

Analysis of Globalization, the Planet and Education

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ABSTRACT

Thorough the framework of theories analyzing globalization and education, this paper focuses on the intersection among globalization, the environment and education. This paper critically analyzes how globalization could affect environmental devastation, and explore the role of pedagogies that could foster planetary citizenship by exposing hegemonic forces that oppress the Earth. Planetary citizenship considers the earth as part of human beings that need to be cherished. However, neoliberal economic policies are causing environmental deterioration focusing on market competition and profit making. One way to respond environmental degradation is to educate citizens in a way that could challenge such oppression and liberate the Earth. As a critical approach, ecopedagogy enables to educate people connecting environmental and social problems. The overall goal of this paper is to explore the link between globalization, the environment and education. The paper finally argues for the development of planetary citizens who treat the Earth as part and parcel of their life and live with it in harmony.

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Introduction

As a major phenomenon, globalization has affected every part of our life connecting the local and global dynamics. It is argued that some features of globalization especially the emergence of a global economy and development of information and communication technologies have changed the way of life and national culture of citizens (Kellner, 2002; Torres, 2002). Such interconnectedness

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has brought better economic growth and enabled national citizens to become more internationally oriented. The quality of life of individuals especially those from developing countries is becoming better than before as countries are able to share technologies and engage in bilateral trade and partnership. However, globalization is promoting Western culture while devaluing the indigenous ones (Snively & Corsiglia, 2001). It also increases the social stratification of societies (Gadotti, 1996) by creating a wide gap between the socially and economically powerful and less powerful societies (Kellner, 2002). These situations indicate that there is no balance within a country and between nation-states as well as individuals both in the usage and distribution of global resources.

Globalization is intensifying environmental issues. It is leading to the formation of neoliberal state which is characterized by rampant environmental destruction (Burbules & Torres, 2000). Besides, few nation-states and individuals control the wealth of the planet (this refers to the planet Earth) mainly at the cost of others. According to Gadotti (2008a, p. 22), "Five hundred transnational companies control 25 percent of the global economic activity and 80 percent of the technological innovations". These are the ones who oppress the earth and their fellow human beings in different ways, either through using extra resources or dumping waste products out of their multi-million dollar companies. For instance, many foreign companies have exacerbated the environmental pollution of China by exporting a large volume of garbage and transferring pollution-intensive industries in which some of them are illegal in the country of origin of the companies (Liu & Diamond, 2005). All these oppression are mainly done for the sake of profit, basically profit that goes beyond the income need of a particular family to live lavishly. In this line, it is logical to raise various questions. Why many of the owners of big corporations oppress the planet and victimize themselves and others by devastating the environment? Despite the fact that many groups are pushing back against neoliberal economic and environmental policies, why could not they stop the oppression completely? How could education help to address such issues? All these questions lead to the relationship between economic policy, the environment, and sustainability which need deep and nuanced analysis.

I would argue that the majority people know oppressing the planet has severe consequences, but few reflect upon their actions to critically analyze and understand the situation. It is surprising that our ancestors were doing whatever it took to prevent environmental degradation at their time. They were trying to use resources economically and distribute it fairly (Boerma, 2006). For example, different sources indicate that Eritrean people were not cutting tree from its roots, rather they were using branches so that the tree can flourish and regenerate again. They also had a consensus when, why and to what level someone should cut trees. Moreover, they were using temporary, traditional enclosure systems in order to protect and preserve trees (Ogbazghi, Rijkers, Wessel, & Bongers, 2006). This is what we are lacking in today's world where people are caring less about sustainability and caring more about maximizing profit. This indicates that the intensification of neoliberal globalization has decreased overall social caring by increasing individuality. The paradox is that many of these people who oppress the Earth and its inhabitants are the ones that we call them most educated and successful in life (Gadotti, 2008a). It is true that they might have built great empire (corporations), but no one (if not less) questions whether these empires are built at the cost of the Earth and human beings, or not.

Human beings are considered part of the planet (Freire, 2005; Misiaszek, 2012). Anyone oppressing the planet is oppressing its entire state and inhabitants including its human beings. The most disturbing issue is that human beings are the ones mainly responsible for oppressing the planet by playing deaf to what it has to say, and share the consequences of their actions (Galeano, 2011). Galeano (2011, p.2) clearly explained this as follows:

The world is painting still lifes, forests are dying, the poles are melting, the air is becoming unbreatheable, and the water undrinkable, flowers and food are becoming increasingly plastic, and the sky and earth are going absolutely insane.

Therefore, it is crucial that people should be conscious about environmental destruction that they are causing. They should be educated in a way that they can critically determine the relationship between their actions and effects on the planet as well as the connection between environmental degradation and socioeconomic situations. Besides, it is important to critically examine the role of political powers or policies in worsening or minimizing environmental exploitation. All these situations connect to ecopedagogy which critically teaches individuals by connecting environmental and social problems. Ecopedagogy poses significant questions of oppressor-oppressed scenario including who is benefiting more from the environment and who is negatively affected economically and socially due to environmental degradation (Misiaszek, 2015, 2016).

In this paper, using theories of globalizations and education, and review of related and relevant empirical literature, I critically analyze the intersection among globalization, environmental devastation/conservation, and the role of education in balancing the situation by nurturing a planetary citizenship.

Globalization and the Planet

This section discusses the environmental situation in accordance with neoliberalism globalization and solidarity economy to identify the oppressive and empowering features of globalization to the environment and society. This is mainly due to the fact that environmental problems are associated with social problems in which environmental destruction benefits economically and politically powerful people while negatively affecting ordinary people especially the less privileged ones (Misiaszek, 2012).

Many educators have defined globalization in different ways. Some people perceive globalization as increasing the homogeneity of societies, whereas others see it as increasing hybridization of cultures and diversity (Torres, 2002). Generally, most of the definitions concur with the idea of Giddens (1990) that globalization is "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (p. 64). As a contested terrain, globalization has both positive and negative effects on the planet and daily life of people (Gadotti, 2008b; Misiaszek, 2015; Stromquist, 2002; Torres, 2002). Globalization is improving the living standard of societies, and expanding the notion of freedom, democracy and human rights, which are crucial for solidarity economy. Conversely, globalization is intensifying environmental degradation such as pollution, global warming, and electronic and other industrial dumping. Many of the above definitions and effects of globalization are connected to the complex relationship and influence of various factors such as emergence of supranational institutions, impact of global economic processes, or technological

innovations (Burbules Torres, 2000; Kellner, 2002; Misiaszek, 2015; Stromquist, 2002; Torres, 2002). Economic globalization as a dominant process of globalization is affecting the environment in different ways. This mainly depends on the way economic globalization is structured with either neoliberalism policies or solidarity economy. Despite the fact that neoliberalism paradigms which strengthen the power of transnational companies could be destructive by stimulating competition, profit making and customer choice, there are opposing forces that advocate for solidarity economy by eliminating the idea of profit making as a main category and promoting economic justice (Gadotti, 2008a).

Various transnational companies have affected the environment negatively. The main focus of the companies is profit making at any cost. Besides, they represent a fraction of the worlds' population, but a great amount of the world's economy and media to manipulate the world. These points then give the transnational companies a power to limit or control the influence of nation-states and defend their actions in the name of economic development. These dominant forces claim that environmental devastation is necessary for human survival and socio-economic progress. As outlined in the Brundtland report three decades ago, it has been realized that it is impossible to separate economic development issues from environment issues where "many forms of development erode the environmental resources upon which they must be based" (United Nations, 1987, p.19). It is in this sense Misiaszek (2012) argued that the processes of globalization hinders disclosure of the causes of socio-environmental problems which makes looking for solution difficult. This helps the transnational companies to hamper consciousness of the people and continue exploiting the Earth. Conversely, the advocates of solidarity economy state that the planet including its human inhabitants should not be subjected to an economy (free market) based on competition and profit making; rather the economic system should be based on cooperation, sustainability, inclusion and social emancipation (Gadotti, 2008a). The effort of such citizen globalization centers on discovering ways to live with the planetin harmony.

The State in the Global Era

The process of globalizations has blurred national boundaries, shifting solidarities within and between nation-states (Stromquist, 2002). The modern state is losing control of its socio-economic and political powers. It is facing a great deal of competition from different modern institutions and transnational corporations (Torres, 2002). These events deeply affect the socio-economic and political structure of the state, which usually tend to benefit a very limited group of people (Gadotti, 2008a). According to Kellner (2002), nation-states are struggling to balance the complexities between positive and negative features of globalization. Globalization, in many ways, is improving the living standard of societies, and expanding the notion of freedom, democracy and human rights. Yet, globalization is intensifying global conflict, crime, terrorism and environmental issues (Torres, 2002), and increasing the social stratification of societies (Gadotti, 2008a). There are still enormous disparities in the distribution of income in the majority rich and poor countries. At the same time, there is a wide gap between the poor and the rich citizens of these countries. Therefore, it is the state's intervention that could minimize these gaps, exploitation of the Earth and suffering of its inhabitants.

Nation-states vary on the way they challenge the process of globalizations. Despite the fact that there are some nation-states that face the process of globalizations by restructuring their economies according to the world market (Stromquist, 2002), there are global power factors among different nation-states which make some of the nation-states more suspicious than others. Some nation-states mainly these with authoritarian governments fear the socio-economic, and political influence of globalizations. They either close their borders due to fear of influence or become victims of neoliberal policies. However, with the increasing economic integration and technological advancement, it could be impossible (if not difficult) for countries to close their borders and hide from the influence of globalizations. Sooner or later, covertly or overtly, being prepared or unprepared, globalization influences nation-states.

With their hidden agenda of exploitation, neoliberal ideologies always advocate for economic growth through competition, better management and delivery of quality services. They argue that development is mainly related to economic growth (Juncker, 2004). Here, it is logical to ask, which countries are really benefiting, and at what cost? These questions connect to oppression of developing countries as well as destruction of the environment.

Many transnational corporations and technologically advanced countries offer different developmental assistances and develop trade with developing countries. Such transactions are many times labeled as win-win cooperation. With the provision of aid, technology, loan and other support, they even seem to benefit more to developing countries, and mask the consciousness of the countries and their people. The developing countries then become more ambitious to participate in the global economy and engage in international trade with resources that they own, which are mainly raw materials. Many developing countries lack big industrial and technological developments to produce technological and other finished goods. They focus on the exports of unfinished resources rather than expensive manufactured goods, and this negatively affects their economy and the environment. For instance, they export wood at a cheap price rather than expensive furniture made from wood. This is a situation where political powers fail to critically analyze their countries' benefits from international trade, and lead to the destruction of the environment. Many developing countries argue that they will shift their economic activities and remake the environment after they havereached the level of developed countries economically. These arguments lead to many questions. What if it is too late? How many people will be affected until that time? Who will be these people affected? It is important to understand the implications of any governmental decision for the environment because it is difficult to separate environmental issues from any other socio-economic issues which are prominent political issues and main agenda of political powers (Bell, 2004). Such understandings are the foundation for addressing any environmental and social problems.

Overall, the role of the state is important to balance sustainable economic growth while protecting the environment. For these purposes, the state needs to acquire economic and technological capacity to challenge modernneoliberal institutions, and survive as strong and legitimate entity (Torres, 2002). The state should also promote public education that could nurture citizens to defend the principles of the democratic state by confronting the neoliberalism forces that tend to slip away power from citizens to corporate elites (Jickling & Wals, 2008). It is

in such situation that the state could challenge the process of globalization, and empower citizens and groups that could develop a democratic system and consider the Earth as part of them. This is what Gadotti (2008a) called planetary citizenship which will be discussed further in the next section.

The Human-Nature Relationship

The natural human beings who were living centuries ago seem more acquainted to live in an ecologically sustainable fashion than modern ones (Illich, 1983). The interesting part of this is that the natural human beings are not being told or educated to live in such situation (Lane & Clark, 2006). Conversely, the human-nature relationship is a little bit confusing in modern times, where there are many advertisements and other educational activities including documentary films through different channels. This could be due to the controversies that the natural human beings understood that they were dependent on the Earth, but the modern human beings feel that continuation of life on Earth depends upon their decision (Illich, 1983). Nature (i.e. the environment) has become dependent on human decision on the way that our socio-economic and political structures have the power to end both humanity and the Earth. This indicates that human beings have great role in the destruction or conservation of nature. They are different from other inhabitants of the Earth for their social and cultural influences (Hannigan, 2006, Freire, 2010). Nonetheless, their exceptional characteristics such as technological and cultural advantages to remake their habitat and their world are taking them far to the destruction of nature. They think that they control everything and can remake it again including the nature that they destroyed for the sake of profit making or expanding of preferences. This is an instrument of neoliberalism policies which is mainly targeted to maximize profit. I wonder why people choose economic development regardless of its effect to the environment. They even try to make profit by destroying the ecosystem to the level that it cannot regenerate again. In 2013, two individuals were arrested in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania for killing 226 elephants for the sake of ivory smuggling (Ng'wanakilala, 2016). This shows human-nature relationship at its worst, but it does not mean that there are no individuals who care about the Earth as much as they do about themselves.

Despite the fact that we have different roles and responsibilities, we are all equally responsible for taking care of the Earth both individually and within societies (Gadotti, 2008b). In this sense, globalization can be used to empower individuals and groups for environmental protection. Taking the distinctive advantage that humans are governed by biological and cultural factors, they can remake their habitat and transform their world rather than being entrapped within it (Hannigan, 2006). This could be done through different networks and movements such as the networks of eco-schools, solidarity, and planetary communications, as well as social and environmental education movements (Gadotti, 2008b). These networks and movements focus on environmental sustainability through various means including training and communication. It could be argued that the government can have many other priorities that compete with environmental issues. Hence, different networks such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other civic societies which focus on the environment could share some responsibilities in environmental conservation activities such as educating the society about the environment and its protection. These movements or NGOs could use the process of globalizations such as information and communication technologies to promote citizenship and global civil society in order to challenge the oppression of the Earth (Misiaszek, 2015). It is expected that these participants critically analyze the oppression that the Earth is facing in order to produce pedagogy of the Earth. In this case, different questions centering at the relationship between the Earth and human beings arise. It is after clarifying such arguments that people can persuade or challenge their fellow human beings to care for the Earth especially for the future generation.

The Dilemma of Human Beings

As it has been explained above, globalization has affected societies widening the socio-economic and political gap between the powerful and less powerful societies. On the other hand, the Brundtland report explained that poverty and international inequality are major causes and effects of global environmental problems (United Nations, 1987). This indicates that environmental degradation can undermine economic development, while profit driven economic system negatively affects the environment. Hence, it is not effective to deal with environmental problems without considering socio-economic problems and inequalities, and vice versa. However, it is argued that human beings are not certain to either stop or challenge these actions, which might cause the end of humanity. One argument as to why some people are in dilemma to end oppression of the Earth is that they are economically benefiting from it in one or another means. However, profit driven corporations and these that are benefiting under these institutions are quite few (Jickling & Wals, 2008; Gadotti, 2008a). Therefore, it is significant to understand how education could arouse the consciousness of the oppressed to challenge environmental exploitation by few people.

Neoliberals have won in distorting the mind of people through different channels. They are able to change the educational system of different nationstates to be more attuned to profit making (Stromquist, 2002). This could further enable them to make education a source of revenue, and a tool to colonize the mind of the people by influencing the cost of education, course content and pedagogy. It could be argued that students who are educated in profit driven schools could likely be profit driven citizens. Moreover, neoliberals have used education as a way to disseminate their idea that everything private is good, whereas things related to the public are not good. Therefore, these events could hinder the construction of critical knowledge as a process, as well as development of democracy within societies (Kellner, 2002) to challenge the destruction of the environment. The situation could be clearly explained by Freire's concept of "banking education" (Gadotti & Torres, 2009; Freire, 2010). It is an oppressoroppressed relationship where the oppressed are either not aware of their oppression or they have fear of freedom. It is not surprising to see individuals worry about life without these transnational corporations or big companies. Many people state that let the corporations do whatever they want, and let people enjoy with their new products--telephone, camera, laptop, and other technological innovations. These people seem to forget that life depends on nature as the support system (Juncker, 2004); the same principle goes to economic and other sorts of developments.

Human beings are in dilemma facing the problem of balancing socio-economic growth and environmental protection. Different scenarios show that there is conflict between human development and environmental sustainability (Juncker, 2004). However, human beings focus on the conflict between social and economic equity. They do whatever they can to narrow their socio-economic gap regardless of the environment. Hence, it is not uncommon to see some argue that the destruction of the environment is indispensable part of socio-economic development; it is a way to accumulate capital so that their future generations can live a better life. It is in such situation Kahn (2009) explained that humanity is degrading the Earth's ecosystems more than any time in human history. This could be due the reason that everyone is trying to be rich at the cost of the environment. Individuals, groups, institutions, governments and other entities are struggling to make profit at the cost of the Earth and its inhabitants. This shows that human beings are all responsible for the destruction of the Earth and life of millions that are dying due to environmental problems such as air pollution and global warming. One way to deal with these problems is through education; education that can enable human beings to see the world with alternative lenses rather than profit making. The next section discusses the role of education in environmental conservation and promoting sustainable development.

The Role of Education

Many believe that globalization has positive effects in education (Jickling & Wals, 2008). In the modern world that we are living with a civilization crisis, education can help to overcome various challenges brought by neoliberalism ideologies (Gadotti, 2008b). Education can enable nation-states to prepare labor for participation in the world economy and nurture citizens to be responsible global citizens (Torres, 2002). Torres (2002) further stated the predominance of universal personhood over national status in which individuals have the rights and duties of participating in a community regardless of their national citizenship. This indicates that, through critical pedagogy, educational institutions can nurture skills for employment and global citizenship simultaneously regardless of the course content students learn. Both global citizenship education and critical environmental education share the same principles to train individuals who can fully participate in and transform their societies by understanding the root causes of social problems (Misiaszek, 2015). This shows that global citizenship education and critical environmental education are complementary in challenging socio-economic and environmental oppressions.

Through the development of democratic and humanistic principles which are bases for solidarity economy, education promotes sustainable development (Gadotti, 2008b; Misiaszek, 2016). This enables citizens to use resources and uphold socio-economic development without risking the life of future generations. However, many scholars argue that the way environmental education is taught has great effect on citizens and the environment (Misiaszek, 2015). This is because there are environmental pedagogies characterized by banking education system which contribute to historical socio-environmental oppressions (Misiaszek, 2015; Freire, 2010). These pedagogies try to suppress the main causes and effects of environmental problems and maintain the situation as it is. This is what neoliberal ideologies want to strengthen through the capitalist ownership of education which focuses in profit maximization, and the media which promotes greater consumption of resources. In such situation, the pedagogies mainly focus

on basic environmental knowledge without critical reflection of why things are going in a certain way and what the reasons behind could be. Moreover, the teaching-learning process does not take nature seriously and do not nurture students to critically understand how nature should be treated.

The use of critical environmental pedagogy allows transformation of societies by critically analyzing not only the effect of human actions on the environment, but also the social relationships and practices, as well as the influence of dominant views such as the media and other institutions (Gilbert, 2003). Such pedagogy which is referred as "Ecopedagogy" critically sees the complex interconnection between environmental and social aspects with an alternative lens. According to Misiaszek (2015), the distinctive feature of ecopedagogy from other forms of environmental pedagogies including environmental education and education for sustainable development is that ecopedagogy emphasizes on critical approach, while the others could be approached critically or non-critically. It mainly connects environmental problems with socio-economic situations of societies. Ecopedagogy as a critical approach views the process of globalisations as both empowering and disempowering. Therefore, it strives to promote social justice by strengthening the empowering processes and challenging the oppressive situations.

Ecopedagogy and Environmental Politics

Politics is a contested terrain with various definitions and perspectives from different scholars. In analyzing environmental politics, this paper applies Dahl's (1963) definition of political system which is any persistent pattern of human relationships involving power, rule or authority. There are various socio-economic and knowledge patterns that determine environmental politics. Who benefits and who is seriously affected from environmental destruction/conservation, whose environmental knowledge is appreciated, and how the media influences environmental conservation/destruction are among the main issues related to environmental politics. It is argued that environmental conservation and environmental destruction activities could result equivalent social problems if they are done without proper planning. This is because many of the environmental conservation activities such as protection of national parks do not benefit the local people and the poor. They rather take their land which was source of their economic income and drive them out of their settlements.

Ecopedagogy is a critical approach to teaching and learning which connects environmental and social problems. In such a way, important questions such as who is benefiting, and at what cost arise. Throughout history, the poor and the local people were among the people who are affected most by serious environmental threats (DeGregori, 2008). The rural people have been affected by deforestation of forests and many times have become victims of forest protection programs; while the low-income urban people face serious environmental threats from hazardous wastes and other toxic materials (Merchant, 2003). Environmental degradation negatively affects the life of rural people especially in developing countries as they mainly depend on nature such as agriculture, herding of cattle and fishing. Some actions that are done to protect the environment such as forest protection also harms the local people especially if they are done without considering an alternative means of sustainable income for the people. Many of the low-income urban residents are also exploited and

oppressed by companies which prioritize in making profit regardless of the harm caused to the environment. That is why many critical environmental educators argue for environmental equity. They stress control of natural resources by the state so that the resources could be distributed fairly to benefit everyone (Melosi, 1995). Conversely, many individuals who advocate for neoliberal policies state that the low-income individuals are lazy who could not compete with the changing modern world. They argue that the world has little space for equity, rather it a place for survival of the fittest. This issue further connects environmental problems with socio-economic discrimination of individuals which need to be challenged through education and other ways.

Another significant issue that needs to be closely examined by societies and educational institutions is the value and legitimacy of indigenous knowledge. Historically, colonial powers especially European colonizers tried to impose their way of thinking instead of understanding the traditional wisdom of the local people. They failed to apprehend and appreciate indigenous knowledge (Snively & Corsiglia, 2001). Yet this has been continuing in many developing countries including Africans in which the countries are strongly working to promote Western knowledge while ignoring their indigenous ones. Western modern science has given birth to various theoretical and practical perspectives to use the environment sustainably. Nonetheless, this does not mean that indigenous knowledge is not important. Indigenous knowledge can still offer significant knowledge that Western modern science could have not yet learned to produce (Corsiglia & Snively, 2000). It could be argued that the old generation had done better in understanding and conserving the environment. For instance, a century age in Eritrea, the environment was understood as life in which no one can leave at its absence. The Eritrean people then had participatory approach of protecting and using the environment. However, this culture started to erode with the advent of colonial powers which intensified individual rights and the value for accumulation of wealth at any cost. Therefore, ecopedagogy should challenge the notion of colonialism and other dominant ideologies by integrating indigenous ecological knowledge which had protected the environment for long time. This could enable people to view indigenous and Western knowledge as complementary sciences that need to be addressed equally for environmental understanding and sustainability.

Public pedagogy is one way to challenge dominant and oppressive ideologies and construct democratic societies. The role and power of media has been significant in the modern globalized world. Media constructs the norms and ideas of citizens affecting socio-economic, political and environmental conditions. As a powerful tool of neoliberalism, media promotes consumerism and materialistic ideas on children. Besides, it keeps vital environmental problems out of the public attention. For instance, various media broadcast biased view of global warming (Dispensa & Brulle, 2003). These actions facilitate environmental destruction causing various social problems. To challenge these situations, ecopedagogy through critical media literacy analyzes relationships among media, audiences, information, and power (Kellner & Share, 2007). Then students are empowered to create their alternative texts and narratives to challenge oppressive and destructive media contents.

Finally, it could be stated that ecopedagogy has to address the politics of power, legitimacy and equity through multiple pedagogical approach. It should

help to create a democratic society by protecting people against the dangers of manipulative and biased neoliberal policies and institutions.

Conclusion

Globalization has created a complex interconnection between capitalism and democracy affecting societies both positively and negatively. These features have also greatly impacted the environment in which few individuals exploit the Earth and its inhabitants through multimillion dollar companies. Freire (2010) stated that the oppressors reduced everything including the earth to the status of object at its disposal; and those who follow Freirean principle with the notion that "the Earth is oppressed" have critically analyzed the connection between the environment and socio-economic development. The rural inhabitants and the low-income people are highly affected by environmental degradation. However, there is a glimpse of hope that ecopedagogy through solidarity economy and participatory democracy could promote sustainable development and social justice. Yet, it needs economically and technologically strong nation-stateto challenge the process of globalizations and empower citizens that could develop a democratic system.

Neoliberalism greatly affects environmental phenomenon. With the competitive modern world, many people are falling in to the neoliberal traps to earn their living. On the other hand, many others argue for balancing of socioeconomic growth and environmental protection. Hence, I believe that the power of human beings to adapt to the planet and transform it both for better or worse determines the effect of globalization on the environment. This is because human beings have the capacity to remake and change their environment (Hannigan, 2006).

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