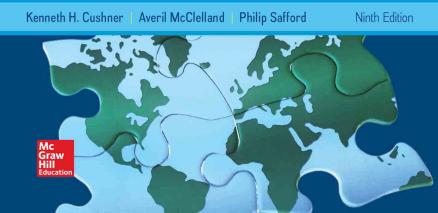


## Human Diversity in Education An Intercultural Approach



# Human Diversity in Education

An Intercultural Approach





# Human Diversity in Education

An Intercultural Approach



### Kenneth H. Cushner, Averil McClelland

Kent State University

## **Philip Safford**

Case Western Reserve University







#### HUMAN DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION: AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH, NINTH EDITION

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## About the Authors

Kenneth H. Cushner is an Emeritus Professor of International and Intercultural Teacher Education, served as Executive Director of International Affairs, and has been Associate Dean at Kent State University (1987-2015). Prior to his university appointment he taught in schools in Switzerland, Australia, and the United States, and completed his doctoral studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa while a degree scholar at the East-West Center. Dr. Cushner is a Founding Fellow and Past-President of the International Academy for Intercultural Research; has been a Fulbright Scholar to Sweden (2008) and Poland (2016); and has been a visiting professor at Shanghai International Studies University, the College of the Bahamas, University of Newcastle (Australia), Stenden University (the Netherlands), and the University of Nis (Serbia); has coordinated Semester at Sea's Teachers at Sea program (summers 2010 and 2011) and served as Intercultural Specialist for the Fall 2017 around the world voyage; and twice served as director of COST-the Consortium for Overseas Student Teaching. In addition to this text, he is author or editor of several books and articles in the field of intercultural education, including: Intercultural Student Teaching: A Bridge to Global Competence, Beyond Tourism: A Practical Guide to Meaningful Educational Travel, International Perspectives on Intercultural Education, and Intercultural Interactions: A Practical Guide. He has traveled with young people and teachers on all seven continents. Since retiring from Kent State University, Dr. Cushner has consulted with ECIS, a network of 400+ international schools in 90 countries; with NAFSA: Association of Intercultural Educators; and has instituted a professional development program for teachers in a Massai community school in northern Tanzania. In his spare time, Dr. Cushner enjoys playing music (guitar and percussion), travel, and photography.

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## Preface

It is difficult to fathom the myriad changes that have occurred and that influence the content of this book in just three years since the previous edition. As this book goes to press, we have witnessed many nations in Europe as well as the United States that have made dramatic political shifts from open and liberal leanings to more populist, nationalistic and conservative ideologies. These shifts have been accompanied by an increase in xenophobia and stricter actions to reduce immigration, often accompanied by a rise in anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic and Islamophobic sentiment. The conflicts and struggles in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria continue, as tensions between the United States and Russia fester. A questioning of Truth, with an onslaught of "fake news," has emerged, having a major influence on the 2016 U.S. presidential election. And we expect numerous changes to occur under the new U.S. Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos.

And these challenges are in the political arena alone. Across the planet people continue to feel the stresses of the seemingly endless changes and challenges they confront on many fronts. Climate change continues to advance resulting in new and unpredictable weather patterns despite a vocal minority that appears to deny its existence. Although making gains, people continue to wrestle with questions surrounding same-sex marriage and gay rights; the question of health care, the accelerated identification of children with autism and other disabilities, as well as our aging population span cultural differences and cut across geographic, political, and social boundaries, continuing to impact us all at the local, national, and global levels.

Some people are eager to embrace innovation and change while others struggle through a variety of political and social means to retain older and more traditional ways of doing things. Such challenges continue to enter and impact our increasingly culturally diverse classrooms and communities. To effectively address and solve the multitude of issues we face it is incumbent upon teachers to provide young people with a foundation that will assist them to better understand the complex nature of the world in which they will live while developing the skills that will enable them to be proactive problem solvers in an interdependent, global society. This requires people who have the knowledge, skills, and motivations to reach beyond their own cultural boundaries and a willingness and ability to collaborate with others. If people are not willing and able to do so, these, and other future problems, simply will not be solved. Developing intercultural understanding and competence must be actively addressed throughout the school curriculum.

This ninth edition of *Human Diversity in Education: An Intercultural Approach*, continues to focus on the preparation of teachers and other human-service providers who can interact effectively with the wide diversity of people they are certain to encounter and who are able to transmit this knowledge and skill to the individuals in their charge.

### New to This Edition

This book continues to receive overwhelmingly positive feedback from users around the world. Because of this we have maintained much of the familiar format. Regular users, however, will notice some changes in this edition. The book continues to provide a broad treatment of the various forms of diversity found in today's schools, including nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, social class, language acquisition and use, sexual orientation, health concerns, and disability. The book also maintain its researchbased approach, with an increased cross-cultural and intercultural emphasis. We continue to stress that it is both at the level of the individual teacher as well as the organizational structure of the school where significant change must occur with regard to how diversity is understood and accommodated. Little institutional or systematic change will occur until individuals fully understand the role that culture plays in determining peoples' thoughts and actions, and how they can go about altering its powerful influence. Culture learning of both teacher and student, along with intercultural interaction, remain central to this book. We also recognize that today's generation of young people continue to be exposed to greater diversity, both global and domestic, through the influence of global media, the demographic changes that have occurred in many local communities, as well as through the increased use of social media by individuals as well as in schools.

This ninth edition includes greater attention to the international aspects of curriculum. Chapter 2, for instance, has been expanded. In addition to addressing the historical foundations of multicultural education, this edition addresses the development of global education and explores some of the overlap between the two initiatives. Similarly, Chapter 7 continues to feature recent initiatives taken by such organizations as the Asia Society/EdSteps, the International Baccalaureate (IB) program PISA (the Programme for International Student Assessment), and others to significantly explore the inclusion of an international and intercultural dimension in teaching and learning. Chapter 4 introduces a new model exploring the Intercultural Learning Arena as a major means of illustrating some of the intercultural dynamics at play when teaching and learning across cultures.

We have maintained the inclusion of the Active Exercises and Classroom Activities at the end of each chapter. Case Studies and Critical Incidents continue to be integral teaching devices used throughout the book. Each chapter continues to open with a Case Study that introduces major concepts and sets the context for that chapter. A number of related Critical Incidents can be found at the end of most of the chapters. Each chapter also identifies an expanded number of updated references that students can access for more information. A teacher's guide and other online learning resources are also available that provide directions for instructors as well as classroom activities and test questions.

The general format of this edition remains similar to the previous one with a few modifications. Part One provides background to the broad social, cultural, and economic changes that confront society today (Chapter 1), with a historical overview of past multicultural and global education efforts (Chapter 2). We place particular emphasis on culture learning and intercultural interaction in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 5 explores the development of intercultural competence while providing a model that teachers can use to gauge their own growth as well as that of their students.

Part Two examines what teachers can do to make their classrooms and schools more responsive to diversity and more effective learning environments. In other words, how to structure classrooms that are collaborative, inclusive, developmentally appropriate, globally oriented, and religiously pluralistic. Each of the chapters in Part Two centers on a major aspect of diversity: race and ethnicity (Chapter 6), global understanding (Chapter 7), linguistically diverse classrooms, first and second language acquisition, and the power of language (Chapter 8), religious

pluralism, with an updated statement on current law on religion and public schools (Chapter 9), gender and sexual diversity and a new focus on non-binary, gender non-conforming students (Chapter 10), age and development (Chapter 11), exceptionality and ability (Chapter 12), and social class and social status in relation to assessment (Chapter 13).

We hope you continue to find benefit from this edition, and we would welcome feedback from you.

Kenneth H. Cushner Averil McClelland Philip Safford



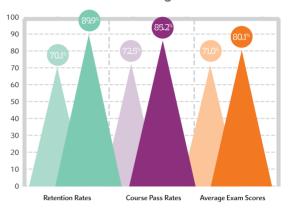
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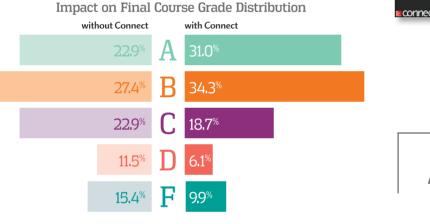
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The ninth edition of Human Diversity in Education, is now available online with Connect, McGraw-Hill Education's integrated assignment and assessment platform. Connect also offers SmartBook for the new edition, which is the first adaptive reading experience proven to improve grades and help students study more effectively. All of the title's website and ancillary content is also available through Connect, including:

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# Foundations for Teaching in an Increasingly Intercultural Context

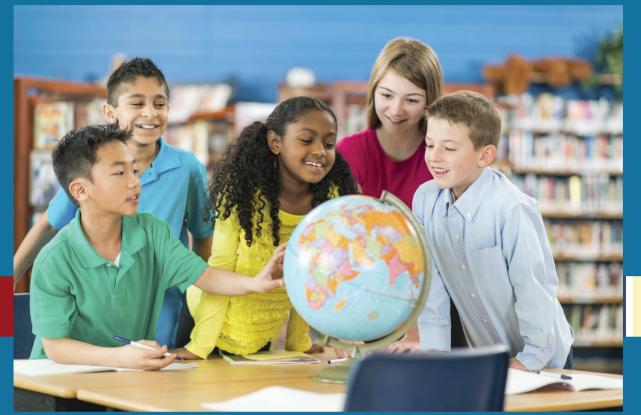


Chapter 2: Multicultural and Global Education: Historical and Curricular Perspectives

Chapter 3: Culture and the Culture-Learning Process

Chapter 4: Classrooms and Schools as Cultural Crossroads

Chapter 5: Intercultural Development: Considering the Growth of Self and Others



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# Education in a Changing Society



### Focus Questions

- 1. What is the rationale for attention to diversity and intercultural competence in education?
- 2. What are some of the fundamental changes influencing American society and the world, including issues such as globalization, our changing demographics, rapidly expanding technologies, environmental pressures, and consequent changing experiences, attitudes, and values among the generations? How do these changes impact teaching and learning?
- 3. What are some differences between schools designed to prepare students for an industrial age and schools designed to prepare students for an informational, global age?
- 4. Why do you think real, substantial change is so difficult? Or do you?

"Don't limit a child to your own learning, for he was born in another time."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE



#### Samantha Carter's Diversity Class

Samantha Carter wants to be a teacher. She has wanted to be a teacher for almost as long as she can remember. Called "Sam" by her family and friends, she has worked in local recreation programs, summer camps, and in neighborhood parks, sometimes coaching younger kids in volleyball and tennis. She has heard all the arguments against teaching as a career: It's a difficult, and sometimes even dangerous job; it's only moderately well paid; she could do more with her skills and abilities. But she really wants to be a teacher, and that's all there is to it.

Sam is also a volleyball player. She has a full athletic scholarship to the university and hopes to coach volleyball in the high school where she has already been hired to teach social studies in the fall. She has it all planned out: graduation in a few months, spend the summer using her new iPad (an early graduation present!) to design websites and interactive assignments and to record podcasts for the classes she'll be teaching, and finally, start her new job in a suburban school system just far enough from her parents' home to give her a real sense of independence. American history . . . World history . . . Economics . . . Government . . . and, of course, volleyball! She can hardly wait!

Except . . . except, here she is, sitting in a required diversity course, wondering why in the world everyone is making such a fuss about all this "diversity stuff." Haven't we gotten past all that? On the Internet, after all, no one knows what your color is, or your religion, or your gender. Indeed, she and her friends often use "alternate" personalities while surfing the Net, and clearly, people on Facebook, Twitter, and other social media can also give themselves "other" faces and personalities. The important thing is what people have to say, not what they look like!

Still, she recalls that the superintendent told her that the district she will be teaching in is changing rapidly in terms of race and social class—did he tell her that because it might be a problem? Well, it isn't as if she has never spent any time with people who are different from her. Her high school volleyball team looked like the United Nations, and they all get along fine. She knew all their parents and siblings, and they will be friends forever. And it certainly isn't as if she doesn't already know that some groups of people still suffer from discrimination—some of her college community service credits were spent working with kids in a low-income urban neighborhood, and she spent one whole summer volunteering in a community development project in Appalachia. She really liked the people she worked with and wished she could have done more to help them.

Why, Sam thinks to herself, she could probably teach this course! And anyway, she thinks, teaching social studies will give her great opportunities to introduce her students to issues of difference. Yet, she thinks with a little pang of doubt, the urban kids she worked with had zero interest in history. And some of the people in Appalachia spoke with such an accent she could hardly understand them. And she doesn't feel too well prepared to deal with children with disabilities either, and no doubt there will be students with both medical and developmental disabilities in her classes.

Sam is learning that society is changing—in lots of ways. If there is one thing she has found in the past few years, it's that schools aren't like they used to be, even when she was in school. Her older brother teaches sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade social studies in a school not too far from the district where she will be teaching, and one half of the students in his classes live in families headed by a single parent (some of them, fathers), one third are reading below grade level, and two thirds are eligible for free lunches. His classes are far from being all white or even all native-born: he has African American students, East Indian, Vietnamese, and Central American students, as well as students who are the children of immigrants and refugees from various countries in the Middle East and Africa. His students include fundamentalist Christians, some are Catholic, a growing number are Muslims, several are Jewish, and one is a Jehovah's Witness. He has one student in a wheelchair after surviving a bad automobile accident, two students with breathing apparatuses because of asthma, and at least six who are waiting (after 6 months) to be tested to determine their eligibility for



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the newly-created severe behavior disorders program, which is to be housed in a separate school on the other side of town.

Other changes are taking place as well, both for her brother and for herself in her new school. The principal of her new high school announced proudly that every teacher will have a Smart Board or SMART Board by fall. He also mentioned, though, that the needs and expectations of students seem to be changing, even from just a few years ago. Growing up with technology as they have, today's students seem easily bored, have shorter attention spans, want things done quickly, and don't like to read long assignments, even if they are good readers. What's going on here?

In addition, since the No Child Left Behind Act was replaced with the Every Student Succeeds Act in 2015, the performance of students, teachers, and school districts is being measured as never before. "The good news," says her professor, "is that the proponents of accountability really want all children to learn and all teachers to teach well. The bad news is that we have never before really tried to educate all children to the same standard, and we are still not altogether sure how to do that—nor can we all agree on what it means to be a good teacher!."

A classmate raises his hand. "What," he asks, "about kids with really bad family problems, kids whose parents aren't even there for them, or the growing number who are homeless? What about kids with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), or kids who just hate school? What about kids who are working 20 hours a week, or kids who just can't 'get it'? What about kids who don't speak English? What about kids who act out in violent ways?"

Another student, Joanne, raised her hand, asking, "How can teachers really go about preparing young students for a globally-connected future if they, themselves, have little knowledge or experience of the broader world in which we exist?"

She went on, "Last summer I was lucky enough to spend 4 weeks in Australia on a study abroad program designed especially for future teachers. This is something most teacher education students don't do, by the way, which I highly recommend! We spent a day with a group of Australian high school students who were part of a Global Futures Club in their school. One student in particular, a 15-year-old girl stood up and challenged us with some ideas I'd never thought about before. This really got me thinking. I was so impressed with what she had to say that I asked her if she could write it down. She had already done that as part of her club's activity, so she gave me a copy. I still carry it around with me, and if you don't mind I'd like to read it as I think there are some really important messages for us. Here's what she said . . . " (continued)

"I want you to understand how I think about my future and my world. Wherever I live and work, I will certainly be mixing in a multinational, multifaith, multicultural setting. During my lifetime, a planetwide economic system is likely to operate. It will be controlled not so much by big nations but by big business networks and regional centers of trade like Singapore, Los Angeles, London, Tokyo, and Sydney. By the time I am 35 years old more people will live in Shanghai, just one city in China, than in the whole country of Austraila. Most people will be working across national borders and cultures, speaking more than one language—probably including an Asian language. That's the kind of job for which I need to be prepared. Because I am growing up in Australia, the Asia/Pacific area will be a strong focus of my world. There are three billion people in Asia alone, and that number will certainly continue to grow. The Asian continent (from India to Japan) already accounts for half of the world's population. The world's largest Muslim country is here, too, in Indonesia, just north of Australia. With a population of over 220 million, Indonesia's population is larger than that of Japan and Russia. People the world over will have to learn about Islam at school and to respect Muslims—even in the face of all the challenges present today."

"But it's not only happening to those of us in Australia. More than half of the population in many of the world's developing countries is under the age of 25. Think about the consequences of that! These are all potential partners and competitors of all of us young people around the world, and they'll all want the good things they see that life has to offer. It will not matter what nationality any of us have. Because our world is smaller, people move about, and most workplaces will be internationalized. Our world is likely to become borderless. We are more than likely to be employed by an internationally owned firm, and it is likely that in our homes someone will speak Japanese, Korean, Spanish, or Chinese."

"Our environment, too, will continue to be changed—and challenged. In the 1950s, when my grandparents were born, only two cities in the world, London and New York, had more than 8 million inhabitants. In 2015, there were 42 such cities—more than half of them in Asia. Environmentally what happens within the border of one country is no longer solely that country's business. Environmental responsibilities will be enforced internationally. By the time I am 50 years old, the world could be threatened by "green wars" or "water wars" unless my generation learns to do something to balance the unequal access to clean water, good soil, food distribution, and climate change."

Joanne continued. "The more that I think about it, all of our future students are like Sophie. A lot of our schooling, from the way people look at things, and even many of the textbooks used around the world, are Eurocentric in their thinking and orientation, and are really out of date. Schooling today must teach young people about living comfortably and successfully in a multicultural world. What skills and understandings will people living and working in the near future need? Do we know what an international curriculum looks like, and how it can be taught? Most schools today say that students need to be global citizens. But do they know *what* to teach? ... And do they know *how* to teach? Are they confident that they can design and deliver a curriculum that will equip today's young people to live in a complex, intercultural world?"\*

"Yes," says another classmate, "how are we supposed to teach everyone?"

"Perhaps," says the professor, "we'd be better off asking it another way: How are we to think about our practice of teaching so that everyone learns and that they learn what they need to learn given the times in which we live? The scene has shifted in schools today from an emphasis on teaching to an emphasis on learning. This change in focus makes it all the more important that we understand differences among students—all kinds of differences, visible and invisible, because those differences may influence a student's learning, and our job is to create classrooms in which everyone learns."

Sam sighs. She really does want to be a teacher, but it seems to be a lot more complicated than she thought it would be. As the world around her changes, perhaps she, too, will have to make some significant changes if she is going to be as effective an educator as she hopes to be.

<sup>\* (</sup>Modified from Tudball, 2012).

## The Reality of Social Change

As we get used to living in the 21st century, Samantha, along with all of us, is witnessing changing circumstances in many areas of life that have widespread importance for the future of our country, our schools, and the world-at-large. Taken together, these changed circumstances are resulting in profound shifts in the nature of some of our basic social institutions, such as the economy, politics, religion, the family, and, of course, education.

#### Institutions in Transition

The term social institution has been defined as a formal, recognized, established, and stabilized way of pursuing some activity in society (Bierstedt, 1974). Another way to define a social institution is to think of it as a set of rules, or **norms**, that enable us to get through the day without having to figure out how to behave toward others, or whether to brush our teeth, or if, in fact, we should go to school or to work. In this society, as in all societies, we have rules that pattern the way we interact with family members, friends, people we see often, such as neighbors, teachers, or doctors, and even strangers who fill certain roles-the bus driver, the clerk in the store, the server in a restaurant. We know these rules because we have internalized them as children, and in a stable society we can depend on the rules staying relatively the same over time. All societies, including nonliterate ones, create social institutions-or sets of norms-that govern at least five basic areas of social need: economics (ways of exchanging goods and services), politics (ways of governing), religion (ways of worshipping one or more deities), the family (ways of ensuring the survival of children), and education (ways of bringing up and educating the younger generation so that the society will continue to exist).

In our society, and indeed in most of the world, people are witnessing profound changes in the nature of these basic institutions; in other words, the rules-or norms-are changing, and more and more are feeling unsettled or unsure by what they are encountering. Many scholars who study the past as a way to understand the future assert that these changes are so fundamental as to constitute a shift in the very nature of our civilization. In his book The Third Wave, Alvin Toffler (1980) was among the first scholar-futurists to warn that our institutions (what is normative in society) are changing in specific and characteristic ways and to hint at the rise and the effect of globalization on us all. Many of today's changes, Toffler suggested, are neither random nor independent of one another. He identified a number of events that seem to be independent from one another-the "breakdown" of the nuclear family, the global energy crisis, the influence of cable television, the loss of manufacturing jobs in the United States, and the emergence of separatist movements within national borders of many nations. Today, we might add the ubiquitous use of new technologies, the Internet, and various social media that have dramatically changed the way we live our lives and interact across various boundaries-in many circumstances resulting in major social change. These and many other seemingly unrelated events are interconnected and may be part of a much larger phenomenon that Toffler described as the death of industrialism and the rise of a new civilization that he called "the Third Wave."

Toffler is not the only one to have perceived these changes before most people were aware of them. In the early 1980s, the book *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives* added a new word to the language. In this work John Naisbitt (1982) accurately predicted the move toward globalization, the shift from an industrial economy to an "information" economy, and the growth of networks as a way of managing information (although he didn't even mention the Internet or the World Wide Web!). Later Naisbitt and Patricia Aburdene (1990) wrote Megatrends 2000: Ten New Directions for the 1990s, in which they discussed the evolution of telecommunications, the rise of China as a competing power, and a growing need to "look below the surface" to find the meaning of these changes for real human beings and real organizations. More recently, in The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century Thomas Friedman (2006) introduced the notion of the 'flat world' in which people from all walks of life, almost regardless of their location, can engage in meaningful ways with one another. Indeed, Patricia Aburdene (2005) revealed in her book Megatrends 2010: The Rise of Conscious Capitalism that our society was reaching a new phase in which the ideas of social responsibility, environmental values, and a spiritual dimension were beginning to reshape capitalism in interesting ways. Although we cannot take all these predictions as absolute fact (predicting the future is a precarious occupation), it is worth thinking about our changing circumstances and the impact these changes are having (and will continue to have) on the way we live, work, play, govern ourselves, worship, and learn.

#### The Impact of Specific Changes on Basic Institutions

It is useful to think in terms of four different sets of specific changes that, taken together, seem to be reshaping our basic institutions. These areas, suggested by Willard Daggett (2005) in *Successful Schools; From Research to Action Plans*, are *globalization*, *demographics, technology*, and *changing values and attitudes among the generations*. New circumstances in each of these areas are having an impact on the way we think about and accomplish our purposes as a society. Also each of these areas provides a rationale for greater intercultural knowledge and understanding. Let's take a closer look at how each of these areas may be changing the basic social institutions in our society.

#### Factors Influencing the Institution of Economics

**1.** From National to Global For much of our nation's history, the U.S. economy has been based on manufacturing done by companies whose production could be found within the borders of the country. Today, our economy is firmly global. Indeed, the much-revered American corporation can hardly be said to exist any longer. In 2015, General Motors sold more than 3.6 million vehicles in China compared to 3 million in the United States in the same period. This represents the fifth year that sales in China surpassed those in the United States. The acquisition of raw material, manufacturing processes, and distribution of goods by such giants as Ford Motor Company, General Motors, or General Electric is done worldwide. In large measure because of advances in computer technology and high-speed travel, we find ourselves looking more and more often beyond our own borders for goods, services, and sales. In The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for the 21st Century, Robert Reich (1992), former Secretary of Labor, described this reality two decades ago in the following terms:

Consider some examples: Precision ice hockey equipment is designed in Sweden, financed in Canada, and assembled in Cleveland and Denmark for distribution in North America and Europe, respectively, out of alloys whose molecular structure was researched and patented in Delaware and fabricated in Japan. An advertising campaign is conceived in Britain; film footage for it is shot in Canada, dubbed in Britain, and edited in New York. A sports car is financed in Japan, designed in Italy, and assembled in Indiana, Mexico, and France, using advanced electronic components invented in New Jersey and fabricated in Japan. A microprocessor is designed in California and financed in America and West Germany, containing dynamic randomaccess memories fabricated in South Korea. A jet airplane is designed in the state of Washington and in Japan, and assembled in Seattle, with tail engines from Britain, special tail sections from China and Italy, and engines from Britain. A space satellite designed in California, manufactured in France, and financed by Australians is launched from a rocket made in the Soviet Union. Which of these is an American product? Which a foreign? How does one decide? Does it matter? (p. 112)

The effects of globalization are now increasingly encountered by each and every individual. Call the help desk with a problem with your computer, or have a question about your cable TV, and it is likely that the person you are speaking with on the other end of the phone is in India or Costa Rica. In your daily interactions, whether on campus or in your local stores, hospitals, and community in general, you are almost certain to encounter people who have immigrated to the United States and who speak a language other than English. While there are many positive aspects to globalization, this is not always the case; and certainly not so for everybody on the planet. While you may be able to buy your favorite fruits and vegetables almost any time of the year relatively inexpensively because they are flown in from countries around the globe, we also encounter the possibility of large-scale salmonella outbreaks, as was experienced across the United States in 2008 from contaminated jalapeño peppers imported from Mexico.

In fact, our often unquestioning behavior at home can often have some unanticipated consequences elsewhere. The recent addition of quinoa to the American health-conscious diet offers a good example of the potential negative impact globalization can have on traditional societies. Not too long ago, quinoa was a relatively unheard of Peruvian grain that could only be found in small health food shops. Nutritionists soon identified quinoa as the only vegetable source of all amino acids, giving it the biological food value equivalent of milk, meat, and eggs; this was viewed as a godsend to vegans and vegetarians alike. Sales of quinoa, now marketed as the "miracle grain of the Andes," skyrocketed. Consequently, the price shot up. It has tripled since 2006. The desire for quinoa in countries like the United States pushed prices for the grain so high that poorer people, who once depended upon it as a staple food in their diet, can no longer afford to eat it. In Lima, quinoa now costs more than chicken, and junk food is cheaper to buy than quinoa. Outside the cities, and fueled by overseas demand, the pressure is on now to turn land that once produced a diversity of crops into a quinoa monoculture.

Arguing that globalization was not new, Thomas Friedman (2006) wrote that, in fact, there have been three phases of globalization. The era he calls *Globalization 1.0* began at the end of the 15th century when Columbus opened trade between Europe and the Americas and lasted until around the beginning of the 19th century. This was the era of national competition—often incited by religion or the lure of conquest—that began the process of integrating the countries of the world. *Globalization 2.0*, he asserts, lasted from the beginning of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century and was an era characterized not by *national* entities in competition but by the formation of *multinational* entities—usually companies and corporations—driving global integration. He wrote:

These multinationals went global for markets and labor, spearheaded first by the expansion of the Dutch and English joint-stock companies and the Industrial Revolution. In the first half of this era, global integration was powered by falling transportation