

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work

Volume 2
Number 3 *Vol 2, No 3 (2011)*

Article 1

September 2014

Full Issue

e-Research Editors

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/e-Research>

Recommended Citation

Editors, e-Research (2014) "Full Issue," *e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work*: Vol. 2: No. 3, Article 1.
Available at: <http://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/e-Research/vol2/iss3/1>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Chapman University Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work by an authorized administrator of Chapman University Digital Commons. For more information, please contact laughtin@chapman.edu.

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work

Volume 2, Number 3 (2011)

Table of Contents

Introduction	91
<u>Articles</u>	
A Review of Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights <i>Jessica Browne</i>	93
Queer Theology: Reclaiming Christianity for the LGBT Community <i>Kelly Kraus</i>	99
Globalization and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Review <i>Diego José Romero</i>	111
The Perception of the Economy Influencing Public Opinion on Immigration Policy <i>Jeff Sanchez</i>	119
Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice: A Review Essay of Cosmopolitan Regard by Richard Vernon <i>Tiana-Renée C. Silva</i>	129
About the Contributors	135

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work, Vol 2, No 3 (2011)

[HOME](#) [ABOUT](#) [LOG IN](#) [REGISTER](#) [SEARCH](#) [CURRENT](#) [ARCHIVES](#)

[Home](#) > [Vol 2, No 3 \(2011\)](#) > **Introduction**

Welcome to this issue of *e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work*! This issue features academic work by students pursuing undergraduate degrees in a variety of fields such as Religious Studies, Economics, Peace Studies, and Political Science.

The first three essays are diverse and demonstrate interdisciplinary perspectives. Three of our essays are book review essays, providing both in-depth review and critical analysis of an important work, and situating it in its field. These essays' general themes of globalization, global justice, cosmopolitanism, and human rights are of contemporary topical relevance, as are the essays on religion and immigration.

Executive Editor: Gordon A. Babst, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Political Science, Chapman University.

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work, Vol 2, No 3 (2011)

[HOME](#) [ABOUT](#) [LOG IN](#) [REGISTER](#) [SEARCH](#) [CURRENT](#) [ARCHIVES](#)

[Home](#) > [Vol 2, No 3 \(2011\)](#) > [Browne](#)

A Review of Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights

Jessica Browne

Key words, terms, concepts, names: Pheng Cheah, cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan reason, human rights, inhuman conditions, globalization, technologization, global citizenship

Introduction

Pheng Cheah's book *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights* connects globalization and cosmopolitanism to the humanities in an effort to understand the nature of humanity itself. At its core, Cheah's arguments seem to relate to the quote from his book, "Humanity . . . is, after all, an interminable work of collaboration and comparison."^[1] He makes his way through various stages of discourse. First, he presents the concept of new cosmopolitanism as a departure from the cosmopolitanism of Immanuel Kant and Karl Marx. He positions new cosmopolitanism within an intellectual and philosophical paradigm relative to nationalism and cosmopolitanism as "vehicles of freedom."^[2] Cheah then moves through an analysis of Jurgen Habermas's writings on cosmopolitan democracy. He discusses the presence of hybrid cosmopolitanism as well. Primarily, though, he seeks to present new cosmopolitanism, its limitations, and its relationship to modern global capitalism, labor, and human conditions, or rather inhuman conditions.

Thesis

Cheah argues that inhuman conditions arise as a result of a transformation of a change in our understanding of humanity, which occurs as an effect of global capitalism and human "technologization."^[3] This thesis derives from two correlated discourses. *Inhuman Conditions* is divided into two parts. The first section is called "Critique of Cosmopolitan Reason," and in it the reader finds a commentary on new cosmopolitanism as well as a criticism of new cosmopolitanism as it relates to the old cosmopolitanism of Kant and Marx. In the second part of his book, entitled "Human Rights and the Inhuman," Cheah presents the notion that human rights cannot be divorced from the conditions that characterize their context.^[4] Through the dual discussions of new cosmopolitanism and the formation of humanity, the reader develops a sense of how inhuman conditions have arisen in the era of modern globalization.

Critique of Cosmopolitan Reason

In the first section of his argument, "Critique of Cosmopolitan Reason," Cheah outlines the claims of new cosmopolitanism, which acts as a foundation for his broader thesis. First, he says that globalization has "undermined many key functions from which the nation-state derives its legitimacy," therefore political agency should not apply merely to the nation-state itself.^[5] As I have already mentioned, he connects globalization and cosmopolitanism to drive his argument. Interestingly, he notes that one result of globalization is an intricate network of transnational nongovernmental organizations and political institutions. This is the materialization of the link between globalization and cosmopolitanism, and it is significant to the discussion of the role of globalization in the construction, or deconstruction, of humanity. The main feature of cosmopolitanism,

J. Browne

according to Cheah, is that it represents an interest in humanity and democracy without regard to nationalism or territorial borders. True global citizenship, however, may in fact be an impossible end for which the appropriate means do not exist. Later in the book Cheah discusses the reflexive relationship that humans have with their contexts; namely, they both make it and are made by it. In a similar way, new cosmopolitanism has a reflexive relationship with global institutions. The author proposes that there is a relationship of mutual feedback between new cosmopolitanism and transnational institutions. It is sustained by these institutions while at once influencing them. This is a more global example of the reflexive relationship that Cheah says humans have with their contexts.

Criticism

Pheng Cheah does not accept new cosmopolitanism's unwillingness to address its roots in the philosophical notions of the old cosmopolitanism of Kant and Marx. According to Cheah, "What Kant calls 'a universal cosmopolitan existence' is nothing less than the regulative idea of 'a perfect civil union of mankind.'" [6] To deliver the point more clearly, he goes on to say Kant's cosmopolitanism signifies a turning point where moral politics or political morality needs to be formulated beyond the polis or state-form, the point at which 'the political' becomes, by moral necessity, 'cosmopolitical.' What is striking is that Kant's cosmopolitanism is not identical to 'internationalism,' and its antonym is not 'nationalism' but 'statism.' [7] Cheah notes, not critically, that Kant's cosmopolitanism does not take into account "the role of nationalism in the transition between the age of absolutism and the age of liberalism," because his cosmopolitanism is formulated prior to the prominence of this nationalism. [8] For Marx, meanwhile, cosmopolitanism "is an existing and necessary condition resulting from the development of forces of production on a global scale. [9] In contrast to Kant's prenatalist cosmopolitanism, Marx's was characterized by anti-nationalism. Cheah favors a more progressive nationalism to ally itself with new cosmopolitanism. [10]

Human Rights and the Inhuman

Cheah applies his understandings of globalization and new cosmopolitanism to human rights through his discourse on the construction of humanity. I already mentioned his argument that humans both shape and are shaped by their contexts. Human rights also cannot be divorced from the conditions that characterize their contexts. [11] Since capitalist globalization is the context for humans in the modern world, capitalist globalization is also the context for human rights. [12] Pheng Cheah then refers to human rights as "violent gifts" generated through a complex system of transnational institutional practices. He argues what is at issue here is precisely the crafting of the human, how humanity and all its capacities are not primary, original, and self-originating, but product-effects generated by forces that precede and exceed the anthropos. These forces are the inhuman conditions of humanity. [13]

He admits to the difficulty in seeing the ability of the humanities to contribute to the understanding of globalization because of the definitive political and technological qualities of political formations and transnational institutions. He moves beyond this with a twofold argument regarding the connection of the humanities to globalization. First, he refers back to Immanuel Kant as he outlines Kant's attribution of the ability to feel sympathy and engage inhuman communication to the humanities. [14] According to Cheah, conversations about globalization almost always include the notions of freedom and dignity, which are included in humanity-based discourse. At its root, *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights* is a dialogue on how the "human" is derived from the humanities yet shaped and affected by globalization and cosmopolitanism. He seeks to ask whether globalization makes us rethink what it means to be human. [15] He answers this question with a discourse on how cosmopolitanism and human rights are "two primary ways of figuring out the global as human." [16] In this section of the book, he focused on human rights abuses outside of the North Atlantic to highlight how globalization has contributed to the de-humanization of people because, while humanity in these areas "is not necessarily in crisis," it is easy to see how globalization processes have played into this. [17]

Further Discussion

Cheah presents two "theoretical prisms," as he calls them, regarding the international division of labor. He emphasizes the North-South divergence, particularly drawing focus on the "postindustrial North, hyper-developing capitalist East Asia, industrializing India and Latin America, and low-growth Africa and the Arab and Islamic world." [18] The theoretical prisms he discusses revolve around the technologization of humans into less than people. A technical approach toward human labor means the reduction of people to mere instruments. Kant referred to this phenomenon as a "technical predisposition for manipulating things." [19] This technologization of humans is called *techne*, and it's "counterintuitive to achievement of freedom" because of its effect of reducing humans to technical instruments. Cheah continues to discuss moral law in the context of the technologization of humans, saying the ultimate result is the use of humans as means rather than ends. This means that humans are merely mechanisms in the global system of transnational institutions and multinational corporations, and human conditions do not necessarily represent a significant concern for many of these institutions and corporations. In the end, though, Cheah asserts "humans are persons and not things by virtue of their ontological constitution as rational and freebeings." [20] Humans, as sentient beings capable of rational thought, are inherently possessing of inviolable rights because they are free and have dignity. [21] Fundamentally, human rights regimes and organizations seek to reverse this technologization and stop humans from being treated as instruments. There exists an interested catch-22, however, between human instrumentality and the technologization of labor. Cheah says Although human rights are supposed to regulate and humanize the field of instrumentality, they are themselves dependent on the political *techne* of states for their enforcement and realization. [22] What we discover from Cheah's text is that there are no simplistic answers to the challenges presented from globalization for the construction of international human rights. The only certainty is that inhuman conditions have so far characterized many global institutions and multinational corporations.

Inhuman Conditions and Globalization

The broader implications of Pheng Cheah's book are easy to correlate to globalization. The issue of human rights in the context of capitalist globalization is significant. The author particularly points out this connection as it is illustrated in examples of real-world inhuman conditions. He points to the instances of indigenous peoples losing ancestral lands and the access to resources that lie within them. He claims that while globalization and human rights are closely related, it becomes challenging for indigenous people to not get caught up in the "global machine." [23] While human rights, particularly the de-technologization of humans, may characterize many aspects of globalization, globalization also produces disenfranchised people who unwillingly rely on it, producing a cycle that is nearly impossible to break out of. In her book *Altered States: The Globalization of Accountability*, Valerie Sperling points out that ". . . the people who are able to punish companies (e.g. consumers in rich countries) are frequently not the same people whose interests the codes are supposed to protect (e.g. workers and communities in developing countries)". [24] The phenomenon to which Sperling points is correlated to the disenfranchisement that characterizes the inhuman conditions of the world. Globalization, human rights, and the construction of the "human" are all closely related. The unwilling entanglement of laborers in the cycle of disenfranchisement is perhaps the most significant negative impact of globalization for human rights. Pheng Cheah points to the North-South divergence as well, in his contribution to the understanding of globalizations. He says that in the global South, nationalism and the nation-state may have more means to right economic wrongs, redistribute economic and social goods, and prevent the cycle of disenfranchisement. [25] While the global North may benefit from cosmopolitanism, the global South may find a significant amount of effectiveness in the means of nationalism and loyalty to the nation-state. The author places value on nationalism and the nation-state insofar as they may serve as effective means for righting economic wrongs, redistributing economic and social goods, and preventing the disenfranchisement cycle. He particularly makes reference to this in his discussion of the global North-South divide.

Concluding Remarks

In another work by Pheng Cheah called *Grounds of Comparison*, Cheah describes globalization as a process that affects "all aspects of human existence." [26] *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*, Cheah expands upon the reaches of globalization, the effects of cosmopolitanism, and the effect of each on development

J. Browne

of the global human condition. The humanities are inextricably linked to the study of globalization in Cheah's argument, as the humanities include the notions of freedom and dignity, which In *Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship*, Bhikhu Parekh argues that there exists an inherent human responsibility for the well being of fellow citizens and those outside of our own immediate community.^[27] Interestingly, the author also says ". . . these obligations can conflict and since neither automatically trumps the other," which implies, as Pheng Cheah did, that cosmopolitanism and global citizenship is far from a simple, clear-cut set of ethical principles, but rather a challenging system of dueling nationalism loyalty and commitment to transnational institutions.

References

Bellon, Christina M. (2008) "Review of "Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights"," Essays in Philosophy: Vol. 9: Iss. 2, Article 13.

Cheah, Pheng. "Grounds of Comparison." *Diacritics* 4.3 (1999): 2-18. *JSTOR*. Web. 16 May 2011.

Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

Parekh, Bhikhu. "Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship." *Review of International Studies* 29.1 (2003): 3-17. *JSTOR*. Web. 16 May 2011.

Sperling, Valerie. *Altered States: the Globalization of Accountability*. New York, NY: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.

1 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

2 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

3 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

4 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

5 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

6 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

7 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

8 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

9 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

10 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

11 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

12 Bellon, Christina M. (2008) "Review of "Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights"," *Essays in Philosophy: Vol. 9: Iss. 2, Article 13*. Available at: <http://commons.pacificu.edu/eip/vol9/iss2/13>

13 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

14 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

15 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

16 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

17 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

18 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

19 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

20 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

21 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

22 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

23 Bellon, Christina M. (2008) "Review of "Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights"," *Essays in Philosophy: Vol. 9: Iss. 2, Article 13*. Available at: <http://commons.pacificu.edu/eip/vol9/iss2/13>

24 Sperling, Valerie. *Altered States: the Globalization of Accountability*. New York, NY: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.

25 Cheah, Pheng. *Inhuman Conditions: on Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006. Print.

J. Browne

26 Cheah, Pheng. "Grounds of Comparison." *Diacritics* 4.3 (1999): 2-18. *JSTOR*. Web. 16 May 2011.

27 Parekh, Bhikhu. "Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship." *Review of International Studies* 29.1 (2003): 3-17. *JSTOR*. Web. 16 May 2011.

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work, Vol 2, No 3 (2011)

[HOME](#) [ABOUT](#) [USER HOME](#) [SEARCH](#) [CURRENT](#) [ARCHIVES](#)

[Home](#) > [Vol 2, No 3 \(2011\)](#) > [Kraus](#)

Queer Theology: Reclaiming Christianity for the LGBT Community

Kelly Kraus

Key words, terms, concepts, names: queer, Christian theology, Bible, liberation theology, queer theology, sexuality, sinners, Jesus, Robert Goss

The root of homophobia in the United States is the condemnation of homosexuality in the Church. By and large, Americans form their moral conscience based on the teachings of the church and so since the church condemns homosexuality, Americans blindly accept this teaching. This condemnation has done immense harm to the LGBT community and it is time for the LGBT community to reclaim Christianity.

The tenets of liberation theology can be utilized by the queer community to liberate itself from mainstream theology. This paper will first examine the tenets of liberation theology, followed by a biblical exegesis of the various texts used by liberation theology. Next the biblical passages typically used against the LGBT community will be reexamined followed by an outline of the tenets of emerging queer theology.

The queer community needs to be liberated from the heterosexism latent in Christian theology. Queer theology can become a legitimate practice and mode of biblical exegesis if the queer community can liberate heterosexually biased Christian theology. Queer Christians need to reclaim their right to participate in Christianity and detail their experiences as gay and lesbian Christians. Christianity has traditionally been a patriarchal and heterosexual institution. Queer people challenge the patriarchal and heterosexist culture of Christianity by refusing to accept the rules laid out by traditional Christian theology, namely that one must follow the rule of males and be heterosexual. The queer community can reclaim Christian theology for themselves using the model of liberation theology to create a queer theology.

Terms

Liberation theology proposes to release exploited people from their oppressors. Liberation theology applies the principles of the Bible in order to argue for liberation from economic and social oppression.

Heterosexism is an ideological system that denies, denigrates and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship or community. The term heterosexism is now used in place of the word homophobia because it more accurately describes the societal reasons behind the sexual prejudice LGBT people encounter individually, and as a community.

LGBT stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender. LGBT is now favored over the term homosexual because homosexual has a negative connotation in that it was once associated with a medical or mental illness. The problem with the term homosexual will be further explored later on. LGBT is used in this paper along with the term "the community" which means anyone who identifies as LGBT. Another term for this community is "queer". Queer is an umbrella term for anyone with a marginalized sexual orientation or gender identity that does not fall into the four categories of LGBT. While once considered a slur against the LGBT community, queer has been reclaimed by the community and is also used in academic circles. Queer also has an activist connotation in that the queer community can no longer sit silently while heterosexist Christian theology denigrates them.

K. Kraus

Finally, sodomy comes from the Old Testament story of Sodom and Gomorrah which will be explicated in this paper. Heterosexist Christian theology has taught that the story of Sodom and Gomorrah is about homosexuality and so gay people were given the label sodomites. The incorrect usage of the term sodomites for gay people will be further explored in the re-examination of the biblical texts. All biblical texts quoted are from the New Revised Standard Version as enumerated on the works cited page.

Personal Note

I cannot write this paper without first making known my partiality. I identify as a gay Christian and it is from that perspective I write this paper. I am actively involved in gaining marriage equality for the LGBT community; hence, my arguments about marriage come from the couples I know in my own life as well as my future plans for marriage. Additionally, I was raised in the Catholic Church so I have personally experienced the degradation being done to the LGBT community by the institutional church. I write this paper out of the purely selfish need to reconcile the Christianity my father taught me with my own gay identity. In my quest to reclaim Christianity for myself I hope to help others reclaim their faith as well.

Liberation Theology

Liberation theology, while often found in the academic setting, is first and foremost found in the community. Liberation theologians keep "one foot in centers of study, but their other foot is in the community" (Boff 19). The focus is kept on the community because liberation theology is primarily a theology of the people. Liberation theology is done by everyday people in base communities, "it is there alongside the people, speaking, listening, asking questions, and being asked questions" (Boff 19). Liberation theology addresses the needs of the poorest in the church therefore it is done wherever the "people of God" gather (Boff 20). It is a collective effort by the people, not the academics or church leaders in their protected offices.

All theologies can be seen in a purely theoretical aspect. Liberation theology is born out of practice and requires active participation through living in solidarity with the poor. Through practicing liberation theology via personal contact with poor communities, one is able to "acquire new theological sensitivity" (Boff 23). Those who seek to practice liberation theology must live in solidarity with the disenfranchised. Through this solidarity, liberation theology is informed "about the actual conditions in which the oppressed live, the various forms of oppression they may suffer" (Boff 24). This practice of solidarity is "an indispensable stage or mediation in the development of further and deeper understanding, the knowledge of faith itself" (Boff 25). One cannot be a liberation theologian if she does not first understand the oppression and needs of the community through living in solidarity with them.

Solidarity is an important aspect of liberation theology, as is the biblical understanding of the roots of liberation. While the components of liberation theology can be found in many books of the Bible, especially in Exodus, the Prophets, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and Revelation (Boff 35), this paper will focus primarily on the narrative of the Exodus and the Gospels.

Biblical Exegesis for Liberation Theology

The book of Exodus tells of the beginning of the Hebrew people who were liberated by God. The book of Exodus is a narration of "the politico-religious liberation of a mass of slaves who, through the power of the covenant with God, became the people of God" (Boff 35). Exodus is a powerful account of once enslaved people overcoming their oppressors. This account of deliverance is very empowering story for liberation theology which seeks to empower the poor to overcome their oppression.

The Gospels are empowering for liberation theology because they discuss the acts of Jesus who liberated the oppressed of his day. Many parallels can be seen between Jesus liberating the oppressed people in his time and the need for liberating the poor of today. For example, in the gospel of John Jesus asks a Samaritan woman for a drink from the well. This action was a radical move on the part of Jesus, a Jew. Some transcripts even parenthetically state "Jews do not share things in common with Samaritans" (4:9b) to show just how much of a

social taboo it was for Jesus to ask a Samaritan woman for water. His disciples were shocked that he was talking to a woman, but Jesus went and stayed with the Samaritans for two days because he was not concerned with what was considered appropriate behavior at the time. Jesus liberated the Samaritans and through this liberation is an argument for liberation of the LGBT community as well.

These same biblical ideas found in liberation theology which argue for liberation of the oppressed can be applied to queer theology to argue for liberation of the LGBT community. The LGBT community has become the scapegoat in Christianity, the immoral sinners in God's perfect world. The LGBT community must reclaim the right to participate in Christian theology through developing a strong and legitimate queer theology.

Re-Examination of Biblical Passages

In order to develop a queer theology the LGBT community must first deal with the biblical verses traditionally understood to condemn homosexuality and in light of the fact that homosexual behavior is hardly mentioned in the Bible. There are a eight verses that are traditionally used to condemn homosexuality, none of which "is about Jesus, nor do they include any of his words" (Rogers 66). The minimal supposed reference to homosexuality shows how minor a concern it is in comparison to things such as justice (Hays 5). Jesus himself never gives any teaching on the subject. The Bible has been incorrectly interpreted to condemn same-sex sexual acts and therefore gay and lesbian relationships.

There are many branches of Christianity that use scripture to condemn gays and lesbians as an "abomination" or "perversion." This condemnation comes from a literal reading of the Bible, but it is important to remember the context and original languages the Bible was written in. Some branches of progressive Christianity have moved to a more modern and inclusive reading of the scriptures which focuses attention on the love preached by Jesus so as to welcome gays and lesbians into full inclusion of the church. Even with more Christian traditions heading towards inclusion, such as the Presbyterian Church, the majority of Christians incorrectly believe the Bible condemns gays and lesbians. It is important to note that this erroneous belief has led to devastating policies that unfairly target gays and lesbians because of their supposed immorality. In addition to these policies, the psychological damage done to LGBT individuals as a result of the church's stance is immeasurable.

The first chapter of the first book of the Bible is often used to argue against homosexuality. In Genesis 1 God makes all the beings on the earth, including humans. Genesis 1:27 reads "So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them." The term 'humankind' in Hebrew is *adam*. *Adam* is genderless, it simply means humankind. Genesis 1 shows how humans are made in God's image. Using Genesis 1 to advocate for heterosexual marriage is "an artificial construct designed to deny the rights of marriage to those who are homosexual" (Rogers 83). Genesis 1 simply states that God created humans in his image and then continues with the commandment to be fruitful and multiply. The best way for humans to be fruitful is to bond together in community. The commandment to multiply, if taken literally, can also be achieved by all couples, gay or straight, through technological advances.

In Genesis 2:18 God seeks to create a partner for the first human out of the rib of the first human. There is no male or female before this; rather, there is just a human being. The English reads "a suitable partner," which is understood to mean a man and a woman. However, the original Hebrew was *ezer kenegdo* which means "equal strength" or "corresponding help" (*Fish*). In this verse, rather than finding an argument for the complementary partnership of male and female there is actually an argument in favor of same-sex relationships because human beings are portrayed from the very beginning as needing a partner and that partner does not have a clearly defined gender.

Also found in Genesis is the most commonly used biblical story to condemn homosexuality: Sodom and Gomorrah in Genesis 19:1-29. In the story of Sodom and Gomorrah Lot invites what he presumes are two men (later revealed to be angels) to spend the night in his house rather than the town square. By inviting strangers into his house Lot is following the protocol of hospitality found throughout the Old Testament. The people of Sodom went to Lot's house and demanded that he bring out his guests so that they "may know them" (19:5b). It is this translation that

K. Kraus

has led people to associate the sin of Sodom with homosexuality. The mob wanted to gang rape the guests which was a common tactic in the ancient world. The mob was not looking for sexual gratification from the guests; rather, it wanted to humiliate the guests in order to protect the city's wealth. Sodom and Gomorrah is referenced elsewhere in the Bible (Ezekiel 16:49, Matthew 10:12-15 with parallel in Luke 10:10-13) as not about homosexuality but about inhospitality. The term "sodomy" was invented in 11th century regarding sexual impropriety amongst heterosexual monks as Jordan explains: "the credit or rather, the blame for inventing the word sodomi, 'Sodomy,' must go, I think to the eleventh century theologian Peter Damian" (290). Sodomy, then, is not a blatant condemnation of homosexuality, but rather a warning against being inhospitable to strangers.

Judges 19 is very similar to the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in that an Ephraimite offers a group of travelers with a Levite man hospitality and a gang attempts to gang rape the travelers. The gang wanted to humiliate the travelers and when they were denied access to them and instead given a concubine they gang rape her. Clearly this story is not about homosexual rape because the men raped the woman when denied access to the men. The stories of Sodom and Gomorrah and the story of the Levite and his travelers are clearly about inhospitality to the stranger.

Also in the Old Testament is the book of Leviticus. The Leviticus verses that are used against the LGBT community are part of the Holiness Code. The Israelites had just escaped slavery in Egypt and come into the land of the Canaanites. In order to maintain independence and their unique community the Israelites had to create their own identity by separating themselves from the others. It is out of this need for identity and separation that the Holiness Code was created. The Holiness Code covers many things including proper ways to worship and how to remain ritually pure. Ritual purity was an important characteristic for the Israelites as a way of maintaining their uniqueness from other non-Israelites (Rogers 68-9). In this code is "the only exhortation against same-sex intercourse in the Hebrew Bible" (Brodsky 157). This "exhortation" must be critically examined rather than blindly accepted in order for it to be best understood.

The verse against same-sex intercourse is Leviticus 18:22: "You shall not lie with a male as with a woman; such a thing is an abomination." Similarly, in Leviticus 20:13 it states "If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them shall be put to death for their abominable deed; they have forfeited their lives." Read on the literal level in the English it is believed to be saying that a man cannot have sexual relations with another man. In Hebrew, the word that gets translated as abomination is *toevah*. *Toevah* does not connote something innately immoral as we understand abomination to mean; rather, *toevah* is "something that makes a person ritually unclean" (Rogers 69). This view of the word abomination has been "mischaracterized as a prohibition against homosexuality" (Brodsky 157). This verse refers to a specific type of male-male intercourse and is not referring to the broad understanding of homosexuality as a sexual orientation; rather, this verse is best understood in regards to power relations. It was improper for a man to allow himself to be treated as a woman and so this verse prohibits a specific sexual act in which one man is the receptive, or feminine, partner. In the Rabbinic Period it was not common for the rabbis to use a verse from Leviticus as a ban on all male-male sexual acts. Rather, the rabbis were specifically interested in preventing anal intercourse between men and so they read the Levitical prohibitions "as limited to the act of penetration itself" (Brodsky 159). The fallacy of equating certain sexual activities with a homosexual sexual orientation will be addressed in further detail, following discussion of St. Paul's remarks.

In the New Testament the verses used against the LGBT community are all from books written by Paul. The first of which is 1 Corinthians 6:9-10: "Do you not know that the unjust will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived; neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers nor boy prostitutes nor sodomites nor thieves nor the greedy nor drunkards nor slanderers nor robbers will inherit the kingdom of God." The term "boy prostitutes" is originally *malakos* which literally translates as "soft." In a patriarchal society, being effeminate is a moral flaw. Effeminate men were believed to have no self-control and to indulge in pleasures. (Rogers 71). The original Greek word that is translated in this version as sodomites (but has also been translated as homosexuals or perverts) is *arsenokoites*. This verse is the first time the word *arsenokoites* is ever used so it is nearly impossible to translate it accurately. The word *arsen* refers to male while the word *koites* refers to bed. It is possible, then, that Paul is referring to something such as rape, prostitution or another kind of sexual economic exploitation (Rogers 70). In 1 Timothy 1:10 the word *arsenokoites* is repeated, again with the same issues surrounding translation.

When the Bible references "homosexuality" it is not referencing the loving, committed gay and lesbian couples that exist today, but rather it is referencing a specific sort of sexual act found in biblical times. As Siker explains, "We know of gay and lesbian Christians who truly worship and serve the one true God and yet still affirm in positive ways their identity as gay and lesbian people. Paul apparently knew of no homosexual Christians. We do" (143). The gay and lesbian individuals found today in faith communities are not the equivalent of the unchaste people in Paul's time. A false equivalence has been drawn between certain people from biblical times and people today.

While the various scriptural verses do not seem to relate to what we today understand about gay and lesbian persons, there is biblical support for same-sex relationships. Some examples in the Bible of same-sex loving relationships are David and Jonathan, Ruth and Naomi and even Jesus and "the beloved disciple." (Nelson 80). As Nelson explains, "the Scripture seems to hold strong emotional bonding between members of the same sex to be cause for celebration, not fear" (80). Somehow the love between two people was subsequently believed to exist only in heterosexual contexts. It is the challenge of LGBT Christians to reclaim the scriptural support for their love.

In addition to scriptural support, the terms used in biblical translations must also be examined. The term homosexual was not coined until 1869 so it is only in error that some translations of the Bible use the word homosexual. The conception of a homosexual orientation versus a heterosexual orientation did not exist in biblical times. In using these terms to discuss the Bible we have "moved from the world of the Torah about as far as a car is from a donkey" (Mariner 85). Today we use the word homosexual as a synonym for gay or lesbian, but the word homosexual has an incredibly loaded history as previously stated. In this paper, the word homosexual is used only when necessary in order to avoid the negative connotations traditionally associated with being LGBT and instead the term queer will be used in order to affirm the identity so many have come to claim.

Furthermore, sodomy is a specific sexual practice that both heterosexual and homosexual couples are capable of engaging in; hence, sodomy is not equivalent to homosexuality. The word "homosexual" refers strictly to sexual orientation which does not necessarily relate to a person's sexual practices. One reason why the term "homosexual" is a misleading label for gays and lesbians is because it focuses on the sexual aspect of their relationship with a person of the same gender and not on the "capacity for stability, growth and the affirmation of God and God's creation" that can be found in their relationship (Mariner 86). In a religious context, heterosexual relationships are evaluated on the love between the two people and their relationship with God, not on their private sexual acts. Gay and lesbian relationships should be evaluated by the same criterion as heterosexual couples are, and not on how they physically express their love in private.

Traditional Christian Theology

Some churches have spoken out against the exclusion of gays and lesbians while others have allowed (either actively or passively) for gays and lesbians to be condemned. Some branches actively work against the inclusion of gays and lesbians not just in their church but in society as a whole. A prime example of the devastating policies mentioned earlier is the role of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints along with the Roman Catholic Church in passing a same-sex marriage ban in the state of California with Proposition 8 in the 2008 election (for a more detailed look into the church's role in the formulation and passing of Proposition 8 see the film *8: The Mormon Proposition*). The church's involvement in political actions against LGBT people has left the community with a feeling of fear and resentment towards Christianity. Rather than sharing in the love of Jesus the LGBT community feels betrayed by his followers.

On the opposite end of the spectrum are churches that work for the full inclusion of gays and lesbians not only within the church, but also in civil life such as by supporting gay marriage. The United Church of Christ is on the forefront of inclusive policies for gays and lesbians, being the first non-LGBT denomination to ordain an openly gay man. The Episcopal Church elected Gene Robinson as the first openly-gay non-celibate bishop in 2003 and in May 2010 elected the first openly-lesbian bishop, Mary Glasspool. The Presbyterian Church also voted just recently, on May 12, 2011, to allow the ordination of gay and lesbian ministers and lay leaders. Unfortunately, these churches are in the minority amongst the various Christian traditions.

K. Kraus

Many Christians draw the all too common response to homosexual Christians by analogizing them to unchaste heterosexual Christians. Hays argues that gay and lesbian Christians must "live lives of disciplined sexual abstinence" (14). This analogy to heterosexual Christians who are called to chastity before marriage is unfair simply because of the possibility for marriage. Heterosexual Christians have hope for a recognized marriage not only through their church but also through the state so the call to chastity is only for the time before marriage. Gay and lesbian Christians on the other hand, do not have the possibility for marriage in these non-accepting Christian churches and so for them chastity is a lifelong sentence, not the temporary state it is for heterosexual Christians.

Hays continues his argument in drawing on the Catholic Church's mandatory celibacy for priests. The fallacy in his argument, however, is in the assumption that it is a mandated celibacy. Celibacy in the Catholic Church is seen as a gift, not a mandated choice. Those who are given the gift of celibacy are called to become priests. Hays gives the idea that becoming a priest comes first and the mandated celibacy comes as a result when actually the gift of celibacy and the call to religious life are not mandated. Hays extols the value of the single life, but forcing a gay or lesbian person into the single life is different than the Catholic vocational calling to the single life. In saying that the church is a place of support for single persons, both heterosexual and homosexual, Hays is forgetting the one key difference between the two: the heterosexuals are choosing to be single while the homosexuals are being forced into the single life.

Others compare same-sex attraction with intimate acts between two people of the same-sex: "homosexual *acts* of genital intimacy, on the other hand, involve choice and may even be performed by someone having, in general, a heterosexual preference" (Cahill 69). It is true that homosexual acts are not necessary for the homosexual identity, but the identity is irrevocably tied to the sexual acts. While a heterosexual person can engage in homosexual acts (and vice versa) it is the sexual acts and the sexual attraction that define a gay or lesbian person. The debate in the church about homosexual inclusion seems to view homosexual people simply by their sexual attraction, or even merely their sexual acts, and not by their humanity. Again we see how using the term homosexual is problematic because it focuses in on the sexual aspect of the gay and lesbian person rather than the humanity of each individual.

The debate in Christian churches so often focuses on whether the LGBT individual has the right to participate in sexual activity with a same-sex partner and whether it is morally acceptable to do so. The morality of same-sex sexual activity is based in the possibility for a gay or lesbian person to "act otherwise" as Jones explains: "moral accountability usually presumes the capacity of the individual to act otherwise" (93). People who are oriented towards the same sex do not have the capacity to act otherwise; similarly, people who are oriented toward the opposite sex do not have the ability to be oriented toward the same-sex. The morality behind same-sex acts is an unfair judgment of LGBT couples, and in fact only makes sense at all against the background presumption of the immorality of same-sex acts.

Like all debates that include LGBT people, the debate over marriage for LGBT couples focuses solely on the morality of gay and lesbian sexual activity. On the other hand, heterosexual couples who seek to marry in the church are judged based on their love and their desire to procreate. The Catechism of the Catholic Church cites Genesis 1:28 where God commands creation to "be fruitful and multiply" and states "Since God created him man and woman, their mutual love becomes an image of the absolute and unfailing love with which God loves man. It is good, very good, in the Creator's eyes" (Catholic Church 1604). Heterosexual couples are told that "unity, indissolubility, and openness to fertility are essential to marriage" (Catholic Church 1664). LGBT couples are capable of meeting the standards outlined in the Catechism for marriage; for example, Michael and Mark are a married couple who are currently in the process of adopting a child. They have what the Catechisms calls "essential" to marriage, yet they are prevented from marriage because they are a gay couple. LGBT couples are told "there are absolutely no grounds for considering homosexual unions to be in any way similar or even remotely analogous to God's plan for marriage and family" ("Considerations" 1.4). LGBT couples are evaluated by different standards than heterosexual couples. LGBT couples are judged on the morality of their sexual activity while straight couples are evaluated on love and their growing relationship with God and one another.

One interesting point about the ban on marriage for LGBT couples as religiously motivated is that "the Vatican Library even has a record for "a marriage ceremony for two persons of the same sex" (Mollenkott 148). The Catholic Church has been a leader in denying marriage to LGBT couples. The Catholic Church sees marriage as so important it considers it a Sacrament, yet it denies this Sacrament to all of its own LGBT members and publically denies this Sacrament through political action such as the aforementioned support for California's Proposition 8.

Despite the prohibitions against marriage, LGBT people are fully capable of experiencing love. They are not "inhibited by their sexuality from realizing in their character morally commendable qualities" (Cahill 73). For all Christians, the focus must be on "character and moral values or characteristics (for example, honesty, fidelity, love, service, self-denial), rather than on physical values and material acts (for example, acts of genital sexuality)" (Cahill 73-74). Christians should not be so concerned with the sexual acts of their gay and lesbian brothers and sisters; rather, the focus should be on helping each individual (regardless of sexual orientation) to attain proper Christian ethics.

The condemnation of homosexuality has resulted in tragic policy that excludes gays and lesbians from basic rights. The condemnation of anything but heterosexuality forces young gays and lesbians to internalize this homophobia before they are even able to put a name to their sexual orientation. This internalized homophobia has drastic effects on young people when they are constantly told they are immoral sinners by their place of worship. Lesbian and gay youth are four times more likely to commit suicide than their straight counterparts (Trevor). This high suicide rate can be tied to the homophobia professed by churches. Gay and lesbian Christians must continue the difficult task of calling for acceptance in their churches; the lives of younger gay people literally depend on it.

For gay and lesbian religious devotees, more work must be done to create spaces of inclusion and acceptance. Christianity and queer relationships have the same basis: love. This shared foundation is "no mere 'activity,' not a pastime nor a behavior; it is absolutely fundamental to our religious consciousnesslove is the amplitude of religious devotion" (Michaelson 218). As the amplitude of religious devotion, true love cannot be deemed sinful, deviant or any other negative trait. It is the duty of gays and lesbians in each respective religious tradition to begin (or continue) the work of creating places of acceptance in their religious traditions. Christians need to get back to the essence of the Christian religion: love. In the gospels Jesus affirms the importance of love when he is asked "Which commandment is the first of all?" (Mark 12:28b). To this question, "Jesus answered, 'the first is, 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one; you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.'" The second is this, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' There is no other commandment greater than these" (Mark 12:29-31). In Matthew 25:40 it is stated that "just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me." Through Mark 12 and Matthew 25 Christians are given a directive that is summed up in John 13:34-35: "I give you a new commandment, that you love one another. Just as I have loved you, you also should love one another." The commandment to love is repeated throughout the gospels and so as Christians we should love God by loving one another.

Our current Christian theology is not an expression of love towards LGBT people. It is strictly for heterosexual people adhering to heteronormative ideas about gender and sex. There is very little room for people who do not fit neatly into the heterosexual male/female binary. Theology largely "is the product of people with power and privilege, influence and wealth. This gives their theology a partisan bias that renders it meaningful to only a limited audience, particular not universal" (Goss, *Queering Christ* 140). This biased theology is the reason the LGBT community must stand up and create their own theology. Queer theology is a reclaiming of the gay and lesbian experience. LGBT Christians have a distinctly different view of Christianity from their heterosexual counterparts and it is this difference that necessitates a unique Queer theology.

Queer Theology

Queer Christians must first claim the oppression they have endured at the hands of heterosexist Christianity. In order to reclaim theology "we must name our oppression, analyze it on the basis of our experiences, not just accept the terms provided by the oppressor" (Cleverly 41-42). Heterosexist Christian theology has oppressed the

K. Kraus

queer community. This oppression must be recognized and examined along with the experiences of queer Christians in order to create a queer theology. Gay and lesbian Christians have been victim to heterosexual Christian theology, but it is important not to remain victimized. The only way to come out of this persecution is to create a new theology; a theology that accepts and values the contributions gays and lesbians can make to Christianity.

Part of understanding the oppression is learning about the misconceptions surrounding sexuality and reclaiming this important aspect of humanity. Sexuality is not typically something celebrated by the masses; rather, when sexuality is expressed in what is considered the "proper" way it is merely tolerated. For many Christians, "sex in general is profane rather than sacred, part of the fallen, physical realm and not the spiritual" (Moon 151). Sexual acts are seen as appropriate only in the context of a heterosexual marriage. Any sexual acts outside of a married couple are seen as immoral. The consequence of this belief is that same-sex couples are unable to enter into a marriage contract and so they are denied the ability to engage in sexual acts. Sexuality, rather than celebrated, is merely tolerated between heterosexuals. As one interviewee put it "sex can be very scary" (Fish) so naturally it follows that gay and lesbian people find their sexuality denigrated amongst heterosexual Christians who themselves are afraid of sex. The lack of understanding of their own sexuality leads them to fear other sexual acts that they understand even less about, namely sex between non-heterosexual people. Queer people do not fit the "proper" model for sexuality and so their sexuality is criticized. As a result of this criticism the community struggles to find acceptance in their church communities.

In order to reclaim sexuality and Christianity, the two opposing ideas must first be reconciled to one another. Sexuality is often seen as opposite, hedonistic and contrary to Christianity. In order to create a gay lesbian theology, sexuality and spirituality must be seen not as "opposites, but the single reality of the erotic grace from God and toward God" (Goss, *Queering Christ* 35). Sexuality is part of being human; rather than a purely hedonistic pleasure, "sexuality is a foundational aspect of our total, integrated bodily well-being" (Harrison 145). Sexuality is an important aspect of humanity and it has been severely limited by heterosexist Christian theology. This limitation on the range of human sexual expression has led to incredible discrimination of the queer community based on one aspect of queer life. Queer theology must reclaim the right to a queer sexuality because it is a way to connect with one another and with God.

Sexuality is an integral part of being human for reason of the intimate bonding that occurs in all loving sexual acts, whether procreative or not. Sexuality is "part of God's creation and a means for beginning to understand love and the love of God" (Goss, *Queering Christ* 113). Traditional Christianity has convinced its followers that the only "proper" expression of sexuality is within the context of a thoroughly heterosexual, monogamous, married couple. This idea of sexuality is limiting for gay and lesbian people who find themselves unable to engage in "proper" sexuality. They are limited not only by the fact that they are not heterosexual, but also in that they are often unable to enter into a married relationship due to the various bans enacted in many states and on the federal level. These limits leave no place for gays and lesbians to participate in "proper" sexuality thus forcing them into the fringes of Christianity. While sexual activity is not the only aspect of the LGBT identity, it is a major definer for those who identify as LGBT. Having such a defining aspect of one's identity being sequestered to the outskirts of "proper" sexuality leaves many LGBT people feeling as though there is no room for them in Christianity, but it also gives LGBT people a unique perspective which they can bring to Christianity.

Queer sexuality, rather than a sin, is a sign of God's love. Through the love of a partner, a gay or lesbian person experiences a small fraction of the love of God. In the more physical sense, "queer love-making coempowers God's presence in the world" (Goss, *Jesus ACTed Up* 166). Jesus experienced extreme discrimination due to his unpopular views and teachings, yet he still loved; similarly, LGBT people experience incredible discrimination for whom they love. When an LGBT couple is able to find love together despite all of the discrimination, they get a sense of the love Jesus has for them. God's presence can be sensed in two people on the fringes of society making love because God blesses the union of two people experiencing discrimination the way his son Jesus did. God is present in a gay or lesbian couple being intimate with each other because "God's revelation is found in the lives of the oppressed. The God of the Bible is the God of the oppressed" (Goss, *Jesus ACTed Up* 89). An LGBT couple, being intimate despite all the oppression they face, is empowering for them as well as enlightens them to the love God has for

them. Through the love they feel for one another, they experience a small fraction of the love of God. All through the Bible the message is that God is incredibly aware of oppression in the world and thus gay and lesbian people should find an ally, not an enemy, in God.

A perfect example of finding an ally in God is his teachings throughout the Bible. In the Old Testament an emphasis is placed on taking care of the widow, the poor, the orphan and the stranger. This charitable sentiment continues in the New Testament with Jesus who associated himself with outcasts, and encourages others to do the same. As previously explored, Jesus asks a Samaritan woman for a drink and stays for two days with Samaritans. As Jesus befriended these social outcasts, he encourages others, "when you give a banquet, invite the poor, the crippled, the lame, and the blind" (Luke 14:13). The continued solidarity on behalf of God with the outcast and marginalized leads to the understanding that Jesus is on the side of the LGBT community. The Bible shows us that "God rejects the political sanctioning of injustice, oppression, and exploitation of the innocent. God stands in solidarity with the innocent and the oppressed of history. God takes the role and perspective of Jesus in his solidarity with the oppressed" (Goss, *Queering Christ* 162). Rather than condemn gays and lesbians, God stands with them because he knows the feeling of being an outcast. God relates to their experiences in Christianity and in society at large. This incredible connection with God can serve as a foundation for queer theology.

Queer theology can utilize the story of the exodus from Egypt just as liberation theology uses the Exodus as an empowering narrative that can liberate the oppressed. Through Moses God led the Hebrew people out of slavery in Egypt and so too God can lead LGBT people out of the discrimination from heterosexist theology. Rather than continue to be the victims of heterosexist theology, the queer community can empower themselves and become the chosen people of God much like the Hebrews.

The gospels are another place the queer community can find strength. For liberation theologians, the gospels serve as a way to argue for the liberation of poor people modeled after the acts of Jesus. Similarly, the queer community needs to be liberated. In the gospels Jesus is said to have "dissolved the 'holy' boundaries of clean and unclean, holy and profane, and saint and sinner" (Cheng 80). Jesus freely associated with social outcasts such as lepers, tax collectors and Samaritans. Jesus chose to fraternize with the outcasts in an attempt to dissolve the strict social boundaries of the day. Today's Christians can model this important aspect of Jesus' ministry by welcoming today's social outcasts, the queer community, into their churches.

Jesus also challenges societal and purity boundaries when he cleanses a leper in Mark 1:40-45 (with parallels in Matthew and Luke). Jesus willingly associates with someone who was deemed unclean by societal standards and takes on the priestly function of cleansing him. This radical act shows how Jesus stood up to the wisdom of the day which stated that lepers were to be shunned from the rest of "clean" society. Jesus challenged the idea that women were not equal to men in Luke 10:30-42. In this story Mary sits with the men and listens to Jesus teach while Martha served them. When Martha gets frustrated because Mary is not performing her role as a woman and helping her, Jesus explains "Mary has chosen the better part, which will not be taken away from her." In this story Jesus is again challenging what was considered to be proper roles for each gender. Jesus gives Mary an equal footing in society by saying it is better for her to listen to his teachings than to worry about serving the men. Just as Jesus challenged these boundaries, the queer community must challenge the boundaries drawn by heterosexist Christian theology.

The queer community can also find support from Jesus in the gospels. Jesus refuses to cast judgment on those many in his day would consider sinners. In John 8, the Pharisees bring a woman to Jesus and accuse her of adultery. Many would gladly condemn her and sentence her to be stoned to death, but Jesus refuses to condemn her. This lack of judgment by Jesus, when read with a queer perspective, can be understood as Jesus not seeing supposed sexual impropriety important enough to warrant his disapproval. Rather than take a stand against the woman's actions, Jesus reminds the Pharisees that they too are sinners and so they have no right to judge what is considered a sin. Queer theology can use this story to show how traditional Christian theology is like the Pharisees, viewing the queer community as sinners deserving of condemnation. Jesus, however, does not condemn the woman accused of adultery, nor the leper nor the tax collector; rather, he encourages them to join in his message of peace.

K. Kraus

Due to heterosexist Christian theology, Jesus has been painted as the ultimate model of heterosexuality as well as celibacy. It is inaccurate to paint Jesus as a model for the heterosexual family when Jesus himself never married. Portraying Jesus as strictly heterosexual limits his ability to reach out to queer people and distorts the unconditional nature of his love for all humankind. Jesus is seen in a whole new light in queer theology. Jesus was not what we consider to be the ultimate example in heterosexual masculinity; rather "Jesus shared his feelings, empathized with those of others, and was not afraid of intimacy. He was sensitive and vulnerable" (Goss, *Queering Christ* 164). The radical love of Jesus has been lost to Christian theology. This "radical love," as Cheng names it, is where the gay and lesbian community can find their place of inclusion in Christianity.

Rather than exclude loving LGBT couples from Christianity, Jesus would welcome them into the kingdom because "in the life and teaching of Jesus, we see that loving human relations take priority over everything else" (Cleaver 49). Jesus was concerned with love and so queer theology reclaims the LGBT person's right to love a person of the same gender as Jesus loved others.

Jesus spent his ministry working for love, as Goss points out, "Jesus' focus in his ministry was on justice, love, and inclusion. He saw hypocrisy and injustice as far greater threats to the realm of God" (*Queering Christ* 197). Jesus was concerned with love above all else. He loved the outcasts of his day and he loved them fiercely. Jesus did not concern himself with what was considered a "proper" expression of love; rather, he loved freely. In his ability to love freely, the sexuality of Jesus is best examined. Jesus can be seen as a member of the gay and lesbian community, as he can be seen as a member of any loving community.

For many LGBT Christians, seeing Jesus as a member of the gay community is essential in connecting with him. Similar to the African American Christians who have claimed the black Christ and the Christa figure for the feminists, the gay Christ is a powerful tool in gay and lesbian theology. Seeing Jesus as gay is liberating for the community. Rather than being the model for heterosexual celibacy, "Jesus exalts the spiritual dimension inherent in a truly liberated expression of sexuality" (Goss, *Queering Christ* 164). Jesus can be read in the gospels as being very aware of his sexuality, a sexuality that he expressed through his close friendships with John and Mary Magdalene. This gay Jesus figure can help gay and lesbian Christians to reclaim their right to participate in Christianity and dramatically influence Christian theology.

Concluding Remarks

Queer Christians deserve a queer theology that is not just inclusive, but takes into account their distinct experiences. LGBT people are constantly pushed to the fringes, not just in Christianity, but in society as a whole. LGBT people endure violence towards their community, struggles with coming out and political discrimination. Queer theology uses these experiences to help the community find God. Queer theology, in addition to using the unique experiences of LGBT people, also reclaims the right to sexuality and reclaims the love originally taught by Jesus. The community needs the church on its side as we fight for the right to employment, housing and marriage, and with us, in turn, is where the church of Jesus should be. Queer theology will allow the LGBT community to reclaim their space in Christianity.

References

8: *The Mormon Proposition*. Dir. Reed Cowan. Wolfe Video, 2010.

Althaus-Reid, Marcella, ed. *Liberation Theology and Sexuality*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.

Althaus-Reid, Marcella. *The Queer God*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Bayer, Charles H. *A Guide to Liberation Theology for Middle-Class Congregations*. St. Louis, CBP Press, 1986.

Boff, Leonardo, and Clodovis Boff. *Introducing Liberation Theology*. Trans. Paul Burns. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1987.

- Brawley, Robert L, ed. *Biblical Ethics and Homosexuality: Listening to Scripture*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996.
- Brodsky, David. "Sex in the Talmud: How to Understand Leviticus 18 and 20." *Torah Queeries: Weekly Commentaries on the Hebrew Bible*. New York: New York University Press, 2009. 157-69.
- Cahill, Lisa Sowle. "Homosexuality: A Case Study in Moral Argument." *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*. Ed. Jeffrey S Siker. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994. 61-75.
- Catholic Church. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. 2nd ed. Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011.
- Cheng, Patrick S. *Radical Love: An Introduction to Queer Theology*. New York: Seabury Books, 2011.
- Cleaver, Richard. *Know My Name: A Gay Liberation Theology*. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1995.
- Comstock, Gary David. *Gay Theology Without Apology*. Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1993.
- "Considerations Regarding Proposals To Give Legal Recognition to Unions Between Homosexual Persons." Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, June 3, 2003. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20030731_homosexual-unions_en.html
- Fish Out of Water*. Dir. Ky Dickens. First Run Features, 2010.
- For The Bible Tells Me So*. Dir. Daniel G. Karlake. First Run Features, 2008.
- Goss, Robert. *Jesus ACTed Up*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993.
- Goss, Robert. *Queering Christ*. Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2002.
- Harrison, Beverly Wildung. "Misogyny and Homophobia: The Unexplored Connections." *Making the Connections: Essays In Feminist Social Ethics*. Ed. Carol S. Robb. Boston: Beacon Press, 1985.
- Hays, Richard B. "Awaiting the Redemption of Our Bodies: The Witness of Scripture Concerning Homosexuality." *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*. Ed. Jeffrey S Siker. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994. 3-17.
- Helminiak, Daniel A. *What the Bible Really Says About Homosexuality*. Tajiue: Alamo Square P, 2000
- Jones, Stanton L. and Don E. Workman. "Homosexuality: The Behavioral Sciences and the Church." *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*. Ed. Jeffrey S Siker. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994. 93-115.
- Jordan, Mark D. "The Discovery of Sodomy." *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism: A Critical Reader*. Ed. Bjorn Krondorfer. London: SCM Press, 2009. 290-305.
- Mariner, Rodney. "The Jewish Homosexual and the Halakhic Tradition: A Suitable Case for Treatment." *Jewish Explorations of Sexuality*. Ed. Jonathan Magonet. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995. 83-93.
- McCleary, Rollan. *A Special Illumination: Authority, Inspiration and Heresy in Gay Spirituality*. Oakville, Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2004.

K. Kraus

McNeill, John J. *The Church and the Homosexual*. Boston: Beacon, 1993. Michaelson, Jay. "On the Religious Significance of Homosexuality; or, Queering God, Torah, and Israel." *The Passionate Torah: Sex and Judaism*. Ed. Danya Ruttenberg. New York: New York University Press, 2009. 212-28.

Mollenkott, Virginia Ramey. "Overcoming Heterosexism To Benefit Everyone." *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*. Ed. Jeffrey S Siker. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994. 145-49.

Moon, Dawne. *God, Sex and Politics: Homosexuality and Everyday Theologies*. Chicago: The U of Chicago Press, 2004.

Nelson, James B. "Sources for Body Theology: Homosexuality as a Test Case." *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate*. Ed. Jeffrey S Siker. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994. 145-49.

Rogers, Jack. *Jesus, The Bible, and Homosexuality: Explode the Myths, Heal the Church*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009.

Siker, Jeffrey S. "Gentile What and Homosexual Christians: New Testament Directions for the Heterosexual Church." *Biblical Ethics & Homosexuality: Listening to Scripture*. Ed. Robert L. Brawley. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996. 137-51.

The NRSV Bible with the Apocrypha. New York: Oxford UP, 1995.

The Trevor Project. 15 December 2010 < <http://www.thetrevorproject.org/info.aspx> >

Throckmorton, Burton H. Jr. *Gospel Parallels: A Comparison of the Synoptic Gospels*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc, 1992.

White, Mel. *Stranger At the Gate: To Be Gay and Christian in America*. New York: Plume, 1995.

Wilcox, Melissa M. *Coming Out in Christianity: Religion, Identity, and Community*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003.

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work, Vol 2, No 3 (2011)

HOME ABOUT USER HOME SEARCH CURRENT ARCHIVES

Home > Vol 2, No 3 (2011) > **Romero**

Globalization and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Review

Diego José Romero

Key words, terms, concepts, names: Globalization; Human Capital; Import Substitution Industrialization; Prebisch-Singer thesis; Purchasing Power; Stakeholder Theory; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; International Monetary Fund; Raúl Prebisch; World Bank.

Globalization and Development: A Latin American and Caribbean Perspective (2003) is a study of the process of globalization in the economic, political and cultural spheres, focusing mainly on the economic developments. Understanding the process as being multidimensional in nature, the authors, José Antonio Ocampo and Juan Martín, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the Special Advisor to the Executive Secretary respectively[i], analyze globalization as a historic event realized in three well-differentiated phases, which prove, that it is not an irreversible process. The authors define globalization as "the growing influence exerted at the local, national, and regional levels by financial, economic, environmental, political, social and cultural processes that are global in scope" (Ocampo & Martín, 2003, p.1); a process in which dynamics are based on inequalities of various types. Globalization poses great opportunities, but also great challenges, and the unevenness of the international arena makes it hard for sustainable development to occur without the intervention of proper international institutions. Developing countries, especially those of Latin America, should adopt a positive standing on the issue of globalization, and work together to take advantage of the opportunities it offers.

Many years have past since this book was published in the early 2000's, and although it lacks the more current statistics and data, the theoretical analysis, its implications and the trends the authors observed are still valid, and so is the "positive agenda" they proposed. It is on their analysis and recommendations that this essay is based, adding to their original themes the latest developments and the newest trends in Latin American development.

Globalization: The Author's Analysis and Proposals

History and Dimensions

As noted above, Ocampo and Martín understand globalization as a historical and multidimensional process. In the historical sense, three stages are defined. The first stage, from 1870 to 1913, was mainly the result of the industrial revolution and the technological advances that contributed to lowering the costs of transportation (Ocampo & Martín, 2003, p.2). The Gold Standard, imposed by the British Empire gave stability to the international financial system, providing capital with a great deal of mobility. Labor enjoyed a higher degree of mobility as well, with thousands of migrants moving from Europe and Asia to America (Ocampo & Martín, 2003, pp. 88-89). The interwar period reverted the path toward international integration, the Gold Standard was abandoned and the main economies of the world closed their borders to both trade and migrations. The developments that occurred during this period demonstrate that globalization is not an irreversible process. From the ashes of World War II, however, emerged a new world order and a renewed desire for international integration, especially through trade. In this second phase of globalization, capital and labor flows were highly regulated and attached to their countries of origin. National macroeconomic regulation regimes coexisted with a slow liberalization of trade supported by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Two other institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, called the *Bretton Woods Institutions*, completed the picture of an understanding of integration through international negotiations. In the 1970's the oil crisis gave rise to a new economic

D. Romero

understanding, one that also changed the characteristics of globalization. Neoliberal flexibility replaced Keynesian macroeconomic management (Hyttek & Zentgraf, 2008, pp. 5-9) and the liberalization of markets gave increasing importance to capital mobility. Labor mobility, however, remained constrained (Hyttek & Zentgraf, 2008, p.3).

Economic globalization has, as noted, evolved in phases, but there are other noneconomic dimensions of globalization. Ocampo and Martin encompass these noneconomic dimensions into two categories: Ethical and Cultural, and Political. The former refers to the spread and trend toward global acceptance of human rights and certain ethical principles in a process that ECLAC calls "globalization of values" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, pp. 7, 14). This aspect of globalization tends to be in conflict with the economic dimension. While the latter seeks to build freer international markets, imposing the principles of competition and efficiency, the former is pushing towards the recognition of principles that "reflect the values of economic and social equality [and] solidarity" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, pp.7-9). On the other hand, the cultural aspect of this dimension is also at odds with the actual trends of globalization. As this process provides more avenues for the diffusion of cultural manifestations, the spreading of certain cultural traits through the global media^[ii] often comes at the detriment of other, more traditional identities which are excluded from participation in a technology-based process (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.10, 13-5).

The Political dimension refers to the global acceptance of and advocacy for democracy and processes of democratization. As the authors noted:

Political discourse is being shaped by and acceptance of the principles of pluralism, alternation of power, division of the power of the state, election of authorities as a basis for legitimacy, and a recognition of the majority combined with respect for minorities, and these principles have begun to be applied much more widely (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 11).

This dimension too conflicts with economic developments. As a distinctive feature of the third stage of globalization, markets typically have greater sway than governments and the result, especially in developing countries, is a state with almost no means to cope with the negative externalities that can emerge from the functioning of the economy.

Asymmetries of the International Order

Ocampo and Martin are particularly concerned (following ECLAC's theoretical tradition) with the asymmetries of the international order. Raúl Prebisch, the first Executive Secretary of ECLAC, noted as early as the 1950's what seems to be very obvious today: there is a clear division between developed and developing countries which is intrinsically related to production and the terms of trade. Prebisch and ECLAC embraced a structural vision of the problems of development, praising that the countries of the "centre," the industrialized and wealthy, gained more from trade since they can produce high value-added goods, whereas the countries of the "periphery" suffer from a great degree of vulnerability as they depend on the production of raw materials and food, mainly to be sold to the "centre" (Philips, 2004, p.23). At the core of this issue is an imperfect *transference* of productivity from the periphery to the centre due to the gap between prices of raw materials and final goods (Philips, 2004, p. 24), a phenomenon that is conducive to capital and technological concentration in the centre. This issue is known as the "Prebisch-Singer thesis", and in Prebisch's words: "The advantages of technical progress have been mainly concentrated in the industrial centres and have not directly extended to the countries making up the periphery of the world's economic system" (Prebisch, 1959, p. 8).

Even today, developing countries (those making up the periphery of the world economy in Prebisch's argot) are faced with a global field that seems to be tilted in favor of developed countries^[iii]. The corollary of the Prebisch-Singer thesis is the first basic asymmetry of the world order that Ocampo and Martin observed: there is an "extreme concentration of technical progress in the industrial countries" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.112). This concentration has given these countries a considerable advantage in the world economy as they can apply new technologies in the design, development and production of high-value-added goods. The waves they ride, however, barely stir the waters of the developing countries, which depend on their purchasing power in order to

Globalization and Development in Latin America

get that technology to their shores through trade^[iv]. Technical progress drives economic growth, and this growth travels through the system in three other forms besides trade, as Ocampo and Martin noted: indirectly, as economic growth in the center creates demand for the raw materials of the periphery; by outsourcing of so-called *mature industries*; and "the possible participation of developing countries in the most dynamic production domains" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 112). In any of the four cases, the process is rather slow. There is always a time lag from the moment a new technology breaks through and the moment in which it starts being applied by developing countries in the process of production. Following the Prebisch-Singer thesis, the price of capital and technology intensive goods always rises faster and decreases slower than the price of primary-sector goods, meaning that in general, developing countries have less access to the products of the industrial countries due to a diminished purchasing power. Another crucial factor is, of course, human capital. Innovation requires highly trained workers and an efficient educational system; in developing countries there's a lack of the latter and skilled workers tend to be outnumbered by unskilled ones (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 114).

The second asymmetry, greater macroeconomic vulnerability, has its origin in the particular path that developing countries have gone through. As the developed world built the foundations of the a new world order based on macroeconomic management coupled with freer trade, Latin America embarked on Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) as its own route to a *balanced* development. The Great Depression and lower access to the European and the United States' markets after World War II hindered the growth of the region. These exogenous factors, coupled with the very powerful domestic trend of population growth, contributed to set a new economic policy goal: full-employment development (Philips, 2004, pp. 44 - 45). But the chosen path could not overcome the challenge posed by the traditional oligarchic exporters of primary-sector goods nor could it cope with the economic developments of the 1970's at the international level. What would have been an industrialization process of two stages never reached its final phase mainly because Latin America could not fund its own development projects to begin with: exports where necessary to bring the basic capital needed for the industrial production, and national markets were not big enough to generate sufficient demand. The ISI policies implemented resulted in indebted states, unable to meet their citizen's demands, and inefficient, unprofitable and uncompetitive private and national companies.

The international switch from the "Taylor/Ford paradigm" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 47) to more flexible capitalism (Neoliberalism) was implemented as the *panacea* for the region's debt crisis. The implications of this change came in the form of new conditions to finance development. The IMF and the World Bank instituted the Structural Adjustment Program as part of a renewed role in an international system that had lost its originally agreed-upon characteristics:

This new duty, which was not contemplated in the Bretton Woods accords, was the promotion of economic liberalization in developing economies, based on the assumption that their structural rigidities were caused by excessive state intervention. Like others before it, this new shift in the responsibilities of the Bretton Woods agencies did not arise from explicit negotiations but was instead a response to changes in the ideologies and power relationships prevailing at the global level (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 68).

The sudden privatization of key industries hitherto sheltered from foreign competition and deregulation of the financial system divested the state of exerting sovereignty and implementing effective anti-cyclical economic policies. In the absence of state regulation, capital flows enter to developing countries when the international economy is running smoothly but during a recession these flows are suddenly constrained, effectively hindering the possibility of steady growth and development. Evidence of this particular event is presented by the recession of 2001, when foreign investment dropped considerably. Recent experiences with the recession of 2008 provide even more support for this observable trend. According to the *Statistical Yearbook for Latin America and the Caribbean* published by ECLAC in 2010, net foreign direct investment dropped from \$95,537.3 million in March 2008, to \$66,276.1 millions in July 2009 (p. 163, tables 2.2, 4.4).

The third asymmetry has already been mentioned a couple of times and has its origins in the interwar period and the second phase of globalization: low labor mobility with respect to capital. Migration in the 19th century, as opposed to migration today, flowed from developed countries to the developing ones. When European workers

D. Romero

left their industrialized countries and colonized America's fertile land, the United States, Brazil and Argentina where promising although undeveloped territories. During this "era of mass migration" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 88) as it is known, the migrant work force fueled economic growth in the new world and stabilized wages at both sides of the Atlantic, as Asian and European workers satisfied the demand for labor in America (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 89). Today, however, the word migration brings to our minds the images of Latinos crossing the desert to get to the United States, or Africans trying to get to Canarias or Ceuta in rafts, risking their lives for opportunity. Both the United States and the European Union, the main destinations of today's flows, have strict migration restrictions in place to try to curb the flow of illegal migration [v].

Another type of migration is occurring today, one that is sponsored by developed countries. In tandem with the flows of unskilled (and often undocumented) labor, there is a "selective brain drain" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 93) going on. Encouraged by special programs put in place by developed countries, brilliant professionals abandon their home countries in the periphery for job opportunities available to them at the centre. Thus, the centre effectively closes its doors to those with the greatest propensity to emigrate (unskilled labor), but facilitates the entrance to those that could contribute to the development of their homeland. Migration is more important today than ever, as the remittances workers send to their countries become more significant for developing economies. In 2009 alone, \$58.8 billion in remittances were sent to Latin America and the Caribbean, a very important figure although it represents a decline from the \$69.2 billion sent in 2008 (Maldonado, Bajuk & Watson, 2010, p.3).

The Future is Ours: A Positive Agenda

These asymmetries have kept developing countries, and especially those in Latin America, from realizing the opportunities that the multidimensional process of globalization promises: economic integration and growth, respect for human rights worldwide, enhancement of internal democracy via international organizations, etc. There is a lot at stake here, as these promises are more than just evanescent goals or statistical data, they represent opportunities for the enhancement of the quality of life of millions of people. For that reason, Ocampo and Martin propose the adoption of a "positive agenda for the construction of a new international order" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 129). This agenda would have three key objectives: "the provision of global public goods; the correction of the global order's asymmetries in the areas of finance and macroeconomics, production, technology, and factor mobility; and the consolidation of a rights-based international social agenda" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.130). All three objectives depend on actions at the national and international level.

Ocampo and Martin expressing ECLAC's stance on the issue as well see the provision of global public goods like peace, eradication of pandemics, sustainable development (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.158-9), and the defense of democracy as crucial due to the uneven effects that wars, infections, hunger and lack of freedom cause in the world, costing more to those who have less. Although global in scope, "the provision of global public goods is [and should be] accomplished through the efficient operation of networks of various types of institutions rather than by individual agencies" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 131). All countries should support the efforts for the provision of these goods in the basis of "common but differentiated responsibilities" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.131), meaning that countries should contribute in proportion to their resources.

To ensure that developing countries are going to be able to take advantage of globalization's opportunities, efforts must be done to overcome the three basic asymmetries of the actual global order. The transmission of *growth impulses* from the centre to the periphery must be enhanced to allow developing countries to 'catch up' with those that are already developed, or at least get closer. International agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank should give space to the developing countries to apply countercyclical policy measures when needed, just as the industrialized countries do. Furthermore, labor mobility and workers' rights should be enhanced and protected, as it equates wage levels across borders, and contributes to balancing income levels, the same way it occurred during the first stage of globalization (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, pp. 163-74).

Lastly, the new international order must be based on human rights. As noted by the authors, "economic, social and cultural rights, together with civil and political rights, form an indivisible, interdependent whole" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.175). Despite the recognition of this fact, not all men and women enjoy all of these rights, and it

Globalization and Development in Latin America

will require a great deal of political will and a considerable economic effort to ensure that these are enforced worldwide. The enforcement of these rights must transcend national boundaries and should be the result of a coordinated effort of all nations rather than the responsibility of the nation-state.

A striking feature of Ocampo and Martin's proposal is the need for coordination at the international level, especially in the form of regionalization. As early as the late 60's, ECLAC proposed the creation of the *Asociacin Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio* (LAFTA, in English) a short-lived project that pretended to enhance the development of the ISI policies in region (Phillips, 2004, pp. 46-7). Following this tradition, the authors argue the advantages of regionalization on the basis that "countries with similar levels of development can take advantage of specialization economies for intraindustry trade [and] lower transaction costs allow smaller firms to participate in intraregional trade" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.152). For economic integration to really work, the harmonization of regulatory systems is crucial, a process that is easier to accomplish when taken on by countries with economic similarities. Cultural and political similarities also contribute positively to the enhancement of the process of regionalization. Latin America has a lot to gain from harmonizing efforts and consolidate free trade at the regional level, since it is "a region that shares a culture, a history, and perhaps a common fate" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 156). Mercosur, Plan Puebla-Panama, *Secretara de Integracin Econmica Centroamericana* (SIECA, in English), and many other regional organizations are already in place, and through their organized efforts the region is gradually establishing great tools for integration and development.

At the national level, the strategy for the accomplishment of the three objectives has four points: (a) macroeconomic policies designed to reduce vulnerability and facilitate productive investment, be that national or international (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, pp. 139-41); (b) implementation of strategies for developing systemic competitiveness, acting within sectors of the economy and encouraging innovation diversification and the creation of linkages (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 142); (c) priority of the environmental agenda through the allocation of government resources and "creating a link between environmental sustainability and economic development" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p.147); and lastly (d) highly active social policies, especially in education, reduction of unemployment and the creation of safety nets for all citizens with the objective of enhancing the region's human capital (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, pp. 148-51). This positive agenda can only be implemented, and its three key objectives can only be achieved through national and regional actions. However, at the global level some changes are needed as well. Globalization is a process that has evolved without an adequate set of institutions to oversee it. The Bretton Woods Institutions are remnants of an older stage of globalization, designed on a different set of principles than those that govern today's globalization, and thus need to be renewed to cope with the new challenges. New rules of global governance need to be adopted by a world that is no longer bipolar. Accountability needs to be ensured at the global level, and to address this issue, the authors suggest to apply the principles of the stakeholder's theory of corporate management to institutions such as the IMF, which decisions can affect, undemocratically, the lives of millions of people (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, pp.137-8). Participation of developing countries in the decision-making process is also fundamental to distribute the power more evenly across the board and for "placing limits on the power of the most influential countries" (Ocampo & Martin, 2003, p. 138).

Globalization in the Region Today

Ocampo and Martin's analysis has proven to be valuable and accurate, although constrained by its date of publication. The latest global recession in 2008 caused important changes in the structure of the global economy and global decision-making. An apparent balancing of powers is taking place as Brazil, Mexico and Argentina play leading roles not just in the region but also in important international institutions such as the G-20.

Today, the economies of Latin America and the developing countries are growing faster than the industrial economies as the result of the recession and the changes in the structure of the global economy. For Latin America, however, there are two very different trends of growth, as explained by Alejandro Izquierdo and Ernesto Talvi in *One Region, Two Speeds?* (2011): those countries that heavily rely on the industrial economies and those who have extended their market share to other developing countries; the "Mexican" and "Brazilian" clusters respectively (p. vii). These two differentiated paths result in a portion of the region's countries growing faster and more sustainably than the rest:

D. Romero

Brazilian-type countries, being net commodity exporters, with low exposure to industrial countries in terms of exports of goods and services and much to gain from larger investment demand in response to low world interest rates are the clear winners. On the other hand, Mexican-type countries, mainly net commodity importers and highly exposed to trade in goods and services with industrial countries, are likely to face substantial challenges, in spite of the fact that they too stand to gain from lower world interest rates (Izquierdo & Talvi, 2010, p. 10).

The countries in the "Mexican cluster" have not been able to overcome a very important asymmetry: macroeconomic vulnerability. Mexico, Central America and most countries of the Caribbean make up this cluster, and all of them are closely tied to the United States. Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras rely heavily on remittances and trade from the US and thus are prone to suffer the effects of the slow recovery and the constrained demand for raw materials. On the other hand, the "Brazilian cluster" has been somewhat successful in overcoming this asymmetry. History has shown many times the negative effects of complete dependence on commodity exports, and Brazil, more than any other country in the region, experienced it with cotton, coffee and sugar cane.^[vi] However, these countries have avoided the risks of exporting commodities via diversification and extended economic relations with other developing countries, proving the effectiveness of open markets and free trade. Raul Prebisch would be proud of the Brazilian cluster's results: industry is growing fast and it is being financed by exports of primary-sector goods.

Technological concentrations and restricted mobility of labor are still major obstacles in the region's path to development. Advances in the other two key objectives of the positive agenda proposed are modest, and in some cases, non-existent. The region faces enormous challenges for the provision of public goods, and greater efforts will require greater political will and more generous economic contributions. Peace and security, especially in the northern region of Latin America, are needed more than ever, however regional efforts such as the Merida Initiative are not able to cope with the magnitude of the problems. Similarly, sustainable growth and the provision of healthcare and education, fundamental public goods for the development of any country, seem to be stagnant.

It cannot be denied that there is a lot that still needs to be done. Inequality, not just in income, but in access to basic services is still crushing the dreams of development for a great portion of the population. The new structure of international markets, however, seems to indicate that this new decade will be the decade of developing countries, and that Latin America, unlike in the past, will live up to the challenges posed by globalization. The path is not an easy one; those countries in the "Mexican cluster" need to restructure their commercial relations abroad as a first step to avoid dependence on industrial countries, by opening new markets for their products. The countries making up the "Brazilian cluster", on the other hand, must tame their growth to avoid *overheating* their national economies.

The region has a moral debt to its inhabitants that is bigger than any monetary debt; therefore, all Latin American leaders must work toward the consolidation of a positive agenda based on the same objectives originally proposed by Ocampo and Martin. Their analysis and proposals are just as relevant today as they were when this book was first published.

References

ECLAC. (2010). *Statistical Yearbook for Latin America and The Caribbean*. Santiago de Chile: United Nations Publication.

Galeano, E. (1973). *The Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Hyttek, G. & Zentgraf, K. M. (2008). *America Transformed: Globalization, Inequality and Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Izquierdo, A. & Talvi, E. (2011). *One Region, Two Speeds? Challenges of the New Global Economic Order for Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington DC: IDB.

Globalization and Development in Latin America

Maldonado, R., Bajuk, N., Watson, G. (2010). *Remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean in 2009: The Effects of the Global Financial Crisis*. Washington DC: Multilateral Investment Fund, Inter-American Development Bank.

Ocampo, J. A. & Martin, J. (2003). *Globalization and Development: A Latin American and Caribbean Perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Phillips, N. (2004). *The Southern Cone Model: The Political Economy of Regional Capitalist Development in Latin America*. London, UK: Routledge.

Prebisch, R. (1950). *The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems*. New York: United Nations, Department Economic Affairs.

[i] Positions held at the moment of the publication of the book, in 2003.

[ii] Today the influence of the international media, Internet and the different forms of mass communication is even greater than in 2003. Thus, the process described by Ocampo and Martin has clearly intensified in the last years and will continue to do so, as more people gain access to technology.

[iii] Prebisch's analysis of "Centre" and "Periphery" and the problems and asymmetries that it entails are similar to Thomson and Reuveny's analysis of north and south diverge. In fact, Ocampo and Martin analyze globalization from the same point of view but with a greater dose of optimism for the future performance of the developing countries provided these follow a positive agenda.

[iv] William Thompson and Rafael Reuveny echo the idea of the existence of extreme concentration of technical progress in the industrialized countries, in their book *Limits to Globalization: North-South Divergence* (2010). The authors explore the issue of economic convergence between the North and the South (Centre and Periphery, to use Prebisch's terms) based on the 'Leadership Long Cycle' perspective. According to this perspective, at the international arena, there is a systemic leader that, by the application of a revolutionary technology, achieves great economic growth. Trading with other countries with similar capabilities, the systemic leader loses edge as the competitors absorb and apply this new technology. Then, a new country transforms itself into the new systemic leader by the implementation of a new revolutionary technology and the process repeats itself. Not all the countries are capable of absorbing the new technologies however. This inability gives rise to a differentiation among countries: those who can absorb and apply new technologies conform the North, and those who cannot, and therefore do not fully integrate into the international economy, conform the South.

[v] In 2009, Italy's controversial migration policy caused alert among human rights activist, providing us with evidence of the issue of migration outside the United States. For more information on this issue see BBC's report on the case, *Italian migration policy draws fire* in <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7880215.stm>

[vi] Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano illustrates the problems of Latin American reliance on a few commodities throughout its "independent" life in his book *The Open Veins of Latin America*. In chapter II, *King Sugar and Other Agricultural Monarchs*, Galeano describes the successive products that brought prosperity to the region just to crush it down the road as a result of a 'market failure.'

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work, Vol 2, No 3 (2011)

HOME

ABOUT

USER HOME

SEARCH

CURRENT

ARCHIVES

Home > Vol 2, No 3 (2011) > **Sanchez**

The Perception of the Economy Influencing Public Opinion on Immigration Policy

Jeff Sanchez

Key words, terms, concepts, names: Immigration Policy, Public Opinion, Economy, Perception, Security, United States

ABSTRACT

Does the majority express interest concerning immigration on the basis of perceived personal economic circumstance and security, or on the basis of its perception of the state of the national economy? This study explains how perception of the state of the economy influences opinion on immigration policy. This study finds that an individual's preferences for varying immigration policies are rooted in his or her perception of the state of the national economy, rather than being narrowly determined by his or her perception of their own economic circumstance and security.

INTRODUCTION

Immigration has been an important factor in the increase in population and for the cultural evolution of the United States. The political, economic, and social features of immigration have prompted voluminous discussions regarding what our immigration levels should be, whether it increases unemployment for native-born citizens, and what importance and priority of place it should have in our nation's agenda. We argue that there are both benefits and disadvantages of immigration, regardless of the undeniable scope and influence that immigration has had in this country. Take these statistics as an example of the huge factor immigration plays in the United States: as of 2006 the United States accepts more legal immigrants as permanent residents than all other countries in the world combined; with the removal of ethnic quotas in immigration the number of first-generation immigrants living in the United States has quadrupled, from 9.6 million in 1970 to about 38 million in 2007.^[1] It is clear to see that this is an extensive area for discussion and that that is difficult to summarize the scope of the issue. Similarly, any eventual national policy regarding immigration will always be controversial. Immigration policies range from allowing no immigration at all, to allowing a more open, free flow of immigration, and everything in between. In this study we examine how economic factors provide indicators as to immigration policy and attitudes; particularly when it comes to determining protectionist or "open" policies, by increasing or decreasing immigration levels in the United States. This study will also examine whether one's income and employment status are indicators in determining immigration policy and attitudes. We suspect that public opinion towards immigration can shift a lot more than previously expected because it is not something based merely on rigid social factors, but is affected by changes in the economy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on this topic is extensive and discusses various economic and social factors as considerable areas that influence opinions on immigration policy and attitudes. The linkage between all these factors can be used as justification for protectionist, restrictionist, and even prejudice policies. Several scholars have noted that concerns about an immigrants work ethic and intellectual capacity can be valid indicators that help determine attitudes towards immigration. Therefore, a factor that plays an important role in analyzing attitudes stem from what type of worker immigrants are perceived to be. Are they a skilled workforce or are they lazy contributors that reap the benefits or everyone's else's hard work? It is critical to include these social factors as important indicators because,

J. Sanchez

although this study will focus on economic foundations as being the primary factor influencing immigration policy and attitudes, perhaps there are social factors that are influencing the data and the conclusions reached. Also, it is important to examine how immigration policy can be influenced by what is occurring during that time period. For example, research conducted during 2001 through 2003 would have had take into account the shift in public opinion towards immigration during as result from the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001[2]. September 11 caused a great distrust of foreigners and were seen as negative aspects in society. This created strong movements of nationalism and racism throughout this period. These types of attitudes haven't subsided and are shared towards countless other ethnic minority groups in the United States. Interestingly, research conducted by way of survey will inevitably ask people thermometer style questions that can show negative feelings toward foreigners and minority groups. This will reveal if people have a predisposed view of foreigners and minority groups. These predisposed views can then take precedent over economic factors in determining somebodies attitudes and stance of immigration policy. These people will be more likely to favor greater restrictions and protectionist view points regardless of the economic circumstances they are experiencing. According to Peter Burns and James G. Gimbel in their paper, "Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy, ones prejudice is the best indicator in influencing ones views on immigration policy. However, because their research done in 1992 through 1996, this could be as a result of immigration being synonymous with foreigners, ethnic minorities and "outsiders". This research can be used to explain why public attitudes during economic prosperity won't necessarily result in positive outcomes towards immigration policies, and of course their views on immigrants for that matter.[3] However, other research would seem to indicate that countries, excluding the United States, experiencing economic downturns do experience a rise in negative attitudes towards immigration. That is to say, even if the main factor influencing attitudes towards immigration is prejudicial foundations, and that economic prosperity won't result in an increase of positive attitudes, opinions and attitudes concerning immigration are not immune to being fueled by the economic situation of the state or person. This is once again reaffirmed by Giovanni Facchini and Anna Maria Mayda in "From Individual Attitudes Towards Migrants to Migration Policy Outcomes: Theory and Evidence" where they indicate the importance of social factors influencing views on immigration policy and immigrants. After September, 11, 2001, prejudicial foundations have overtaken economic foundations in determining ones views and attitudes on immigration. However, this study doesn't solely focus on social factors in determining immigration policy and attitudes, but they also look at economic factors. As it turns out, economic drivers, on either national scale or personal scale, play an important role. Although purely economic frameworks are not well suited to explain the policies and attitudes in itself, it is likely that they are key determinants. Although past literature and research does not provide sole evidence on the link between individual attitudes and actual policies implemented, we cannot deny their importance revealed by current voting patterns. Given the extent of opposition to immigration revealed by voters' attitudes, it is a wonder why migration is allowed to take place in the first place.[4] If non-economic considerations such as prejudice and foreigner anxiety are not the only or best indicators, than neither can be self interest a better indicator than economical factors. Research done by University of Berkeley professors Jack Citrin, Donald Green, Christopher Muste and Cara Wong in "Public Opinion Toward Immigration Reform: Economic Motivations" have concluded that "self interest is not a significant influence on preference formation"; preference formation in this case means attitudes and opinions concerning immigration. Researchers also found a strong relationship between immigrant attitudes and particularly pessimism about the current state of the national economy. Perceived harmful effects on job opportunity were connected with protectionist and restrictionist attitudes. Researchers concluded that this economic factor could serve as explaining a lot of the social outlook and social foundations towards immigration; particularly from racial, educational, and occupational groups[5]. People with a more pessimistic view of the national economy will not have favorable views of immigration. Furthermore, anxiety towards immigrants and the belief that their inclusion into the economy will result in a worsening of overall unemployment, and just general anxiety resulting from more competitors in market economy. Likewise, optimist views of the economy will result in more favorable views towards immigration. This is because whether people perceive things to be better off either in their personal lives or in the national economy, they simply become preoccupied with other things and don't place much attention on this issue at all. Another issue that will be looked at in this study is examining income as and indicator that can explain someone's opinions and beliefs toward immigration. Special attention will be placed towards finding out if ones economic level will perhaps result in anti-immigration attitudes. This is based off the premise that older, more established and conservative people will want to hold on to their wealth and will not be interested in helping other people, particularly immigrants. However, it could have the opposite effect where ones

increase in economic security will result in people wanting to give back and give the chance for people to succeed and experience the same opportunities. Research from the past indicates that my first hypotheses will have merit as it has been pointed out in past research done by Charles R. Chadler and Yung-mei Tsai in their report titled "Social Factors Influencing Immigration Attitudes: An Analysis of Data from the General Social Survey". They conclude that there is no statistically significant relationship with income being an explanation for one's attitudes and views of immigration and immigration policy; I hope to disprove this in this study. Lastly, examining race, gender, and fear of crime can no doubt hold relevant data, but I do not believe they explain the greater "across-the-board" relationship. A lot of this research will depend on the perceived economic vitality of immigration. People need to believe that immigration is more of a utility than a hindrance or interference. If people see immigrants as being a contribution to the economics of the greater society, then they will be most likely to allow it. Assuming people are aware of the benefits of immigration, people will see immigration as a factor that influences either their own economic situation or the greater national economy. It is important to note that during the national election of 2004 in the United States immigration reform was brought up once again and put before the people. Both candidates had their conservative and liberal viewpoints concerning immigration. Since the conservative view point prevailed, it is safe to assume that the nation's views and attitudes were still being shaped by a mistrust of voters. The National Election Study for 2004 therefore could already have been shaped to largely by social prejudice on the issue of immigration. Since this study uses data taken from the 2008 National Election, there is an equal level playing field in terms of social factors and economic factors influencing immigration views and attitudes than ever before.

DATA AND METHODS

The analysis carried out in this paper is based upon a series of survey response questions taken from the time series National Election Study 2008 survey, a report by the American National Election Studies. This report and survey compiled data on voting, public opinion, and political participation before and after the 2008 National Election. Previous researchers have deployed similar methods using the National Election Study. Referenced in this study are also reports from the 1992, 1994, 1996, 2002 studies. Various set of tables and bar charts are used throughout the results section to illustrate cross-tabulations, regression and correlation summaries. Data for these figures are taken from pre-election to post-elections questions, including:

- Have you had a job in the last six months;
- One's own personal income;
- When you think about the future of the United States as a whole, are you generally optimistic, pessimistic, or neither optimistic nor pessimistic;
- What are your feelings concerning controlling and reducing illegal immigration;
- Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased or decreased;
- Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better or worse.

The first two hypotheses and figures present an individual's own personal economic security or insecurity as potential indicators to explain what immigration levels should be. The last two examine perceptions of the state's overall economy as potential indicators in explaining what levels of immigration should be.

RESULTS

H 1: Individuals with higher income will favor less restrictionist immigration policy.

Cross-tabulation conducted for H1 indicate the potential relationship between an individual's income and their opinion on what immigration levels should be; should they be increased, left the same, or decreased.

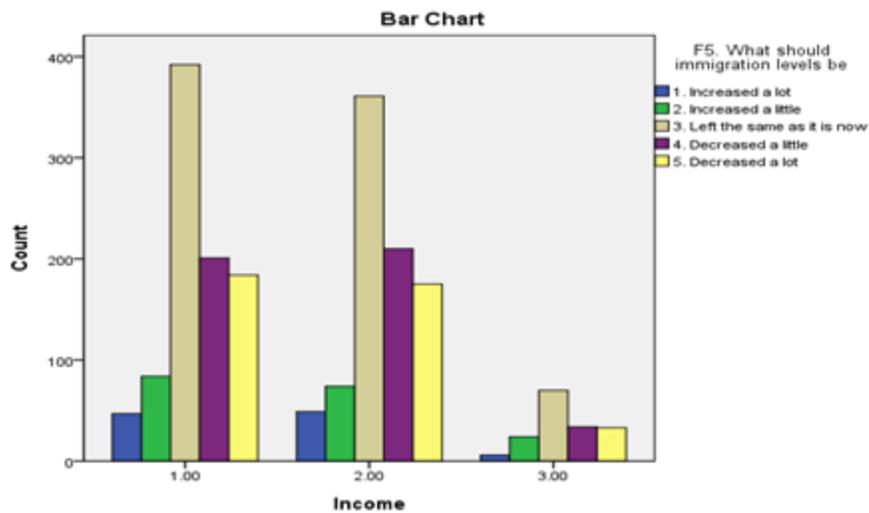
J. Sanchez

Figure 1a:

Income/What should immigration levels be Cross-tabulation							
Count							
		F5. What should immigration levels be					Total
		1. Increased a lot	2. Increased a little	3. Left the same as it is now	4. Decreased a little	5. Decreased a lot	
Income	1.00	47	84	392	201	184	908
	2.00	49	74	361	210	175	869
	3.00	6	24	70	34	33	167
Total		102	182	823	445	392	1944

The table above shows the distribution of respondent's opinion into 5 different columns with totals on the last column indicating a sample of 1944 respondents.

Figure 1b:



The chart above shows the clear distinction between levels 1 and 2 compared to level 3

H 2: Individuals that experience job insecurity will favor restrictionist policies.

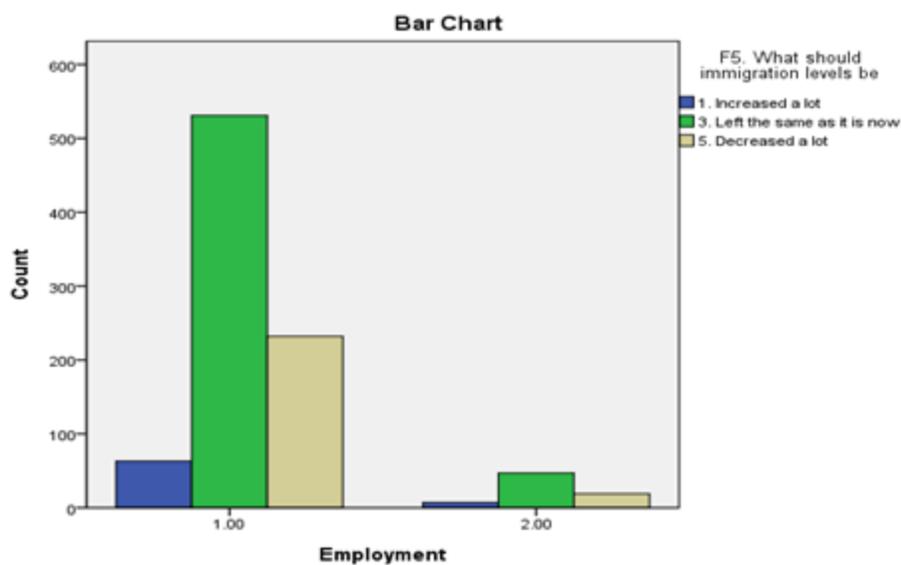
Cross-tabulation conducted for H2 shows the potential relationship between respondent's employment status and what should the level of immigration be; should they increase, stay the same or decrease.

Figure 2a:

Employment /What should immigration levels be							
F5. What should immigration levels be							
		1. Increased a lot	2. Increased a little	3. Left the same as it is now	4. Decreased a little	5. Decreased a lot	Total
Employment	1.00	63	118	531	268	232	1212
	2.00	7	9	47	31	19	113
Total		70	127	578	299	251	1325

The table above shows the distribution of respondent's opinion into 5 different columns with totals on the last column indicating a sample of 1325 respondents.

Figure 2b:



The chart above shows the clear distinction between levels 1 and 2

H 3: Individuals who believe the economy is doing worse than previously will favor tighter immigration policies.

Cross-tabulation conducted for H2 shows the potential relationship between respondent's pessimistic and optimistic feelings and what should the level of immigration be; should they increase, stay the same or decrease as a result.

J. Sanchez

Figure 3a:

The chart below shows the clear distinction between levels 2 and 3 compared to 1

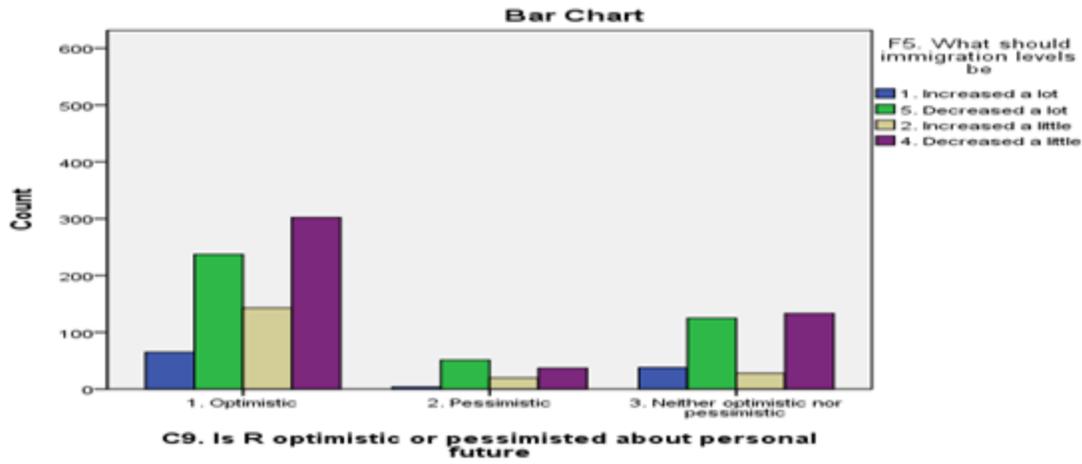


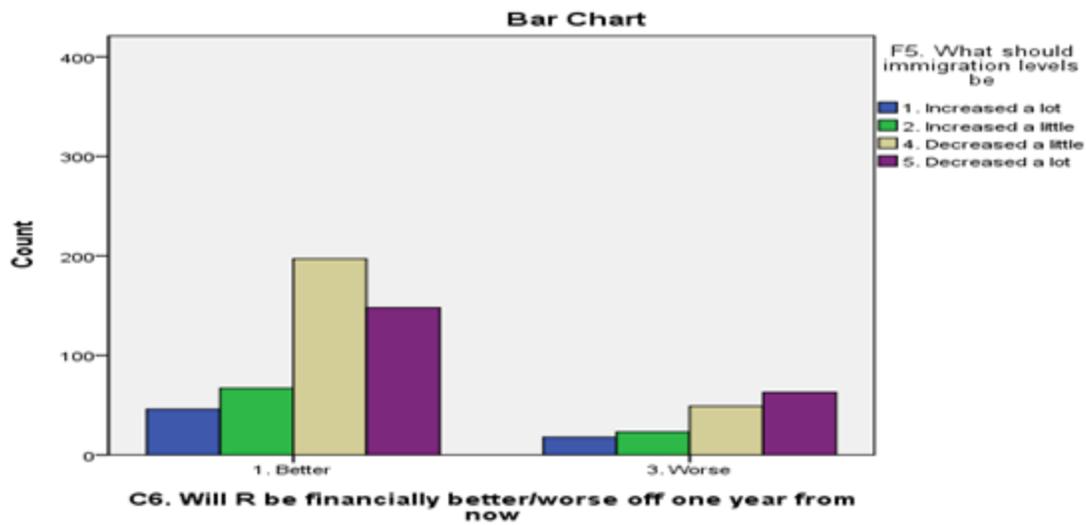
Figure 3b:

Will be financially better/worse off one year from now/What should immigration levels be							
Figure 1a:							
Count		F5. What should immigration levels be					Total
		1. Increased a lot	2. Increased a little	3. Left the same as it is now	4. Decreased a little	5. Decreased a lot	
C6. Will R be financially better/worse off one year from now	1. Better	46	67	352	197	148	810
	3. Worse	18	23	78	49	63	231
	5. The same	40	99	394	217	179	929
Total		104	189	824	463	390	1970

H 4: Individuals who are pessimistic about the economy and believe it will do worse in the next year will rank the importance of dealing with immigration with higher importance.

Cross-tabulation conducted for H4 shows the potential relationship between respondent's pessimistic and optimistic feelings about how the economy will be and what should the level of immigration be; should they increase, stay the same or decrease as a result.

Figure 4a:



The chart above shows the clear distinction between levels 1 and 3

Figure 4b:

Optimistic or pessimistic about economies future/ What should immigration levels be							
		F5. What should immigration levels be					Total
		1. Increased a lot	2. Increased a little	3. Left the same as it is now	4. Decreased a little	5. Decreased a lot	
C9. Is R optimistic or pessimistic about Economies future	1. Optimistic	65	143	572	302	237	1319
	2. Pessimistic	4	20	60	37	51	172
	3. Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	38	28	235	133	125	559
Total		107	191	867	472	413	2050

Regression and Correlations

Statistical regressions were conducted based on the information from H3 and H4

H3: Individuals determine what immigration levels should be whether they are optimistic or pessimistic about the future of the economy

J. Sanchez

Figure 5a:

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	1.67 ^a	.013	.013	1.142
a. Predictors: (Constant), Optimism/ Pessimism				

Figure 5b:

Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.221	0.383		26.661	0.300
	Optimism	1.67	0.551	-0.415	-5.285	0.320
a. Dependent Variable: What Should immigration levels be						

The regression above shows that there is a considerable relationship between optimism and pessimism and determining how a person will feel about immigration levels.

H4: Correlation between individuals who are pessimistic about the economy and believe it will do worse in the next year will rank the importance of dealing with immigration with higher importance.

Figure 6a:

Correlations			
		Income	F1d.What level of immigration should be
Pessimism/ Optimism	Pearson Correlation	1	.171**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	2172	1975
F1d.What level of immigration should be	Pearson Correlation	.171**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	1975	2099
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

The table above shows that correlation between pessimism and the level of immigration should be is slight but still considerable, and the correlation is statistically significant.

Also, a statistical regression was run which showed that of the three independent variables, the one with the strongest effect in determining how immigration level opinions is the perceptions (pessimism and optimism) of the state economy. While the R^2 is small, all relationships are significant.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study finds evidence suggesting that through analyzing employment, income, pessimistic and optimistic attitudes, and one's perceptions of the state of the greater national economy are statistically considerable and in this study provided the best indicators influencing immigration policy and attitudes. Contrary to belief, one's own personal economical situation is not the primary factor influencing immigration policy and attitudes. The 'understanding' of the state of the economy can be an indicator for attitudes of protectionism and restrictions. In H1 it was determined that one's income was not relevant in determining one's views on immigration levels. In fact, low and medium brackets of income believed that immigration levels should stay the same. Only 15% of respondents thought restrictions on immigration, via increasing levels of immigrations, should be lifted. Since only 15% of the highest bracket of income thought restrictions on immigration should be lifted, H1 appears to be false. In H2 it was determined that employment was also not an indicator for explaining immigration policy and attitudes. Along the same lines of H1, leaving immigration levels the same was the most popular choice whether you were employed or unemployed. In H3 it was finally determined that your status as employed or unemployed influenced immigration levels. It was the first time keeping immigration levels the same was the lowest respondent choice to increasing and decreasing immigration levels. A full 60 % of respondents were either swayed to increase or decrease immigration levels whether they were optimistic or pessimistic about the future of the economy. Finally, in H4 it was determined that respondents who are pessimistic about the economy and believe it will do worse in the next year ranked the importance of dealing with immigration higher than not doing anything at all. Further implications asserted by this study are that public opinion towards immigration can be volatile because

J. Sanchez

they are increasingly rooted in economic circumstances, not social factors. In this study a person is more influenced by their perception of the greater national economy, than by their own economic circumstances. However, we must offer this one caveat: because this data was taken in 2008, at the height of an economic crisis, a lot of the data can be predisposed to favor economic factors over social factors when it comes to deterring immigration policy and attitudes. Previous researchers have already deployed similar methods as used here, using the National Election Study from 1992 through 2004, and further studies after 2008 should be examined. Also, it is important to further examine how hostility towards immigrants because they are labeled ethnic minorities, and the increasing competitive forces between natives and immigrants, can be considerable indicators of immigration policy and attitudes.

REFERENCES

Burns, Peter and James G. Gimpel. "Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* (2000): 3-25. Academic Search Premier. EBSCO. Web. 21 April 2011

Facchini, Giovanni and Anna Maria Mayda. "Attitudes and Migration Policy." *Economic Policy* (2008): 2-43. Academic Search Premier. Web. 11 April 2011

Citrin, Jack, Donald P. Green, Christopher Muste and Cara Wong. "Public Opinion Toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Motivators." *The Journal of Politics* Vol 59 (1997): 858-81. Academic Search Premier. Web. 08 May 2011

Chandler, Charles R and Yung-mei Tsai. "Social Factors influencing immigration attitudes: an analysis of data from the General Social Survey." *The Social Science Journal* 38 (2001):177-188. Academic Search Premier. EBSCO. Web. 10 May 2011

[1] Burns, Peter and James G. Gimpel. "Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* (2000): 3-25. Academic Search Premier. EBSCO. Web. 21 April 2011

[2] Facchini, Giovanni and Anna Maria Mayda. "Attitudes and Migration Policy." *Economic Policy* (2008): 2-43. Academic Search Premier. Web. 11 April 2011

[3] Burns, Peter and James G. Gimpel. "Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* (2000): 3-25. Academic Search Premier. EBSCO. Web. 21 April 2011

[4] Citrin, Jack, Donald P. Green, Christopher Muste and Cara Wong. "Public Opinion Toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Motivators." *The Journal of Politics* Vol 59 (1997): 858-81. Academic Search Premier. Web. 08 May 2011

[5] Chandler, Charles R and Yung-mei Tsai. "Social Factors influencing immigration attitudes: an analysis of data from the General Social Survey." *The Social Science Journal* 38 (2001):177-188. Academic Search Premier. EBSCO. Web. 10 May 2011

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work, Vol 2, No 3 (2011)

HOME

ABOUT

USER HOME

SEARCH

CURRENT

ARCHIVES

Home > Vol 2, No 3 (2011) > **Silva**

Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice: A Review Essay of *Cosmopolitan Regard* by Richard Vernon

Tiana-Renée C. Silva

Keywords: cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan regard, Richard Vernon, globalization, sovereignty, nationalism, citizen responsibilities, poverty, global village

Introduction

While geologists may not be able to find physical proof to suggest that the world is shrinking, social scientists are convinced that this is the case. The amount of information that is shared amongst the world's citizens has grown exponentially over the years, and evidence of an increasingly interconnected world can be seen in every facet of our everyday lives from the food we eat to what we watch on television. Thousands of miles that once divided us from one another are now eliminated by telephones, the Internet, and even the ability to make telephone calls over the Internet. In countries where people lack food security and safe drinking water, they are able to own a pre-paid cell phone and drink Coca-Cola. This is troubling for those who examine the world we live in today with all of its technological advancements and wonder why there are still over a billion people living below the poverty line. If the world is becoming one "global village" then why is there such a disparity between the Haves and the Have Nots? Some believe that it is the responsibility of those who have to improve the wellbeing of those who do not. In the book *Cosmopolitan Regard, Political Membership and Global Justice*, author Richard Vernon explains the importance of a cosmopolitan world and implications for the world's citizens in its implementation.

Cosmopolitan Theory Explained

Cosmopolitan theory suggests that we should shift our moral attention from the local to the global, adopting a wider realm of responsibility to ensure the wellbeing of all the world's citizens. In other words, it is the belief that what happens to everyone is of moral importance. "Cosmopolitan," an ancient term coined in the late classical period by Cynics and Stoics, was used to contrast local political membership with membership in the world strictly speaking, the *cosmos* as a whole.^[1] By describing the world as a polis, or "city," philosophers at the time were referring to it as the then-standard term for the association of the greatest importance to human life. As a metaphor, "city" was a community of people connected to each other by strong ties of proximity, acquaintance, and definite legal relations. If we adopt an idea of association with proximity and acquaintance removed, we take a large step toward the idea of natural law, which requires the humane treatment of all humans and does not necessitate reference to citizenship at all. This is important to Vernon because he believes that this natural law is what the global community should be striving for. Excuses that reference distance or disinterest as a means for inaction are no longer valid in the world that we live in, because cosmopolitanism holds that the suffering of one person has implications for everyone else. To fully embrace cosmopolitanism, there is the requirement of states to impose additional demands, in the form of economic and political costs, upon their citizens. For example, to intervene in a situation where human rights are being violated requires a lot of funding and resources. To front the costs, the cost of living for the citizens of wealthy countries is very likely to increase. This is why it is necessary for states to provide compelling grounds for the sacrifices that their citizens will have to bear in order to achieve the goals of cosmopolitanism. If states cannot foster the moral attachment one has to one's own state to the world in its entirety, there will be little motivation for people to take on the demands of cosmopolitanism. Additionally, states must be more open to what they owe to outsiders. Vernon argues that "what we owe to other societies rests on the same basis as what we owe to our own."^[2] In summation, the core thesis of Vernon's work is as

T. Silva

follows: By adopting a cosmopolitan view of citizenship and shifting moral attention from the local to the global, the world's citizens must accept more demanding political obligations and realize that our responsibilities as global citizens extend well past our borders. Using examples including humanitarian intervention, international criminal law, and international political economy, Vernon explains what cosmopolitanism entails for the world's citizens. The rest of this paper will tie in other works that discuss the topic of cosmopolitanism and the implications it has for human morality, individual responsibility, globalization, and sovereignty, in the attempt to explain why cosmopolitanism is important and necessary in the world today.

Cosmopolitanism in Today's World

Present in the world today are problems that cannot be faced without concerted international action. Some of these involve controlling pathologies of the states system, such as aggressive or oppressive governments. Some problems, on the other hand, are collective problems such as global climate change and environmental degradation. According to Charles Beitz in an article written for the *Journal of Ethics*, in spite of these issues there is also the emergence of a nascent global capacity to act.^[3] This capacity is expressed through the foreign policies of states, a variety of intergovernmental organizations, the institutions and regimes that organize global economic relations, and in human rights laws that are enforced in a largely improvised manner. In spite of these steps in the right direction, Beitz contends that with the exception of the morality of war, philosophical understanding of problems of global justice is still at an early stage.^[4] As we make mistakes and learn to prevent them in the future, we realize that there is still so much to learn to become cosmopolitan and achieve global justice. What is important to realize is that the capacity exists: the resources, the technology, and the need are all present; what is most important, though, is the desire. Vernon sees a challenge to cosmopolitanism in the persistence of the *us vs. them* mentality. There is little desire to help those outside of our state because feelings of competitiveness and "otherness" exist when we think about foreign states. We are either too similar to states, which puts them in competition with us, or we consider ourselves too different from other states, which makes us feel like we cannot relate or sympathize with them. This is seen in the world today though the existence of exclusive treaties, such as NATO, and long-standing grudges between nations, such as that between Greece and Turkey.

There have been steps taken toward achieving global human rights with the hope that all people can live free from oppression, and the most noted of these efforts is the creation and ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948, the first article states that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."^[5] The declaration even mentions marriage, privacy, and vacation time from work. Needless to say, violations of these rights have been taking place in every country all over the world even after the declaration was ratified. This is because even though universal human rights have been chosen by a group of people and approved by a prestigious international organization, this does not mean that they can be enforced. There is no way to force a state to grant its citizens all of the rights listed in the declaration, because states have sovereignty. A state is sovereign within its borders and cannot be coerced into doing something it does not wish to do. In addition, there is no such thing as a global police force. Who will be responsible for providing the funding, resources, and manpower necessary to operate a global police force? This problem is voiced by Vernon. The UDHR is an example of cosmopolitanism in the world today, but like most other attempts at cosmopolitanism thus far, it lacks the strength and ability to affect change. If cosmopolitanism is to prevail, there is a lot of change that needs to take place and the following sections of this paper will describe such changes and their challenges.

Cosmopolitanism and State Sovereignty

Despite the shortcomings of efforts made thus far to achieve a cosmopolitan world community, this is not to say that future attempts will not prove fruitful. If a cosmopolitan worldview is to be adopted by all of the world's citizens, then we must look at the implications it has for the existing status quo. At present, all states have sovereignty and this grants them the right to rule within their borders. To achieve the goals of cosmopolitanism, state sovereignty will have to be redefined to allow for outside intervention or some say, dissolved altogether. In his article written for the journal *Ethics*, Thomas Pogge argues that sovereignty is heavily concentrated at a single level—the state. This is demonstrated by the fact that states and only states that receive separate colors on a political map of the world. For nearly every human being and every piece of territory on earth, there is exactly one

government that reigns and holds responsibility for that person and territory.^[6] To achieve a cosmopolitan world, this concentration of sovereignty at one level is no longer defensible. Pogge suggests that people should be citizens and govern themselves through varying levels of government that would range in size from one's neighborhood to the world at large.^[7] To support this idea, he gives three reasons why this vertical dispersal of sovereignty is conducive with a cosmopolitan world: peace/security, reducing oppression, and global economic justice. According to Pogge, peace and security would benefit from decentralized sovereignty because it would allow for the collection and disposal of all weapons of mass destruction, which is currently impossible to do because states would not permit it. He also contends that states currently hold too much power over "their" citizens, which leads to abuses such as torture and oppression. If there were multiple layers of sovereignty, the different political units would be able to check and balance one another. Finally, to improve the economic situation of the poorest states, a global levy on resources could be established to ensure equal per capita endowment and even encourage conservation. Pogge's point of view is echoed by many supporters of cosmopolitanism, because in order to achieve many of the goals of a cosmopolitan world, the sovereignty of states must be thought of as elastic instead of rigid. To facilitate global cooperation and make sure that the new cosmopolitan world runs smoothly, states must be willing to give up their sovereignty. Alluded to but never mentioned outright so far is the implication that other states or established global policing bodies will be able to encroach on the sovereignty of other states if need be (for example, in the case of a leader committing genocide in his state). In a cosmopolitan world where the primary unit of moral concern is the individual, states have permeable borders where sovereignty does not apply in the event that atrocities are committed within. At present, states are sidelined as spectators to atrocities because interference would be a violation of state sovereignty. In a cosmopolitan world, the state is not the primary and most powerful actor, and state sovereignty takes the backseat to human wellbeing.

Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism

With so much emphasis placed on the state and its role as the most important actor in the world community, we see in the world today strong nationalistic bonds. In the *Journal of Ethics*, Robert Audi writes about the difference between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, stating that nationalists tend to give priority to specifically national concerns and cosmopolitans to specifically human concerns.^[8] Fostered by the state to give their people a feeling of pride, allegiance, and belonging within its borders, cosmopolitan theorists see nationalism as harmful in certain aspects. Extreme forms of nationalism have the mantra of "my country right or wrong." Roughly, this view is that where national interest calls for an action, citizens have an overriding obligation to act accordingly. With this in mind, Audi states that given a view on what is in the national interest, wherever there is a conflict between it and the interest of one or more other countries or peoples in relation to any of the variables in question, for example economic prosperity, national interests are considered overriding.^[9] The result of this kind of nationalism is that even when a policy will cause much suffering for one nation and advance one's own only slightly, extreme nationalism requires that preference be given to one's own. This can lead to a person going against what is morally right because they are dedicated to follow what is dictated by their state. For moderate nationalism, one's country has high priority over others but not absolute priority. A moderate nationalist could hold, for example, that if the numbers of people affected by a decision favor one or more other states, then in any issue not involving vital interests the interests of one's own state are overridden. According to Audi, it is common for this kind of restraint to be due in part to recognition of moral standards.^[10]

While nationalism does create positive feelings toward one's state, a byproduct is often feelings of animosity toward outsiders. Like mentioned previously, there is an *us vs. them* mentality. Cosmopolitanism is often seen as conflicting with nationalism because the former is inclusive that is, it views all world citizens as equal and apart of one community while the latter is exclusive and will place special importance on its own citizens, deeming everyone else as "outsiders." Vernon draws attention to the fact that not only do we prefer our compatriots to and tend to treat them better than outsiders, but we tend to treat outsiders worse and are often less respectful of their freedom.^[11] This becomes an issue when trying to assert the importance of world citizenship. When globalization is taken into consideration, one sees that the expanding activities that accompany globalization are prime territory for the conflict between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.^[12] As long as people feel their only

T. Silva

responsibility and moral obligation is to their own state, they will not be able to adopt the cosmopolitan ideal of solidarity amongst all the world's citizens and will continue to discard the needs of others.

Cosmopolitanism and Globalization

One consequence of globalization is the emergence of overlapping networks of power and interaction across the world. As a result, political power is no longer concentrated within national governments; effective power is shared, contested, and bartered by diverse agencies which are both public and private and cross national, regional, and international domains. Now we see the significance of "global politics," which holds that political actions in one part of the world can rapidly acquire worldwide effects. This means that developments at the global level, whether economic, social, or environmental, can instantaneously have local consequences. These characteristics of globalization are important to take into account when looking at cosmopolitanism because globalization is what makes cosmopolitan ideals almost necessary in the world we live in today. We are "unavoidably side by side," as Kant eloquently stated more than two hundred years ago. And although globalization is shrinking the size of the world by connecting all people through technology such as the Internet, it has also created three regulatory and political gaps which weaken political institutions, national and international. As described by David Held, these three gaps consist of:

A jurisdictional gap the discrepancy between national uses of policy-making and a regionalized and globalized world, giving rise to the problem of externalities such as the degradation of global commons, who is responsible for them, and how to hold these people accountable;

An incentive gap the challenge posted by the fact that, in the absence of a supranational entity to regulate the supply of global public goods, many states seek a free ride and/or fail to find durable collective solutions to transnational problems; and

A participation gap the failure of the existing international system to give adequate voice to many leading global actors, state and non-state.

Held contends that cosmopolitanism can help alleviate and even eliminate these gaps because a cosmopolitan world would be one in which global cooperation promotes the entire population to thrive. This would be accomplished through the creation of an effective and accountable administrative, legislative, and executive capacity at global and regional levels to complement those at national and local levels.^[13] This body would be similar to the General Assembly of the United Nations but would be reformed to include the power of intervention and would have an emphasis on issues that are related to cosmopolitanism, such as health and disease, food supply, global climate change, and the debt burden of the developing world.^[14] The establishment of a body such as this, as well as the opening-up and transparency of IGOs such as the World Bank and WTO and the creation of a cosmopolitan law enforcement and coercive capability in charge of peace-keeping and peace-making would create a world where the emergence of an interconnected global village would mean the betterment of humanity. Undoubtedly globalization and cosmopolitanism are related, but it is up to us to decide whether or not we will use cosmopolitanism to alleviate the problems introduced by globalization in the world today or continue to exacerbate them with inaction.

Significance of this Work

To understand the significance of cosmopolitan theory, one must look no further than the world that lies right before their eyes. In the global village that we live in today, there is the necessity to turn our attention from the local to the global and think about everything we do as being on a global scale. Rights, laws, food security, the environment, weapons of mass destruction, security all of these things which have been previously associated with the state and viewed on an individual basis now must be applied to an all-encompassing global community. Literature on the widening gap between the rich and the poor and the polarization of the global North and South is extensive. It is obvious that unless we begin to care more about the welfare of the world's poorest citizens and

curb this and the other negative effects of globalization, the number of those living destitute lives will climb steeply.

When taking into account the ethics and human morality that are supposed to drive us to help others in need, cosmopolitanism corrects the current global status quo of "every man for himself." Competitiveness and the desire to accumulate as much wealth as possible have given us a world of selfish people who will work against one another if it means bettering their own personal situation. By adopting cosmopolitan ideals, we prove that we believe in the morals that we feel separate us from all other organisms on this planet. Feeling empathy for others, acting out of altruism, and realizing that the suffering of another human is painful for all are some of these characteristics. Recognizing the beauty of a common humanity and working together to better the lives of all of the world's people is possible through the acceptance of cosmopolitan ideals. While the theory is not perfect and is in some cases, more ideal than realistic, the underlying principles centered on human wellbeing are something worth implementing into our world.

Works Cited

Audi, Robert. "Nationalism, Patriotism, and Cosmopolitanism in an Age of Globalization." *Journal of Ethics* 13.4 (2009): 365-381. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 16 May 2011.

Beitz, Charles. "Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice." *Journal of Ethics* 9.1/2 (2005): 11-27. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 14 May 2011.

Held, David. "Cosmopolitanism: globalisation tamed?" *Review of International Studies* 29.4 (2003): 465-480. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 16 May 2011.

Pogge, Thomas W. "Cosmopolitanism and sovereignty." *Ethics* 103.1 (1992): 48. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 15 May 2011.

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." *The United Nations*. The United Nations, n.d. Web. 14 May 2011. <<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>>.

Vernon, Richard. *Cosmopolitan Regard, Political Membership and Global Justice*. New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[1] Vernon, Richard. *Cosmopolitan Regard, Political Membership and Global Justice*. New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[2] Vernon

[3] Beitz, Charles. "Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice." *Journal of Ethics* 9.1/2 (2005): 11-27. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 14 May 2011.

[4] Beitz

[5] "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." *The United Nations*. The United Nations, n.d. Web. 14 May 2011. <<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>>.

[6] Pogge, Thomas W. "Cosmopolitanism and sovereignty." *Ethics* 103.1 (1992): 48. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 15 May 2011.

T. Silva

[7] Pogge

[8] Audi, Robert. "Nationalism, Patriotism, and Cosmopolitanism in an Age of Globalization." *Journal of Ethics* 13.4 (2009): 365-381. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 16 May 2011.

[9] Audi

[10] Audi

[11] Vernon

[12] Audi

[13] Held, David. "Cosmopolitanism: globalisation tamed?" *Review of International Studies* 29.4 (2003): 465-480. *Academic Search Premier*. EBSCO. Web. 16 May 2011.

[14] Held

e-Research: A Journal of Undergraduate Work, Vol 2, No 2 (2011)

[HOME](#) [ABOUT](#) [LOG IN](#) [REGISTER](#) [SEARCH](#) [CURRENT](#) [ARCHIVES](#)

[Home](#) > [Vol 2, No 3 \(2011\)](#) > **[About the Contributors](#)**

Jessica Browne will graduate in May, 2012 with a major in Political Science and two minors in Peace Studies and Religious Studies. She intends to pursue a Master's in Special Education or Political Science, with the ultimate goal of teaching. Her faculty mentor was Gordon Babst, Political Science.

Kelly Kraus graduated in May, 2011, with a major in Religious Studies and a Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Studies minor. She will be attending the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley starting in fall 2011. Her faculty mentor was Julye Bidmead, Religious Studies.

Diego José Romero is graduating May, 2013, with a major in Economics and a minor in Political Science. He plans to work for the Central Bank of Guatemala, Banguat, to gain practical experience on central banking and the application of monetary policy. Thereafter, he intends to pursue a doctorate in Economic Development. His faculty mentor was Gordon Babst, Political Science.

Jeff Sanchez will graduate in May, 2013, with a BA in Political Science. He intends to serve a two-year term in the "Teach for America" program, before embarking on a career as a Foreign Service Officer with the US Department of State. His faculty mentor was Ann Gordon, Political Science.

Tiana-Renée C. Silva is a double major in Political Science and Peace Studies, and plans to pursue a graduate degree in the Foreign Service program at Georgetown University. She will graduate in May, 2013; her faculty mentor was Gordon Babst, Political Science.