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THE CHANGING IMAGE OF WORLD AFFAIRS
AND THE ROLE OF CITIZEN:
LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND GLOBAL EDUCATION

A Paper for the Working Conference on Using the
Local Community in Global Education

Ohio State University
Mershon Center
Columbus, Ohio
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THE CHANGING IMAGE OF WORLD AFFAIRS AND THE
ROLE OF CITIZEN: LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND GLOBAL EDUCATION

This Working Conference on Using the Local Community in Global Education brings together educators interested in the local community as an educational resource--that is as a source of economic or political support for their programs, or as a curriculum resource for use in instructional materials and educational activities. This paper explores some of the assumptions about world affairs and citizenship which underly efforts to use the local community in this way. The discussion both supports and challenges some of our basic understandings of the relationship between the local community and the world. It also explores the implications of these ideas for educational programs.

Basic Social Assumptions of Community-Based Approaches

Whether we are conscious of them or not, two basic assumptions undergird any effort to use the community in global education. These assumptions can be characterized as follows:

1. Local communities are significant points of origin and points of impact for much of what we mean by the term "world affairs;" and
2. The linkage between the community and world affairs creates for local people a legitimate citizenship interest and role with respect to world affairs.

These assumptions are implied whether we see the community primarily as an audience, as a support system, or as a curriculum resource. Clearly those who would use the community as a curriculum resource assume that world affairs are manifest in the local community (Woyach and Remy, 1982). They also tend to assume that teaching students about local international involvement has particular value vis-a-vis citizenship education.

But even those who would use the community solely as an audience or a support system implicitly make these same assumptions. For example, within our society at least, the former tend to assume that local people, as American citizens if not as local citizens, have the responsibility and perhaps the need to be attentive to world affairs. (Rosenau, 1974; Hero, 1973) This assumption of citizen relevance implicitly assumes that local people are affected by world affairs, and in some respect at least affect the conduct of world affairs.

The assumed validity of these propositions might easily go unchallenged by those present at this conference, even though our individual understandings of these assumptions may differ quite substantially. Yet these assumptions, and the realities they represent, have tremendous implications for how we actually go about using the community as a resource in global education.

The Changing Image of World Affairs

At one level, the assertion that local communities are the points of origin and points of impact for world affairs is so obvious that it appears almost trivial. Even if, for the sake of parsimony, one restricts the concept of world affairs to the border-crossing activities and policies of national governments and a few clearly powerful organizations (e.g., major transnational businesses and large aid-giving organizations), world affairs must have their impact and origin in local communities. The people who invest in, who work for and who use the products of transnational businesses must live somewhere. So must the people in whose names national governments act. At one level of analysis or aggregation, that somewhere must involve a "local community." Thus if world affairs has an impact, that impact must be felt and must be observable in "local" communities.

Furthermore, Kenneth Boulding (1968) has observed, cities (local communities of a particular type and scale) are the nodes of the international system. They provide the airports, the communications facilities, the freight forwarders--in short all of the services that make world affairs possible. Likewise, the organizations and people who actually conduct world affairs (even if they are "national" governments) must be located somewhere geographically. While we may be more accustomed to locating the latter in terms of "nation-states," they too, for the most part are institutionalized within and conduct their activities from a "local" community of some type.

But this trivial sense in which local communities are points of origin and impact in world affairs can artificially distract one's attention from the truly revolutionary implications (at least revolutionary in our times) of this reality. These revolutionary implications can perhaps best be understood against the backdrop of three sets of intellectual and political phenomena which have occurred over the past twenty years: the increasingly pervasive impact of the "systems" concept on our image of the world, the growing perception that there is not one but many international systems, and the "discovery" of the critical role which non-governmental actors play in international systems.

The World as a System

Of the new images and concepts which have influenced the ways in which scholars and Americans in general think about and study the world, the idea that world affairs can legitimately be conceptualized as a "system," with all the qualities of a system, has been among the most significant. In fact, the image of the world as a system has had a greater impact on international relations than the actual use, particularly the technical use, of the concept

4.

would imply. Most importantly, for our purposes, the conceptualization of an international system creates a radically different framework for judging who is involved in world affairs and what the significance of their involvement is.

The international system can be conceptualized as a set of actors, or decision-makers (e.g., national governments) and their interactions and interrelationships. Like all systems, the international system is characterized by "interdependence." Each actor plays a role within the system. All other actors depend to some extent on the performance of that role--although some roles are more critical to the operation of the system than others.

Without the concept of an international system, legalistic and philosophical tradition alone provided criteria for inclusion of an actor within the "family of nations." National governments have been regarded as the sovereign and uniquely legitimate representative of their nations since the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Western tradition has also attributed an almost supernatural gestalt to the "nation" (e.g., Rousseau's concept of the General Will, and, the concept of the "volk" and the "volk geist" held by German philosophers). With this background, it is easy to understand analysts' preoccupation with the nation-state as the building block in their images of the world.

Although all diplomatically recognized national governments were included in the "family of nations," clearly not all were equal. But judgments about the significance of a particular nation-state could be based only on ethnocentric or comparative criteria. Students study the world affairs of their own country and region, for example, because it affects them (an ethnocentric even if eminently practical criterion). They also studied the foreign affairs of Great Britain in the 19th Century and the foreign policy of the United States today because these two nation-states have been the most powerful nations in the "family." Their economic and military capabilities, along with the extensive reach of their diplomatic

and political activities gave these hegemons or would-be hegemons a far greater impact on people and societies world-wide than such powerless nation-states as Luxemburg and Rwanda. The absolute power of these governments was less an issue than their relative power. Weak nation-states could be judged quite significant, if other governments were even weaker.

The conceptualization of an international "system" provided an alternative, and in a sense more functional basis for analyzing and judging both involvement in world affairs and the significance of that involvement. Membership and significance became functions of an actor's role within the system. The significance of the United States in the political and military confrontation between East and West, for example, stems not simply from the megatonnage of American warheads, or the number of Americans under arms, or even the size of the American economy. Rather it stems from the fact that American decision-makers have made commitments to use these weapons and economic might in the defense of Western Europe. The American government could not play the same role without its missiles. But an America bristling with missiles would be virtually irrelevant in the absence of the role (i.e., without the commitment to use them in particular ways and under particular circumstances).

The concept of role is important because the roles of world actors, even national governments, do not depend solely on their capabilities. Despite the economic and technical capabilities of the Japanese nation, and its strategic position geographically, the Japanese government, for example, has resisted becoming an actor in the "system" of East-West conflict. The Japanese government maintains a relatively small Self-Defense Force, despite American pressure. Their Mutual Defense Treaty with the United States does not obligate the Japanese to fight if the United States is attacked. Likewise, the size of the Japanese economy and the investment potential of Japanese business could place the government of Japan in a

In a key position within the global economic system. But the Japanese have only been marginally willing to play a significant role here as well. Thus their political role within the global economic system, while greater than their role within the global security system, is still far less important than Japan's economic capabilities might permit or predict.

One System or Many?

The characterization of Japan's role in the global economy, also implies that world actors do not have just one role in the international system. Rather they have many different roles, each dependent on the specific issue or set of issues involved as well as the capabilities and choices of the government itself. Even hegemonic powers, such as the United States after World War II, are not equally attentive to or significant in all issue areas. With respect to some issues, for example the trade and control of nuclear technology, the United States government once exercised extremely high control over the system. Even now it is one of only a handful of national governments and other actors whose policies determine global events with respect to these issues. On the other hand, vis-a-vis other issue areas, such as human rights and decolonization, the United States government has been a peripheral actor for the most part.

The perception of this differential significance and even involvement of actors across different issues has led international relations scholars to think about world affairs in terms of a variety of international systems rather than in terms of a single, undifferentiated system. Each of these systems which make up world affairs can be defined around a particular issue or set of issues. There is, for example, a global economic system-- itself made up of many functional systems including the global food system, the global trading system, the global investment system, as well as regional systems such as the European Community and the British Commonwealth. There is also a global military or security system concerned with issues of

national security, peace and armaments. It too is composed of regional sub-systems (e.g., the East-West confrontation, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the competition between India and Pakistan) as well as many functional systems (e.g., the arms trade system, alliance systems, and military aid systems).

All of these international systems are open. In other words, what happens in one system is affected by and affects what happens within others. For example, the East-West conflict routinely intrudes upon other systems (e.g., the disruption of the global food system after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan). There is also a hierarchy among systems in the sense that some systems (e.g., the global security and economic systems) affect others greatly but are themselves less affected by others. However, all of these issue systems and functional systems can be understood and analyzed to some extent independently of each other. The involvement (role) and significance of a particular actor will depend on the specific system with which one is concerned.

The Decline of the Nation

The conceptualization of world affairs as a "system" and the realization that there are many different albeit related international systems has perhaps led inevitably to the third fundamental shift in scholars' images of the world: the recognition that actors other than government and "nations" (e.g., businesses, foundations, churches, labor unions, even individuals) have roles within many, perhaps all international systems.

The attempt to include non-governmental actors of all types in our images of world affairs has been called the "transnational relations" movement. In a sense, the movement represented the logical culmination of efforts to extend the concept of world affairs from one dominated by political-diplomatic-military systems (systems dominated by national

governments and their armies) to the incredibly wide range of other international systems, particularly functional international systems, whose impact on the lives of the world's people is overwhelming even if largely routine.

Thus the attention and research of mainstream scholars turned to questions which were starkly different than those of the past. Researchers began to investigate the impact of multinational corporations on the fiscal and monetary policies of both host and home governments. (Vernon, 1971; Moran, 1974). They looked seriously at the role of private aid-giving organizations on global economic development (Lissner, 1977; Bell, 1971) They looked at the role of voluntary and professional groups in the maintenance of cross-national cultural elites and cross-national cultural norms (Weinstein, 1976).

The impact of these new images and conceptualizations of the world and world affairs has been a recognized and precipitous decline in the status of "nations" (as opposed to national governments) in our images of the world. No longer does it seem meaningful to talk in terms of a "family of nations." Rather the world begins to appear as an incredibly complex set of relationships, dependencies and interdependencies, functional interactions and political issue areas. Rather than simplifying this complexity by aggregating the world into "nations" and concentrating on the activities and policies of national governments, we have begun to make this world more manageable and comprehensible by looking at particular "systems" within the overall global system. Within these systems, we can identify various "roles." The concept of role itself enables us to see how such powerful national governments as the United States and the Soviet Union can interact with the New Orleans longshoreman's union--and at times be bested by it.

Local Communities and Global Systems

Within the context of the changes occurring in the field of international relations, the initial efforts to map the international relations and roles of local communities like Columbus, Ohio appear more reasonable. Kenneth Boulding's (1968) assertion that cities are the nodes of the international system--that is that they provide the functional services and serve as the home bases for international actors--in a sense summarizes broadly the findings of Columbus-in-the-World (CITW) and other community research.

International Linkages ARE Ubiquitous

Columbus-in-the-World and most subsequent community studies have in a sense attempted to put flesh on the bones of Boulding's assertion. They have attempted to provide concrete data and images of the international roles of their communities across a variety of international systems. In general they have found that it is far easier to portray the role of specific actors or even sets of actors (sectors in Alger's terminology) than to portray precisely the nodal role of the community as a whole in the international system. In that sense the community indeed provided a microcosm of the global system. As with global studies, in order to comprehend this world in its complexity, it proved necessary to simplify it by looking at subsystems (e.g., trade, banking, religious activity, aid-giving, research and knowledge-sharing, etc).

The efforts to map local participation did, however, lead to community profiles (Table 1) which sketched the institutional or sectoral structure of a typical community. This in a sense indicates the types of functional international systems in which a community might typically be involved. For example, like Columbus, Scranton, Pennsylvania can boast of business firms that contribute important products to the international marketplace and whose investments create income and employment opportunities for people

A SOCIAL MAP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS
OF COLUMBUS, OHIO

<u>Sectors and Examples of Organizations</u>	<u>Key International Dimensions/Activities</u>
I. Business	
A. Manufacturing	-exporting
B. Trade (consumers, exporters, importers, transport companies, groceries, department stores)	-importing
C. Service (banks, insurance companies, law offices, research firms, hospitals, travel agencies)	-investments abroad
D. Agriculture/Mining	-foreign investment locally
E. Business, Professional and Labor Organizations (Chamber of Commerce, unions, Business and Professional Women's Organization)	-foreign personnel
	-travel
	-communication by telephone, mail, telegram, telex
II. Education	
A. Elementary and Secondary (schools; teachers groups; youth organizations--Boy and Girl Scouts; exchange groups--AFS, YFU)	-student/teacher exchanges
B. Post-secondary (colleges and universities, adult education programs, foreign student clubs)	-foreign students
	-travel
	-curriculum, programs
	-equipment, materials made abroad
III. Religious (parishes, denominational offices, interdenominational groups)	
	-travel
	-communication
	-donations abroad
	-missionaries
	-study programs
IV. Recreation/Cultural	
A. Arts (museums, theaters, folk-art groups, performing art companies)	-travel
B. Ethnic Groups/Restorations	-instruments, works of art, animals, equipment, music, dances, movies, books
C. Sports (teams, athletic groups)	-communication
D. Other (zoo, historical museums, libraries, ham radio operators)	
V. Mass Media (newspapers, magazines, tv, radio)	
	-news from abroad
	-news about international activity locally
	-travel
VI. Civic/Governmental	
A. Civic Groups (League of Women Voters, fraternal groups, service organizations, world affairs council, aid organizations)	-travel, live abroad
B. Government (local, county, state, federal officers, voters, foreign consulates)	-send money abroad
C. Military	-educational programs, political programs
	-bills, lobbying efforts on international issues
	-communication

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of many other countries. (Karp, 1977) To an even greater degree than Columbus, local communities in Nebraska depend upon, and contribute to, the global food system. (Wadlow, 1977) Voluntary organizations in Albany, New York participate in various issue systems and in international relief and development systems. (Stern, 1977) The international refugee system has had a clear impact on California's Bay Area. (Cornelius, et al., 1982) Even small communities like St. Peter, Minnesota (population 8,500) exhibit the kinds of actor involvement that were found in Columbus, Ohio (population 1 million). (Burton, et al., 1977) While only a few extant studies of local communities in other countries exist (e.g., Hamilton, Ontario--Hamilton, 1975), the reception of people in Japanese cities (e.g., Fukuoka, Hiroshima, Ayobe) and elsewhere (e.g., Bombay, India and Gorzia, Italy) tend to communicate a similar message. Boulding was correct. Cities are the nodes of interaction within global systems.

The community studies, and the ubiquity of international involvement across a variety of urban areas, also tends to support propositions of global educators and others that the world is "interdependent." Local linkages provide concrete images with which to portray international involvement and which in turn provide a means for understanding why international events and issues have an impact on the local community. The portrayal of the international linkages of an individual person in his or her daily life clearly demonstrates the extensive web of international systems of which scholars themselves have only recently begun to pay attention. (Anderson, 1979, pp. 19 ff).

The evidence of international involvement also provides models of international roles. These include roles in functional international systems (e.g., the global trading system and the global communications and transportation

systems). But more interestingly it provides models of roles in international issue systems (e.g., systems devoted to changing economic aid and development policies, systems devoted to changing global security and military policies, systems devoted to protecting human rights, and systems responding to world hunger). Thus the research also provides concrete images of what citizen participation with respect to international problems and concerns may entail.

The Limits of Ubiquity

What the community studies could not adequately demonstrate, however, were the predictable differences among local communities and their respective roles within international systems. The one study which raised this issue to some extent was based on an analysis of the international connections of Lexington, Kentucky. (Mingst, 1978) Analyzing data drawn from student-conducted surveys, Mingst concluded that, unlike Columbus, Ohio, Lexington's role in the world was not one of entrepreneur with respect to most international systems. Lexington was an important world center for breeding and trading race horses. But with respect to most other functional and issue systems, Lexington was either not involved or was merely a point of impact for international systems. The community provided few if any opportunities for exercising initiative within most systems.

The Mingst study may or may not accurately characterize the global role of Lexington, Kentucky. Measurement problems are endemic in efforts to map community linkages, and no really adequate framework for interpreting the resulting data exists. But the report draws attention to two propositions which must apply to local communities, as they do to national governments and other actors in world affairs. First, roles within any international

system will differ from actor to actor. Second, the role of any one actor will differ from one system to the next. In other words, while international activity may be ubiquitous, the nature of a community's linkages to the world are likely to be more or less peculiar to that community.

This is not to say that some uniformity in roles does not exist across urban communities. As Boulding (1968) has observed, most communities within the United States at least have a rather undesirable role with respect to the system of East-West confrontation. They are hostages in the nuclear deterrence system. Of course, even here the uniformity tends not to be complete. New York may be more of a hostage than Eagle River, Wisconsin. It certainly has more people and more institutions which play critical roles in the national economic and political systems. On the other hand, the Omaha, Nebraska community can be seen as playing a markedly different role in the deterrence system. Given the proximity of the Strategic Air Command--and the functional linkage of the community to the Command--Omaha may be more accurately characterized as an actor in the system than a "hostage."

Even within functional systems that appear to be ubiquitous, the linkages and roles of local communities are likely to differ. For example, it is relatively clear that for American communities at least the global trading system (seen as imports and exports) is highly ubiquitous. Imports can probably be found on the store shelves of every community which has a store. If the community produces products of any kind, there is a finite probability that at least some will be exported. Local people invest in, are employed by and provide services to business firms whose activities make up the global trading systems.

But the similarity is clearly superficial. Some communities, like Miami, have far more access to and are far more dependent on imports than communities with lower average incomes or less access (e.g., Fort Smith, Arkansas). Likewise, some communities export goods which play critical

roles in key global systems (e.g., the grain exports of Manhattan, Kansas, or the semi-conductor exports of California's Silicon Valley). Some communities like Akron, Ohio house important multinational firms (e.g., Firestone). Others may house no firms at all that are involved directly in the international market.

The international oil trading system provides an excellent example of the differences in community linkages and the potential significance of these differences. When the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries succeeded in increasing the price of crude oil on the world market during the 1970's, local communities in the United States were affected quite differently. High energy prices had a devastating effect on the already weakened economies of the Northeast. Northeastern communities were dependent on imported oil (either from overseas or from other parts of the United States) to meet their transportation needs, their home heating needs and for many industrial purposes. The economic impact of the increasing price of oil, with the possible exception of New York City with its large international banks, was almost entirely negative. Large transfers of wealth flowed out of the region, as did many industries.

By contrast, the impact of increasing oil prices was somewhat different in communities like Ashland, Kentucky and Delaware, Ohio. While higher oil prices meant larger fuel bills, the existence of a medium-sized oil company in Ashland and one of the last American bus factories in Delaware meant that the economic impact of high energy prices was to some extent compensated for by higher corporate profits and higher local employment.

Other cities, in particular Houston, Texas, which occupied central roles within the international petroleum system were affected quite differently by higher world energy prices. The large international oil companies headquartered in Houston reaped enormous profits. Even smaller, domestically involved oil companies and wild-catters reaped economic

benefits as investments flowed into domestic exploration and production. The oil "crisis" of the Northeast was an oil "boom" for Houston. And the boom continued until world markets softened.

The Significance of Communities in Global Systems

The contrast between the effects of the global oil system on Houston and the Northeast provides a dramatic demonstration that differences in the international roles of communities exist and are relevant. These role differences have implications both for judging the impact of international systems on the community and for understanding in which systems the community has international significance or can choose to exercise significant power.

Within functional international systems, the roles of local actors can be characterized as those of "value-receivers" (e.g., consumers), "value-producers" (e.g., artists) and "value-transmitters" (e.g., educators, banks, and freight forwarders). Within communities of any size, there are likely to be actors who play each of these roles--even with respect to a particular system. For example, in Columbus, Ohio there are value receivers, value-producers and value-transmitters vis-a-vis the global food system. People within Columbus consume food produced in other countries (e.g., South African whiting, Japanese salmon, and Mexican tomatoes). People within the Columbus metropolitan area also grow food, although the number is declining. Finally, actors within Columbus, in particular the three large grain elevators, a large insurance company, and three banks serve as value-transmitters. Their services are essential if the trade in grain and other foods is to be carried out.

Power within an international system can be associated with all three of these roles. Value receivers, for example, although apparently weak (e.g., individual consumers) actually have pivotal roles within most functional systems. In the aggregate, the tasks and decisions of consumers govern what is traded.

The inherent power that this role gives value-receivers or consumers can be mobilized and exercised under certain conditions. If, for example, there are relatively few consumers or value-receivers in the system--for whatever reason--those consumers who do exist can exercise relatively greater individual power over that system. Even in systems characterized by a large number of value-receivers, power can still be potentially significant if the aggregate power of the consumer can be tapped. If consumers can be mobilized, and if there are either substitutes to the value--or if consumers can simply do without it--the collective power of consumers can be telling. This has been demonstrated by the effects of conservation on worldwide oil prices, and even more dramatically by the effects of the coffee boycotts of 1977. (New York Times, June 28, 1977, 39:5)

Value transmitters also perform significant roles within international systems. Without the services of banks, insurance companies and grain trading companies, for example, the global food trade would not occur despite the production potential of American farmers and the need of the world's consumers. The ability of a value-transmitter to exercise power also depends on the precise nature of the role and of the system. For example, if a value-transmitter represents a bottleneck within the system (i.e., provides a critical role that only a few actors can perform), such as the longshoremen in New Orleans, he can exercise tremendous power. If an actor is only one of a few transmitters of the value, he can also have tremendous power. If an actor is only one of a few transmitters of the value, he can also have tremendous routine power within the system (e.g., news services and major networks).

Finally, value-producers also play a critical role within functional international systems. Without them, there would be no value to be shared internationally. The precise nature of the value to be shared, and the position of the producer within the system, of course, also affects the

producer's significance. Producers who provide a value which is on the leading edge of change (e.g., semi-conductor manufacturers, jeans manufacturers, computer makers) are more significant than producers whose value is part of a declining industry or style (e.g., steel producers or disco songwriters). It is also relevant whether an actor is one of many producers, one of a select few, or is somehow different than all the rest.

Of course, value-receivers, value-transmitters and value-producers are all actors--and local communities per se are rarely actors in global systems.. And yet, it is appropriate to talk about the "role" of the community as the aggregate contribution of these actors--even when the aggregation numbers only one.

Omaha, Nebraska and its relationship to the Strategic Air Command and hence the international deterrence/arms system, exemplifies this point. The headquarters of the Strategic Air Command located outside Omaha presumably has a critical though purely functional role in the international deterrence system. It is from here that orders to launch land-based missiles and scramble strategic bomber squadrons will be relayed to American forces in the event of a nuclear war. The Command also has responsibility for the constant monitoring and maintenance activities upon which the credibility of the deterrence system rests. The Strategic Air Command Headquarters would appear to epitomize the type of organization which, while it plays a critical role within the deterrence system, is on the one hand purely functional (i.e., presumably has no discretionary powers but merely follows orders) and it is fundamentally national in terms of its accountability rather than local (i.e., it answers to a national not a local constituency).

At the same time, the Strategic Air Command Headquarters is very much a part of the Omaha community. Clearly the Headquarters has a tremendous impact, both of a routine and a not so routine nature, on the community. It funnels federal money into the Omaha economy. It affects the nature and outlook of the community by bringing in people associated with particular social roles and a particular socio-economic group and background. It also makes Omaha a priority target in the event of a nuclear exchange--a fact that people in Omaha must live with on a day-to-day basis.

More importantly, the Strategic Air Command could not operate without the cooperation and assistance of the Omaha community. The people who staff the Command Headquarters come predominately from the locality, or at least have come to live within it and to interact with others in it. The Command is also dependent on the locality for the infrastructure necessary to conduct its routine business, even though that business is largely with organizations lying outside the community. The telephone system, the airport, the mail system, etc. are all in the first instances local services.

The Omaha community plays an important role in the ability of the Command to carry out its functions effectively and efficiently. They thus share some responsibility for the consequences if that role is carried out well or not. At the same time, the potential exists for the Omaha community, as it does for few others, to intervene in the functioning of the Strategic Air Command. This may be a highly disconcerting possibility for many observers, and may underly some of the objections which theorists have raised regarding the community-based paradigm as articulated by Alger (1977). (See for example, Burd and Kratochwil, 1979). This potential, however, along its routine but ever present role in the functioning of the Command, gives Omaha a special relationship to the deterrence system. This relationship also highlights the implicit and explicit implications which the community paradigm has for questions of citizenship and citizenship education.

Linkages and Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is one which has taken on various meanings in the writings of theorists and political activists. Perhaps the conceptualization which has had the most impact on global perspectives education is that explicated by Lee Anderson (1979). According to Anderson, "Citizenship refers to the decisions, the judgments, and the actions through which people link themselves--knowingly or unknowingly, deliberately or inadvertently--to the public affairs of the groups of which they are members." (p. 335)

The concepts of functional and issue systems introduced above can help to explicate the two radically different dimensions of citizenship which fall within this conceptualization.

Citizenship Within Systems

Anderson's definition of citizenship clearly places the roles of actors within functional international systems within the domain of citizenship behavior. Whether or not they are conscious of the public nature or impact of their activities, individuals routinely make decisions which affect the efficiency and effectiveness of the functional systems within which they play roles. Their decisions over time may even lead to basic changes in the system or its goals. If the functional system affects groups of which the individual perceives herself to be a member, the decisions and activities take on a citizenship dimension.

The case of Omaha, Nebraska and the Strategic Air Command discussed above provides one example of citizenship involvement in this basic and important sense. The routine activities of a great many individuals and organizations within the Omaha community affect the ability of the Command to carry out its mission effectively and efficiently. If the Omaha community wittingly or unwittingly provides an optimum environment for the Command and its personnel, the system, which is presumably designed to achieve the public good of the nation vis-a-vis security, will function better.

Should the Omaha community provide a less than optimum environment, the system will work less efficiently. It could even conceivably begin to break down.

A similar example of citizenship within a functional international system would be the decision of a Stockton, California wholesaler to buy and sell Mexican-grown tomatoes. This "private" decision has a citizenship dimension because it affects a variety of publics of which the wholesaler would clearly perceive himself to be a member. The decision affects the price of tomatoes in the local market. It affects the profits of California tomato growers. It affects, albeit in an apparently small way, the economic dependence of the United States on imports.

The fact that even functional decisions affect public as well as private values has concrete implications for citizenship education. Clearly from a societal viewpoint, it is more valuable to have attentive and informed citizens, that is citizens who are aware of the implications of their seemingly private decisions on public affairs. Such citizens may choose to maximize their private interests, maximize the public interest, or somehow compromise between the two if they are in conflict.

But, if the public good is to be achieved by anything more than chance, the "good" citizen must be armed with an ability as well as a willingness to look to the public good in his or her participation in functional systems.

But Anderson's definition of citizenship also encompasses a second dimension of citizenship, one which may be more clearly associated with citizenship in the minds of most Americans: that of mobilized participation in issue systems. Issue systems can be conceived of as systems which exist either to make or to alter policy. Issue systems may emerge as a result of conflicts over the performance or impact of some functional system.

They may emerge as the need to make policy vis-a-vis a particular issue-area becomes apparent to agenda setters. Issue systems also emerge in order to coordinate or adjust relations among groups. The policy decisions made often have direct implications for activity within some functional system. But they need not. Many groups maintain organizations or bodies of leaders (e.g. governing bodies, government agencies) to represent them in or routinely act for them within issue systems. But these bodies should be seen as actors within issue systems (or as the nominal context of an internal issue system) and not as issue systems in their own right.

The interest of scholars vis-a-vis citizenship in world affairs has largely focused on participation in issue systems, especially with respect to their impact on policies of the American government. (See for example, Cohen, 1973; Bauer, Pool and Dexter, 1972; and Rosenau, 1974.) The community studies cited in the last section also provide insight into the participation of local individuals and groups in international issue systems. In many cases, this participation has been targeted at influencing the decisions of the American government. The Anti-War Movement of the Vietnam era, the Campaign Against the B-1 Bomber, and the Nuclear Freeze Movement all provide examples of this. Although each of these movements, particularly the last, has benefited from national spokespersons and leaders, in each case the impetus and leadership behind the movements depended primarily on the local community.

But local groups also participate in international issue systems independent of the American government. For example, efforts to influence the policies of infant formula manufacturers has involved direct pressure on the business firms involved and lobbying with international organizations (of which the American government was a member, but only one of many). Similar issue systems have emerged around the issue of South African apartheid. Again,

corporations doing business in South Africa have been the principal targets of such efforts rather than the policies of the American Government.

The concerns expressed by participation in issue systems have also led local organizations and individuals to participate in functional systems in order to achieve goals which they perceived could not be achieved through the issue systems alone. For example, aid-giving represents a functional activity which responds variously to the global issues of hunger, underdevelopment or the gap between rich and poor. The participation of people in this system through such private organizations as CARE, Project HOPE, their churches, etc. constitutes participation in a functional system. However, that participation which represents a functional response to an international issue. Rather than attempting to change policy, which may then have an impact on the problem or issue, participants by-pass the various appropriate issue systems and respond to the problem directly. Similar efforts to by-pass issue systems can be seen in efforts by American Jews to correspond with Soviet Jews who were seeking visas to emigrate, and the support of the American Jewish and Irish communities respectively for Israel and the IRA.

The Demands of Citizenship and the Community's International Role

The examples of citizen participation in international issue systems and the increasing sense of the citizenship implications of the many functional international systems in which Americans participate has led to a greater awareness of the changing demands which are being placed on the "good" citizen. (Jacquette and Rosenau, 1983) Citizens within our society in particular have always been forced to cope with and somehow manage conflicts between a variety of group and sub-group loyalties. In part, Americans have been able to manage conflicts through a clear hierarchical arrangement of the loyalties. We are Americans first, perhaps Ohioans second, and only then Central Ohioans, Polish-Americans, Catholic-Americans, etc.

Our very use of the prefix "American" in sub-group identifications reflects the hierarchical arrangement of the loyalties. Further, conflict among loyalties could be managed by segmenting and sequencing our decisions and actions. One week we could be vaguely aware and supportive of the position of the President on an international issue. The next week we could give money to a local ethnic group endorsing a vaguely contradictory position on it.

Today's world is characterized by the increasing salience of international issues and by an apparent decline in the ability of national governments to resolve such problems as unemployment, inflation, and the arms race. Thus more issues intrude on the citizen's agenda at the same time that solutions become increasingly less clear. This situation itself stimulates the emergence and visibility of sub-groups calling on members to support various conflicting issue positions.

In addition, modern communications technologies have led to an increasing simultaneity of the demands which these sub-groups place on us. The pastoral letter of the American Catholic bishops on nuclear war presents a clear example. Media coverage of the negotiations among bishops in drafting the letter has reached the homes of millions of American Catholics who otherwise would probably not have been clearly aware of the letter's position on key issues. The same broadcasts present American Catholics, particularly republicans and conservatives with an unambiguous image of the conflict between the moral stance of the bishops and the political position of the American President. There is no opportunity to avoid the conflict by disregarding one or the other message, or by segmenting and sequencing reactions to the appeals from the two authority figures.

The introduction of adults or students to a new set of citizenship demands and responsibilities based on membership in a local community can hardly help to simplify this citizenship agenda. In certain situations, however, it may provide a conceptual strategy and set of skills for making more rational decisions.

Global events, issues and problems often have no uniform impact on communities or individuals across the nation. There often is no meaningful way of defining a "national interest" other than through the simple aggregation of the interests of the many. ("National security" provides a counter-example. But it may be an exception to the rule in that the survival of the "nation"--the object of the national security system--is by definition in the "national" interest. Even here, of course, just what the national interest is vis-a-vis any one policy choice is rarely clear. Unfortunately, the role of the local community in the global system may be of little help in analyzing these policy choices.) When the national interest, or the global interest for that matter, is basically a function of the greatest good for the greatest number, then the ability to identify personal interests in an international issue or policy takes on critical importance.

Although generally ignored as an important social unit in relation to national and international issues, the local community in fact serves as a mediating social structure between the individual and the global system. The community's mediating role results from the same set of systemic relationships and interconnections which have caused urban geographers to describe and treat urban communities as functional systems in their own right. (Yeates and Garner, 1971: Part II) It is this functional interdependence within the community, and within larger geographical communities for that matter (e.g., the state, the nation and the world) which cause events outside the individual's personal experience to have an impact on him. The importance

of the local community (i.e., the local system) lies in the overwhelmingly day-to-day dependence of most individuals on local as opposed to non-local institutions and peer groups.

When an individual has no clear role within a functional international system, he is likely to feel the impact of policy choices affecting that system primarily through those local institutions which are affected. Even when the individual's role within a functional global system clearly indicates his or her direct interests in an issue, an understanding of the role of the community may provide insights into the larger pattern of second-order effects which will soon enough affect the individual. If these effects are largely consistent with analyses or demands of national or other groups, the individual will have a clear basis for supporting this "national" consensus. When they do not, the citizen will have a clear basis for supporting alternative policies.

Thus an understanding of global systems and the role of the community in those systems, or at least the perceptual skills to analyze issues and conflicts in those terms, may help citizens to deal more rationally with sub-group demands. They may at least be able to see the impact of particular policies on their own interests and on the interests of their primary social groups (i.e., family, employer and peer group).

Beyond the Superficial: Using the Local Community in Global Education

This discussion of the nature of world affairs and the utility of the local community as a means of both comprehending one's relationship to the world and the citizenship implications of that relationship would appear to have two basic and broad implications for global education. First and perhaps most importantly, it would appear to imply that the local community not only provides a convenient means for introducing students to the global community, it provides an essential one. Second, the discussion also implies

that the common ways in which we have used the local community in the curriculum, while providing an introduction to the student's stake in the world, hardly begin to exploit the potential nor to achieve what is desirable in terms of global education's goals.

The Critical Nature of Local Linkages

Clearly an insight into local linkages with the global community can provide a convenient and presumably effective basis for showing students that they are involved in the world, that the world affects their lives and that dependence (or interdependence) is a fact of life. Lessons which describe the student's own linkages to the world can clearly show just how all-encompassing our involvement in the world really is.

However, this perspective on world affairs, that is a perspective which shows students their roles in international systems, is more than just convenient or useful. It is a critical perspective if students are to see the relationship between global interdependence and systems and their personal exercise of citizenship.

Students cannot come to appreciate the citizenship implications of their private roles in functional systems if they do not see both the relationship between those roles and the global system and the impact of their roles on global values. If global education is to have a meaningful citizenship dimension as described by Anderson, then the use of community-based curriculum materials (i.e., materials which explore the global dimension of local roles) is essential.

Beyond the Superficial

At the same time, it is equally critical to do more than simply expose students to the variety and extent of their international linkages. It is important to move beyond the concept that the students, and their community are involved in world affairs. The community's involvement in the world

should be explored from the perspective of particular global systems of relevance to the community, and of relevance to the students themselves.

For example, having students discover the array of local linkages to the world may be a useful pedagogical tool for showing the extent of interdependence. But it will be more conducive to understanding the significance and reality of both local roles and the international system if, instead of focusing on the linkages alone (e.g., business firms export so many dollars or a particular firm exports its products), students explore involvement in specific international systems (either issue systems or functional systems with clear linkages to relevant issue areas) in depth. Students should attempt to profile the role of the community in these systems (e.g., in what ways is the community a value-producer, a value-transmitter or a value-receiver? How important are these roles to the systems? Is there anything unique about the role of local institutions?). In this way, students will learn more about the systemic nature of the world and about the dynamics of important global systems. At the same time, they will have a basis for perceiving the citizenship implications of local roles and of perceiving the truly significant nature of this involvement with respect to the maintenance and change of important global systems.

Introducing students to the role of the community in global systems in this way requires more than simple discovery exercises. It also requires a better understanding of the role of individual communities in global systems. It requires images that are more than just numbers or tabulations of interactions.

Obtaining better information about local roles in international systems may require research and curriculum materials unique to each community. But it may also be useful to assemble resource books with materials detailing the roles of various types of communities in various global systems. While linkages within the students' own community may have a greater relevance,

and while local linkages are more conducive to discovery exercises, materials which emphasize the local nature of individual and organizational roles may provide a partial substitute for extensive local research efforts.

Since the ability of children to comprehend global systems develops only over time, it is also important not to relegate the use of community-based materials to one particular course or one stage in a students' cognitive development. It may be useful to lay the basis for perceiving one's own involvement in the global community in the fourth or sixth grade. But community-based materials should be reintroduced as students develop an ability to comprehend the systemic nature of the involvement they discover and learn about. The use of community-based materials in this way will clearly require a better understanding both of the value of these materials as a means for helping students learn about the world, and a better understanding of how students' ability to comprehend global systems develops.

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