William D. Coleman
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BIOGRAPHY

William D. Coleman holds the Center for International Governance Chair in Globalization and Public Policy at the Balsillie School of International Affairs and is Professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo. He was the Founding Director of the Institute on Globalization and the Human Condition at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. Born in Nelson, British Columbia, he received his B.A. from Carleton University and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

He has written five books: *The Independence Movement in Quebec, 1945-1980* (University of Toronto Press, 1984), *Business and Politics: A Study in Collective Action* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), (with Michael M. Atkinson) *The State, Business and Industrial Change in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1989). This book was awarded the Charles H. Levine Prize for the best book in the fields of public administration and public policy by the Structure of Government Research Committee of the International Political Science Association. His two most recent books are *Financial Services, Globalization and Domestic Policy Change: A Comparison of North America and the European Union* (Macmillan, 1996) and *Agriculture in the New Global Economy* (with Wyn Grant and Timothy Josling) (Edward Elgar, 2004). He has also edited three books in the public policy field. He is the Project Director of the Globalization and Autonomy Series that is being published by the University of British Columbia Press. The first two books in this series, *Global Ordering: Institutions and Autonomy in a Changing World*, edited by Louis W. Pauly and William D. Coleman, and *Renegotiating Community:*

Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Global Contexts, edited by Diana Brydon and William D. Coleman, were published in May 2008. The second two were published in 2009: *Empires and Autonomy: Moments in the History of Globalization,* edited with Stephen Streeter and John Weaver, and *Unsettled Legitimacy: Power and Authority in a Global Era,* edited with Steven Bernstein. In addition to these books, he has written articles dealing with Quebec politics, business-government relations, changes in agricultural policy, the making of financial services policy and globalization that have been published in journals in Canada, the United States and Europe.

In 1996, he received the Konrad Adenauer Research Award from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung in Bonn, Germany, awarded annually to a scholar in the humanities and social sciences in Canada. He used this award to pursue further research on agricultural policy in Germany and in the European Union. In January 2002, he was awarded a Major Collaborative Research Initiatives grant of 2.5 million dollars (CDN) by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Together with 40 colleagues from across Canada and another 43 from outside Canada, he studied the relationships between "Globalization and Autonomy." He was named a Fellow by the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation in May 2007.

He is a 1994 winner of a Canada-wide 3M Teaching Fellow awarded by the Society for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education. In 1997, he was awarded an Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations Teaching Award. McMaster University awarded him the President's Award for Educational Leadership in 2002.

ABSTRACT

Penticton (BC) is a very different environment today than it was in the late 1950s and 1960s when William D. Coleman was growing up there. He has seen change over the years and, as a scholar and researcher, he has pondered its impact on his province. What does globalization mean for British Columbia? How does it influence us, our current and future lives? Do we have to feel overwhelmed by what is going on around us or can we influence and shape the way globalization affects our province today and into the future?

LECTURE

Globalization and British Columbia: A Long History?

University of Northern British Columbia,

OCTOBER 23, 2008

Globalization is taking place in local places, small and large, across the world and many of those living in these places do not even realize it. Globalization is not out there in places like the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank; it is not something far away. It is taking place here, right here in Prince George, at the University of Northern British Columbia, and in British Columbia, an important part of Canada. Globalization brings change to the way you and I live our lives today. There is nothing inevitable, or unchangeable, or unstoppable about globalization. The processes that together we call globalization today were started by us, by our leaders, our inventors, our creative thinkers, our transnational corporations, our governments. These processes did not just materialize out of thin air; human beings like you and me and institutions that we have created took decisions that opened the door to globalization. So the other point that I will emphasize is that if you do not like what globalizing processes have brought, if you believe that they have undermined social justice or human rights or even the very quality of life you have, you can act. You have agency. You can work toward changing these processes.

I am going to make these arguments in several steps. I will begin by speaking a little bit about myself personally and how I came to

be a scholar who has devoted now about 15 years to the study of globalization. I will then turn to talk about globalization and explain how we can understand the ways it is changing our lives and why I think that we can challenge those aspects of globalization that we find wrong-headed or harmful. I will outline what I think globalization is, providing you with a short definition. Then I am going to take you back to the small town in British Columbia where I grew up, Penticton; I will point to some of the aspects of that town that I remember as a boy and then use these memories to comment upon globalization in the present day. I am sure that some of the changes that I note about Penticton, my home town, will be meaningful to you here in Prince George and to those of you who come from other parts of the country and the world. I will then use that definition to talk about globalization in the areas of culture, immigration, indigenous peoples and the economy.

Becoming an academic interested in globalization

I was born in Nelson, still a small town in the eastern Kootenay region of BC. When I was six years old, my father switched jobs and we moved to Penticton, another small town here in BC, some 13,000 people. It is the city where I grew up with my four brothers, my sister, my grandfather on my mother's side, and my parents. My mother still lives there today in the same house in which I grew up. In thinking about my journey from there to being able to deliver a lecture today to you on globalization, several snapshots come back to me that affected how I took that journey.

22 November 1963. I was sitting in my Grade 8 English class taught by Mrs. Moss in McNicoll Park School when an announcement came over the public address system from the principal, Mr. Donovan. His voice was shaking and he said that he was sad to report that John F. Kennedy, the President of the United States, had been shot in Dallas, Texas. About 45 minutes later, he came on the PA system again to

announce that President Kennedy had died and he dismissed school for the day. I went home and down into the basement where we kept our little black and white television set. My grandfather, then 85 years old, had pulled his chair up right in front of the television. He was sitting, slumped forward, his face no more than 20 centimetres away from the screen, and tears were rolling uncontrollably down his cheeks.

I mention this event because my grandfather was passionate about politics and what was going on in the world around him. He differed from my parents in that regard. I found his passion infectious and the way he opened to the world with his heart moving. I wanted to be passionate like him.

Grade 12 History Class. I took a course on European, particularly British, history in Grade 12 from a new teacher at the school, Mr. Roald. He was a quiet man, very serious about history, and I learned a great deal from him. Toward the end of the course, he had a small party at his house for our class. At that party, he pulled his bound M.A. thesis off his bookshelf and showed it to me. It was the first time that I had actually seen something like a thesis. He explained the research he had done for it and then mentioned he was working on a Ph.D part-time from Gonzaga University in Washington State. He talked excitedly for a few minutes about the research he was doing for his doctorate. It is hard to explain why, but seeing that bound thesis and hearing him talk about research swept over me. I thought to myself that it would be wonderful to be able to explore things deeply that I did not understand in that way.

Carleton University, February 1971. I left BC to go to Carleton University in Ottawa for a number of reasons including wanting to see another part of the country. I was not sure what my major subject would be when I left but had settled upon Political Science by my second year. Living in residence near Colonel By Drive, I woke up one morning in my third year, in October 1970, to see army

tanks driving toward the center of the city past the campus. It was the time of the FLQ (Front de libération du Québec) crisis and the War Measures Act. It was a momentous time for someone like myself majoring in Political Science. A few months after that event a group of radical Quebec nationalists came to the Carleton campus to speak against the decision to use martial law the previous fall and to outline their hopes for the creation of an independent, socialist Quebec. One of these men in particular, Michel Chartrand, a trade union leader from Montreal amazed me. His eloquence, his passion, his commitment to social justice, and his devotion to an independent Quebec – both moved me and puzzled me. I had never seen, live in person, someone who seemed so passionate about social justice, so certain about his beliefs, and so confident that he knew the way ahead that had to be followed. I realized too that I could not be like him, so confident in how to change the world. Rather I came away from the meeting wanting to understand why they were so angry. I wanted to do some research.

Graduate Studies, University of Chicago. I was fortunate to be accepted to pursue graduate studies at the University of Chicago where I ultimately wrote my dissertation on the independence movement in Quebec and why it existed, which also was published later as my first book. I found myself in a university environment that was far more intense than I had expected. It was intimidating and often frightening. There is much that I could say about it but tonight I will mention only one aspect of my graduate education. I had to do three years of course work, involving 27 courses over that period. Most surprising here was the fact that not one of these was required. I was free to take courses in any department or school at the university; in fact, I was encouraged to do so. I was told that I was learning to become a social scientist, not a political scientist. It was my first exposure to interdisciplinarity: being pushed to consider diverse theories, different methodologies, and different disciplines to focus

on problems. Learning to think and write in an interdisciplinary way was crucial to my later career, especially once I began to do research on phenomena as complex as globalization.

In summary, passion about politics, the idea of research, commitments to social justice, interdisciplinarity—each of these influences from my youth and early adulthood prepared me to be open to studying the world and to be predisposed to carry out research on the contemporary phase of globalization that has intensified its force over the past quarter century.

Defining Globalization

Globalizing processes have become the subject of daily commentary in the mass media, and a common reference in the discourses of politicians, corporate executives, social movements, and a wide range of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Whether invoked publicly or privately, the word globalization carries a strong emotive content, signalling a position in major debates of the day, whether to liberalize trade further, to accept that environmental warming is real, to resist Western cultural influences, to give support to human rights for women, or to detect the legacies of colonialism and imperialism.

Over the past 15 years, academics have been wrestling with the question: what is globalization? As often occurs in the academy, however, we find that there are many answers. Still, the word "global" can be counterposed to "national," "regional," or "local" and given meaning in this way. Scholte (2005) offers that the word "global" might be profitably understood as referring to phenomena that are "transplanetary" or "transworld." In this reading, globalization refers to processes, specifically the spread and growth of transplanetary connections between people (Scholte, 2005, p. 59). This growth might take place in economic, political, cultural, migration, military, or other realms.

Nor is there anything inevitable or necessary about this growth. Transplanetary connections have been growing for centuries, if not

millennia. Even if we look back only a century, we note that the last half of the nineteenth century and the first fourteen years of the twentieth were characterized by accelerating growth in transplanetary connections in most areas of social life, albeit mediated by nation-states and imperial powers. After the First World War, however, these connections shrank or were abruptly ended by economic, political, and other actors to the point that the levels of human migration and economic interdependence at the end of the nineteenth century would not be seen again until the 1980s (Bordo *et al.*, 1999; Hirst & Thompson, 1999; Bairoch, 2000). Similarly more recent events like the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York City on 11 September 2001 or the collapse of the Doha Round trade negotiations or the current financial crisis have led many to ask "Is globalization over?"

Most observers, even those who are skeptical, do allow, however, that the growth of transplanetary connections has accelerated in the period following the Second World War, and particularly since the late 1970s. There are varying explanations for this acceleration. At the heart of most of these is the continued dynamism of capitalism coupled with innovations in information and communication technologies that have permitted transplanetary connections to become more "supraterritorial," to use a common term.

These new forms of planetary connections and their consequences are only now beginning to be understood. Economists argue that they appear to make financial crises more severe and more difficult to overcome. Wars like the US invasion of Iraq, the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah, and the civil war in Sri Lanka tend to very quickly become global spectacles, leading some scholars to coin the term "global civil wars." Others suggest that imaginations are expanded by these changes. It is easier for individuals to place themselves in a world context and they are more likely to imagine themselves doing new things in different ways than before.

Based on this discussion, I define globalization as follows for this lecture: "Globalization is the transformative growth of connections among people across the planet. In the contemporary era, many of these connections take a supraterritorial form. In ever more profound ways, globalization ties together what people do, what they experience, how they perceive that experience, and how they reshape their lives. In short, individuals and communities begin to see the world as one place and to imagine new roles for themselves within it."

For understanding the current period, the most important term in this definition is that of supraterritorial: it means that the connections are less confined by the territorial boundaries of nation-states than they were in the past. Some examples: internet chat rooms, world financial markets, spread of diseases like SARS and HIV/AIDS, changes in global climate.

Some scholars argue that the combination of these new technologies and the growth of transworld relationships have led to new horizontal organizational forms that compete increasingly with the hierarchical structures of nation-states and their bureaucracies. Manuel Castells (1999) describes it as a "network society." Since the information technology revolution, networks have become more efficient forms of social organization due to their flexibility, their scalability and their survivability.

The network structural form becomes increasingly predominant in the economy as evidenced by global financial markets, transformations in international trade, regionalization of production and the emergence of the "network enterprise" and global business networks. Some see these networks as having nodes of varying importance in cities around the world. They argue that the linkages between cities are now as important if not more important than the linkages between countries.

Networks also become more and more important in the realm of culture. Cultural expressions of all kinds are fundamentally changed

and reshaped as networks permit the formation of an electronic hypertext that enables television, radio, print-media, film, video, art and the Internet to be integrated and networked into an increasingly global system. This global system departs from the hierarchical approaches of the past in being more *interactive*, more *two-way*. We can watch things on You Tube, comment on them in blogs, upload our own videos as a response and so on. Similarly, in the political realm, as the need for continuous cooperation among states in most areas of governmental activity grows exponentially, we find transnational information networks, enforcement networks and harmonization networks prominent in the executive, legislative and even judicial realms of government (Slaughter, 2004). Corresponding to this growth of official transnational networks is the networking of social movements, often characterized as the emergence of a global civil society.

Nonetheless, this expansion in the global coverage of interdependence, its importance in daily lives of people and the rapidity of the social changes involved are all more pronounced in the wealthy countries as a group than between the wealthy countries and those with lesser wealth. What changes over time is not the degree of interdependence between the wealthier societies and the poorer ones, but the movement of some societies to join the club of the wealthy. Moreover, the changes are such that particular parts of poorer societies might be incorporated into these relations of interdependence, thereby intensifying the differences between these parts and the given society as a whole (the Bangalore phenomenon). Even in the wealthier societies, gaps widen between the rich and the poor, as shown by a report released recently by the OECD, the club of the wealthy countries. And the gap has become deeper in Canada than in most other countries in the club.

In each of these respects, globalization processes contribute to deepening fissures between those societies participating in globalization and those sidelined by it, and within those societies,

including our own, between those who are part of global networks and those who are excluded from them. For many countries outside the wealthy core, considerable despair and difficulties come from this widening gap, when contrasted with the hope in many of them, for example, that existed at the time of decolonization and independence half a century ago.

Globalization and British Columbia

For this discussion of globalization and British Columbia, I am going to return to my youth. I will provide you with some snapshots of life in Penticton then and use these to comment on how things might be different now.

Culture

Let me begin by talking about music. Listening to music in Penticton in the 1960s was a far more limited and isolated practice than it is today. We had one radio station, CKOK. On weekdays, it played rock music for one hour, between 4:00 and 5:00 in the afternoon in a program called "The Guys and Gals Show." Eventually, the station expanded its programming, adding a new show called the "Homework Hit Parade." In the evening, between 7:00 and 8:00 PM, a disk jockey would play songs from the Top 10 Hits of the week according to Billboard Magazine and take phone calls about homework. "I am having trouble with question 7 in Mr. Donovan's grade 8 math class. Does anyone have an idea how to do it?" And occasionally answers would be provided by someone else phoning in. We purchased music from the one local music store, usually a small record called a "45" which had one song on each side, and they cost $1.00 each. The store would have the top hits in 45s available lined up on the wall behind the counter. On television, the only exposure to important rock groups of the day occurred on Sunday nights when the Ed Sullivan Show from New York City aired on CBC. Usually, he would have one popular music singer or group on and they would

perform one song. No "Much Music," no videos. The mountains blocked out radio stations from Vancouver where, rumour had it, amazingly, they had a station that played rock music all day long. A few people had cable television so they got three additional channels to CBC, but there was not much music on those either.

In simply describing this situation, you can easily see how much things have changed in the past 40 years. If we refer back to our definition of globalization as the spread of transplanetary connections some now being supraterritorial, just think about it. With the internet, there is immediate access to all kinds of music from every part of the world. A simple review of the playlists on your own MP3 players is testament to the globalization of music.

But it is not only the distribution of music, but the form and production of music that has changed. During a meeting of the Tunisian sub-group in my research project, a colleague in the field of ethnomusicology once played three pieces of music. All three were in Arabic. The first one was a traditional Tunisian song, produced in Tunis, and it seemed "foreign" to my ears because it had no regular beat and the instruments were ones not only that I had not heard before but also that many of the younger Tunisian scholars in the room were not familiar with either. She then played the same song reproduced some 40 years later in what she called a "modern" style, produced in Egypt and designed to sell across the Arab world and perhaps beyond. What was changed was the introduction of a regular Western beat, and somewhat to my surprise, the room changed when the music came on: people began moving to the beat around the room. So through more transplanetary connections, these Tunisians had absorbed a certain westernization of the music and responded to it more physically than they did to the traditional song. Finally, she played a "world music" version of the same song, one that is distributed around the world as part of the world music genre and where transplanetary connections play an even more pronounced

role. This one differed from the previous two because it featured the introduction of the electric guitar, western-style drums, and a couple of instruments from the Indian sub-continent. And it was digitally mixed in three different cities: Paris, New York and Mumbai. For this piece of music, the younger people in the room smiled and moved, obviously happy, while the older ones looked confused.

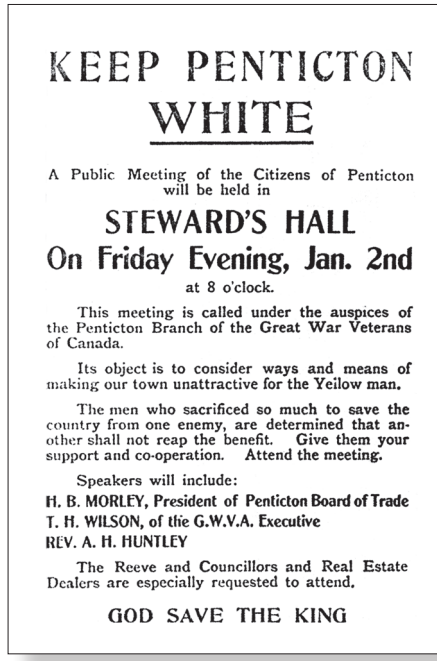
The discussions around the table that day focused on a simple question: were Tunisians in danger of losing their culture? It is an important one in studies of globalization and culture. Some social scientists and public intellectuals have hypothesized that this latest phase of globalization will gradually lead to the spread of a global culture highly influenced by Western, particularly American, values and practices across the world. Others offer a similar hypothesis but place more emphasis on global capitalism and suggest that a highly materialistic and consumerist culture built around commodification will become dominant. In both hypotheses, accordingly, contemporary globalization is understood to bring an acceleration of the loss of distinctive cultural practices, languages and communities in the world.

Research tells us, however, that things are more complicated than that. As people become more aware of the world as a single place, as they are confronted more directly with what differentiates them from other communities around the world, a peculiar thing happens. They tend to think more about what differentiates them from these other communities and then they often begin to accentuate these differences rather than emphasizing what is shared with others. I could give many examples and I will offer you briefly one of these. As the world has globalized, as transplanetary connections have grown over the past 40 years, we have also seen a significant rise in religious fundamentalism at the same time. People usually think about Islam when they hear these words but it is not only Islam that features those emphasizing a return to fundamentals.

Christian evangelicals in North America and South America, particular branches of Judaism, and Hindu fundamentalism in India are all examples of rapid growth in these types of religious practices. In the Roman Catholic Church, the rather liberal Popes of the 50s, 60s and 70s, John the XXIII and Paul VI, have been followed by very conservative ones, John Paul II and now Benedict XVI. Similar to other fundamentalist changes, these latter Popes have retreated from the ecumenical movement of 40 and 50 years ago to emphasizing basic values. So on the surface, places in the world might look more similar because of McDonald's and Starbucks and Wal Mart being found most places in the world to some degree. Underneath, though, globalization also seems to lead many people to see differences. Why else would we have more ethnic, communal, often civic wars occurring now than perhaps at any other time in history – Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Russia, the Congo, Uganda, Peru, Kenya, Myanmar…I could go on.

Immigration

The poster advocating for Penticton "to remain white" [Figure 1] was posted in the town in the early 1920s; it represented a type of racism and a fear of the other that was in the air at the time. Some 40 years later, the Penticton of my youth was also very homogenous. When I look at the group photograph of the 300 plus students who graduated from PenHi (Penticton Secondary School) in the spring of 1968, every one of them was Caucasian, white. All were Christian. I did not meet the first Jewish person in my life until I came to Carleton. In fact, the city is not all that different today. I will argue that the interaction between globalization and immigration has changed several of our large cities in profound ways, thereby opening the gap between these cities and smaller towns and rural areas in Canada.



KEEP PENTICTON
WHITE

A Public Meeting of the Citizens of Penticton will be held in

STEWARD'S HALL
On Friday Evening, Jan. 2nd
at 8 o'clock.

This meeting is called under the auspices of the Penticton Branch of the Great War Veterans of Canada.

Its object is to consider ways and means of making our town unattractive for the Yellow man.

The men who sacrificed so much to save the country from one enemy, are determined that another shall not reap the benefit. Give them your support and co-operation. Attend the meeting.

Speakers will include:
H. B. MORLEY, President of Penticton Board of Trade
T. H. WILSON, of the G.W.V.A. Executive
REV. A. H. HUNTLEY

The Reeve and Councillors and Real Estate Dealers are especially requested to attend.

GOD SAVE THE KING

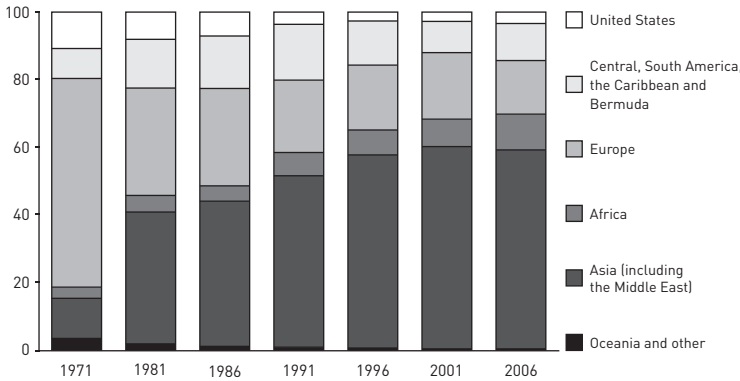
Figure 1.

Changing sources for immigration

The building of transplanetary connections through the movements of large numbers of people is not new either in Canada or elsewhere. Canada received very large numbers of immigrants from the British Isles in the late 18th and throughout the 19th centuries and then from other parts of Europe at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. Proportionately, the numbers of immigrants received at that time were at least as high, if not higher than the contemporary period. After the end of the Second World War and continuing up to the present day, Canada has again received large numbers of immigrants relative to its population size. In the 50-year period from 1961 to 2001, the country welcomed over

4.5 million immigrants, representing 15 per cent of the population of the country. That is a large number and few countries have increased their population through immigration to that degree in the world.

In the late 1960s, in a globalizing move, Canada moved away from the somewhat racist immigration policy that had been in place since the end of the First World War [Graph 1]. The country decided to accept immigrants from almost anywhere as long as they met certain defined criteria. This globalizing move has worked. Since that time, our population has diversified significantly in terms of the cultural backgrounds and geographical places from which immigrants come. Before 1961, immigrants from the UK, other parts of Europe and the US accounted for close to 95 per cent of immigrants. Today, these countries account for only 22 per cent of our immigrants, while the number from Asia has risen from 2.7 per cent in the earlier period to over 58 per cent today. We also receive more from Africa and from the Caribbean and Latin America than in the past. On each of the usual criteria of culture—language, religion, other cultural practices, the arts—these immigrants are more different from the long-standing dominant English and French groups than their predecessors at the end of the 19th century.



Graph 1.

One indication of this difference comes in religion. Just over 78 per cent of the non-immigrant population is Christian, and another 16 per cent say that they have no religion, but are probably socialized to Christian norms. So a mere 6 per cent of the non-immigrant population is not Christian, with those in the Jewish population the largest group of these (just under 1 per cent). If we look at the immigrant population, it is much more diverse and ever increasingly so. For example, for the period 1996-2001, Christians accounted for 37 per cent, Muslims for 18 per cent, Buddhists for 3.7 per cent, Hindus for 6.3 per cent, Sikhs for 4.5 per cent. The number professing no religion had risen to 22.7 per cent, probably reflecting the strong numbers of immigrants from Mainland China.

This increase in the cultural diversity of the immigrant population is not experienced equally in all parts of Canada. It is more pronounced in the English-speaking provinces, particularly Ontario and British Columbia, and within these provinces in the cities of Toronto and Vancouver respectively. From the point of view of globalization theory, these two cities have evolved more than other Canadian cities to fit the mould of what some scholars have termed "global cities." About 44 per cent of Toronto's population is foreign born, compared to 40 per cent in Miami, a target of Latin American immigrants in the US, 38 per cent in Vancouver, 31 per cent in Sydney and Los Angeles, 24 per cent in New York City, and 18 per cent in Montreal.

Statistics Canada, our national statistics bureau, has carried out studies of what the cities of Toronto and Vancouver might look like in 2017. The studies show that over 50 per cent of Toronto's population and close to 50 per cent of Vancouver's population will be from visible minorities. In Toronto, ten years from now, about 18 per cent of the total population, some 1.2 million persons, will be immigrants from South Asia and 12 per cent from China; in Vancouver, about 23 per cent will be from China and 11 per cent from South Asia. Of all the immigrants to Canada from China and South Asia, around 73 per cent of them will settle in these two cities.

These developments are significant because they suggest that Canada will be adding several cultural communities to the long-standing British-origin and French-origin ones. They are sufficiently different from the dominant ones that assimilation is unlikely in the short or even medium term. Nor is assimilation any longer the policy of the government. Moreover, these changes are creating deep differences within Canada between the largest cities on the one side and the smaller cities, towns, and rural areas on the other. Whereas multiculturalism might make sense to those living in the largest cities, it might be viewed negatively outside those cities.

Reinforcement of cultural communities

The story about immigration and globalization does not end here, however. If we are to look back half a century and try to compare the situation of immigrants from South Asia and East Asia then to their situation now, it is very different. In fact, it is easier for immigrants to retain their culture from home, if not to reinforce it once they live here. In the past it was highly expensive to travel, so immigrants might go 10, 20 or 30 years before they could travel home, if they did at all. Long-distance telephone connections were also very expensive, so the telephone would only be used in crucial situations, such as a death in the family. Access to cultural developments at home was much more difficult, such that people's attachment to their home culture was based on an imaginary one, locked into the time that they left their home country. They were often shocked when and if they had a chance to return home. They often could not understand and accept how much their home culture had evolved or changed.

Each of these factors is different today as a result of globalization. The cost of travel has fallen drastically, as has the expense of long-distance telephone. New technologies like the internet, voice over internet protocol, web cams, and so on permit new arrivals to Canada to remain in close, if not daily touch with home. Through the internet and local shops, they also have access to cultural products

like newspapers, films, music and other forms of popular culture. Transportation technologies have also changed the world food industry, making it possible to cook and eat like home. Through globalization, immigrants in Canada today can make their home in Canada much more like their home in their country of origin. They can live in two cultures at once in ways never before possible.

Diasporas and economic globalization

Globalization has also changed the economics of immigration. With immigration have come more developed economic relations with many of the home countries of those concerned. A minority of the more wealthy in these communities are involved in businesses that tie the two countries together. These ties are often somewhat gendered. For example, in Canada, in the Chinese community, we talk of astronaut families: the father has a business in China or in both countries and the mother and the children live in Canada. We find similar patterns in other Asian diaspora communities. In this respect, having immigrants retain ties to "home" and having them in touch with cultural developments at "home" may be in the economic interest of Canada. India and China have had record levels of growth, far outstripping levels found in Canada and other Western countries, for over a decade now.

In summary, the processes of contemporary globalization, when married to immigration today, are leading to high levels of cultural diversity in our largest cities, the presence of cultural communities that mix together the cultures from home and from Canada in new and innovative ways, and new dynamic economic ties between sending countries and Canada that reinforce a need for multiculturalism. And while this is happening at an accelerating rate in these large cities, it occurs much less in the smaller towns, cities and rural areas like the Okanagan Valley. The gaps in the degree of cultural diversity of the population between the large cities and the rest of the country have never been deeper.

Indigenous Peoples

Returning to Penticton once again, like many British Columbians, I grew up in a place situated beside an Indian reservation. Before the Europeans arrived in Canada, the territory now called BC was home to the largest number of aboriginal peoples of all places in Canada. Only in BC were there communities large enough to build small towns or cities. Not surprisingly, then, given its temperate climate, the Okanagan Valley and neighbouring areas was home for an aboriginal nation [Map 1]. In their own language they call themselves Syilx. The word "Okanagan" comes from a Syilx word "S-Ookanhkchinx" meaning ""transport toward the head or top end" and refers to "the people travelling from the head of the Okanagan Lake to where the Okanagan river meets the Columbia river." A Syilx community lived in the area of Penticton along the Okanagan River which joined two lakes, now called Okanagan and Skaha. I went to school with some boys and girls from the reservation. They were quiet, not socially accepted in school, kept to themselves, and usually dropped out of school by grade 9 or 10. In my graduating class of some 300 students, not one was aboriginal.

Let us jump ahead to the present period and ask how has globalization interacted with the somewhat abject, culturally discriminatory and racist situation that I knew in Penticton when I was growing up. If you ask aboriginal peoples themselves, as I have done with some colleagues in one of the books that will come out of my research project about globalization and autonomy, they tend to say,"lots of bad stuff, some good stuff" (Blaser *et al.*, forthcoming).

The "bad stuff" they see to be more of the same: globalization does not look much different to them than early periods of colonization and displacement from their traditional lands, denigration of their cultures and their religions, repression of their languages, and changing their living situations through the exploitation of natural resources. If anything, with contemporary globalization, there is


LEGEND
City
International boundary
Provincial boundary
Syilx people
C A N A D A
ALBERTA
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
Kamloops
Okanagan Lake
Kelowna
Penticton
Penticton Indian Reserve
Vancouver
Strait of Georgia
Vancouver Island
Juan de Fuca Strait
UNITED STATES
N
SCALE
0 50 100 km

Map 1.

an acceleration in the penetration of the global market economy into their living spaces, further altering their ways of life. Resource development expansion, in particular, has substantially reduced, if not eliminated in many instances, the possibility of a sustainable, subsistence economy. With these economic developments has come in many instances a growing urbanization of indigenous peoples, and with that development a further marginalization into poverty and social despair. We all know about the downtown East side in Vancouver, but there are similar, if not worse, areas in Prairie cities, particularly Regina and Winnipeg, as well as in Central and Eastern Canada.

The "good stuff" that has come out of globalization, they might say, is a growing sense that they are not alone. Let me give three examples of this change.

Globalization of ideas about human rights

Since the end of the Second World War, partially in response to the Holocaust, partially in response to racism associated with Euro-American imperialism, there has been a globalization of the idea of *human* rights: rights that every person has simply because he or she is a human being. These ideas have been institutionalized globally at least symbolically through the United Nations in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1966.

Indigenous peoples around the world have read those documents and absorbed their meaning. They also noticed how the British and other European empires ended around the same time and many colonized territories became independent. To the extent to which decolonization might also be understood as part of contemporary globalization, it has led to greater consciousness of the many forms of cultural suppression that had seemed a natural part of the "civilizing" process in earlier generations (Niezen, 2003,

p. 41ff). In Article 2 of the UN General Assembly 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, self-determination—governing your own affairs—was for the first time raised to the status of a "right": "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of the fact that they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Canadian aboriginal claims to a right to self-government grow out of these global processes.

Development of a global indigenous identity

In this period in Canada, the government finally ended the prohibition that had existed for indigenous peoples to form their own organizations, their own interest groups. In 1960, the government even finally gave them the right to vote. Various aboriginal communities began to get together and they formed their own national body, the National Indian Brotherhood (later the Assembly of First Nations). In this process, despite their linguistic and cultural differences, they learned that they had things in common, they began to see themselves first of all as Syilx, not just inhabitants of the Penticton Indian Reservation. Moreover, once they became organized across Canada, they learned of indigenous communities doing similar things in other parts of the world. We might say that they began to develop a global indigenous identity (Niezen, 2003, p. 23). This identity is based on an attachment that all participants share to some form of subsistence economy, to a territory or homeland that predates the arrival of settlers and surveyors, to a spiritual system that predates the arrival of missionaries, and to a language that expresses everything that is important and distinct about their place in the universe. Most importantly, they share the destruction and loss of these things.

Over the past thirty years, this identity has earned increasing institutionalization within the UN System, culminating in the creation of a Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in December

2000. This forum was the place where a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was negotiated and eventually passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in September 2007. 143 countries voted for it, 4 opposed it (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the US) and 11 abstained. These developments, in turn, have further triggered the growth of consciousness about being "indigenous" well beyond the Americas, the starting point of these processes, and thus transnational connections among indigenous peoples.

A "rights" framework at the nation-state level

Some of these developments at the global level are mirrored by corresponding and complementary changes at the nation-state level in Canada. Urged on by the courts, aboriginal peoples have increasingly been understood as possessor of rights, particularly based on the treaties they signed over the past 250 years. In the constitutional reform that took place in Canada in the early 1980s, aboriginal rights including treaty rights were given constitutional status through their affirmation in Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982.* These rights might be defined as: "rights held by peoples by reason of the fact that they were once independent, self-governing entities in possession of most of the lands now making up Canada."

Accordingly, when one talks to indigenous peoples these days, they are often of very mixed mind when it comes to globalization and its impact on their lives. There are opportunities on the one side and an acceleration of cultural and social destruction on the other. Returning to the Syilx in the Okanagan region, poverty remains. There are also signs of hope: efforts at linguistic rejuvenation, cultural recovery and economic development are present.

The Economy

In order to speak about globalization and the economy, I will return once again to Penticton. When I was growing up there, the town had two major areas of economic activity, tourism and fruit growing. It is

a favourite site for vacationers from other parts of British Columbia and from Alberta to enjoy some sun, the several kilometers of sandy beaches, and a calm ambience (except for on certain long weekends when biker gangs show up). It is not surprising then that the city defined its identity in terms of these two activities. It was known as the City of Peaches and Beaches when I was a boy. The two activities would come together every summer in a week-long festival called the Penticton Peach Festival. Tourists would come for the festival and townspeople would enjoy the midway and rides that came with it.

Those of you who have been to the Okanagan over the past 20 years will know that the landscape has changed significantly. Thousands of hectares of peaches, apricots, cherries and apples have been replaced by thousands of hectares of grapes, being grown for wine. This change has everything to do with economic globalization and the increase in transplanetary connections. The soft fruits and the apples are gone because the Okanagan could no longer compete with canned soft fruits and even fresh ones coming in from California, Central America, Chile in South America, South Africa, and a number of other countries. With the movement toward global free trade, tariffs that protected Okanagan and other Canadian producers of processed fruits have fallen significantly. At the same time, significant improvements in seaborne transportation, particularly the introduction of "the box" for container shipping, have lowered the cost of transporting products from outside Canada. Okanagan and south Ontarian farmers try to compete today through special programs that bring in labourers from Mexico and the Caribbean who will work for less money and where benefits paid by employers are low. It still does not matter. Soft fruits and apples are declining with every passing year.

I took a trip to Penticton in the summer of 2006 with my daughter. We went north first to Summerland and Sumac Ridge winery and then south to Hawthorne Mountain Vineyards in Okanagan Falls and finished up at Nk-mip outside Osoyoos. I talked to the

people at each of these wineries since I was interested in their story. It turns out that the first two, Sumac Ridge and Hawthorne, started out as small estate wineries, became successful, and were purchased by Vincor Canada, an Ontario-based corporation. Vincor is owned, in turn, by Constellation Brands, the largest wine company in the world, with holdings in Canada, the US, Australia, New Zealand, Europe and South Africa. The Nk'Mip winery is a joint venture between the Osoyoos Indian Band and Constellation. So global capital is present in the Valley in ways quite unlike 30 years ago.

Many other things besides trade have changed since I grew up in Penticton. One of the more notable ones is the radical shift toward floating exchange rates of currencies that began in the early 1970s. This change reflects a remarkable increase in the integration of world financial markets. These foreign exchange markets are global to a degree never seen before in history. Canadian dollars are bought and sold 7 days a week, 24 hours a day not only in Toronto and Vancouver, but also in New York, London, Frankfurt, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Sydney, Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires and so on. Not only are dollars bought and sold any time of the day in these places and others around the world, the price is virtually the same everywhere, the sign of a fully global market.

Three years ago, on a cold and dark December night, I found myself flying to Penticton to see my mother after examining a Ph.D. dissertation at Simon Fraser University. I began to talk to the man next to me and he was a senior manager in a furniture making company, whose manufacturing plant was in Penticton. It was a time when the Canadian dollar had finally climbed back to the low 80s in value, after falling to 65 cents US in the late 1990s in a period of two months during the East Asian financial crisis. I asked him whether the rise in the dollar had hurt the business and he moaned, saying that US markets were becoming less accessible because of the rising cost of his company's exports. When I asked him how they coped, he

offered an interesting reply. He said that they were farming out some of the fine cutting of the wood to a company in Vietnam. "BC wood is being cut in Vietnam?" I asked. "Yes," he replied. He added,"Think about it. Crossing the Pacific every day from east to west are hundreds of container ships with goods being exported from China primarily but also other East and South Asian countries. A lot of the containers on those ships return to Asia empty. So we can fill some of them with wood for a very low cost." "So," I said, "then you save costs more because labour is cheaper in Vietnam. Right?" "Well, a little bit", he replied. "More important is that the Vietnamese have built state-of-the-art, very large, computer-driven wood factories. They can cut the wood to our specifications using technologies that we can only dream of in BC. So it is their technological advantage and their efficiency that we value more than the lower labour costs."

It was an interesting conversation because it pointed to another dimension of economic globalization. The central position in the global economy of the US and the European Union countries is being challenged more and more every day. Economically, we are moving from a world dominated by the Euro-American economies to one that is more multi-centred and decentralized. The US has paid the several trillion dollar bill for the war in Iraq by borrowing from East Asian lenders, not by raising money from US taxpayers. And as we in Canada know, some of the chickens from this situation have come home to roost lately in the latest world financial crisis. The past several months has seen the Canadian dollar fall from a dollar and 10 cents to 84 cents. When the global economy trembles, we Canadians are knocked off our feet and find it hard to get up again for months, if not years, afterward. And it happens more quickly now than it ever did, it affects more countries and more people now than it ever did, and the effects penetrate further into the lives of people like you and me than it ever did.

Conclusion

I started off by stating that I wanted to explain to you that there is nothing inevitable or necessarily unchangeable about globalization. I would like to end by reiterating this point. You and I are not the helpless victims of globalization. We can benefit from it in some instances and we can work to change it in others.

Let us look back at the several examples that I used in this lecture.

When I compare the situation in Penticton and other places like it in Canada 40 years ago with that today, it is clear that we have access to more **culture**—whether in music, fine arts, films, or theatre—than ever in history. And Canadians have used that access to become significant musicians, artists, writers, actors, film makers on that same world stage. It is true that with globalization we have seen increased ethnic conflict and religious fundamentalism, but we have also seen organizations like *Médecins sans frontières*/Doctors without Borders, the Stephen Lewis Foundation, Oxfam Canada, Amnesty International and many others working for peace around the world. And Canadians are often involved in those activities.

When it comes to **immigration**, all studies show that the Canadian economy is strengthened by our open immigration policy. What is more, because many of the recent immigrants are coming from those parts of the world that are growing the most rapidly economically, China and India, we have built-in opportunities for partnering in this growth if we can see the forest and not just the American trees below the border.

When it comes to **indigenous peoples**, while there are continued if not worsening social decline and deaths on the one side, we see also a growing sense of a global indigenous identity and self-confidence. The attempts by the Syilx in the Okanagan to rejuvenate their language and recover their culture are matched by other aboriginal communities in Canada, the US, Central America, South America,

South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand and other countries. Globalizing processes have created openings for these changes.

The changes noted in the Okanagan in terms of a shift from soft fruits and apples to grape-growing and building **global economic alliances** like those in wine-making or the one described by the furniture maker are positive not negative ones. They show that a more integrated, interdependent global economy creates advantages for some Canadians and that Canadians who keep themselves informed and well educated can take up those advantages.

Finally, where there are global problems that affect us all, we can take advantage of the same information and communication technologies that anchor the global economy to work together with others who share our concerns. Think back to February 15-16, 2003. On those days millions of people in a coordinated way protested the imminent war in Iraq. 100,000 people demonstrated in Montreal and events were held in 70 other Canadian cities. In total, protests took place in 60 countries involving an estimated 20 million people on the same day. Coordinated global activism is itself a globalizing phenomenon. There are other less-publicized stories about cooperation among communities and people made possible by globalizing processes that permit them to challenge existing configurations of power:

- Scientists around the world and their fight to convince us about the seriousness of climate change
- Movements in favour of micro credit for women leading to a Nobel peace prize for Muhammed Yumus and the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh
- Slum dwellers faced by sanitation problems in cities like Mumbai

The list is long and impressive when it is put together. My point is that these kinds of technologies permit people living in small places like Penticton and Prince George and slightly larger places like Hamilton, Ontario, my current home, to find out whether others

share similar problems, worries or dreams, to share information with those others, to coordinate actions focusing on relevant centers of power, and sometimes to succeed where they could not do so before. The slum dwellers in Mumbai, working with other groups of the very poor around the world, convinced the United Nations to support the holding of a "toilet festival." Here the ideas from all of these people were put on display, discussed with one another, leading to new ideas and improvements in water sanitation. And they did not stop there. As some of you may know, 2008 is the UN Year of Sanitation thanks to their initiative and that of many others.

So there is hope when people work together, and with globalization, they can do so in new, innovative and global ways [Figure 2].

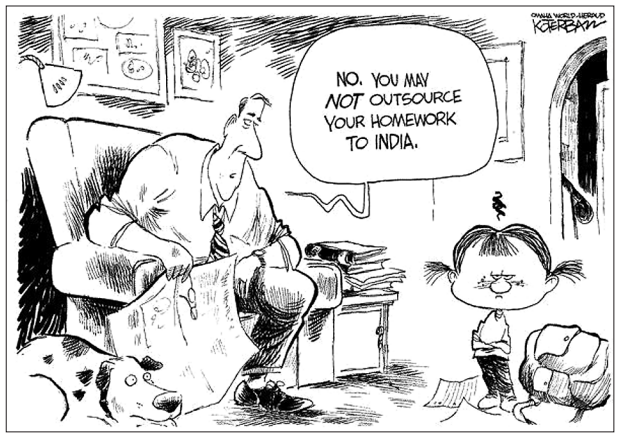


Figure 2.

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