

# Lecture 5

## Civilizations

# Civilizations

- Although **highly controversial**, in today's lecture we will consider how civilizations can be a source of identity that motivates large scale cooperation and conflict.
- We will assume that ethnic identities and nations are very important social forces, but will evaluate if civilizational identities are also important.

# Samuel Huntington

- “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order”
- In this recent best-seller, Huntington (a political scientist), is said to have foreseen 9-11 and other current events.
- Are religious and other large scale cultural identities a renewing source of global cooperation and conflict?



# Contrasting Worldviews

Shortly after the end of the Cold War, Samuel Huntington, professor of government at Harvard, predicted that in the future serious competition would lessen between nation-states or political ideologies.

Instead, Huntington predicted an era of growing competition between **civilizations**: i.e., religion, ethnicity, and cultural values.

‘It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural..... The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.’

# Models of Conflict (peace)

- One world: Euphoria and Peace (Liberalism)
- Two worlds: Us and Them (East vs.) West
- 184 States, More or Less (realist theory of international relations)

# Liberalism

- Francis Fukuyama – *The End of History and the Last Man* (1989)

‘...the century that began full of self-confidence in the ultimate triumph of Western liberal democracy seems at its close to be returning full circle to where it started: not to an “end of ideology” or a convergence between capitalism and socialism, but to an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism.’

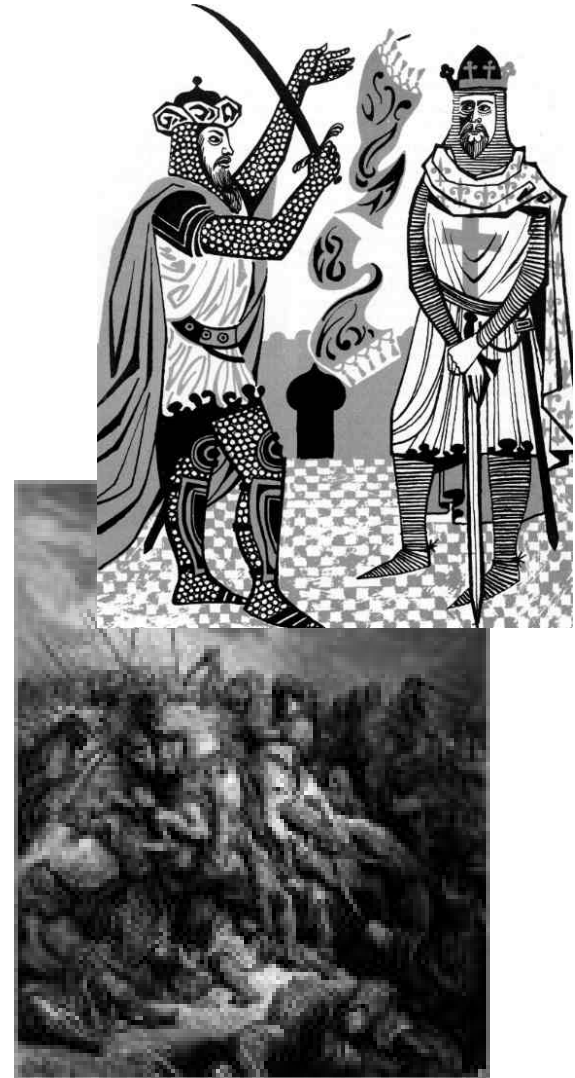
# Fukuyama's 'end of history' thesis

- History driven by battle between collectivism and individualism
- Russian Revolution tipped the balance in favour of Marxist conception of the 'good'
- Socialist project in trouble by 1970's
- Collapse of socialist project manifest when Gorbachev abandoned Brezhnev Doctrine and when Eastern Europe embraced the market



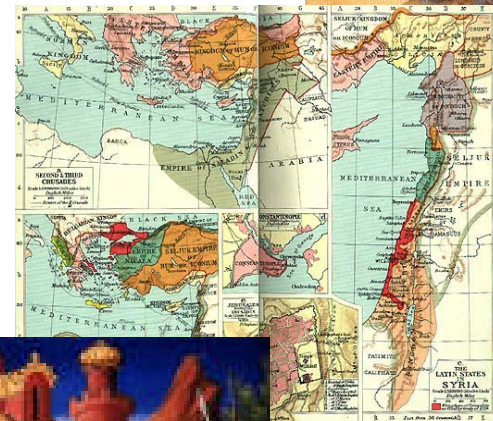
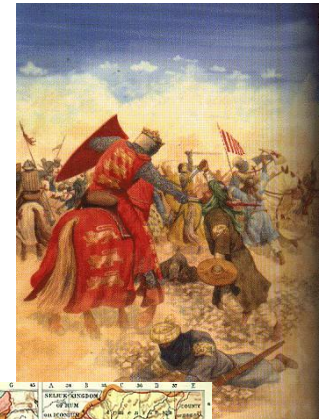
# The East/West divide from a historical perspective

- Eastern Christendom suffered grievous blows from the rise of Islam, which took so many of its richest provinces.
- The Arabic conquest in the 7th century was so swift and so thorough that the world trembled. Conquered: Egypt, cradle of monasticism; Antioch, in Turkey, where the disciples were first called Christians; north Africa, home of St Augustine, seat of a hundred bishoprics; the Holy Land itself.



# The Crusades (1096 – 1270)

- “God wills it!” was the battle cry of the thousands of Christians who joined crusades to free the Holy Land from the Turks.
- In 1071 the fierce Turks captured Jerusalem from the Saracens. The Turks at once began to persecute the Christians.
- From 1096 to 1270 there were eight major crusades and two children's crusades, both in the year 1212. Only the First and Third Crusades were successful.



# Realism

- Chaos, conflict and disintegration
- Realism draws its lessons from:
  - Cold War
  - Post-1989 Balkan wars
  - Collapse of Yugoslavia
  - Power vacuum in parts of the Caucasus
  - Chaos in parts of Africa

# Civilizational Approach

- 1.) Forces of world integration are real
- 2.) World divided between West and non-Western many
- 3.) Nation states will continue to be most important “actors” in world affairs, but their interests and conflicts will be increasingly cultural and civilizational
- Many tribal and national conflicts will exist in the future, but the most dangerous ones will be civilizational.

# The Nature of Civilizations

In this section, I outline the key points from Huntington's definition of civilizations.

**This section is very important as it will serve as a bridge or starting point to discuss IF or HOW civilizations are similar to ethnicity, race, and nationalism.**

# 1.) Civilizations as a plural concept

- Civilizations originally referred to a society type that is the opposite of “barbarism”
- A civilized society is settled, urban, and literate. Civilized is to be “good” and uncivilized is “bad”
- We are concerned with civilizations in the plural form.

## 2.) A civilization is a cultural entity

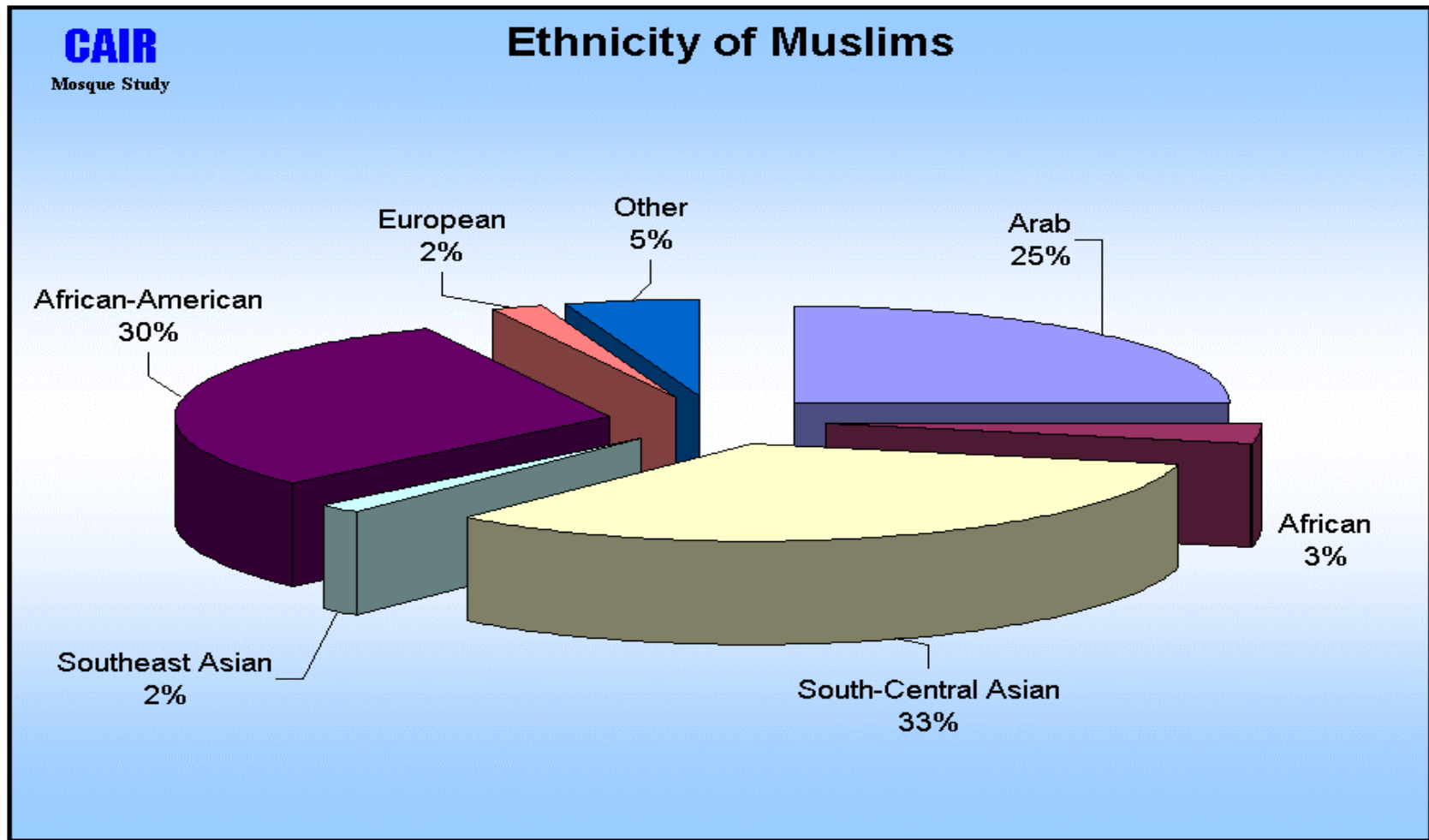
‘European communities...will share cultural features that distinguish them from Arab or Chinese communities. Arabs, Chinese and Westerners, however are not part of any broader cultural entity. They constitute civilizations.’

# Civilization and Race

- Around 1.4 Billion Muslims in the world - Only 18% are Arabs
- Largest Muslim population in Indonesia 201M. 55M Russia, 100M India, 24 in EU, 7-10 US (2nd largest religion)
- Muslims comprise 4000 ethnic groups in 128 countries
- So-called Islamic nations are members of Islamic league

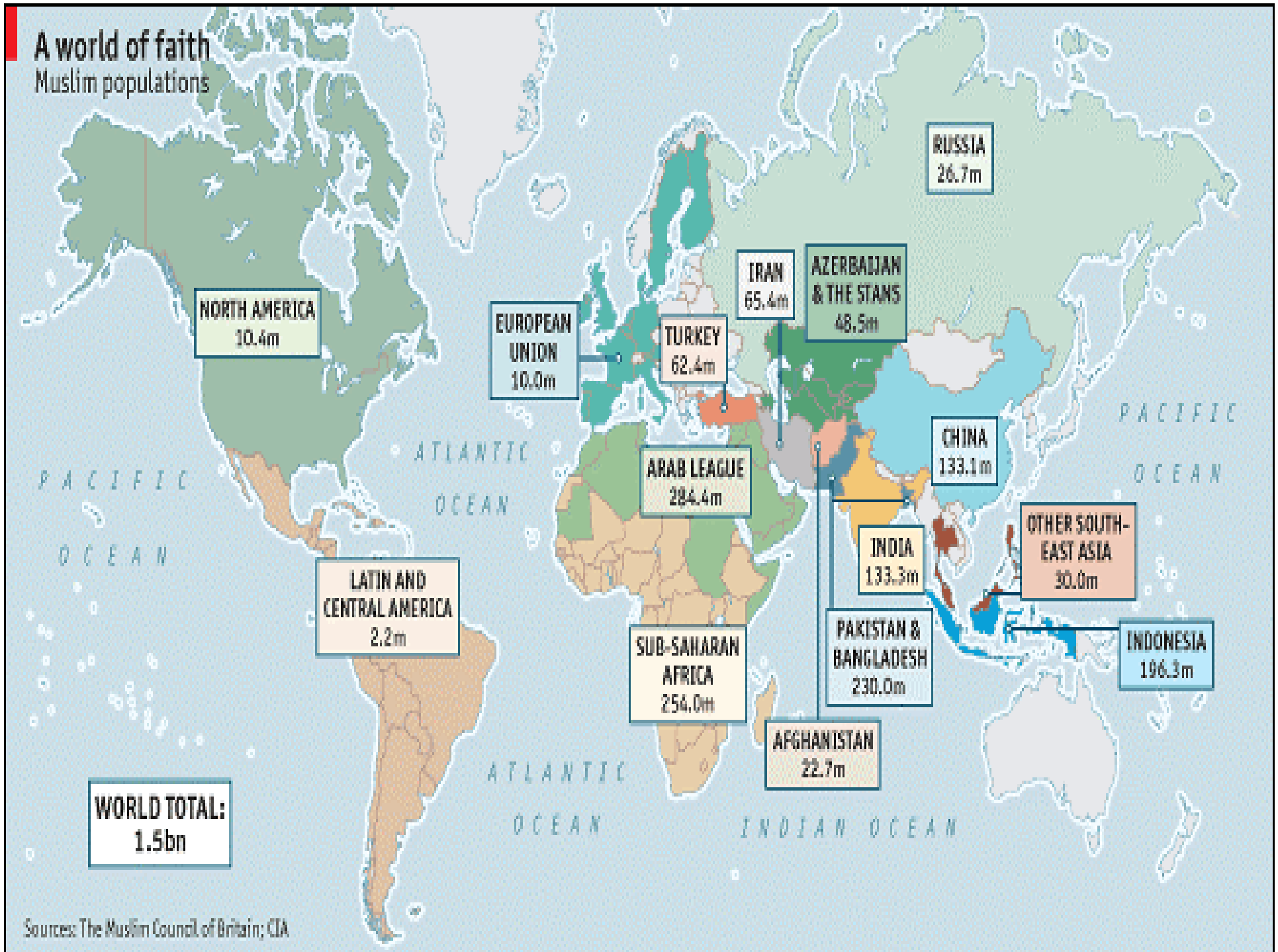


# Civilization and Race



# A world of faith

## Muslim populations



Sources: The Muslim Council of Britain; CIA

### 3.) Civilizations are Comprehensive

- None of a social group's constituent units can be understood without reference to the encompassing civilization.
- 'A civilization is...the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species.'

## 4.) Civilizations evolve

- Like other cultural systems, civilizations evolve and adapt through time.
- Civilizations, in contrast to empires and nations, will have much longer culture histories.

## 5.) Civilizations are Cultural (not political) entities

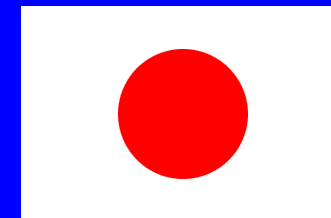
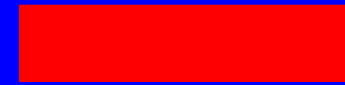
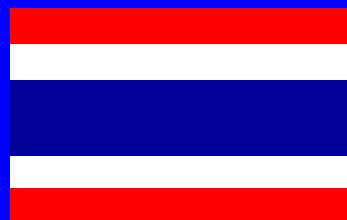
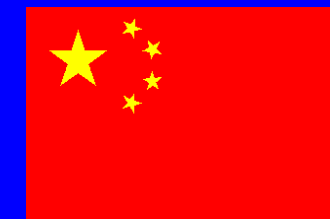
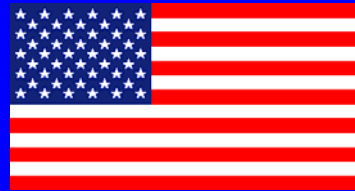
- A civilization may contain one or more political units such as city states, empires, federations, and nation states.
- In the modern world, most civilizations contain two or more nation states

## 6.) Agreement on Historical Trajectory of Civilizations

- Scholars generally agree on the identification of the major civilizations
- They differ on the total number.
- Toynbee=21; McNeill=9

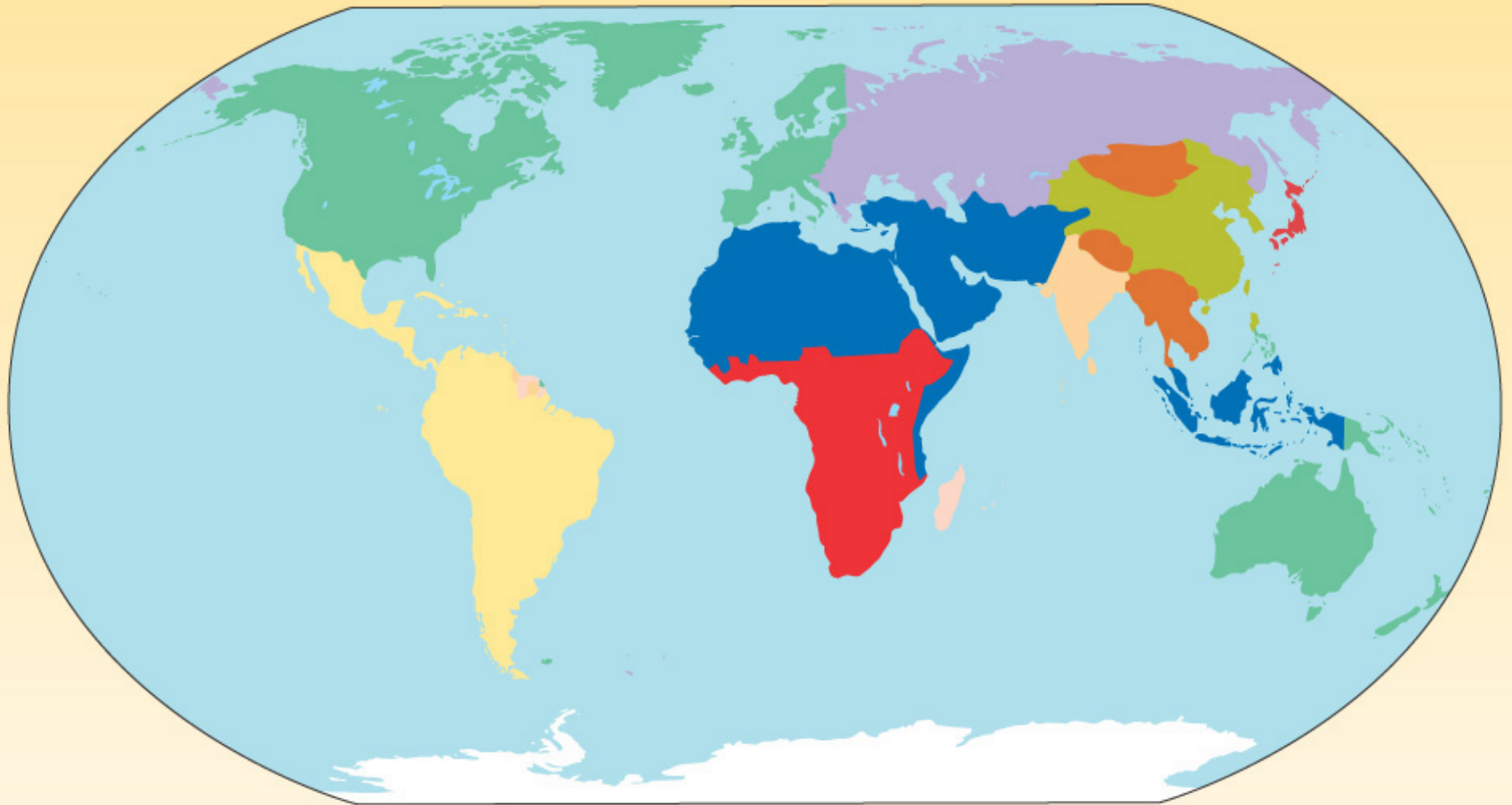
# The Major Civilizations

- Western Civilization
- Slavic/ Orthodox Civilization
- Hindu Civilization
- Islamic Civilization
- Sinic Civilization
- Japanese Civilization
- Latin American Civilization
- African Civilization
- Buddhist Civilization



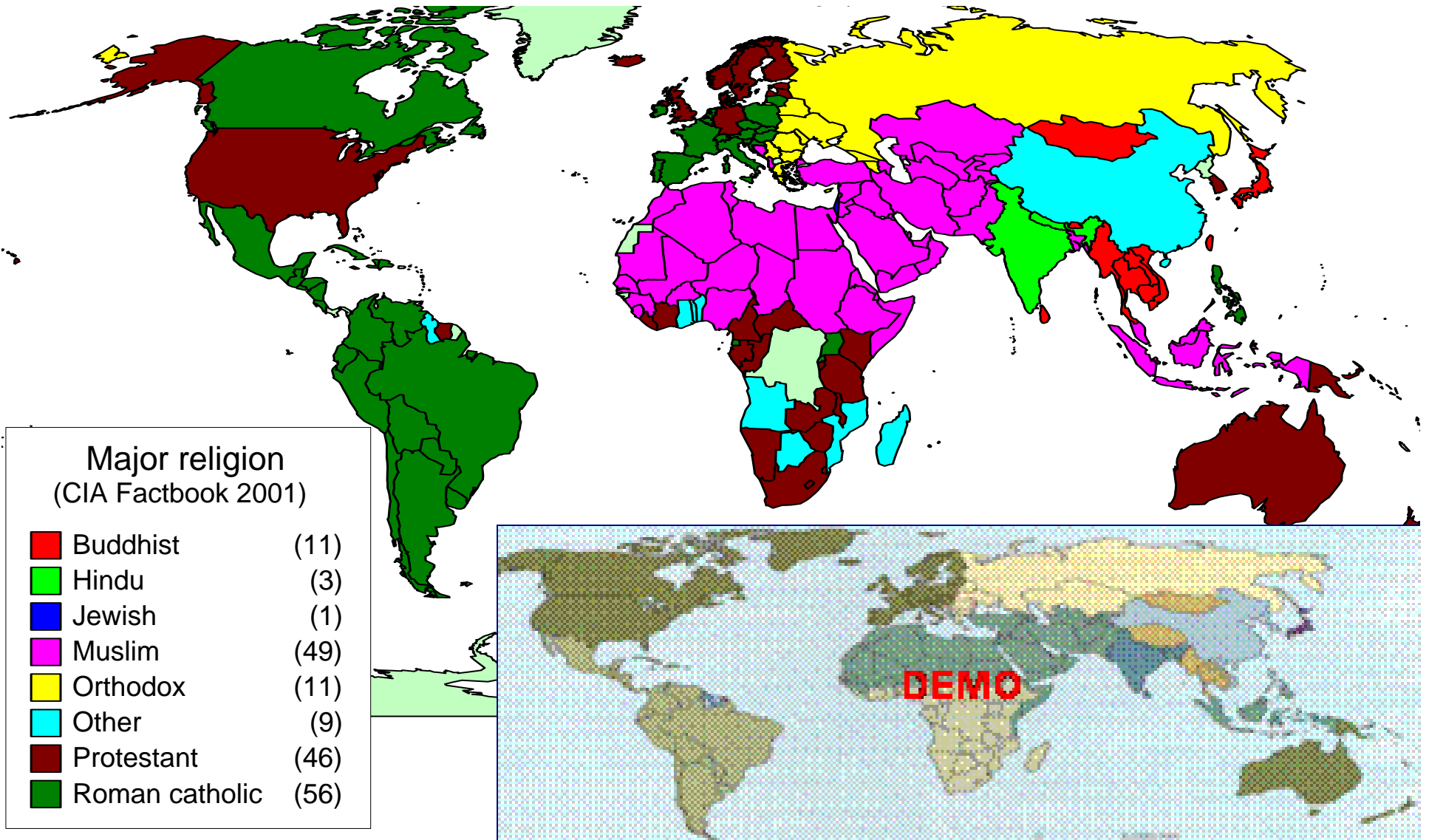
# The World of Huntington

Map 4.1 Major Civilizations of the World Today





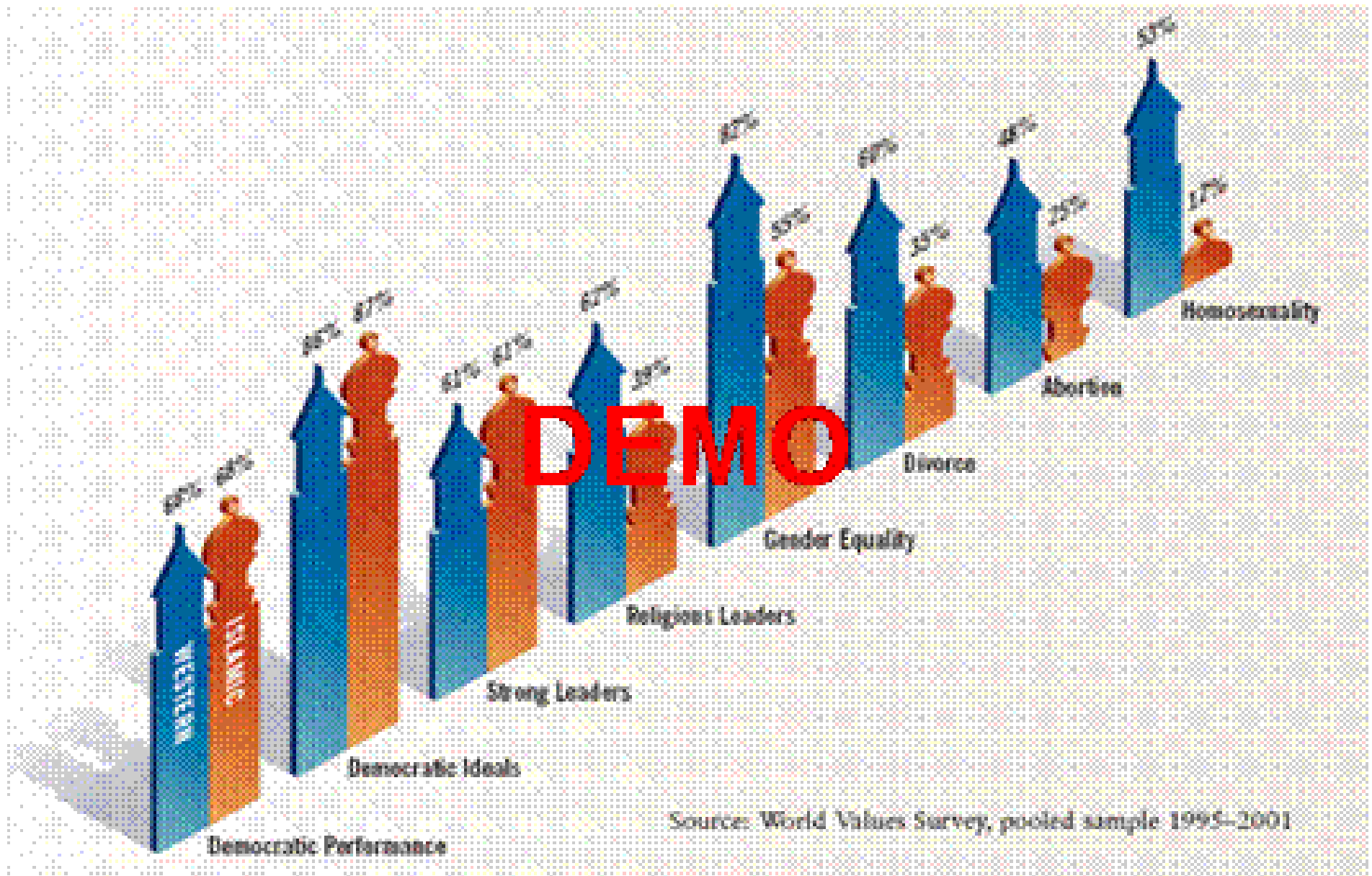
# Religion determines some civilizational borders



Empirical Test: Do people in different civilizations have important value differences?

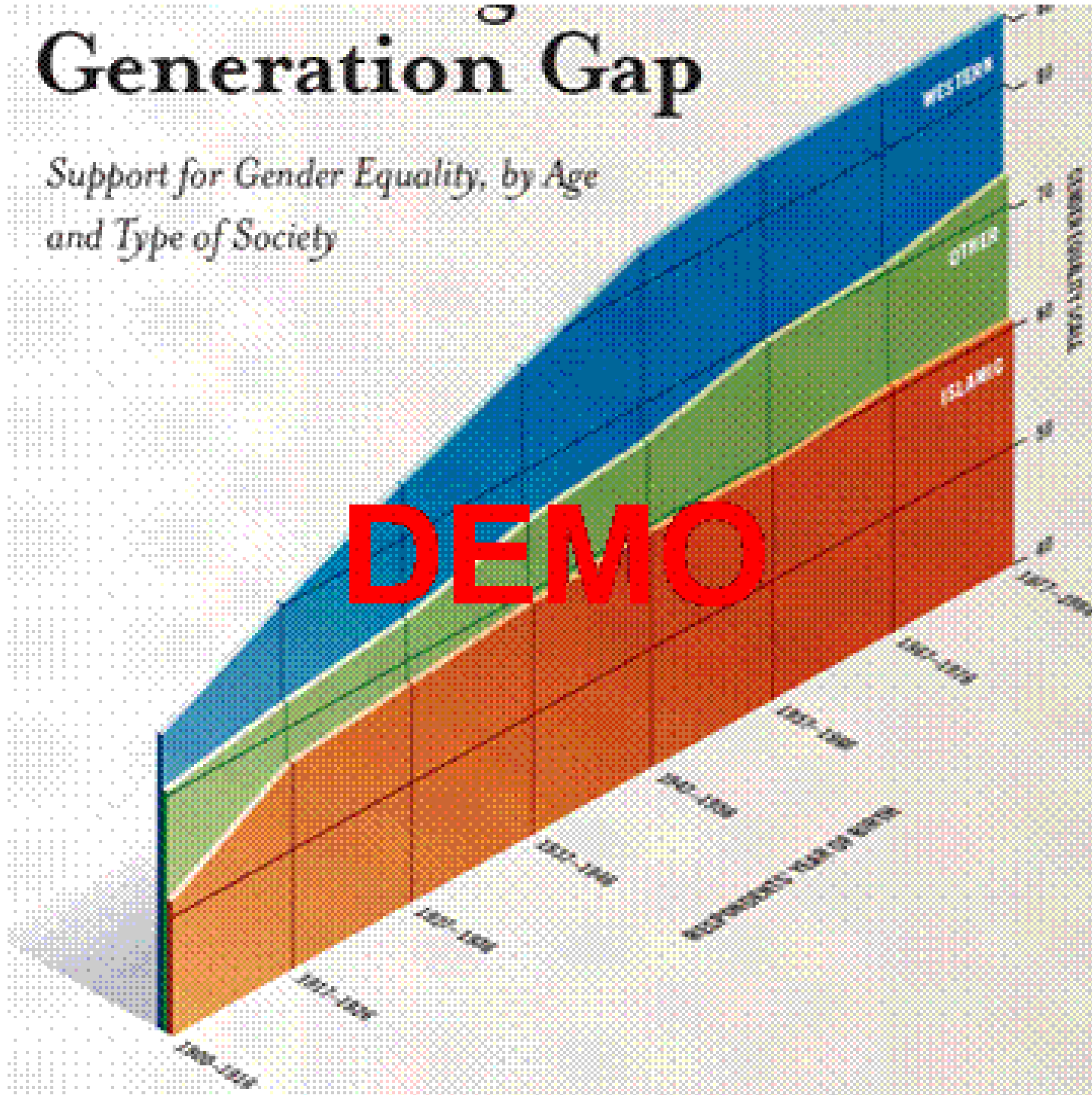


# West vs. Islam: Gender/Sexuality



# Generation Gap

*Support for Gender Equality, by Age and Type of Society*



Gender:  
West vs.  
the Rest



## Still reluctant

Arab attitudes toward improving the rights of women, % "seriously concerned"

	TOTAL	Aged		Male	Female	Secondary education or less	University or more
		18-29	30+				
Lebanon	55	57	55	50	59	52	58
Jordan	41	48	43	25	53	34	49
Kuwait	51	54	49	40	54	37	73
UAE	34	43	28	29	34	30	43
Morocco	49	53	45	43	52	21	78
Saudi Arabia	70	72	69	73	68	52	87
Egypt	51	47	54	53	52	44	58

Sources: Zogby International

# Categorizing major values

## Tradition vs. Secularism and Survival vs. Self-Expression

### *Traditional vs. Secular-Rational Values<sup>a</sup>*

#### **TRADITIONAL VALUES EMPHASIZE THE FOLLOWING:**

God is very important in respondent's life.

It is more important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination.<sup>b</sup>

Abortion is never justifiable.

Respondent has strong sense of national pride.

Respondent favors more respect for authority.

**(SECULAR-RATIONAL VALUES EMPHASIZE THE OPPOSITE)**

### *Survival vs. Self-Expression Values<sup>c</sup>*

#### **SURVIVAL VALUES EMPHASIZE THE FOLLOWING:**

Respondent gives priority to economic and physical security over self-expression and quality-of-life.<sup>d</sup>

Respondent describes self as not very happy.

Respondent has not signed and would not sign a petition.

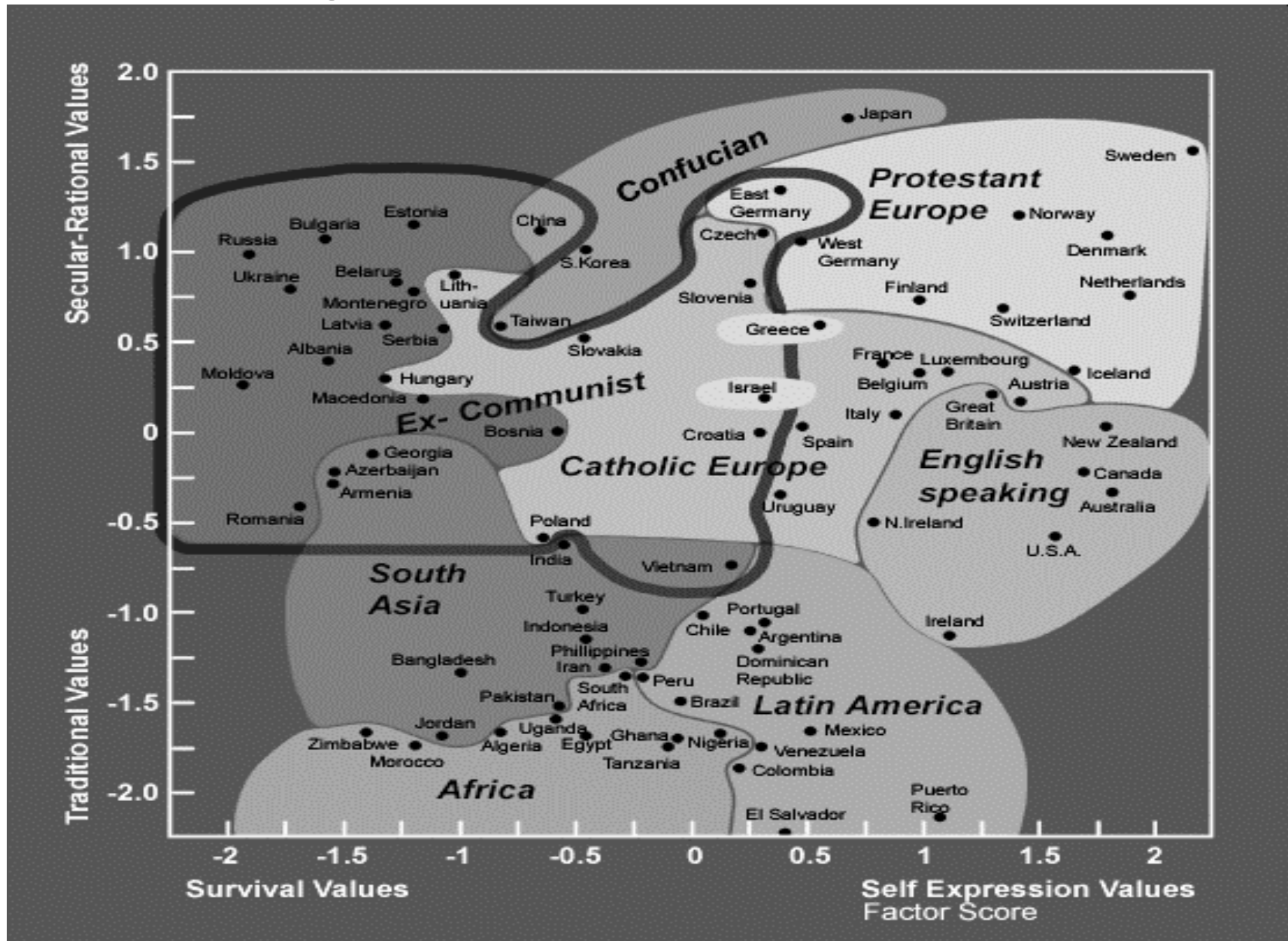
Homosexuality is never justifiable.

You have to be very careful about trusting people.

**(SELF-EXPRESSION VALUES EMPHASIZE THE OPPOSITE)**

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# Regional value differences



# Simplest explanation: Income!

