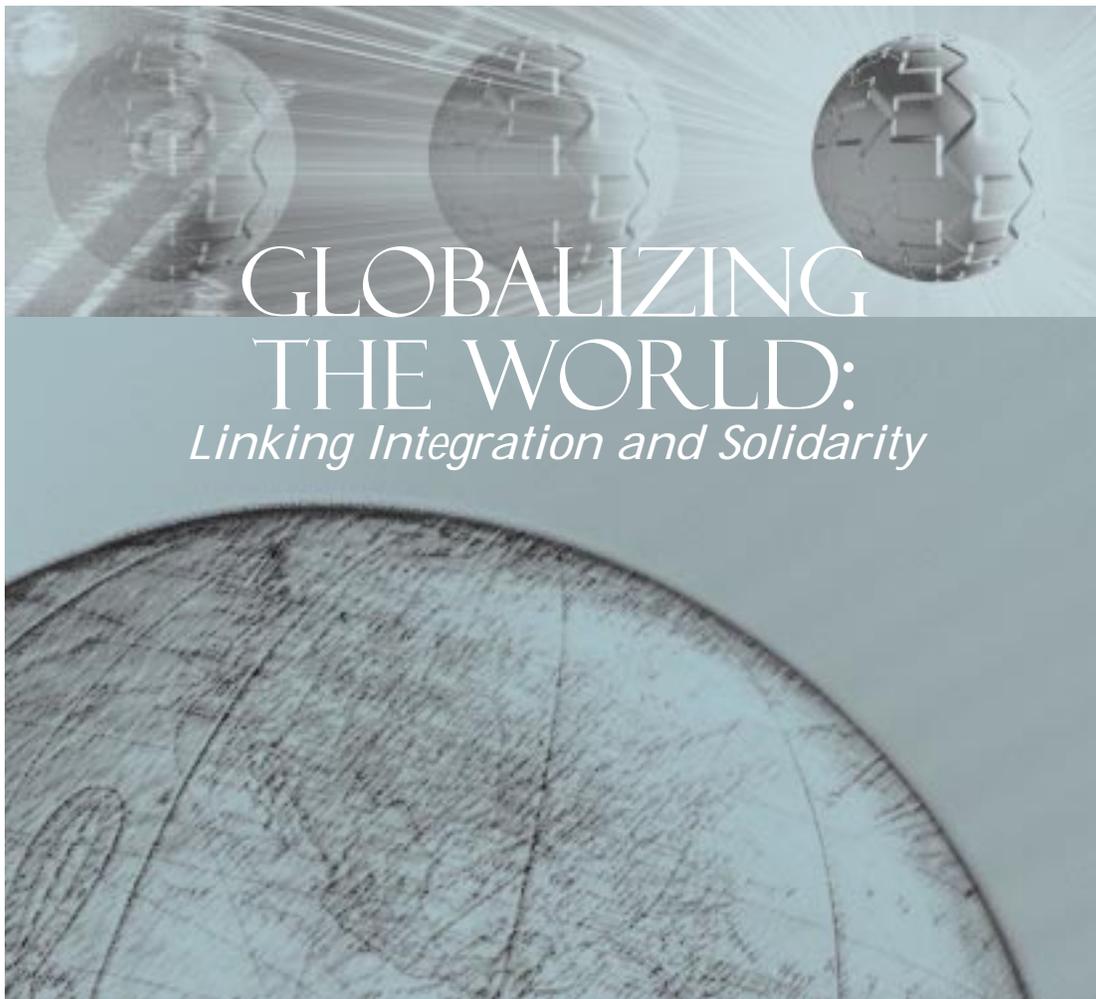
¹¹ Geetika Patania. *When Global Companies Localize: Adaptive Strategies of Media Companies Entering India*. (Austin: University of Texas, PhD dissertation, 1998).

¹² Ben Bagdikian. *The Media Monopoly*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000, 6th edition). Edward Herman and Robert McChesney. *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*. (London: Cassell, 1997).

¹³ M. Wolf. "Media Mergers: The Wave Rolls On." *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 2, 2002, 6.

¹⁴ Else de Bens and H. de Smaele. "The Inflow of American Television Fiction on European Broadcast Channels Revisited." *European Journal of Communication*. 16 (2001), 51-67.

PAUL LOCATELLI, S.J.
President, Santa Clara University



Globalization has emerged as the major ethical issue of this new century. Even though globalization means different things to different people, at this point in history it has captured the attention of people across the spectrum: investors and corporate executives, workers and environmentalists, politicians and educators, nations and people in every walk of life. The ethical question is whether the process of global integration can be guided to make the planet a more humane place.

World leaders have been calling attention to this process for some time now. When Pope John XXIII opened the Second Vatican Council in 1962, he spoke of God “guiding us toward a new order of human relationship.” At the beginning of the 1990s, President George H. W. Bush called for “a new world order.” Recently, Kofi Annan urged: “If globalization is to succeed, it must succeed for poor and rich alike. It must deliver rights no less than riches. It must provide social justice and equity no less than economic prosperity and enhanced communication....”

In discussions of globalization the term “integration” is emerging to describe the social and institutional infrastructure that supports world-wide interconnection.

The December 2001 World Bank report, “Globalization, Growth, and Poverty: Building an Inclusive World Economy,” opens with the statement that “societies and economies around the world are becoming more integrated.” The report makes integration virtually synonymous with globalization. The World Bank’s recipe for improving societies and overcoming grinding poverty is “global economic integration.”

In Aspen, Colo., at the Fortune editors’ invitational Brainstorm 2002, President Clinton foresaw integration as critical for broad institutional cooperation in that the process of globalizing requires new structures of cooperation among nation states to achieve international security against terrorism, help developing countries move toward liberal democracy, encourage wealthy countries to initiate a new Marshall Plan to eradicate poverty and curb the AIDS epidemic, and address environmental issues and economic development.

In a speech at Santa Clara University to educators from the 28 American Jesuit colleges and universities, Father Peter Hans-Kolvenbach, S.J., the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, used an even more comprehensive concept than integration. “The whole person of solidarity in the real world”¹ is now the new goal

The justice that is based on the biblical tradition of love sees people first and foremost not as individuals but as members of a community. Justice grows out of appreciating the dignity of all who make up this community. Society is not an aggregate of competing individuals but a community brought into existence by God that seeks to preserve and deepen the bonds among its members by establishing just institutions and social structures.

for Jesuit education. Solidarity recognizes a moral ecosystem that binds each person to all of creation and humanity in the global common good. Solidarity is an active disposition, a readiness to support all who make up this moral ecosystem.

Integration, the new institutional connectedness, and solidarity, the new personal connectedness, require fresh thinking about the 21st century world. First, in order to make the process of globalization more humane, we have to make connections that we used to ignore. Economic and political policies have to include explicit attention to ethical and civic responsibility. Market capitalism depends less on democratic elections than on stable legal systems and widespread access to education. The issues are too complex and symbiotic to be grasped in the perspective of a single economic or political system or academic discipline.

Second, our vision of the world must be global in its reach and at the same time respectful of local cultures. Globalization should not mean standardization of culture. Our private vision of the world can unconsciously place us at the center and make the rest of the world subordinate to our interests and ways of doing things. This temptation is hard to resist for those who have great power and wealth, but today no perspective is adequate that is blind to the poverty, disease, and social and economic instability that plague the people of developing countries nor to

the plight of the hungry, homeless, and disenfranchised in the United States. In the global moral ecosystem, their problems are our problems.

Third, globalization demands a new kind of justice. Jesuit education is grounded in a faith commitment that all God's children are equally valuable brothers and sisters. Our teaching and research have to give intellectual grounding to that compassion by finding ways to learn from those whose lives are at risk around the world.

Although the language of solidarity is recent, it is rooted in the biblical command to love one's neighbor and was made more explicit by the Second Vatican Council. The Council called upon church members to make their own "the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the people of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted." It went on to say that the community of faith offers "no more eloquent proof of its solidarity with the entire human family...than by engaging with it in conversation about these various problems...of hunger, poverty, illiteracy, oppression, war, international rivalries, and the whole purpose and meaning of human existence."²

The Hebrew and Christian scriptures call for this vision because they teach the very radical notion that justice is ultimately founded on a genuine love—on a love that brings harmony among people and nations. As Roberto Goizueta writes, "In order to truly serve the neighbor, that love must be born out of an identification or solidarity with the neighbor in his or her joys, suffering, and struggles."³

In this vision, justice is not based primarily on inalienable rights, even though each person has irreducible dignity as created by the hand of God. Furthermore, justice is not based ultimately on self-interest—the position of John Rawls, the most widely recognized American social philosopher. Rawls presents a version of social contract theory in which the original members of society freely agree to certain social conditions. In this hypothetical situation, all the parties, not knowing what their position in society will be, protect their self-interest by consenting to structures of society that will not unduly penalize them and will give preference to those in greatest need. Citizens agree to enough restrictions on their liberty to maintain a minimum of social equality.

For Rawls, the original condition of humanity is like a mildly regulated market, a competition of fairminded strangers, rather than a community. If you start from self-interest, however, you get a very different notion of justice than if you start from that love of neighbor which is discovered in the search for the common good.

The justice that is based on the biblical tradition of love sees people first and foremost not as individuals but as members of a community. Justice grows out of appreciating the dignity of all who make up this community. Society is not an aggregate of competing individuals but a community brought into existence by God that seeks to preserve and deepen the bonds among its members by establishing just institutions and social structures.

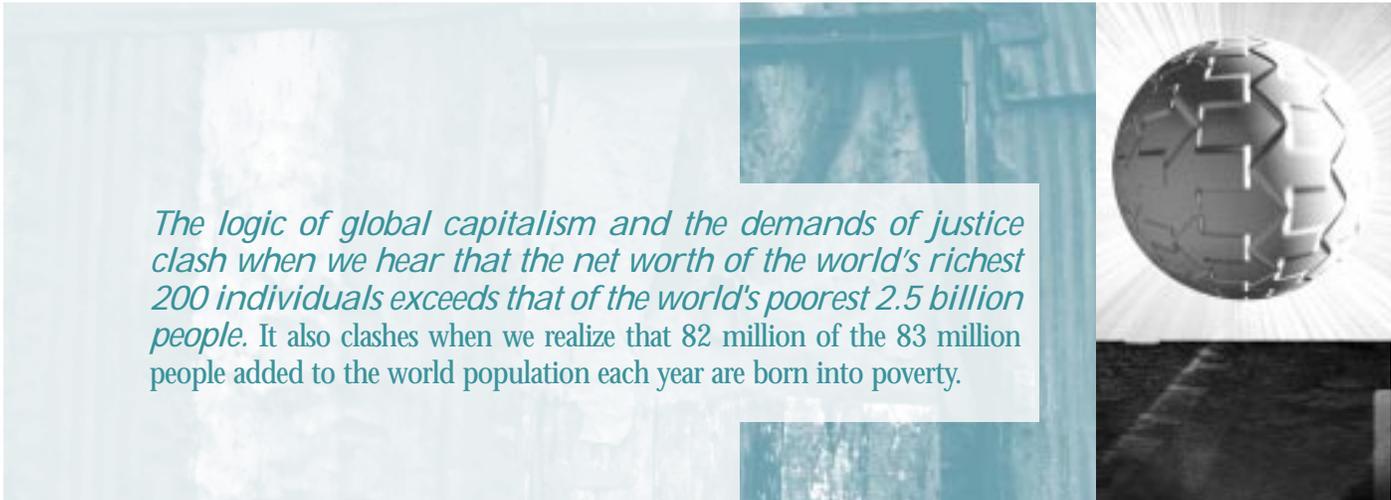
Justice, therefore, is not restricted to fairness or the minimum protection needed to preserve our property and rights from the threat of others. Justice is the way that love is shared, even with people we do not know but with whom we share the common life of society.

If justice is seen primarily as a means to defend my interests, getting from justice to solidarity will be a long journey indeed. If, however, justice is generous love bringing about the institutional means for a new order of human relations, the journey from justice to solidarity is only a short step. Solidarity reveals the love that is the foundation of justice by affirming that justice arises from an empathetic identification with others in society. Solidarity turns love into an active compassion, insists on the virtue of human interdependence, and finds its opposite in the indifference or fear that excludes others from participating in the common good of society. Living in solidarity, therefore, is as the ancient prophet Micah urged, to “love and act justly.”

For Father Kolvenbach, solidarity is the virtue that links us to “the real world.” It is not a private feeling of empathy or friendship with people who are just like me, but a perspective that identifies with the whole world—from the chair of the board to the suffering mother in Rwanda or hungry child in East San Jose, from nature all around us to humanity in all its promise and tragedy.

Since compassionate justice has such an enormous scope, we have to rethink the notion of the common good. How do we get people to recognize that we are all in this together? The events of September 11 forced Americans and the rest of the world to realize for better or worse that we are connected. Around the world people responded to the attack and its aftermath with an outpouring of grief and sympathy. Their concerns were based not only on our common vulnerability but also on a genuine empathy for the thousands of innocent people who were killed in order to make an ideological point. It was a time of strengthening the fabric that holds us together as a human community.

Education in solidarity cannot be an abstract process, but must be generated by actual contact with people and regions different from ourselves. The great moral figures of history have expanded the concept of the common good to include all creation, acknowledging that if anyone or anything is diminished, they themselves are diminished. In light of this, sociologist Saskia Sassen contrasts the global north that experienced a decade of unprecedented peace and prosperity with the global south that experienced a decade of increasing indebtedness and unemployment along with deteriorating health, social services, and infrastructure. Recognizing that such a continuing deterioration is not conducive to global solidarity, she insists that the scope of the common good is global: “No



The logic of global capitalism and the demands of justice clash when we hear that the net worth of the world's richest 200 individuals exceeds that of the world's poorest 2.5 billion people. It also clashes when we realize that 82 million of the 83 million people added to the world population each year are born into poverty.

matter how far away geographically, we in the rich countries can no longer fully escape or ignore poverty, wars, and disease in the global south...”⁴

Renowned economists, including Dani Rodrik, Jeffrey Sachs, Amartya Sen, and Joseph Stiglitz, recognize the need for global solidarity, arguing for modifications to the market system that would promote the common good. Perhaps not quite employing “love of neighbor” as the basic assumption, these economists nonetheless advocate global integration of economic policies and political intervention, social and civic stability, cultural and environmental preservation, and ethical principles. They are deeply concerned about the millions of people who are usually ignored in discussions of globalization, and they propose economic development policies that seek to make globalization more humane and just.

Some questions to consider for making globalization more humane and just:

1. How do we develop an ethics of globalization? As Bryan Hehir has said, the problem with globalization is that it has a logic (principally economic logic) but not an ethic. Consider the debate over the findings of the World Bank report which concludes that globalization helped reduce poverty in the poorest countries when they were most integrated into the world economy. While the report claims global inequality has declined since 1975, others cite empirical evidence as well as the World Bank’s own data to draw the opposite conclusion. Regardless of how that debate turns out, the logic of global capitalism and the demands of justice clash when we hear that the net worth of the world’s richest 200 individuals exceeds that of the world’s poorest 2.5 billion people. It also clashes when we realize that 82 million of the 83 million people added to the world population each year are born into poverty. What economic policies will begin to actually solve these kinds of problems when it is self-evident that neither “free” market fundamentalism nor anti-globalization anarchism has the answers?

2. How do we achieve global integration with justice when so much of the world’s population has no access to learning technologies and minimal opportunity for education? Access to technology and education is critical for achieving global integration and solidarity. Yet, the facts are glaring: less than 1 percent of



What do we do to preserve the fragile environment and prevent global warming that is jeopardizing our planet and humanity itself? As Vinod Thomas and Tamara Belt argue: “In the main, the experience of rapidly growing countries has been to grow first and clean up later. However, this neglect of the environment has resulted in irreversible losses and high cleanup costs.” An American uses seventy times as much energy as a Bangladeshi, and twenty times as much as a Costa Rican.

Africans have used the Internet and there are more telephones in Tokyo than in all of Africa. Forty percent of Latin Americans cannot read or write, and only a small percentage of them consider the Internet for cultural and educational purposes. The educational deficit is compounded by gender inequity: 70 percent of the world's 1.3 billion poor are women.⁵ Improved literacy for the poor, guaranteed human and civil rights for women, and access to learning technologies and education are the best, perhaps the only, path to global integration. Has there ever been a genuine democracy in a population that could not read or write? Who will take responsibilities for the policies and allocating resources to expand both learning technologies and educational opportunities to those currently left out?

3. What do we do to preserve the fragile environment and prevent global warning that is jeopardizing our planet and humanity itself? As Vinod Thomas and Tamara Belt argue: "In the main, the experience of rapidly growing countries has been to grow first and clean up later. However, this neglect of the environment has resulted in irreversible losses and high cleanup costs."⁶ An American uses seventy times as much energy as a Bangladeshi, and twenty times as much as a Costa Rican. During the next decade it is estimated that India and China will each add about ten times as many people as the United States to the planet. As these two countries become more globalized, it is expected that their demand for energy and neglect of the environment will put great stress on the global ecosystem and cut a deep hole in the ozone layer, contributing to global warming. Will the nations of the world ever be able to effect or enforce global cooperation through instruments like the Kyoto agreement?

To solve these and the many other difficult questions in a humane way, we need more than simply discussion among the experts. What is needed is a dialogue where the G8 leaders, economists, and business leaders sit at the same table with the people who will be affected by the decisions. Women working in Malaysian factories and Mayans growing coffee in the highlands of Guatemala have to participate. If we think of globalization as a matter of "winners" and "losers," these problems will be intractable. But if experts have direct contact with those who bear the burdens of their policies, it may engender that solidarity, that sense of radical human connection, which will be the basis of a humane globalization. ✨



Paul Locatelli, S.J.
President,
Santa Clara University

ENDNOTES

¹ Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J. "The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice in American Jesuit Higher Education," *The Santa Clara Lectures* (October 6, 2000), 10.

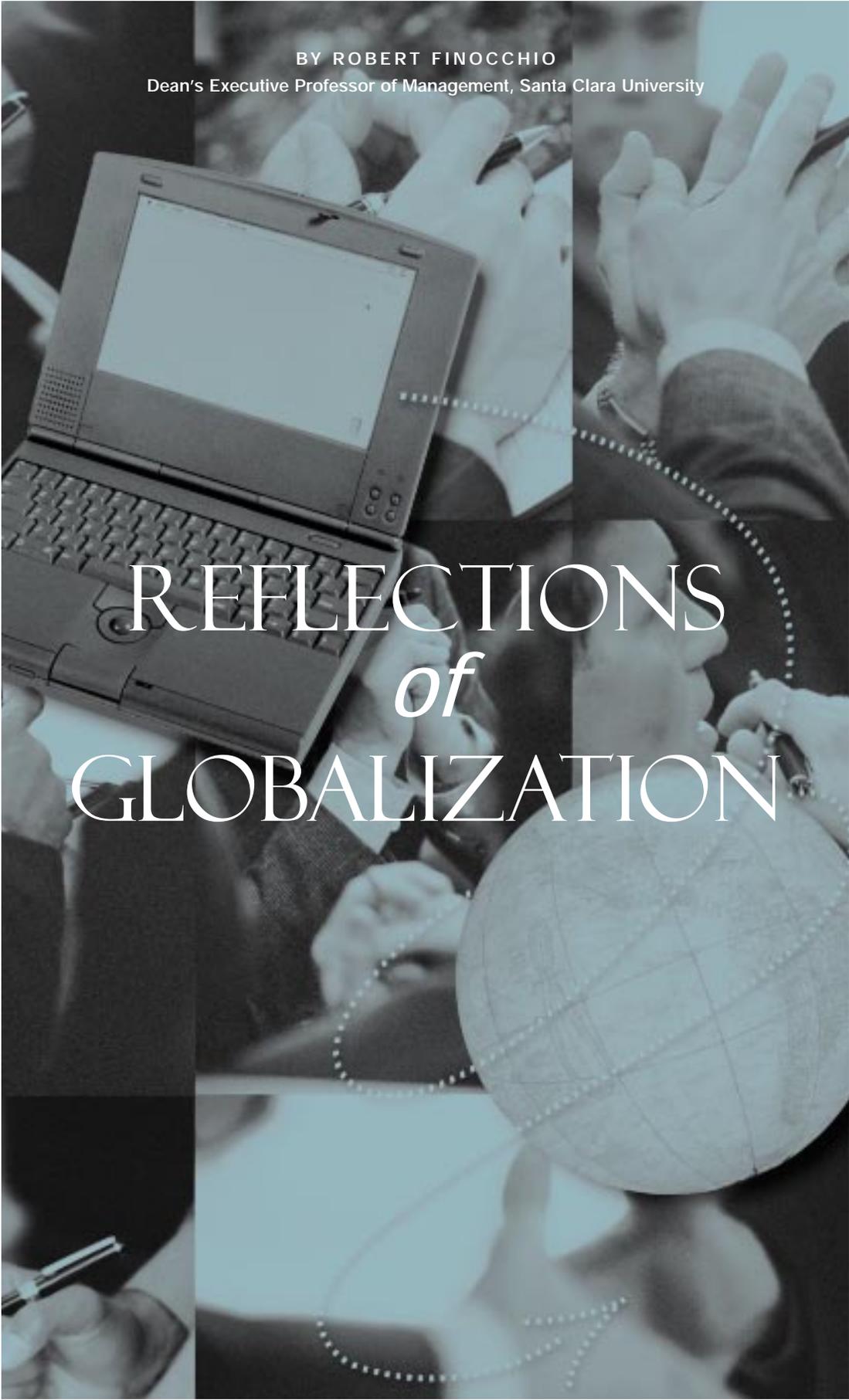
² "Gaudium et Spes, #1," in *Documents of the Vatican II*, Walter M. Abbott, S.J., ed. (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966).

³ Michael Downey, ed. *The New Dictionary of Catholic Spirituality* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994), 906.

⁴ Saskia Sassen. "Globalization After September 11." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (January 18, 2002).

⁵ Data from "2000 State of the Future—At the Millennium." (American Council for The United Nations University), 20, 21.

⁶ Vinod Thomas and Tamara Belt. "Growth and the Environment: Allies or Foes?" *Globalization and the Challenges of a New Century*, Patrick O'Meara et al., ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 382.



BY ROBERT FINOCCHIO
Dean's Executive Professor of Management, Santa Clara University

REFLECTIONS *of* GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is inevitable. There is no technology that can ultimately prevent the free flow of ideas and information across borders.

Satellite television and radio, the Internet, fax machines, and cell phones have allowed contemporaneous, uncensored global communication. Modern information technology has effectively enabled and greatly accommodated the free flow of capital among nations.

As a businessperson and unapologetic practitioner of globalization, educated in the Jesuit tradition of Santa Clara University, I share the deep concerns for poverty, oppression, threatened cultures, and the environment expressed by globalization critics. Nevertheless, I am perplexed and frustrated by much of the current debate.

Let me begin by asserting that globalization is inevitable. There is no technology that can ultimately prevent the free flow of ideas and information across borders. Satellite television and radio, the Internet, fax machines, and cell phones have allowed contemporaneous, uncensored global communication. Modern information technology has effectively enabled and greatly accommodated the free flow of capital among nations. Only fortified borders and large armies can control the flow of people. Modern transportation has rendered historical geographic barriers nearly irrelevant. There has been a significant trend toward reduction of trade barriers.

Global society has evolved beyond the point where any permanent walls can be built around anything, real or virtual. Political leaders can no longer count on deriving substantial power from controlling information. Human, intellectual, and economic resources are increasing in fluidity. Consequently efforts to stop or reverse the forces of globalization are fruitless, and as I will argue later, most probably harmful.

There are very strong empirical, theoretical, and ethical arguments that the forces of globalization actually contribute to the common good. Poverty, suffering, and oppression have plagued human society from the beginning of time. But the most successful economic and societal environments that reduce poverty, feed people, provide public health, and minimize political oppression are those that reflect the key forces of globalization: freer markets, freer trade, rule of law, private property rights, and democratic governance. Such environments allow and encourage the growth of income and the creation of wealth and opportunity. Economists argue that free trade allows the most efficient allocation of resources and maximizes the productivity of those resources. Countries with these environments are more humane and less likely to attack their neighbors. All of this falls within (at least my) definition of the common good.

Transcending the economic argument there is perhaps a stronger argument that any idea of the common good must include basic human freedom and liberty: the unencumbered rights of people to trade their labor, income, wealth, intelligence, or creativity in transactions they believe make themselves better off. These freedoms must be part of the molecular structure of justice and aggregate into the common good. Forces of globalization help make these freedoms real for more people.

Frequently it is hard to follow the arguments of the critics of globalization and even more difficult to know what exactly they would propose to do.

Globalization critics decry the horrendous poverty, suffering, and oppression that exist in the world. They then note that because globalization exists at the same time there must be some kind of causality, when in fact, virtually all empirical evidence shows that the forces of globalization on the whole are perhaps the only methods that actually help reduce these problems.

There is substantial rhetoric about the haves and have-nots and about the gap between the rich and the poor. If we really care about the poor we should care about making the poor less poor and not be obsessed with making the rich less rich. We need to ask: What policies allow the poor to earn income and build wealth? Are there free trade, property rights, rule of law, and a stable democratic government? Are the poor trapped or does the economic system have the infrastructure to encourage the migration from the state of being a have-not to the state of being a have? When market forces cause individual dislocation does the economic system allow, encourage, and support the free flow of peoples' resources (their labor, expertise, property) to more productive activities? State-driven redistribution of wealth by fiat has never resulted in a stable, permanent solution to the problem of poverty because it destroys wealth and resources and more importantly the human spirit. Why do the critics refuse to acknowledge what works?

It is particularly galling to hear the frequent sanctimonious calls for trade protectionism. Protectionism almost always hurts the people it is purported to protect as well as hurting potential trading partners. Is the United States contributing to the world common good by imposing tight import restrictions on foreign sugar causing U.S. consumers to pay higher prices and depriving poor people of the world the opportunity to earn income and build wealth? Are milk price supports helping feed the children of the poor? The recent United States tariff increases on steel and wood are an embarrassment that compromised principle, diminished credibility, and put our motives in question.

Protectionist policies of rich nations are hobbling efforts of poor countries to solve fundamental problems. We should question not just the eco-

nomics but the morality of restricting free trade with developing nations. What ethical basis is there to keep African and Asian textiles out of the U.S.? Further, it is easy to be stunned by the hypocrisy of businesspeople whom I would call "asymmetrical globalists." These are businesspeople who are strident advocates for free markets with one condition: they want free access to someone else's market but want to be protected from competition from that market because in their view it may not be "fair."

Thomas Friedman's "Olive Tree" metaphor helps us better understand the concerns with globalization's impact on our cultures. The olive tree is "everything that roots us, anchors us, identifies us, and locates us in the world."¹ And, the biggest threat to the olive tree is globalization, "the anonymous, transnational, homogenizing, standardizing market forces and technologies."² These are tough, disturbing, unsettling issues. But I propose they will be dealt with in an inevitable free market for culture. I do find particularly disturbing the infringement of individual liberties by cultural elitists in the name of preserving their various olive trees. For example, should cultural elitists in France prevent its citizens from eating McDonald's hamburgers if they choose to? This is no more outrageous than a restriction of Chinese restaurants in the U.S. Should some government agency specify the country of origin for the music citizens listen to, movies they watch, books they read, Web sites they visit, plays they perform, art they view, wine they drink, and poems they recite? The elitists may claim noble motives, but at best this is very dangerous territory, at worst immoral and inhuman. There is no alternative but to let people vote with their ears, eyes, pallets, and feet. A cultural free market must be better than the elitist alternative. The diversity of world cultures should be studied and preserved, but it cannot possibly be ethical for any authority to restrict people from choosing to enjoy the benefits of globalization and trap them in some Disneyland-type, artificially insulated society for the benefit of academics, cultural elitists, tourists, and well-meaning humanitarians. The most evil, cynical, and exploitive use of cultural elitism is governments driving their nations to war to "protect" their olive trees.

Global corporations are the targets of many anti-globalization activists. According to Jean-Bertrand Aristide, global capitalism is a “machine devouring our planet” with the poorest 20 percent of the world “reduced to cogs in the machine, the bottom rung in global production, valued only as cheap labor, otherwise altogether disposable.”³ I can appreciate Aristide’s concern for the poor but his analysis may be faulty and his rhetoric not constructive. Corporations are subject to the laws of the countries wherever they do business. Whether global or not, they are run by people, staffed by people, owned by people, and sell their products and services to people. Participation is voluntary. A corporation is not an inhuman entity. Most corporate leaders I know and have known have a genuine, human concern for their employees, feel a real responsibility to their shareholders, customers, and other constituents. This is good business but it is also the right thing to do. Making global corporations hobgoblins of the debate is exploitive and irresponsible. It is a distraction from the real issues facing the poor and their governments. Lashing out at corporations may galvanize people but it won’t feed them.

Labor standards in trade agreements have been frequently proposed as a means to help developing countries; such standards are almost always opposed by developing countries. Dartmouth economist Douglas Irwin calls the U.S. emphasis on labor standards “an enormous and unprofitable diversion from the true task of helping developing countries to improve their economic performance.”⁴ Friedman notes that jobs created by globalization in Sri Lanka pay less than jobs in Seattle but then asks the right questions: “Are the jobs created...better than the alternatives of

grinding poverty or child prostitution? Absolutely. Are they the first and necessary steps out of poverty? Absolutely.”⁵ If we were truly concerned for the poor in developing nations we would fight to keep our markets totally open to those nations. Global corporations more frequently raise the demand for labor and increase the wages and working conditions of the poor.

There are legitimate concerns for globalization’s impact on the environment. Empirical data show that countries with the most wealth tend to have better preserved environments. So, if we want to save the planet, let’s build wealth. The difficult issue of how we prevent the exportation of pollution from wealthy countries to poor countries remains. According to Irwin this is better dealt with by treaties, establishment of clear public and private property rights, and rule of law than by trade restrictions, which, like labor standards can “expand the allowable rationale for trade barriers, thus undermining the liberal trading system without generating compensating benefits.”⁶

We in the West must be careful with our heavy hand. The World Health Organization estimates that 30 to 60 million people have died from malaria since we deemed DDT was harmful to the environment and banned it in 1972.⁷ Certainly the morality of these kinds of decisions should be debated.

One of the challenges of any discussion of globalization is dealing with its impact on individuals at the grass roots level. The benefits of globalization are widely dispersed and frequently not even noticed or acknowledged by the beneficiaries. However, it is not hard to find people who are displaced, hurt, and suffering because of the



Corporations are subject to the laws of the countries wherever they do business. *Whether global or not, they are run by people, staffed by people, owned by people, and sell their products and services to people.* Participation is voluntary. A corporation is not an inhuman entity.

Globalization is creating a global free market for reputation, letting people choose with whom they want to do business based on (among other factors) the consumer's view of social responsibility. Globalization allows corporate reputations to be built or destroyed at the speed of light.

forces of globalization, even though the common good may have benefited. One of the extraordinary attributes of Silicon Valley is the fact that the benefits of globalization are widely visible at the grass roots level. In my twenty-five years here I have seen countless immigrants, by virtue of their hard work, break the cycle of poverty and build wealth creating a very different future for themselves and their children. This was possible because, perhaps more than anywhere else on earth, Silicon Valley is an environment of meritocracy, a free market of labor that rewards people who create value independent of where they came from, what they look like, and what they had when they got here. But even in Silicon Valley, there are poor. What can and should we do?

I have observed that globalization critics rarely propose workable alternatives. Clearly hooligan demonstrators burning buildings and breaking windows do not contribute to either constructive debate or the development of any solutions. We all agree that poverty and suffering are bad whether created by globalization forces or not. Critics of globalization do not have a monopoly on compassion. Likewise no group has a monopoly on greed. We businesspeople should cede no moral superiority to elitists who abhor wealth but are as greedy for power and control as Gordon Gekko on his worst day. Thankfully most of us agree that a just society has an obligation to take action.

Some efforts, while perhaps founded in compassion, may actually hurt people. When I drive up to Peet's Coffee and Tea in my BMW and buy "fair trade" coffee, what is really happening? I may feel good and noble but the maintenance of artificially high prices for coffee to protect the livelihood of poor coffee farmers is resulting in the maintenance of too many resources devoted to coffee production. Supply will always exceed demand. More coffee will be grown than should be grown. Less efficient growers will displace more efficient growers. Our good will is trapping

the farmer in an uneconomic activity. We at best have briefly deferred the negative effects of the reality that the demand isn't there or that there are more economically efficient ways or places to grow coffee. It would be more humane to help the farmer transition to an economically efficient activity rather than get him addicted to distorted market conditions. If we really care about the farmer we will send money, technical help, build infrastructure, provide education and public health assistance, and develop some real alternatives for how he feeds himself and subsequent generations of his family. We will make sure our markets are open and opportunities are available.

It is fair to ask the globalization advocate to propose a course of action that can make progress with the very real issues of poverty, oppression, displacement, and injustice we confront in this debate. Here is my prescription:

- More globalization: more free trade, open markets, free flow of capital and information. Wealthy nations should lead the reductions in barriers to trade. This generates wealth, creates opportunity, and reduces poverty. Labor and other resources become more productive. The size of the pie is not fixed.
- Wealthy countries should encourage the adoption of free and open markets, rule of law, private property rights, and democratic governance. Government's job is to maintain the infrastructure that enables the creation of wealth. We in the West should practice what we preach. Encourage economic policies that allow wealth to be built and discourage redistribution by government coercion. To the extent the World Bank and the IMF want to give "advice" they should stay focused on these principles rather than macroeconomic micromanagement. Encourage local entrepreneurship. Finance micro lending. Fight corruption in all ways possible.

- The people of wealthy countries should provide economically effective assistance: education, public health, physical, communications, and IT infrastructure to the poor of other nations. Deal with our own poor with safety nets, education, and charity. Public and private safety nets should enable and encourage the poor to enter the process of migration to the state of being a “have,” and minimize economic distortion as well as dependency on the state. Charity should have sound bases in economics and science; otherwise we can drift into compassion-based self-indulgence. Our charity should reflect compassion with competence.
- Our focus should be on aiding the poor. If actions we take to help the poor also help the rich we should live with it. Eliminating poverty must be more important to the common good than the ideological issues some critics have with the existence of rich people. What rich people choose to do with their wealth is an issue for their consciences. Leave those discussions to moral philosophers and theologians. If we really want to feed people, allow wealth to be built.
- Let the flow of information fueled by globalization provide the right set of incentives for global corporations to behave. Globalization is creating a global free market for reputation, letting people choose with whom they want to do business based on (among other factors) the consumer’s view of social responsibility. Globalization allows corporate reputations to be built or destroyed at the speed of light.

Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda recently wrote: “We Africans are no longer looking for handouts. Rather we are asking for the opportunity to compete, to sell our goods in Western markets, to be considered for private investment funds, and to participate more fully in the global trading system. In short we want to trade our way out of poverty and ask that the U.S. and other developed countries support us in this effort.”⁸ Museveni is an example of a leader using globalization to help solve his nation’s problems.

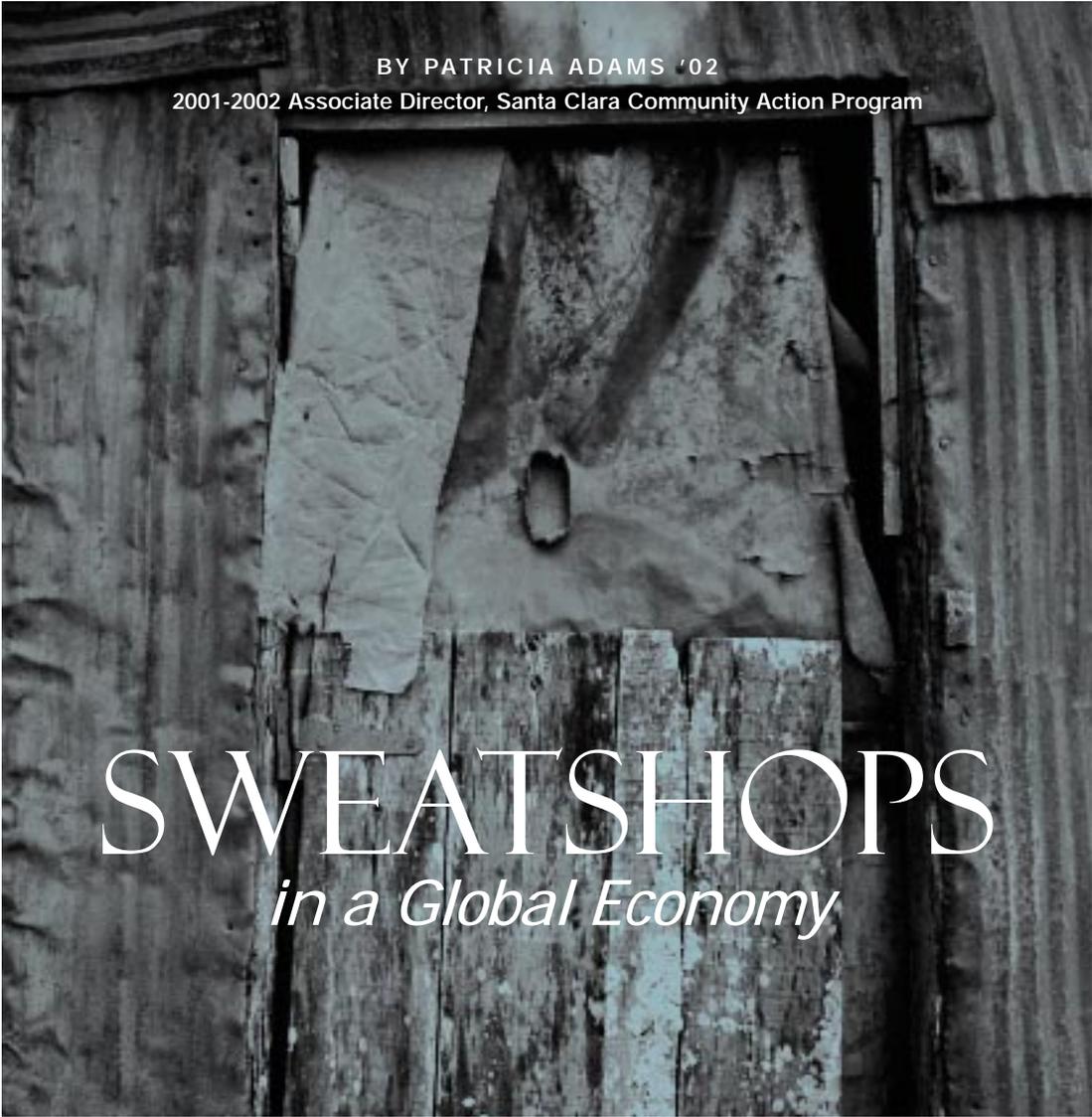
Let me conclude by reasserting my belief that the forces and principles of globalization are moral, ethical, and contribute to the common good, even though the process does cause displacement and suffering to some people as progress is made. In a just society we have an obligation to help those people, but help them in ways that are effective, not just in ways that are politically expedient or make us feel good. The personal freedoms embodied in free trade must be part of our definition of justice. Trade cannot be fair unless it is free. More people are “left behind” in today’s world because of oppressive political regimes than because of global economic forces. Only compassion with both competence and conscience will allow us to make progress. ✧

ENDNOTES

1. Thomas L. Friedman *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), 31.
2. *Ibid.*, 34.
3. Jean-Bertrand Aristide. *Eyes of the Heart*. (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 2000), 6.
4. Douglas A. Irwin. *Free Trade Under Fire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 233.
5. Friedman, 362.
6. Irwin, 22.
7. “The Life and Deaths of DDT.” *The Wall Street Journal* (June 14, 2002).
8. Yoweri Museveni. “How America Can Help Africa.” *The Wall Street Journal* (May 24, 2002).



Robert Finocchio,
Dean's Executive
Professor of
Management,
Santa Clara University



BY PATRICIA ADAMS '02
2001-2002 Associate Director, Santa Clara Community Action Program

SWEATSHOPS

in a Global Economy

The term “sweatshop” is used to describe working situations in which the conditions violate one or more universally accepted human rights. Among the common characteristics of sweatshops is a culture of fear and intimidation in which the rights of workers—to earn a livable wage, to organize and collectively bargain, to take leave in the case of illness, and to protect their own privacy, among others—go generally unacknowledged. Additional characteristics include unsafe and unsanitary working conditions and the presence of toxins that pose equally dire threats to the wellbeing of both people and the environment. Despite the implications of the term “sweatshops,” they can exist outside of the factory setting. One primary example is “sweatshops in the fields,” a phrase which refers to the oppression that agricultural or farm workers face in the United States and abroad.

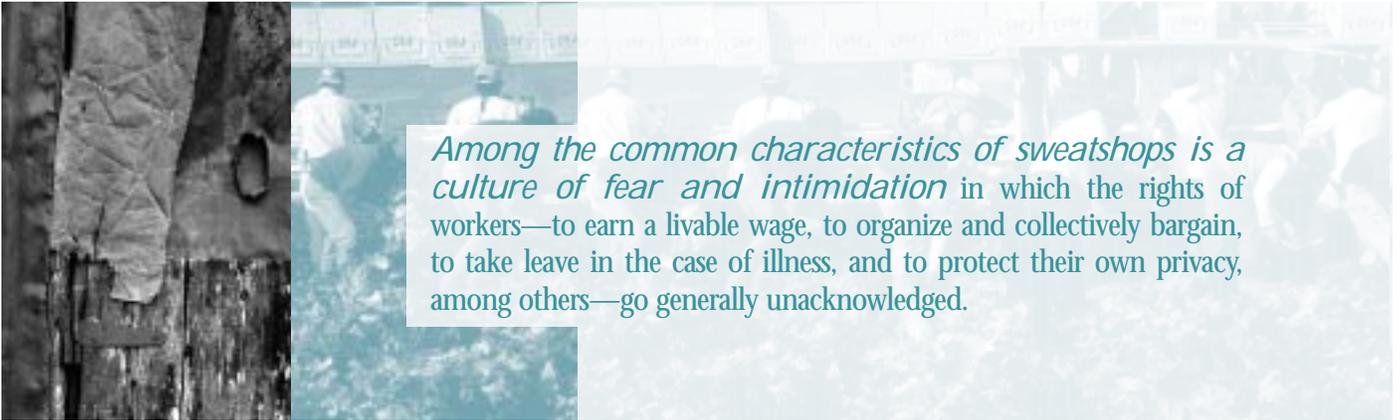
Sweatshops are not new. They did not begin with the signing of NAFTA in 1994. Nor are they confined only to the U.S. or the U.S.-Mexican border, but rather exist within the U.S. as well as throughout the entire world, especially in Latin America and Asia. Sweatshops have, however, enjoyed considerably greater success in the decade or so since globalization truly became the New World Order. This is mostly attributable to the mobility and advantage afforded to international corporations who can afford to continuously relocate in search of workers willing to labor for the lowest pay, thus creating a race to the bottom for the world's workers.

Sweatshops are an intrinsic part of the global economy. Smaller, developing countries are forced into cash cropping by their lack of natural resources. In order to participate fully in the international market, they must have something to sell in order to afford to buy. Thus, smaller subsistence farmers are pushed out to make way for large (normally foreign) corporations to control the land for cash cropping. This shift forces the small farmers to look for other means of survival. This is where sweatshops come into the picture. At the same time that lands are being taken over for cash cropping, many areas become open to industrialization by Free Trade Zones, which offer outside corporations tax-free facilities in which to produce their goods for export. The displaced farmers are forced into industrial areas—like Tijuana, Mexico—in order to find work to survive. Thus a vicious downward spiral is created on both personal as well as political levels. Individuals are forced into lower and lower-paying jobs because the alternative is homelessness and greater poverty. Countries are forced into a cycle where they must exploit their human and natural resources in order to secure their spot in the global market economy. The only winners are the corporations and the eco-

nomie elite. The losers are everyone else, including the environment.

The most common form of sweatshop is the *maquila*, a term referring to factories that originated in Mexico in the early 1960s after the Border Industrial Program (BIP). The *maquila* is a low-cost production facility situated inside a Free Trade Zone, which usually produces or finishes goods imported from an American corporation that, upon completion, will be shipped right back to the U.S. for sale. In this way, the local economy receives little to no financial benefit from the factory—beyond the meager wages earned by the workers, most of which go back to the factory owners in the form of “union” taxes and to pay for food in the factory cafeteria. The majority of the profit remains in the hands of the factory owners and the companies who have contracts at the factories.

The most common question that arises in this discussion is: What is the alternative? Without these jobs, many economists argue, the workers would be unemployed and thus suffer more than they may be suffering now as sweatshop workers. Would the anti-sweatshop advocates rather these workers be jobless altogether? Clearly I (and most sweatshop opponents, though I do not speak for all of them) do not wish unemployment on any of these workers. What I wish for, and what I work for, is a critical evaluation of how these workers arrived in their current state of economic and political marginalization. I also wish and work for fair and equal access to the kinds of resources that *all people* should have. Most notably, these include the right to organize and collectively bargain, to work in safe and sanitary environments, to take leave when personal or family situations demand it, to work reasonable hours, and—perhaps most important—to earn a wage that allows for a stable lifestyle, including



Among the common characteristics of sweatshops is a culture of fear and intimidation in which the rights of workers—to earn a livable wage, to organize and collectively bargain, to take leave in the case of illness, and to protect their own privacy, among others—go generally unacknowledged.

access to food, clothing, shelter, health care, and education. None of these is particularly extreme. None of these is a “special privilege.” In fact, if we value the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, all of these and more should be a part of every person’s daily reality.

In fact, we know that is not true. If we are living with eyes wide open we know that the standard of living in the United States is far superior to most of the rest of the world. We know that our lives and our realities are vastly different than others’. However, if our eyes are indeed open, we must also realize that in fact our lifestyles directly impact those of the rest of the world. The choices we make impact their lives, just as the products they make impact ours.

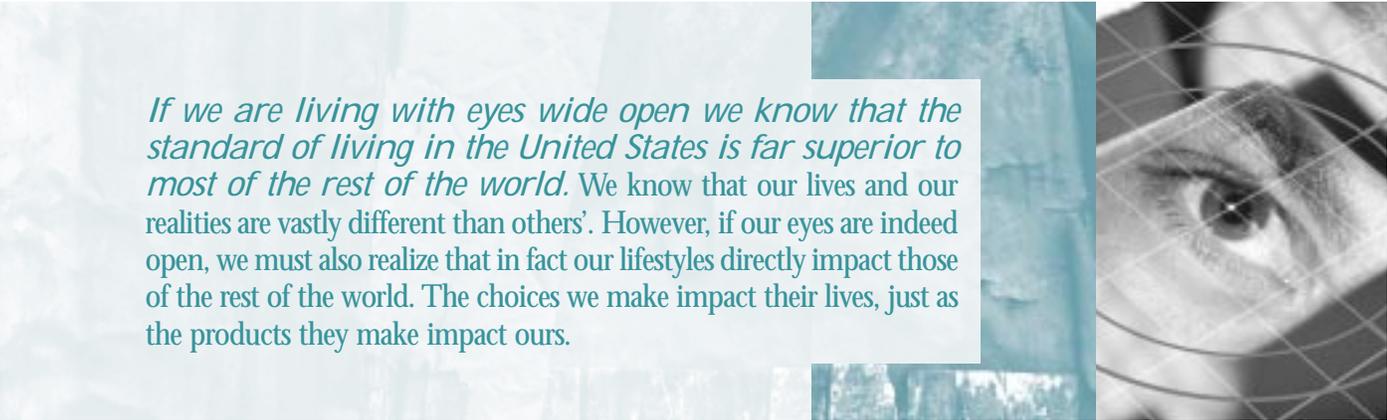
The danger we are facing is not globalization. Globalization itself need not be destructive or exclusive but rather can be inclusive and empowering. Social globalization is a powerful thing, helping to unite people and struggles that have historically faltered from their lack of cohesion. It is, however, the particular breed of corporate globalization, which is characterized by undemocratic and woefully short-sighted structures and policies, that strikes fear into the hearts of humanists, activists, and all politically- or globally-conscious people. It is this economic/political/social force that is perpetrating the sort of globalization that makes ever-more popular and profitable the proliferation of sweatshops throughout the globe.

Trans-national organizations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), are quite powerful and do play a key role in the continuous homog-

enization of global markets, which most often results in a race to the bottom for wages and living conditions. Nonetheless, such organizations are not in and of themselves powerful. They do not have minds of their own. They were created and are controlled by people, who are in turn supported by other people and institutions. Regrettably, such support is what allows them the virtual free-license they currently enjoy.

Fortunately, many of these supporting institutions are (in theory) accountable to us, you and me, the average citizen, and therefore each of us has a responsibility. Herein lies the greatest danger of our time, one that existed long before globalization but that facilitates the process perfectly: rugged individualism. The culture of the United States encourages us to believe that we are autonomous, that we have complete control over our lives and our destinies and each of us has the potential to achieve The American Dream: to be a self-created and self-determined woman or man.

This individualism, on a global scale, translates into the kind of reality we are shaping every day, one in which we are not concerned with the impact of our choices on our neighboring countries, or even on our neighborhoods, but rather focus only on ourselves. When coupled with the overwhelming power of the globalization of markets, this individualism is becoming fatal. It allows us to turn our backs on our brothers and sisters. It permits us to dismiss the cries of lower-income communities of color when they protest the placement of yet another toxic waste dump or landfill in the heart of their neighborhoods. It lets



If we are living with eyes wide open we know that the standard of living in the United States is far superior to most of the rest of the world. We know that our lives and our realities are vastly different than others'. However, if our eyes are indeed open, we must also realize that in fact our lifestyles directly impact those of the rest of the world. The choices we make impact their lives, just as the products they make impact ours.

us ignore the news that another one of our favorite brands—like Nike or Reebok or Gap or Safeway or Starbucks or Taco Bell—is actively complicit in the abuse of both human and natural resources.

In short, this notion of individualism to which we cling steadfastly makes us equally accountable perpetrators of global injustice. Maybe not as directly as the factory manager who asks for visual proof that a young female worker does in fact need menstrual leave. Perhaps not as directly as the government of a developing (or “Third World”) country who is so desperate for money that they allow a U.S. company to pay for the right to import toxic waste and deposit it into one or another of their ghetto communities. Perhaps not even as directly as the millions of companies that hire contracted employees and offer them no benefits, vacation or sick leave, fire them before their tenure would have guaranteed them some sort of job security or benefits, and rehire them the next day as an unskilled worker. No, perhaps we are not personally doing any of those things. But we are accountable. We do business with these companies, this government represents us, and we are educated people who have been taught to question the status quo and the ramifications of our decisions. Indeed, we are implicated.

This thought should not depress but rather inspire us. *We are not helpless. The situation is not hopeless.* We have power, and infinitely more the more we work together. There are numerous examples of the ways in which ordinary humans have begun to use their power. One notable example was the WTO protest in Seattle in 1999.

Another is the ongoing work of organizations like the United Students Against Sweatshops (U.S.A.S), whose campaigns have successfully encouraged participation and accountability from companies like Nike, the Gap, and New Era, which produces all the caps for Major League Baseball. Social globalization has helped to make these campaigns as successful as they have been, in part because it has made possible the exchange of information that promotes understanding, which in turn allows for the connection of all the global struggles, including those related to labor, environmental, or class struggles.

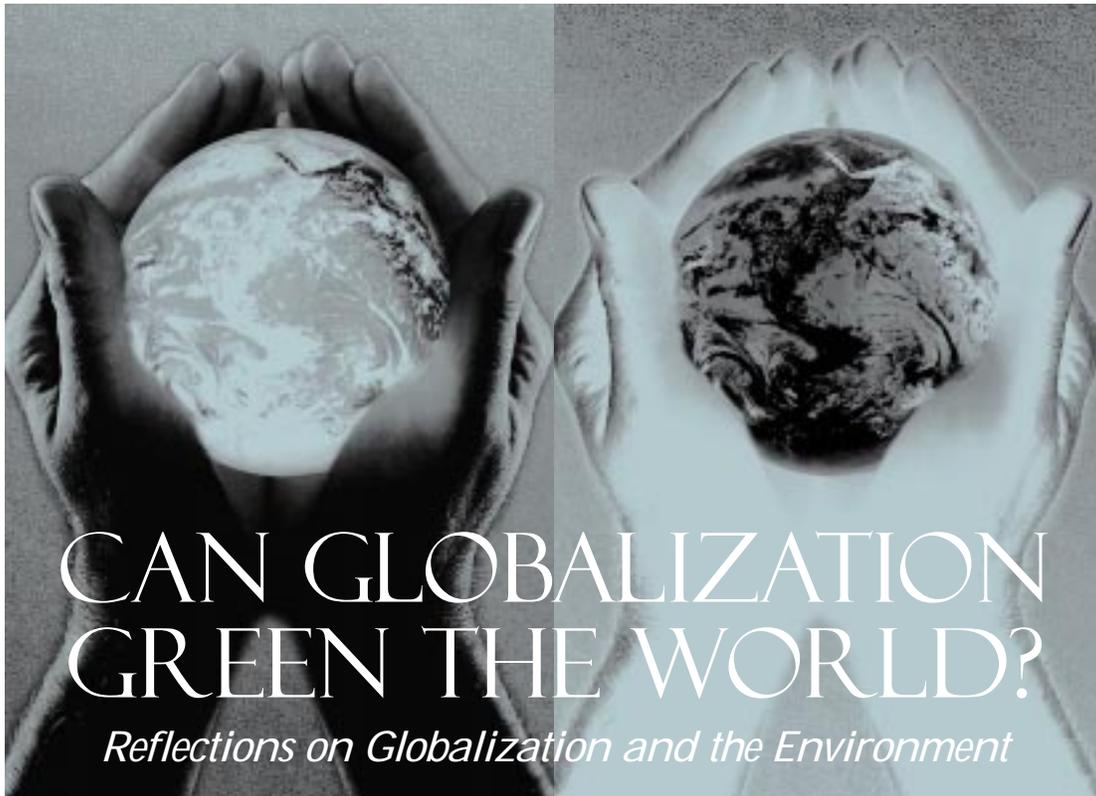
The power we have is our ability to act together, in community—to affect change within ourselves, our families, and the communities and institutions of which we are a part or to which we are connected. The biggest mistake we make is relying on ourselves, acting in solitude when we should be acting in solidarity. It is time that we make globalization work for us. ✨



Patricia Adams '02
2001-2002 Associate Director,
Santa Clara Community Action Program

BY LESLIE C. GRAY

Department of Political Science and the Environmental Studies Institute, Santa Clara University



The overwhelming perception of globalization and the environment is negative: trade and economic growth have led to increasingly severe environmental degradation. Indeed, the last half of the 20th century saw not only unprecedented increases in world trade and global interconnectedness (travel, communication, movement of peoples, etc.), but also saw severe crises of pollution, the largest species die-off since the dinosaurs, and new global environmental challenges of climate change and ozone depletion. Many of these environmental challenges are intrinsically connected to processes of global industrialization. On the bright side, though, new institutions of global environmental governance have emerged that in the long-term have the potential to solve many of these environmental problems. Whether they will succeed depends on the participation of governments, international institutions, business, and civil society in creating solutions rather than roadblocks. One of the most interesting developments is the role of non-governmental organizations in forcing governments and businesses to reform practices.

These issues were brought home to our local community this year with Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition's (SVTC) report "Exporting Harm: The High Tech Trashing of Asia." The authors found that electronic waste—mostly from obsolete computers and televisions—collected for recycling is not recycled domestically. Instead, from 50 to 80 percent of electronic waste is exported to developing countries in Asia. Many of the components of computers involve chemicals such as lead, beryllium, mercury, cadmium, and other toxics. Although this trade is termed "recycling," materials are frequently disposed of in ways that pose threats to human health. They include open burning of plastic, dumping of toxics into river systems, and general dumping near village communities. Toxic chemicals then make their way into the air, water, and soil resources of communities in countries such as China, India, and Pakistan. The health and environmental costs of this trade are not borne by manufacturers, consumers, or traders of electronic waste but by the poor men, women, and children who inhabit the environments where this material is being dumped.

This report illustrates the importance of watchdog groups. SVTC's exposure of the practices of various corporations has helped to make the public aware of the offshore environmental effects of Silicon Valley, shamed corporations into making changes, and most importantly, spurred the legislative process. These watchdog groups are clearly a crucial voice in the process of bringing to light environmental injustice and bad corporate practice. Indeed, California legislators are fashioning legislation that would require electronics manufacturers to be responsible for taking back materials after consumers have finished with them. This would ideally lead to more responsible design of computers and reduction of hazardous materials, changes that are already being made in Europe and Japan. However, the electronics industry is intransigent in opposing any kind of new legislation and except for a few voices, there is no widespread call for change. Local governments, increasingly

alarmed by the filling of local landfills, recognize the need for this type of legislation. The federal government stands steadfastly behind the interests of business.

This example illustrates what critics of globalization have long argued: governments and corporations willfully ignore the detrimental effect of environmental pollution, actively promoting policies that take pollution offshore. Electronic waste is increasingly finding its way to poorer countries because of low labor costs, lax environmental and occupational regulations and the fact that, in the United States, exportation of hazardous wastes has no controls. Examples such as this lead to the perception that industry has undue influence on governmental action, and that governments, particularly the United States government, will protect them from the environmental costs of doing business.

Alliances between business and government that negatively affect the environment were demonstrated more broadly by the recent reluctance of the Bush administration to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, an international agreement that would have reduced greenhouse gases by reducing fossil fuel emissions. The accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere is thought to be leading to climate change and global warming. Because the United States consumes 25 percent of the

From 50 to 80 percent of electronic waste is exported to developing countries in Asia. Many of the components of computers involve chemicals such as lead, beryllium, mercury, cadmium, and other toxics. Although this trade is termed "recycling," materials are frequently disposed of in ways that pose threats to human health. They include open burning of plastic, dumping of toxics into river systems, and general dumping near village communities.

world's energy, any meaningful solution to reductions in greenhouse gases must have the U.S. on board. While initial criticisms of the protocol were based on the inconclusive nature of the science of global warming, recent evidence has led the Bush administration to acknowledge that global warming is occurring and that the causes are fossil fuel emissions and other human activities.

If we look at the success of the Montreal Protocol and compare it to Kyoto efforts to tackle global warming, there are a couple of key elements that have led to success. First was the scientific certainty and perceived urgency of the problem. *Stratospheric ozone was being depleted, the cause was clear and the implications, such as higher skin cancer rates, were also clear. This prompted a sense of urgency that enabled countries to undertake the tough political decisions.* Compare this to the global warming debate, where the science is becoming clearer, but is unable to predict certain outcomes.

So why are both the Senate and the current administration so against Kyoto? Nominally, the current administration argues that the treaty is flawed because developing countries such as China and India are not required to decrease their greenhouse gas emissions in the first phase. At this point, these countries do not contribute much to overall global greenhouse gas emissions, but with their growing populations and their even faster growing economies, they will at some time in the future. However, these objections by the United States appear to be a smokescreen for other more pressing issues—the strong objections of the fossil fuel industry. The fossil fuel industry is not only a big supporter of many politicians, but it has mounted vigorous lobbying and advertising efforts designed to discredit mainstream scientific conclusions. Again, industry and government work hand in glove to block meaningful environmental solutions.

Another realm of concern for environmentalists is trade policy. Critics of globalization argue that treaties such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) weaken existing environmental laws. One NAFTA provision, Chapter 11, has been repeatedly used to challenge host countries' environmental laws. Chapter 11 was designed to protect multinational corporations from government actions that result in direct and indirect corporate takings. The result of this is that a foreign corporation can seek monetary compensation when it feels that a host country has expropriated its investor rights. MetalClad, an American waste disposal company, used this provision against the Mexican government when a local municipality denied a license for a toxic waste dump that the company had been operating and declared the site part of a larger ecological zone. MetalClad sued for \$90 million and was eventually granted \$16 million. Likewise, a U.S.

company, Ethyl, was awarded \$13 million for a case that challenged the Canadian government's regulation of an environmentally damaging gasoline additive, MMT. The United States has been sued by a Canadian company, Methanex, which argued that California's ban of MBTE, a chemical that has been shown to cause cancer and moves into groundwater, was an illegal corporate taking.

These cases demonstrate how under NAFTA, local environmental regulations can be challenged and undermined by corporations. In the case of MetalClad, the Mexican national government supported MetalClad's challenge even though it ultimately had to pay the compensation, illustrating how Chapter 11 pits federal economic interests against local environmental sovereignty. Under NAFTA's Chapter 11, corporations are given permission to pursue profits at any environmental cost. It seems that this provision of NAFTA will be expanded to other free trade agreements such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas as corporations and national governments are generally in favor of it.

Loss of local sovereignty, the exporting of pollution, and undue influence of corporations are the environmental dark side of globalization. Is there anything to be optimistic about in the globalization and environment nexus? Fortunately, there are some very optimistic trends, mostly in the creation of institutions of global governance of environmental problems. The last several decades have seen successful treaties and conventions concerning transportation of biohazards, trade in endangered species, biological diversity, and ozone depletion. Undoubtedly the most successful of these agreements has been the Montreal Protocol for the reduction of CFCs, which deplete stratospheric ozone. Ozone layer deple-

tion is associated with increased skin cancers and other health risks. Most of the CFCs have been released into the atmosphere by the industrialized countries of the North, but the big challenge of the treaty was to bring developing countries such as India and China on board. These poor countries were hesitant to ban chemicals that could aid in development. Finally, funding from different governments and multilateral institutions allowed these countries to move to less harmful chemicals, with minimal impact on their economic growth.

If we look at the success of the Montreal Protocol and compare it to Kyoto efforts to tackle global warming, there are a couple of key elements that have led to success. First was the scientific certainty and perceived urgency of the problem. Stratospheric ozone was being depleted, the cause was clear and the implications, such as higher skin cancer rates, were also clear. This prompted a sense of urgency that enabled countries to undertake the tough political decisions. Compare this to the global warming debate, where the science is becoming clearer, but is unable to predict certain outcomes. Second, the industry that produced CFCs was in favor of the changes, had other replacement options, and was in any case a very small sector of the economy. With the Kyoto accords, the petrochemical sector has a lot to lose and is proportionally a much larger part of the economy. Finally, the wealthier nations, including the United States, were able to bring along the poorer nations of the world by providing them with subsidies. With Kyoto, European nations see the political necessity and justice in postponing the participation of the developing world, but the current U.S. administration does not.

So in a world where corporations have undue influence over the political process, what is the solution? Recent events such as the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle have shown that pressure from non-governmental organizations is crucial in getting governments and international organizations to take the environment into account. Non-governmental organizations have brought lawsuits, been visible critics of the process, and argued vociferously for more transparency in decision-making. The Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition example illustrates how crucial

non-governmental organizations can be in forcing policymakers and corporations to consider the environmental costs of their actions.

Indeed, the environmental movement has benefited more broadly from globalization, particularly in the creation of new communication networks. Non-governmental organizations have been able to link up with new technologies such as the Internet, giving what was a diffuse movement new levels of organization and influence in international environmental policymaking. Protests against World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle illustrated how important these non-governmental forces are becoming, bringing them both a voice and potentially a seat at the table. Globalization in this way is truly a double-edged sword. *

REFERENCES

French, Hilary. *Vanishing Borders: Protecting the Planet in the Age of Globalization*. (Washington, D.C.: WorldWatch Institute, 2000).

Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition and The Basal Action Network. *Exporting Harm: The High Tech Trashing of Asia*. (San Jose and Seattle, 2002). www.svtc.org/cleancc/pubs/technotrash.pdf



Leslie C. Gray
Department of Political
Science and
the Environmental
Studies Institute,
Santa Clara University

BY MICHAEL KEVANE

Department of Economics, Santa Clara University

GLOBALIZATION

AND *Some personal reflections*

DEVELOPMENT

Globalization and development were put on the balance in Béréba village, Burkina Faso, this summer. I'll tell you which one was heavier in a minute. It happened like this. I was having a couple of beers with Koura Bemavé, Donkoui's father. Donkoui has been a friend in the village ever since 1995, when I first went there to do research. Donkoui is a proud *animiste*, as he puts it in French, and his father is one of the important elders of the village. You might meet Bemavé in the forest, riding his jalopy of a moped, wearing flak jacket and rifle, wild cat hanging from the handlebar, with a pipe jutting from the corner of his mouth. Bemavé is a veteran of the French army. When the lieutenant went to pick men for a mission, he always wanted Bemavé near, explaining, "He's not afraid to shoot." Donkoui's father wanted to talk about the Test Of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) exam. Would Donkoui pass the next time? Could Donkoui get to America? Five million people in Burkina Faso are ready to get on a plane tomorrow if they could. The population is only about twelve million. We chatted some more and then Donkoui walked me home in the very dark night. Heavy clouds drifted past, just above the trees, with their occasional jet-black protrusions threatening to drum the tin roofs of the village.

Laurent and Yazouma were arguing and Donkoui stopped to listen and translate. “They are asking who has the better life,” he said, “Laurent because he is married, or Yazouma because he has money.” Laurent asks who will mourn Yazouma if he dies with no wife or child. Yazouma asks whether Laurent can go to a restaurant and pay money to eat. “Why should I go to a restaurant when my wife can cook?” Laurent proudly replies, and ups the ante by asking who will help Yazouma to work in the fields. This brings a quick retort that without a woman at home he does not have to go to the fields in the first place. An audience of young men, themselves tired from working in the fields all day, listens seriously. Yazouma finally delivers his spectacular argument: “Imagine a balance. I am on one side, with my P50 moped, and you are on the other side, with wife and child. Who will weigh more? Who! Me, of course!” Hoots of laughter, and much shouting follow, but Donkoui and I move on. Donkoui cannot shake the balance metaphor. “You see, Michael,” he asks, “the banality of village conversations?” This is indeed the kind of conversation people have all the time, and after visiting Béréba for many years, and having spent several years before that in Sudanese villages, I know exactly what he means. People take the banal conversations very seriously; they are a substitute for something that we must have in Western societies, but I am not sure what.

“*La balance*,” Donkoui repeats the French word for scale. We mull over the metaphor as we head through the night up to the house on the hill. As we continue to interact over the week, we find ourselves looking at each other every hour



or so, in the course of our interactions with people in the village, exchanging knowing glances and mumbling *la balance*. Friends want the insider joke explained. Suddenly *la balance* is everywhere. Who in the village is ascending? Which foods are the better ones to eat? What is the best road to Tougan, in the north? Every conversation we encounter, it seems, involves people making relative judgements using some criteria, and the criteria may as well be *la balance*. Funny, though, how Donkou, now a schoolteacher in a village on the edge of the Sahara desert, has become a stranger to his village, like me.

Perhaps conversations elsewhere, though, are not so different. I realize that Donkou and I, and non-villagers like us, are just as prone to use measurement imagery to make our point. Globalization and development. Has one gone too *far*? Is there not *enough* of one? Which is proceeding *faster*? We may as well be saying that one weighs more. Let us then use Yazouma's *balance* to weigh globalization and development in Burkina Faso. On one side we can put Yazouma's P50 moped again. We add anti-malarial drugs, tampons, and glossy magazines. The Burkinabè are busy watching a Brazilian soap opera, *dona Chiquinha*, about a liberated

female piano composer in turn-of-the-old-century Rio who wants to introduce popular idioms into the classical repertoire of the elite. We can put that on the globalization side. On the other side, we put the heavy wooden masks of owls and antelopes, and the leaves and vines found in the forest that villagers use in the ritual ceremonies in the spring. Maybe we should throw in all the children standing quietly in the bush, behind the family's cattle, quietly absorbing the sounds of grasshoppers and dragonflies, and then the shooting stars that follow in the night. What shall we call these things. Hmmmm. Aren't these the wonderful moments of life that we should be developing? Let us call them development. Not the normal usage, but then, *la balance* is about weighing unexpected things. *La balance* tilts towards development, in my mind. Are you objecting? Do you have your own balance in your head? Do you want to relabel the items on each side of the balance? Perhaps you are more like Laurent and Yazouma than you think. Something to remember the next time you see an image on tele-



vision of a haggard Congolese woman, with two children standing close, emerging from a forest into the waiting plastic blue tents of a refugee camp. You and she could weigh yourselves on the *balance*. Would you know what to think if it tilted one way rather than the other?

I decide some weeks later to ask Bako Maurice, in Ouagadougou, to explain *la mondialisation*, using the French word for globalization. He gives a small smile, "Well, I can say that it is a word that I don't know what it means, but we hear it on television all the time when some learned person or politician is talking." I ask how he can hear a word and not know what it means. If I asked him what a donkey was, couldn't he tell me? "Well," he says slowly, "I can say that when I hear the word on television I immediately stop listening, because I know that the per-

I decide some weeks later to ask Bako Maurice, in Ouagadougou, to explain la mondialisation, using the French word for globalization. He gives a small smile, "Well, I can say that it is a word that I don't know what it means, but we hear it on television all the time when some learned person or politician is talking." I ask how he can hear a word and not know what it means. If I asked him what a donkey was, couldn't he tell me? "Well," he says slowly, "I can say that when I hear the word on television I immediately stop listening, because I know that the person talking is just saying some conneries." He uses the untranslatable French word for damned, stupid, insulting untruths.

son talking is just saying some *conneries*." He uses the untranslatable French word for damned, stupid, insulting untruths. Maurice and I met on the train to Ouagadougou seven years ago. He was returning from Cote d'Ivoire. His father was dead, he could not continue his schooling, he had no money. He gave me his seat on the train, which I gave to my travelling companion, Lazare, who was travelling with his baby. Maurice and I stood and chatted the whole train ride. Over the years Maurice got poorer and poorer. A rich person in Burkina lives on about a dollar a day, Maurice probably lived on 25 cents. The security guard standing outside the health clinic where we were sitting earned about 25,000 CFA, or 35 dollars per month, which he might share with his wife. Maurice was now on his way up; he had been admitted to the police academy, and so would start earning a salary. *La balance* was working for him.

People in the clinic where we spoke were the elite of Ouagadougou. They came in to be treated for malaria, amoebic dysentery, tuberculosis, and AIDS. They were the lucky few of the unlucky many. In Béréba the clinic is up on the hill, close to my house. The nurse practitioner, Somda, walks the dusty hallway. Foam padding pokes out of the doctor's examination table. A chair is carefully propped against the wall, since it only has three legs. In the maternity ward, twins lie on an iron bed. They weigh about three pounds each. The women milling around look sceptical, the mother sour. They know what the likely end is. One in five children dies before reaching the age of five in Burkina Faso, and the odds are worse out in Béréba. *Dona Chiquinha* also knew what early death was, in old Brazil. Maybe that is why the show is popular. I can't think of any American television show that reminds us how good it is not to have death be a neighbor. I suppose I should put that on *la balance*. *



Michael Kevane
Department
of Economics,
Santa Clara University

BY DAVID PINAULT

Department of Religious Studies, Santa Clara University

THE AKBAR PROJECT

*Ritual Observances and Religious
Pluralism in Contemporary Pakistan*



The "Horse of Karbala" procession, Heera Mandi district, Lahore, during the 2002 Muharram season. Bystanders touch the horse as it passes to honor the Imam Husain and the other Karbala martyrs. Garlands of flowers are placed atop the saddle as an act of veneration.

The idea for the Akbar Project (as I named it) came to me from studying the lives of the Moghul emperors of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century India. I was fascinated by two Muslim noblemen in particular: Akbar the Great and his great-grandson Dara Shikuh.

Akbar is famous (or infamous, depending on one's view of his life's work) as the emperor who established the *Din-e Ilahi*, the "divine religion" that synthesized Islamic belief and Hindu principles. The *Din-e Ilahi* was influenced by Sufism, an Islamic spiritual discipline that cultivates the individual worshipper's direct and ecstatic experience of the divine presence.

Among the practical and social effects of Akbar's program was the concept of *sulh-e kull* ("universal reconciliation"), entailing a policy of state-sponsored religious tolerance and the abolishment of discriminatory taxes on non-Muslims. Akbar was opposed by many of the empire's *ulama* (Muslim scholars learned in Islamic law and Qur'anic scripture), but the emperor's reward was the loyalty of India's Hindus, who comprised the majority of the population subject to Moghul rule.

For me the lives of Akbar and Dara Shikuh are important because their work represents a legacy—a legacy that has been largely overlooked in recent years—of initiatives for tolerance and religious pluralism arising from within the Islamic tradition.

Like his great-grandfather, the young prince Dara Shikuh was an enthusiastic disciple of Sufism. As was the case with Akbar, Dara Shikuh's taste for mystical speculation led him to spiritual explorations beyond the denominational boundaries of Islam. He welcomed both Jewish scholars and Jesuit priests to his court, but it was Hindu thought, and the prospect of demonstrating the underlying unity of the Qur'an and the Vedanta, that became his spiritual focus. For this purpose he learned Sanskrit, and with the help of Hindu pundits he translated the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad-Gita* into Persian.

As the eldest son of the emperor Shah Jahan, Dara Shikuh was heir to the Moghul throne. But *ulama* who were loyal to his younger brother and rival, Aurangzeb, issued a fatwa targeting Dara Shikuh with a proclamation of *takfir*

March 2002 was an important time to return to Pakistan, for two reasons. This was the first Muharram season since President Parvez Musharraf announced a crackdown on both Sunni and Shia militant organizations. *Furthermore, this was the first Muharram since the September 11 terrorist attacks on America.* I regarded this Muharram season, typically a time of heightened devotional fervor and intensified awareness of sectarian identity, as an opportunity to learn to what extent recent events had caused Pakistani Muslims to reflect on issues of communal tolerance, the implications of martyrdom, and the use of violence in the name of religion.

(the denunciation of someone as a *kafir*, a non-Muslim infidel). According to the *ulama's* legalistic understanding of Islam, Dara Shikuh had degenerated into an apostate, a spiritual renegade. The result: the murder of the mystically minded prince, and the rise to power of Aurangzeb. The latter nullified the Akbarian tradition of *sulh-e kull*, persecuting both Hindus and Muslim religious minorities, especially the Shia denomination. To this day Aurangzeb's name is a byword in South Asia for ferocity in the name of religious orthodoxy.

Muslim opinion on Akbar and Aurangzeb and what they represented remains divided (as will be seen below). For me the lives of Akbar and Dara Shikuh are important because their work represents a legacy—a legacy that has been largely overlooked in recent years—of initiatives for tolerance and religious pluralism arising from within the Islamic tradition.

The goal I set myself in pursuing the Akbar Project was to assess the prospects in contemporary South Asian Muslim societies for the development of what I call “humanistic Islam.” By this I mean a form of the Muslim tradition that respects the individual's spiritual autonomy and that sees diversity in religious thought and practice as a good in itself and as a source of strength rather than as something to be feared.

For the initial stage of my project I returned to a city I had not visited for years: Lahore, the cultural capital of Pakistan's Punjab province and formerly one of the greatest cities of Akbar's Moghul empire. In Pakistan today the struggle over tolerance and religious pluralism is manifested especially in conflicts between the Sunni and Shia denominations. The Shias of Pakistan are a minority community, as they are in most Muslim countries; in Pakistan they constitute 20 percent of the population.

In March 2002, I visited Lahore and Islamabad to study the annual lamentation rituals associated with the Islamic month of Muharram. These Muharram rituals commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husain ibn Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's grandson. Although all devout Muslims agree in revering Husain as a descendant of the Prophet, Muharram is for the most part an observance dominated by Shias. Throughout Pakistan in recent years Muharram rituals have been

marred by violence between Sunnis and Shias. Much of this violence involves assaults on places of worship masterminded by militant sectarian organizations.

Since 1989 I have been studying Muharram rituals in various parts of the Indian subcontinent. But March 2002 was an important time to return to Pakistan, for two reasons. This was the first Muharram season since President Parvez Musharraf announced a crackdown on both Sunni and Shia militant organizations. Furthermore, this was the first Muharram since the September 11 terrorist attacks on America. I regarded this Muharram season, typically a time of heightened devotional fervor and intensified awareness of sectarian identity, as an opportunity to learn to what extent recent events had caused Pakistani Muslims to reflect on issues of communal tolerance, the implications of martyrdom, and the use of violence in the name of religion. I also set out to gauge the extent of Pakistani support for Musharraf's policies.

The Shia denomination arose from a dispute concerning leadership of the *ummah* (the "community of believers") after the Prophet Muhammad's death (AD 632). Most Muslims accepted the notion that the caliph (the Prophet's successor as leader of the *ummah*) would be elected via a process of consultation and voting among a council of elders. Such Muslims were later identified by the name Sunni (those who follow the *sunnah* or "exemplary custom and lifestyle" of Muhammad). A minority of Muslims, however, supported the candidacy of Ali ibn Abi Talib, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law (Ali married Muhammad's daughter, Fatima). This minority became known as *Shi'at Ali*, "the partisans of Ali," or simply the Shia.



A riderless stallion is led through the streets of the Gawal Mandi district, Lahore, during the 2002 Muharram season. The horse represents Zuljenah, the mount ridden by the Imam Husain at the battle of Karbala.

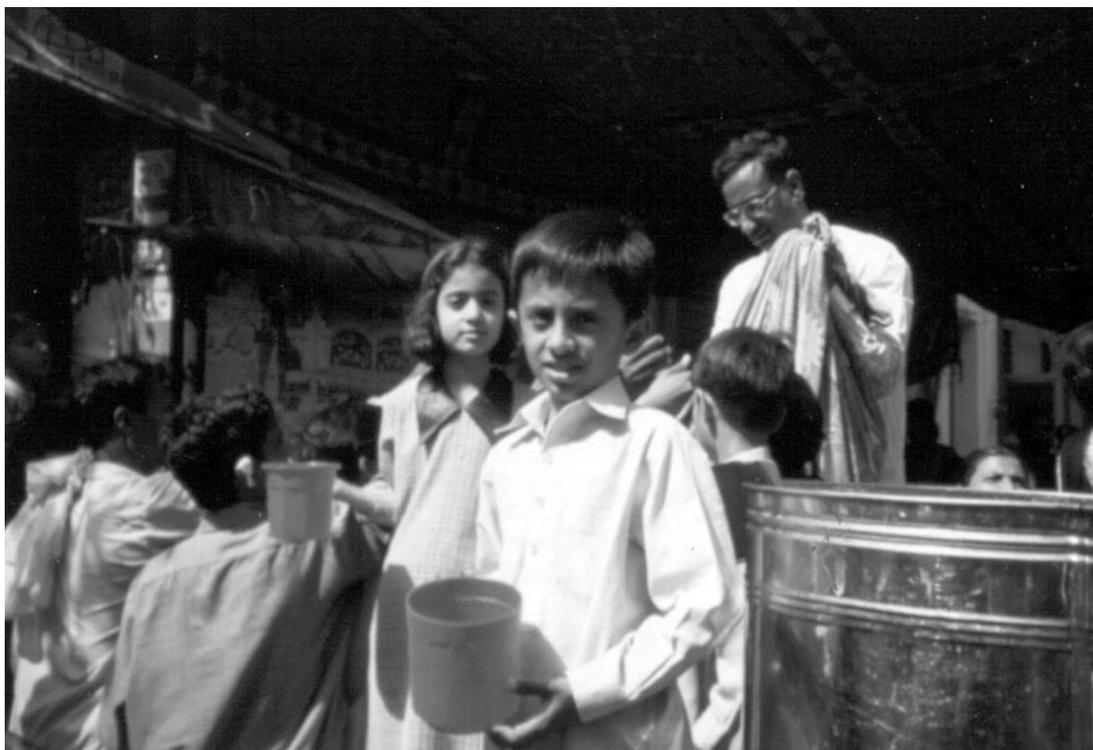
Ali ruled briefly as caliph but only after three other men from among the *Sahaba* (the Prophet's "companions," who supported Muhammad in the dangerous early days of Islam) had been selected successively to rule. A number of the *Sahaba* had contested Ali's right to the caliphate. After Ali's death in 661, his supporters transferred their loyalty to his sons, first Hasan, and then, after Hasan's death, to the younger son, Husain. Shias developed a theory of hereditary leadership based on family kinship linked to the Prophet Muhammad, restricting the role of ruler to a line of Imams or spiritual leaders descended from Ali (revered as the first Imam) and Fatima.

Husain was killed at the battle of Karbala (which took place in the month of Muharram, AD 680), fighting the unjust rule of a tyrannous caliph named Yazid. The latter's soldiers had besieged the Imam Husain and his family in the Iraqi desert, inflicting torments of thirst on the Imam's family in hopes of forcing their surrender. Husain chose death instead. Although a political failure, his revolt is honored today as a spiritual triumph.

Every year in Lahore, as in many other cities where there are substantial Shia populations, Shias commemorate Husain's martyrdom through "Horse of Karbala" processions. A riderless stallion caparisoned to represent Zuljenah ("the winged one," Husain's battle-steed) is paraded through the city streets. The sight of Zuljenah triggers among participants ritualized expressions of grief in honor of the Karbala martyrs. Among these expressions: *zanjiri matam* (self-scourging with flails, razors, and chains), in which the shedding of one's own blood expresses solidarity with the sufferings of the martyrs. Thousands of people crowd the streets to watch as Zuljenah and its attendant flagellants pass through each neighborhood.

Most Sunnis I interviewed in Lahore voiced disapproval of *zanjiri matam*, claiming that it violates Islamic norms of self-restraint and decorum. But Sunnis disagreed with one another on other points. The most militant Sunnis, for example, members of the SSP (*Sipah-e Sahaba Pakistan*, "the soldiers of the Prophet's companions"), claim that Shias dishonor the *Sahaba*. The SSP has helped incite attacks on Shia places of worship and has tried (unsuccessfully, so far) to pass legislation that would target Pakistani Shias with the charge of *takfir* and reduce Shias to the status of *kafirs*. The SSP is among the militant organizations that have been banned as part of the Pakistani government's recent campaign against violent sectarian groups.

Precisely those sectarian militants who condemn "heterodox" rituals and who are quick to label fellow Muslims *kafirs* also support a pan-Islamic caliphate. The Taliban, too, when they ruled Afghanistan, made use of caliphate rhetoric. *Common to such groups is the suppression of religious diversity so as to consolidate power in the hands of those leaders who claim to be the sole authentic representatives of Islam.*



Islampura district, Lahore, 2002 Muharram season: children at a *sabil* or “refreshment stand” offer water to passersby to commemorate the thirst suffered by the Imam Husain’s family at the battle of Karbala.

Most Sunnis I interviewed, however, told me that even though they applaud the SSP’s goal of “guarding the *Sahaba’s* honor,” they disapprove of the use of violence. And like the Shias I met, they strongly support Musharraf’s crackdown on sectarian militants. Moreover, despite the disapproval they voiced concerning self-flagellation and Horse of Karbala parades, many Sunnis nevertheless turn out to watch the Muharram processions: *tamasha deikhne ke lie*, as one Sunni explained to me, “to watch the spectacle.” And some Barelvis (adherents of a relatively tolerant form of Sunnism that is influenced by South Asian Sufism) told me of a Muharram observance engaged in by Sunnis as well as Shias. On Ashura, the day of Husain’s death, Muslim families set up a *sabil* or “refreshment stand” before their homes and offer water, tea, and sherbet to passersby to commemorate the thirst of the Karbala martyrs.

After concluding my fieldwork in Lahore I drove to Islamabad and gave a lecture on the topic of Shia-Sunni reconciliation. While there I visited the Shah Faisal Mosque and was given a leaflet being distributed at the mosque’s entrance. The leaflet’s authors belong to the *Harakat al-Khilafah* (“the caliphate movement”), which condemns the present government of Pakistan and advocates the re-establishment of the caliphate. This notion, which is also supported by adherents of

One way to test the on-the-ground limits of pluralistic tolerance is to be a conspicuous foreigner in attendance at public religious gatherings. I witnessed dozens of Muharram rituals during my time in Lahore, as I walked about the neighborhoods and chatted with participants and bystanders. As may be imagined, I attracted attention. Questioned (as I was repeatedly) about my presence, *I explained that I was an American and a Christian. At no point did anyone show hostility. Just the opposite: people on the street welcomed me and invited me to visit their homes and neighborhood shrines.*

both the SSP and Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda, rejects the concept of national identity and argues for a pan-Islamic government (the caliphate) that would be supported via global religious solidarity among Muslims. It is not irrelevant that this caliphate-leaflet cites approvingly the emperor Aurangzeb and his program of killing Hindus who "dishonored" Islam.

While in Pakistan I noted with interest the following point. Precisely those sectarian militants who condemn "heterodox" rituals and who are quick to label fellow Muslims *kafirs* also support a pan-Islamic caliphate. The Taliban, too, when they ruled Afghanistan, made use of caliphate rhetoric. Common to such groups is the suppression of religious diversity so as to consolidate power in the hands of those leaders who claim to be the sole authentic representatives of Islam.

To judge by the people I spoke with in Pakistan's Punjab, most Pakistanis reject caliphate talk. Newspaper editorials and posters on walls in Lahori neighborhoods use the term *Pakistan ke dushman* ("enemies of Pakistan") to describe sectarian militants. While caliphate-supporters belittle the concept of national identity, many Muslims I met linked Shia-Sunni tolerance to the notion of a Pakistani patriotism that transcends sectarian differences.



David Pinault
Department
of Religious Studies,
Santa Clara University

One way to test the on-the-ground limits of pluralistic tolerance is to be a conspicuous foreigner in attendance at public religious gatherings. I witnessed dozens of Muharram rituals during my time in Lahore, as I walked about the neighborhoods and chatted with participants and bystanders. As may be imagined, I attracted attention. Questioned (as I was repeatedly) about my presence, I explained that I was an American and a Christian. At no point did anyone show hostility. Just the opposite: people on the street welcomed me and invited me to visit their homes and neighborhood shrines.

To illustrate my point: in Lahore's Gawal Mandi locality, on the fifth of Muharram (March 20), I tried to photograph the Zuljenah stallion but had trouble getting a clear shot because of the crowd. One of the men leading Zuljenah spotted me. At once he halted the horse and motioned me up close. And in fact the entire procession stopped, and onlookers and marchers waited patiently, while I snapped my pictures. Hospitality, not hostility, was what I had the good fortune to experience during my time in Akbar's city of Lahore. *



CALL FOR GRANTS

The Bannan Center offers two categories of grants for faculty, staff, and students: Bannan Grants and Dialog and Design Grants. Proposals in both categories will be competitively reviewed, and grants should support the mission of the Bannan Center.

BANNAN GRANTS

Scholarly grants may be used to support or develop a scholarly project that relates to the Institute's mission. Research assistance, travel, scholarly resources, and conferences are some types of activities the grants will support.

Pedagogical grants may be used to support or develop a pedagogical project that relates to the Institute's mission. Course development or enhancement, the support or development of co-curricular activities that further the Catholic and Jesuit character of Santa Clara, and faculty, staff, or student development workshops are some of the types of activities the grants will support.

Grants may not be used to replace full-time faculty in the classroom. Moneys must be used within eighteen months of the time the grant is awarded.

DIALOG AND DESIGN GRANTS

Dialog and Design grants support the development of scholarship focused on efforts central to the Jesuit mission and identity of Santa Clara University. This "seed" funding encourages and supports the early stages of creative and collaborative scholarly projects by faculty.

Faculty group applicants will identify themes for new scholarship inspired by the Jesuit mission and identity which are linked to current faculty interests and competencies. These themes would spark mutual interest among several faculty and

would likely have a larger scope than individual scholars can address. They are likely to be embryonic and not yet sufficiently developed to attract grant funding.

Funding might support activities such as regular luncheon or dinner meetings over a quarter; off-campus Dialog and Design conferences or retreats; bringing in resource faculty from other universities to support the discussion and planning; a regular series of "working papers" with discussion and group commentary; funding for books or other media products pertinent to the common effort; or any other collaborative efforts by the faculty group to address their chosen theme.

APPLICATION DEADLINES

Deadlines for submission for both types of grant proposals will be November 1 and May 1. Grants will be announced by December 1 and June 1 respectively.

For complete grant information and guidelines, please visit www.scu.edu/bannancenter/grants.htm or call Paul Woolley at 408-554-4383. ✧



2002–2003 BANNAN CENTER GRANTS

At its May meeting, the Bannan Center Steering Committee approved five grants totaling \$14,141 for the first of two funding cycles in the fiscal year 2003.

DIALOG AND DESIGN GRANTS

Spiritual Modeling and Transformation— \$5,400

Tom Plante, psychology department

This grant will support several lunch meetings with scholars from Stanford University, UC Berkeley, and Santa Clara University as well as several people from community service organizations. The group will integrate the expertise from faculty in Psychology, English, Sociology, Religious Studies, Public Health, and other fields in order to develop a research program that will seek to better understand the mechanisms of spiritual modeling and transformation.

Vocation Identity: Renaissance Models of Life and Meaning for Today's College Students— \$3,988.25

Diane Dreher, English department

This grant will support the development of a research questionnaire and reveal strategies for promoting healthier vocation identity in today's college students. Dreher's research will combine insights from Renaissance saints, artists, scientists, and humanists with advice from spiritual directors, psychologists, career counselors, and residence life directors.

BANNAN GRANTS

Hopkins and Bridges—\$1,100.00

Ron Hansen, English department

This grant funds a research project to study the collected materials related to the life and work of the poet Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J. Hansen plans to write a historical novel based on the literary friendship between Gerard Manley Hopkins and Robert Bridges. The historical, psychological, and spiritual basis of the friendship between Hopkins and Bridges can be best conveyed through

the interpretive and far more accessible medium of fiction and provide a wider audience for their works.

The Crucified Jew: Mark Rothko's Christological Imagery—\$2,153

Andrea Pappas, art department

This grant funds travel to Los Angeles to examine a newly available group of documents associated with Mark Rothko. This primary research will be incorporated into a scholarly article that is already in progress. Tentatively titled "The Crucified Jew: Mark Rathko's Christological Imagery," the article treats religious and ethnic identity as a central factor in the successful reception of the work of one of the core members of the large Abstract Expressionist movement.

Making Connections VI: Bridging the Divide – Connecting Activism and Academia through Social Justice—\$1,500

Barbara Molony, history department

This grant will partially fund the stipend and travel for Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz, the keynote speaker for the National Biennial Conference of the National Association for Women in Catholic Higher Education (NAWCHE) being held at Santa Clara University. NAWCHE is an organization made up of faculty, administrators, staff, and students from Catholic colleges and universities around the country.

ABOUT THE GRANTS

The Bannan Institute offers two kinds of grants (see page 43). Both are designed to encourage faculty, staff, and students to pursue the Bannan Institute mission "...to assist the University in maintaining its Catholic and Jesuit character at the center of the educational enterprise." The next deadline for proposals is November 1, 2002. ✧



An International Conference on Globalization
for Leaders in Jesuit Institutions of Higher Learning

GLOBALIZATION

as Seen from the Developing World

NOVEMBER 7-10, 2002

NOTE: This conference is part of a broader Institute on Globalization at Santa Clara University during the 2002-03 academic year. The purpose of the Institute is to engender greater campus and public understanding of the dynamics of globalization. For more information on the Institute, please visit: www.scu.edu/globalization/

WHAT IS GLOBALIZATION?

The process of globalization is the increasing interconnection of nations and cultures that is primarily driven by market forces augmented by technology, capital transfer, and international trade structures. In addition to economic integration, globalization refers to the impact on all cultures of the liberal, individualistic free enterprise value system that predominates in the developed nations.

GOALS OF THE CONFERENCE

- To examine the phenomenon of globalization from a faith and justice perspective that emphasizes Christian moral obligations
- To discuss how globalization is having an impact on the various societies in which Jesuit universities are located
- To explore ways in which a Jesuit university can positively influence the basic factors of globalization through research and curriculum
- To provide the framework for the international connections that will foster this collaboration.

This conference will approach globalization from the normative perspective of the faith that does

justice, a perspective rooted in the Judaeo-Christian scriptures and enunciated in the contemporary documents of the Society of Jesus. This perspective pays particular attention to the impact of globalization on human dignity and the common good, especially in regards to the poor and marginal.

Experts from the international network of Jesuit institutions of higher education will gather to evaluate the moral and religious significance of globalization, particularly as it is experienced in the developing world. Scholars from Jesuit institutions in the developed world will join the conversation to establish scholarly collaboration and explore institutional connections.

Conference participants will examine the different perceptions of globalization in developing and developed nations from the criterion of the Society of Jesus' commitment to the integral principle of faith that does justice. This examination will necessarily consider contrasting views of justice as well as the contributions that other religious traditions can make.

For complete information about this conference, please visit: www.scu.edu/BannanCenter/JusticeConference/GlobalizationFlyer.htm ✦



2002-03 SANTA CLARA LECTURES

In 1994, through the generosity of the Bannan Institute for Jesuit Education and Christian Values, the Department of Religious Studies of Santa Clara University inaugurated the Santa Clara Lectures. This series brings to campus leading scholars in theology, offering the University community and the general public an ongoing exposure to debate on the significant issues of our time. Santa Clara University will publish these lectures and distribute them throughout the United States and internationally.

MAX L. STACKHOUSE

“Globalization and the forms of grace: Redeeming the principalities, authorities, and dominions”

January 26, 2003, 7:30 p.m., Sobrato Hall Commons



Drawing from his 3-volume series, *God and Globalization*, Stackhouse will use key Biblical terms to identify and discuss the decisive socio-historical “Powers” (Principalities, Authorities, Dominions) that are shaping the emerging global civil society. As he argues, “these Powers can rebel against the laws and purposes of God and thus damage the human future, or they can be drawn into structures of responsibility to aid the flourishing of faith, the well-being of humanity, and the appropriate transformations of nature, society, and personal or group identity.”

MAX L. STACKHOUSE is Stephen Colwell Professor of Christian Ethics at Princeton Theological Seminary. He was the H. Gezork Professor of Christian Social Ethics at the Andover Newton Theology School. He is the author or editor of numerous articles and 12 books, including *God and Globalization*, 3 Vols., with P. Paris, and *Christian Social Ethics in a Global Era*, with P. Berger et al. He is studying religious and ethical developments that are shaping globalization—the economic, technological, and related developments that both disrupt traditional life and faith and provide a possible basis for a new transnational civilization and a trans-cultural value system.

LISA SOWLE CAHILL

“On being a Catholic feminist”

April 27, 2003, 7:30 p.m., Sobrato Hall Commons



Catholic women growing up in the United States at the time of the Second Vatican Council have a different experience of Catholicism and society than those of young adults today. While those women have strong roots in a cohesive Church, they also came of age in a more repressive society and in a religious community with separate, hierarchical gender roles. While these two groups of women have different experiences of sexuality, gender, and the home/work conflict, they can share a feminism based on Catholicism’s strong traditional commitment to social justice and to a sacramental understanding of faith, reappropriated for a newly global and participatory Church.

LISA SOWLE CAHILL '70 has taught at Boston College since 1976, where she is now the J. Donald Monan, S.J., Professor of Theology. She is also a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She is a past president of both the Catholic Theological Society of America (1992-93), and the Society of Christian Ethics (1997-98). She earned her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago Divinity School. She was a Visiting Scholar at the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, Georgetown University, in 1986; and a Visiting Professor of Catholic Theology at Yale University in 1997. Her books include *Family: A Christian Social Perspective*; *Sex, Gender, and Christian Ethics*; *Love Your Enemies: Discipleship, Pacifism, and Just War Theory*; and *Between the Sexes: Toward a Christian Ethics of Sexuality*.

BANNAN VISITOR FALL 2002

JOHN DEAR, S.J., is a Jesuit priest, pastor, peace activist, organizer, lecturer, retreat leader, and author/editor of 20 books on peace and justice. He will speak on “Globalization, militarization, and nonviolence” on November 6, 7:30 p.m., Sobrato Hall Commons.

next issue:

The word “vocation” is related to the Latin words *vocatio*, meaning summons, *vocare*, meaning to call, and *vox*, meaning voice.

While vocation is often defined as a call to a religious life, it can have broader applications. One can feel called to be anything: a lawyer, mother, artist, or business executive.

In our April 2003 issue, we will explore the idea of vocation in the many ways it manifests itself. Members of the SCU community will share their thoughts on vocation in law, engineering, business, campus ministry, activism, the Jesuit order, and other areas.

explore is published two times per year by the Bannan Center for Jesuit Education at Santa Clara University, 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, CA 95053-0452.
408-551-1951 (tel) 408-551-7175 (fax)
www.scu.edu/bannancenter

The views expressed in **explore** do not necessarily represent the views of the Center. We welcome your comments.

Founded in 1982, the Bannan Center for Jesuit Education at Santa Clara University assists in maintaining the University's Catholic and Jesuit character. The center offers grants for faculty, staff, and students. It sponsors retreats, lectures, and conferences, and brings religious scholars and leaders to the University to engage in educational activities.

EDITOR

William C. Spohn

MANAGING EDITOR

Elizabeth Kelley Gillogly '93

DESIGNER

Amy (Kremer) Gomersall '88
Art in Motion

BANNAN CENTER FOR JESUIT EDUCATION

DIRECTOR

William C. Spohn

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Paul Woolley

STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

David J. Arata
Margaret M. Bradshaw
Louise Bannan Carroll
André L. Delbecq
Tracey Kahan
Paul Locatelli, S.J.
Gerdenio M. Manuel, S.J.
Teresa B. Nally
Dennis Parnell, S.J.
Mario J. Prietto, S.J.

Santa Clara University, a comprehensive Jesuit, Catholic university located in California's Silicon Valley, offers its 8,080 students rigorous undergraduate curricula in arts and sciences, business, and engineering, plus master's and law degrees. Distinguished nationally by the fourth-highest graduation rate among all U.S. master's universities, California's oldest higher-education institution demonstrates faith-inspired values of ethics and social justice. More information is on line at www.scu.edu.