

1 **Jihad vs. McWorld (excerpted from *The Atlantic*)**

2 The Two Axial Principles of Our Age—Tribalism and Globalism—Clash at Every Point Except One:
3 They May Both Be Threatening to Democracy
4 Benjamin R. Barber
5 (March, 1992)

6 Just beyond the horizon of current events lie two possible political futures—both
7 bleak, neither democratic. The first is a retribalization of large swaths of
8 humankind by war and bloodshed...in which culture is pitted against culture,
9 people against people, tribe against tribe—a Jihad in the name of a hundred
10 narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of
11 artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality. The second is being borne in on
12 us by the onrush of economic and ecological forces that demand integration and
13 uniformity and that mesmerize the world with fast music, fast computers, and fast
14 food—with MTV, Macintosh, and McDonald's, pressing nations into one
15 commercially homogenous global network: one McWorld tied together by
16 technology, ecology, communications, and commerce. The planet is falling
17 precipitantly apart *AND* coming reluctantly together at the very same moment.

18 ...The tendencies of what I am here calling the forces of Jihad and the forces of
19 McWorld operate with equal strength in opposite directions, the one driven by
20 parochial hatreds, the other by universalizing markets. They have one thing in
21 common: neither offers much hope to citizens looking for practical ways to govern
22 themselves democratically. ...

23 **The Darkening Future of Democracy**

24 ...McWorld does manage to look pretty seductive in a world obsessed with Jihad.
25 It delivers peace, prosperity, and relative unity—if at the cost of independence,
26 community, and identity (which is generally based on difference). The primary
27 political values required by the global market are order and tranquillity, and
28 freedom—as in the phrases "free trade," "free press," and "free love." Human
29 rights are needed to a degree, but not citizenship or participation—and no more
30 social justice and equality than are necessary to promote efficient economic
31 production and consumption. ...

32 Jihad delivers a different set of virtues: a vibrant local identity, a sense of
33 community, solidarity among kinsmen, neighbors, and countrymen, narrowly
34 conceived. ...Solidarity is secured through war against outsiders. And solidarity
35 often means obedience to a hierarchy in governance, fanaticism in beliefs, and the
36 obliteration of individual selves in the name of the group. Deference to leaders and
37 intolerance toward outsiders (and toward "enemies within") are hallmarks of
38 tribalism—hardly the attitudes required for the cultivation of new democratic
39 women and men capable of governing themselves. ...

40 How can democracy be secured and spread in a world whose primary tendencies
41 are at best indifferent to it (McWorld) and at worst deeply antithetical to it (Jihad)?

depressing
intolerant beliefs accepted environment
very similar
suddenly
close-minded
tempting wealth
chain of command destruction
indifferent; hostile

42 For democracy to persist in our brave new McWorld, we will have to commit acts of
43 conscious political will—a possibility, but hardly a probability, under these conditions.
44 Political will requires much more than the quick fix of the transfer of institutions.
45 ...Institution transfer rests on foolish assumptions about a uniform world of the kind
46 that once fired the imagination of colonial administrators. *Spread English justice to the*
47 *colonies by exporting wigs. Let an East Indian trading company act as the vanguard to*
48 *Britain's free parliamentary institutions. ... Post Bulgaria a parliament by first-class*
49 *mail. Fed Ex the Bill of Rights to Sri Lanka. Cable Cambodia some common law.*

50 Democrats need to seek out indigenous democratic impulses. There is always a desire
51 for self-government, always some expression of participation, accountability, consent,
52 and representation, even in traditional hierarchical societies. These need to be
53 identified, tapped, modified, and incorporated into new democratic practices with an
54 indigenous flavor. The tortoises among the democratizers may ultimately outlive or
55 outpace the hares, for they will have the time and patience to explore conditions along
56 the way, and to adapt their gait to changing circumstances. Tragically, democracy in a
57 hurry often looks something like France in 1794 or China in 1989.

58 ...This vision reflects only an ideal, however—one that is not terribly likely to be
59 realized. Freedom, Jean-Jacques Rousseau once wrote, is a food easy to eat but hard to
60 digest. Still, democracy has always played itself out against the odds. And democracy
61 remains both a form of coherence as binding as McWorld and a secular faith potentially
62 as inspiring as Jihad.

63

64

65

motivation

front line

native/ home
grown

non-religious
inspiring

Teacher Guide

Name of Text: Jihad vs McWorld

Question Composer: Angela Orr

Standards:

- CCSS: RH.11-12.1, RH.11-12.2, RH.11-12.4, RH.11-12.10, WH.11-12.1, WH.11-12.4, WH.11-12.7, WH.11-12.8, WH.11-12.9, WH.11-12.10, SL.11-12.1, SL.11-12.3, L.11-12.2, L.11-12.3, L.11-12.4
- Nevada State Social Studies Standards: H2.15, H4.5, H4.4, H4.6, H4.9, G7.1, E12.3, C13.2, C16.3

Text Dependent Questions

Teacher Notes & Possible Textual Evidence For Student Answers

From the title and subtitle of the article, what do you learn about the terms “Jihad” and “McWorld”?

NOTE: The date of this text is an important feature that should not be overlooked. The meaning of the word “Jihad” has changed significantly in the public conscious since 2001, and it is important that students attend to Barber’s explanation as he used it in 1992.

This question orients students to the text and ensures that the main focus of the article, Jihad and McWorld, is defined before further reading. It also requires students to pay direct attention to the importance of the subtitle, an often overlooked feature of text.

- Jihad: “axial principle,” “in our age” (modern), “tribalism,” “threatening to democracy”
- McWorld: “axial principle”, “in our age” (modern) , “globalism,” “threatening to democracy”
- They are “vs” - in conflict with one another

Using evidence from the first two paragraphs expand your descriptions of “Jihad” and “McWorld.”

This question should ensure that all students understand the two principles discussed in the article. It also asks students to pay attention to the descriptive words used by Barber, setting the tone for the piece. Because of difficult syntax (dashes, long lists, colons with examples) and vocabulary, students are asked to parse meaning and categorize it according to one of the principles to demonstrate understanding.

- Both Jihad and McWorld: could result in a “bleak” and “undemocratic” future (7-8), “equal strength” (20)
- Jihad: “retribalization of large swaths by war and bloodshed” (8-9), “culture is pitted against culture, people against people, tribe against tribe,” (9-10), “narrowly conceived faiths against interdependence” and against “artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality” (11-12), causing the planet to fall “precipitantly apart” (18), parochial hatreds (21)
- McWorld: “borne in on us” (12), “onrush of economic and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity” (13-14), forces that “mesmerize” (14), “fast music, fast computers, fast food...MTV, Macintosh, McDonalds” (14-15), “commercially homogenous global network” (16), “tied together by technology, ecology, communications, and commerce” (17-18), world is coming “reluctantly together” (18), “universalizing markets” (21)

Text Dependent Questions

Teacher Notes & Possible Textual Evidence
For Student Answers

<p>What do Jihad and McWorld have in common?</p>	<p>Students can struggle with text that subtly introduces a counterclaim. Early in the piece, Barber describes the vastly different principles but then also describes their similarities (important to the rest of the argument). This is a check of that understanding. This area also sets up the problem Barber is diagnosing and making a prognosis for later in the article. (If students have already picked this up during their analysis of the previous question, skip this one.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “work with equal strength” (although in opposite directions) (20) • “neither offers much hope to citizens looking for practical ways to govern themselves democratically” (22-23)
<p>According to Barber, McWorld prioritizes or ranks what over citizenship and equality?</p>	<p>Because Barber has set up the problem of democratic citizenship in the previous paragraph, it becomes important for students to understand that McWorld, which can be “seductive” for its “peace, prosperity and relative unity” (25-26), does not prioritize citizenship and equality but rather:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “order and tranquility” (28) & “efficient economic production and consumption” (31-32) • Freedom only comes in the form of “free trade” “free press” and “free love” (29) (Note the quotation marks on these phrases and tempt students to determine why these are used.) • “human rights” need only to a degree “but not citizenship or participation” and “no more social justice and equality than are necessary”
<p>What clues does the author give you for the meaning of word solidarity? Under what conditions does Jihad create solidarity?</p>	<p>Solidarity is often associated with the positive connotations. And in this case, Barber calls it a “virtue” (33). But it is the description of the term and the way the author uses it that provides us with a different connotation. This is an important aspect of word choice.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clues for meaning: “virtue,” “community,” “solidarity among kinsmen, neighbors, and countrymen” (33-34) • How does Jihad create solidarity? “secured through war with outsiders,” “obedience to a hierarchy in governance,” “fanaticism in beliefs,” “obliteration of selves in the name of the group,” “deference to leaders,” “intolerance to outsiders (and toward “enemies” within),” “tribalism” (35-39)
<p>Using the information from lines 12-39, create a T-Chart using evidence from the reading to compare the positive ideas associated with Jihad with the positive ideas associated with McWorld.</p>	<p>In the subtitle and introductory sentences, Barber presents the idea that Jihad and McWorld are threatening to democracy. So why do the principles attract so many followers? The intent of this question is to have students find the less obvious claims. It also allows students a moment to get some thoughts on paper and compare the ideas side by side. The teacher can walk around and monitor the discussion between students as they work.</p> <p>Some students may choose ideas about which Barber is glib as positive attributes, and in this they will likely be correct. Take, for instance “fast music, fast computers, and fast food.” Although Barber is clearly not enamored with these as a basis for a democratic political future, even he classifies them as “mesmerizing.” The same could be true for solidarity or deference to leaders for Jihad.</p>

Text Dependent Questions

Teacher Notes & Possible Textual Evidence
For Student Answers

<p>According to the author, how can democracy be preserved?</p>	<p>Beginning on line 41 in this excerpted piece, Barber begins to suggest solutions to the problems of Jihad and McWorld. This question calls attention to that change and ensures that all students understand his proposal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “we will have to commit acts of conscious political will” <p>You might ask students to comment on the choice of the word “conscious.” Why is this word so important to the passage?</p>
<p>On lines 46-49, the author lists what quick fixes? For what reason and in what tone does the author delineate these examples? How do you know?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>“Spread English justice to the colonies by exporting wigs. Let an East Indian trading company act as the vanguard to Britain's free parliamentary institutions. ... Post Bulgaria a parliament by first-class mail. Fed Ex the Bill of Rights to Sri Lanka. Cable Cambodia some common law.” (49-52)</i> <p>Barber’s tone is sarcastic. Clues for this exist in the following: italics of phrases, “a possibility, but hardly a probability,” (45) “requires much more than the quick fix of the transfer of political institutions,” (46-47) “foolish assumptions” (48) as well as in the humorous/unlikely examples like that justice comes in the form of wigs, or that you could Fed Ex a Bill of Rights...</p>
<p>Does the author believe that democracy has any chance in societies favoring Jihad? Explain.</p>	<p>The author has to provide reasoning for his assertion that democracy can be preserved.</p> <p>He states the following about Jihad: it is deeply “antithetical” to democracy (41-42). However, he also suggests that people who believe in democracy can “seek out indigenous democratic impulses,” (53), that there is a “always a desire for self-government, always some expression of participation, accountability, consent, and representation even in hierarchical societies.” (53-55) These anomalies within Jihad need to be “identified, tapped, modified, and incorporated into democratic practices with an indigenous flavor.” (56-67)</p>
<p>Explain in your own words the author’s use of the tortoise and hare analogy.</p>	<p>(It may be necessary, depending on your students’ backgrounds, to ask a student to explain the story of the tortoise and the hare or to briefly describe it for students.)</p> <p>This is a complex analogy, as the tortoise and the hare actually represent two different kinds of the same person (a democratizer), rather than two separate types of people. Students should understand that Barber favors a slow and steady approach to democratizing undemocratic peoples and places. He reiterates this point with his references to France (Reign of Terror) and China (Tiananmen Square).</p>
<p>If democratic freedom truly is “a food easy to eat but hard to digest,” why does Barber believe it has any future?</p>	<p>Barber believes that the slow road to democracy is idealistic and unlikely, but that democracy has “played itself out against the odds,” and that it does share some characteristics with the more appealing forms of Jihad and McWorld. It is “as binding as McWorld,” and a “secular faith potentially as inspiring as Jihad.” (64-66)</p>

Writing Prompt:

Conduct a short research project using a minimum of three reliable and authoritative digital sources addressing one of the following questions:

- Is the McWorld theory presented by Barber still appropriate today?
- Has the Jihad theory gained or lost momentum since 2001?
- Is there evidence that people around the world have chosen Barber's path of a slow move to democratic institution building throughout the world?
- A question of your own which stems from the text and takes into account changes since 1992

In a well-developed essay detailing the results of your research, please include the following:

- An argument with fully developed claims supported by logical reasoning and reliable evidence
- At least two references to Barber's article
- Proper citations of the evidence cited
- Acknowledgement of a counter-claim with appropriate reasoning and counter-evidence
- Thorough use of details and definitions of important terminology

Review and edit your essay to ensure:

- Logical organization
- Cohesion amongst various claims and counterclaims with helpful transitions
- Formal style