

THE FIFTH LEVEL:

Jihad, McWorld and Gaia

“Every few hundred years in Western history, there occurs a sharp transformation. Within a few short decades, society — its world view, its basic values, its social and political structures, its arts, its key institutions — rearranges itself. And the people born then cannot even imagine a world in which their grandparents lived and into which their own parents were born. We are currently living through such a transformation.”

Peter Drucker, *Post-Capitalist Society*
Harper Business, 1994

THE FIFTH LEVEL: Jihad, McWorld, and Gaia¹

by Natasha Todorovic

Executive Summary

Benjamin Barber's 'McWorld' is the creation of a value system and form of thinking known as the 'Fifth Level.'² This style of thinking has revolutionized our world since the Enlightenment. It has brought us medical breakthroughs, technological advances, and increased the quality of life for millions of people. This thinking has taken us to the moon and back, and made international travel both possible and easy. It has dramatically extended life spans in a matter of a few generations and fueled the Industrial Revolution. It has turned much of our economy into service based, rather than manual based, labour. The rhetoric of the American Dream is now reality for numerous Western nations. As the shackles of monarchic rulers and class systems are discarded, opportunity becomes the catalyst for those willing to expend effort, energy and intellect. The advances have been tremendous but at what cost?

Because we live in an abundant society where most appetites and desires can be instantly fulfilled, we take for granted the basic social norms in our lives and the principles by which our culture lives. This position paper suggests a new and different point of view.

Drawing primarily from writers and intellectuals critical of the excesses of the Fifth Level, a case is built which connects many current global problems to the hyper-Fifth Level expression. When a value system emerges and dominates the world enough to create problems that it cannot solve, a new value system emerges. This paper is designed to illustrate that we are at such a crossroads. It seeks to provide a voice to the point of view coming from new ways of thinking previously suppressed and even demonized

¹ Note to advanced SD thinkers: This article is designed as an introduction to Spiral Dynamics/Gravesian concepts in conjunction with globalization issues. As such, the sub-systems have been simplified and a typological approach to a flowing model has been taken. The more complex interactions, transitions and layers between systems approach has been foregone in favor of introducing the framework.

² See Exhibit 1 – Adapted from Exhibit 2: Cowan, Christopher & Todorovic, Natasha. "Spiral Dynamics: The Layers of Human Values in Strategy." *Strategy & Leadership*. MCB University Press, Vol. 28, No. 1 January/February 2000, p. 7.

by mainstream media. It also seeks to legitimize those who are critical of the Fifth Level, not from Barber's reactionary Jihadist point of view, rather from a progressive point of view that he overlooked – the Sixth Level.

This paper will:

- 1) Define the thinking behind McWorld – the Fifth Level;
- 2) Demonstrate the excesses of the Fifth Level;
- 3) Distinguish between the Jihad (Fourth Level) and the Sixth Level 'anti-globalization' backlashes;
- 4) Identify the most pressing problem of globalization – the Fifth Level transnational corporation;
- 5) And, introduce the emerging Sixth Level value system and its future.

The Engine Driving McWorld

McWorld's golden age faces imminent decline. Described by Benjamin Barber as "the forces of integrative modernization and aggressive economic and cultural globalization,"³ this worldview is identified as the Fifth Level by Dr. Clare W. Graves.

Graves refers to the concept as Materialistic Values (E-R) in his Emergent Cyclical Double Helix Model of Adult Biopsychosocial Systems Development Model (aka: Value Systems theory). Graves describes societies/individuals who behave similarly to Barber's McWorld examples as being motivated by a combination of internal and external factors which translate into a perspective wherein the individual is "limited by his lack of control over his environment ... [he/she] seeks greater independence. He is the rationalistic man who "objectively" explores the world. His theme for existence is "express self in a way that rationality says is good for me now, but carefully, calculatedly so as not to bring down the wrath of [important/powerful/significant] others upon me." The end value of E-R [Fifth Level] man is materialism; the means value is rational, objectivistic positivism, that is, scientism. "This pragmatic, scientific utilitarianism is the dominant mode of existence in the United States today," says Graves. He continues with:

"The values deriving naturally from the E-R theme are the values of accomplishing and getting, having and possessing. The E-R man personally seeks control over the physical universe so as to provide for his material wants. He values equality of opportunity and a mechanistic, measuring, quantitative approach to problems, including man. He also values

³ Barber, Benjamin R., *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*. Ballantine Books, New York, 1995 & 2001, p. XII.

gamesmanship, competition, the entrepreneurial attitude, efficiency, work simplification, the calculated risk. E-R [Fifth Level] values help create wealth and techniques, and lead to knowledge which improves the human condition, but once they seem to have solved the problems of man's earthly existence, they create a new existential problem for him. He has not yet learned how to live with his abundance, nor how to live when there are other men who still must live in want. Now man has a new problem and must seek a new way of life and a new value system."⁴

The Fifth Level worldview is entwined among the roots of globalization at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Yet it is being dug out and challenged. Fifth Level thinking created McWorld. Barber sees it as the "natural culmination of a modernization process - some would call it Westernization - that has gone on since the Renaissance birth of modern science and its accompanying paradigm of knowledge construed as power."⁵ And, rising from the ashes of last year's discarded status symbols, a backlash evolves against the economic and consumption-driven nature characterizing this wave of thinking.

McWorld is rejected from two key value systems which surround it: 1) a progressive perspective which finds it lacking (Sixth Level) and 2) the reactionary 'Jihad' view described by Barber which finds it too much too soon (Fourth Level). In the following pages, the Fifth Level corporatized view of globalization will be examined. Then the rising backlashes to this form of globalization, from both the 'Jihad' forces and the emergent Sixth Level response to it will provide a glimpse of the changing face of globalism as multiple values and worldviews collide, clash and cooperate

When elephants dance the grass beneath them suffers...

Rosabeth Moss Kanter, a Harvard Business School professor, wrote *When Giants Learn to Dance*, a text designed to help large corporations navigate global markets by becoming more efficient and effective and, thereby, more profitable. Ignacio Ramonet describes globalization as having "...little to do with people or

progress and everything to do with money. Dazzled by the glimmer of fast profits, the champions of globalization are incapable of taking stock of the future, anticipating the needs of humanity and the environment, planning for the expansion of cities, or slowly reducing inequalities and healing social fractures."⁶ As the globalization debate rages, the role and influence of corporate entities is often overlooked. To understand the most powerful forces on the globalization scene, we must focus on the giants learning to tango on the geopolitical mosaic of the 21st century global dance floor.



The vehicle driving today's globalization is the transnational⁷ corporation, which functions in tandem with powerful political and economic institutions such as the US government, World Bank, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund and others. The fuel energizing these giants is the Fifth Level worldview, with its values centered on dominating human and natural resources, and motivation in conquering and controlling the external world.

David Korten observes: "Corporations have emerged as the dominant governance institutions on the planet, with the largest among them reaching into virtually every country of the world and exceeding most governments in size and power. Increasingly, it is the corporate interest more than the human interest that defines the policy agendas of states and international bodies, although this reality and its implications have gone largely unnoticed and unaddressed."⁸ The corporate agenda focuses on new markets, growth and profits, all aspects of Fifth Level values-driven globalization.

Korten identifies three major institutions supporting economic globalization, which feed the corporate globalization flywheel and generate a momentum that is nearly impossible to stop. They are the Council on Foreign Relations, the Bilderberg and the Trilateral

⁴ Graves, Clare W. "Human Nature Prepares for a Momentous Leap." *The Futurist*. April 1974, 75.

⁵ Barber, Benjamin R., *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*. Ballantine Books, New York, 1995 & 2001, p.158.

⁶ Ramonet, Ignacio. "A New Totalitarianism." *Global Issues in the Twenty-First Century: An Overview*. McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, Guilford, Connecticut, 2001, p. 94.

⁷ See attached Appendix A for comparison between multinational and transnational corporation.

⁸ Korten, David C. *When Corporations Rule the World*. Kumarian Press and Berret-Koehler Publishers, Connecticut and San Francisco, 1995, p. 54.

Commission. Korten further describes the global stranglehold they create and “their effectiveness in bringing together key individuals from government, business, the media and academia to create a consensus that aligns our most powerful institutions with the economic globalization agenda ... They believed that the more open the [global] economy was to trade and foreign investment, the more readily the United States would be able to dominate it.”⁹

Members of the Trilateral Commission, the economic, iron triangle of World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization were established, constitute the leadership of the world’s five largest non-banking transnational corporations, international banks and major media organizations, U.S. presidents, and members of the U.S. Executive and Legislative branches of government. Korten observes that these institutions all accept, “without question, the ideological premises of corporate libertarianism. The benefits of economic integration and a harmonization of the tax, regulatory, and other policies of the trilateral countries – and ultimately of all countries – are assumed as an article of faith. The debate centers on how, not whether ...”¹⁰ because they share the same underlying value system – the Fifth Level worldview.

Beneath these institutions and their members, the Fifth Level worldview and its concomitant values simmer unchecked in a pro-free trade world driven to pursue profits, growth and markets often at the expense of both human life and the environment while intensely denying that fact. Thinking at the Fifth Level exhibits the attitude that “Natural resources belong to those of us who can transform them into production of some type. We can use the planet and its people as we see fit.” The nature of the thinking, in this worldview, is multiplistic, change-oriented, comparative, in search of betterment and success-driven. Corporations utilize this mode of thinking to increase their market share through the expansion of their product lines and customer bases. With this thinking and individualistic, consumer-based values as their premise advertisers manufacture the need for products in a global marketplace by espousing consumerism as the path to happiness.

Barber’s view is similar as he observes: “McWorld’s advocates will argue that the *market* does serve individuals by empowering them to *choose* but the choice is always about which items to buy and consume, never about whether to buy and consume anything at all; or about the right to earn an income

that makes consumption possible; or about how to regulate and contain consumption so that it does not swallow up other larger public goods that cannot be advanced in the absence of democratic public institutions. In McWorld’s global market, empowerment lies in the choice of toppings on a baked potato: the rest is passive consumption. When profit becomes the sole criterion by which we measure every good, every activity, every attitude, every cultural product, there is soon nothing but profit. In the empire of the market, the money hooligans are princes and largesse is king.”¹¹

Money, position and influence constitute political privilege. Multinational corporations pursue quarterly profitability and disregard long-term environmental damage on an anarchic globe wherein their economic power exceeds that of many of the countries they seek to exploit. Corporate and political powers join forces for mutual benefit in some cases while clashing ever more infrequently in others. NGO’s, environmental groups and individuals bemoan issues of accelerating social and environmental disintegration. These issues are the outcomes produced by the Fifth Level value system, because thinking centers on acquisition and competition as paramount in a world spiraling towards a single monoculture in the ultimate mastered and organized vision of McWorld.

Greg Palast cites an interesting statistic in *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy*. He writes, “Capitalization of corporations owned by the U.S. federal government exceeds \$2.85 trillion. Add to that state and local operations, like water systems, and the total invested in public enterprise eclipses the stock market ...”¹² Although he calls the US one of the “most socialized nations” on the planet, what he describes is the largest corporate welfare system in the world which is supported by the world’s largest military force, controlled by the sole superpower, all driven through a Fifth Level worldview. Further evidence of the merger between big business and government is the corporate share of taxes, which “has dropped in the last 50 years from 33% to 15% while the people’s share of taxes has gone from 44% to 73%.”¹³

The increasing power of the corporation is staggering. David Korten points out that “of the world’s hundred largest economies, fifty are corporations, and the aggregate sales of the world’s ten largest corporations in 1991 exceed the aggregate GNP of the world’s hundred

⁹ Korten, David C. p. 134-135.

¹⁰ Korten, David C. p. 139.

¹¹ Barber, Benjamin R. p. 98.

¹² Palast, Greg. *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy: An Investigative Reporter Exposes the Truth about Globalization, Corporate Cons, and High Finance Fraudsters*. Pluto Press, London, & Sterling Virginia, 2002, p. 138.

¹³ Benson, Robert. *Challenging Corporate Rule: The Petition to Revoke UNOCAL’s Charter as a Guide to Citizen Action*. The Apex Press, 1999, p. IX.

smallest countries. The giants are shedding people but not control over money, markets, or technology.”¹⁴ This leaves a planet vulnerable to the fickle consumptiveness and narrow needs of its few privileged inhabitants who share a Fifth Level perspective on life.

An example of this US corporate-political union in action on a global scale is showcased in the report done by the Institute for Policy Studies, entitled “*Enron’s Pawns: How Public Institutions Bankrolled Enron’s Globalization Game*.” The authors of this report, Jim Vallette and Daphne Wysham, reveal how Enron and U.S. government money supported the energy giant by financing its global reach through imposing, where necessary and strong-arming when needed the privatization, energy deregulation and structural adjustment policies in countries desperate for World Bank and IMF funding. The impact on Third World countries such as Columbia, Zambia, India, Argentina, Panama, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and others has been profound. According to Valette and Wysham, “Many public officials have described Enron’s demise as the product of corporate misbehavior. This perspective ignores a vital fact: Enron would not have scaled such grand global heights, nor fallen so dramatically, without its close financial relationships with government agencies. Since 1992, at least twenty-one agencies, representing the U.S. government, multilateral development banks, and other national governments, helped leverage Enron’s global reach by approving \$7.219 billion in public financing toward 38 projects in 29 countries.”¹⁵

The World Bank prepared the groundwork in foreign countries under the guise of free trade and privatization, thus fostering Enron’s ability to dominate energy suppliers in these countries. Once the companies were under Enron’s wing, the energy giant pushed up prices throughout the markets under its control. They created scarcity by turning off the lights. The profits went to Enron executives and shareholders at the expense of average citizens, both foreign and domestic. Riots and mass protests ensued in many countries. Enron repeated the tactic of manufacturing an energy crisis in its own home country by manipulating supplies going to the state of California and artificially creating an energy shortage during California’s lowest usage period. (Note: plenty of energy existed before and after the crisis during peak energy usage periods.)

¹⁴ Korten, David C. p. 220.

¹⁵ Vallette, Jim & Wysham, Daphne. “Enron’s Pawns: How Public Institutions Bankrolled Enron’s Globalization Game.” *Sustainable Energy and Economy Network*. Institute for Policy Studies. March 22, 2002, p. 14.

The Enron case demonstrates an effort by a U.S. corporation, in concert with US government institutions, to dominate and control world energy markets with the help of the World Bank that “...would issue loans for privatization of the energy or the power sector in a developing country or make



this [privatization of public services] a condition of further loans, and Enron would be amongst the first, and often the most successful, bidders to enter the country’s newly privatized or deregulated energy markets.”¹⁶ Naomi Klein observes that centuries of democratic reforms that resulted in more transparency in government are threatened by these practices: “What good was an open and accountable Parliament or Congress if opaque corporations were setting so much of the global political agenda in the back rooms?”¹⁷

In the same vein, Mokhiber and Weissman provide a background on the origins of the corporation and an insight into the evolution of current situation. “At Boston College Law School, Professor Kent Greenfield points out that it used to be that corporations were created by the state to achieve specified public goals. The corporation was created to build a canal, for example. And then it was to go out of business. If the corporation decided to sell hot dogs instead, it was acting beyond its powers, and a shareholder or the attorney general could file an injunction under the “ultra vires” (beyond its powers) doctrine -- forcing the company to drop the dogs. Then, the states started to compete with each other for more corporate business -- the infamous race to the bottom. As a part of that race, states stopped imposing strict limitations on corporate powers. The corporate lawyers set up Delaware as the Las Vegas of corporate chartering. And, as a result, virtually no corporate activity was beyond a company’s defined activity. Ultra vires was dead ...”¹⁸

In the eyes of business and international trade Globalization means expanding business and increasing profits through the privatization and amassing of public

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Klein, Naomi. *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*. Picador, New York, 1999, p. 341.

¹⁸ Mokhiber, Russell and Weissman, Robert. “Rotten to the Core.” *Focus on the Corporation*. <http://lists.essential.org/pipermail/corp-focus/2002/000105.html> & <http://www.corporatepredators.org>.

goods and resources in the attitude of fundamentalist belief in the free-market. "The externalized desire for purpose turns inward, driving needs for achievement, autonomy, and independence. Productivity is rewarded by progression up the economic food chain. Competition motivates the market. Winners rise; losers are roadkill. Clever action, skillful entrepreneurship, and calculated risks lead to personal fulfillment. Seize opportunities and create excellence ... Leaders for the free-market [Fifth Level] world must model success and sharpen their cutting edges. They must exude confidence and offer rewards followers seek. The game's the thing."¹⁹ This is the nature of the entrenched and hardened corporate Fifth Level worldview.

"Market players are attracted to the corporation as a form of business organization specifically because the legal nature and structure of the corporation tend to exempt both the corporation and its decision makers from accountability for many of the costs of their activities. Actual shareholders, the real owners," continues Korten, "bear no personal liability beyond the value of their investments. Directors and officers are protected from financial liability for acts of negligence or commission by insurance policies paid for by the corporation."²⁰ By virtue of this structure, which legitimizes and encourages social irresponsibility in favor of fiscal responsibility, the modern corporation becomes a cowboy in the wild west of economic and corporate globalization. Transnational corporations, with the aide of international financial institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, supported by Washington, fueled by financial and political power, packing a punch that much of the world cannot yet withstand, particularly with the U.S. military as the enforcer of political policy and so-called national interests.

This is why the Fifth Level version of globalization is such a hot topic. Abbas J. Ali introduces definitions of globalization as seen through Fifth Level eyes. Ali introduces Renato Ruggiero, the now former Director General of the World Trade Organization, who "defines globalization with a single term – increasing trade volume." To the aforementioned groups the multiple dimensions and complexities of globalization collapse into a narrowed

perspective centered on growth, profits, free trade and the Fifth Level. The applicable term is 'convergence.' This means all markets, countries and societies will be required to submit to the free-trade, privatization agenda.

As Ali reflects on the dominant thinking in relation to international business, politics and globalization, he observes, "Profit is the driving force that sustains both business and non-business involvement across borders." He also introduces the military mindset supporting 'national interests' with the Fifth Level conception of globalization. "There are some who believe that globalization even with the demise of the Cold war, conveys domination and hegemony. Attiga (1997) suggests that the world is "now beginning to experience the forces of a new kind of empire called globalism." This fear of globalization is echoed in various quarters in the world. Many experts and scholars feel that the globalization process, in reality, is the imposition of the U.S. will on other nations" ... Fogleman believes that the U.S. forces should be able, "to find and attack targets anywhere on the globe." This thinking, however, appears to be consistent with the pronouncements by some intellectual elite in the U.S. and abroad who are fascinated by national superiority and righteousness."²¹

This thinking is not symbolic of globalization, per se. Instead, it reflects notions of globalization as narrowly defined through the business mindset that is steeped in the Fifth Level worldview and values which, for the most part, dominate business, international trade and politics.

The transnational corporate ethos, which seeks to externalize its costs, sees Third World governments, citizens and their resources as profitability targets. The more that costs can be imposed upon third parties, including



future generations, the greater the profits to the corporation, its directors and its shareholders in the short term - now. Of course, externalities, costs born by anyone other than the corporation, appear to the detriment of those having to bear the burden of depleted natural resources, as well as the environmental, human, social

¹⁹ Cowan, Christopher & Todorovic, Natasha. "Spiral Dynamics: The Layers of Human Values in Strategy." *Strategy & Leadership*. MCB University Press, Vol. 28, No. 1 January/February 2000, p. 8.

²⁰ Korten, David C. *When Corporations Rule the World*. Kumarian Press and Berret-Koehler Publishers, Connecticut and San Francisco, 1995, p. 99.

²¹ Abbas J. Ali "From the Editor-in-Chief: Globalization: Part II." *International Journal of Commerce and Management*. UCM Vol. 7, No. 3&4, Indiana, 1997 Copyright 1996

and health costs. The transnational corporation becomes, according to Russell Mokhiber and Robert Weissman, the *Corporate Predator*. Their book of the same name outlines sixty cases of corporate and government complicity in the ongoing construction of an international free trade machine designed to extract profits and resources from all areas of the globe, including the U.S. The result is that pollutants are released into the environment, neighborhoods are contaminated, well-paid employment moves to Third World countries where wages drop outrageously, slave and child labor are used to produce products, and the public is forced to pick up the costs for corporate malfeasance, thus leaving the costs to citizens, future generations, Third World governments, the planet and, ultimately, to life itself.

The current trajectory, put into motion by political policy feeding corporate activities, which, in return, feed its political partners, renders an ever-expanding, all-consuming tornado of big business supporting governmental favors to uphold corporate interests. Corporations and political machines, like behemoths arm-in-arm and oblivious to the lives they affect in the grass below, use human and natural resources with impunity. Consider the image of elephants learning to pirouette. The ground they leave behind is exposed, trampled and raw with open wounds, and they don't even notice. This epitomizes the dark side of the Fifth Level.

The Engine Driving Gaia

The corporate structure has become a vehicle for twenty-first century exploitation. Yet, according to a survey by Dr. Paul Ray, 81% of Americans are anti-big business, and they feel that corporate greed and shortsightedness are harming our country.²² The rhetoric of hope and abundance often walks hand-in-hand with the realities of excess and waste at the expense of people, communities and the environment, awakening objections to the Fifth Level worldview and its manifestations.

Critics of the Fifth Level point out the increase in poverty, illiteracy, violence, illness and the widening gap between the rich and the poor. While transnational corporations pursue their own interests, the winds of change pick up speed and strength to counter Fifth Level political and corporate efforts. Citizens, politicians, academics, scientists and business leaders from different cultures, ethnicities, political beliefs, regions and religions are aghast at the

world created by the Fifth Level. Motivated by a vision of economic and social equality and justice, emerging from the problems created by the Fifth Level world they begin to awaken Sixth Level values.

People centralized at the Sixth Level can be described as interpersonalistic. A just world that values people and minimizes damage is important to those who hold this worldview. They seek to understand and participate in multiple cultures, worlds and belief systems. Their motto, "do no harm to others or the environment," is the result of the devastation, both human and ecological, and harm triggered by excesses of the Fifth Level. Still emerging in human nature, this worldview endorses a new philosophy that is not yet clearly defined.

Concerns come to the fore as the Sixth Level in humanity rises. They see the world's top 200 corporations with twice the assets of 80% of the world's people. They see millions of people starving while food rots or cannot be delivered because



the hungry are too poor to purchase it. They see workers in countries all over the world deprived of their means to make a living, deprived of water and food, and deprived of fair wages once corporations rule human subsistence. They see declining forests, fish, animal, and plant species. They see the increasing human population, polluted rivers and declining oceans. They see a world that will be fighting for water due to pollution, contamination, privatization and decreased supplies.²³ They see the expansion of the military industrial complex as vast sums of money are diverted to fight terrorism, the latest phase in the communism, drugs, and terrorism series. They see democratic institutions crumbling as corporations assume control of every level of society.

Thanks to this multitude of problems, Sixth Level thinking emerges for some. Those who think in this way see others suffering while they have plenty. The reality of the disenfranchised haunts them. They see Fifth Level profit-driven institutions sacrificing the present and the future so that the few can amass more wealth than they will ever require. They are focused on both the long-term consequences of unsustainable living and the short-term pain of the good life at the expense of others. The Sixth Level is not anti-globalization or opposed to global thinking. Instead, Sixth Level proponents oppose the corporate plutocracy directed from the Fifth Level they have so recently escaped.

²² Ray, Paul. *The New Political Compass*. Unpublished Paper, 2002.

²³ Barlow, Maude & Clarke, Tony. *Blue Gold: The Fight to Stop the Corporate Theft of the World's Water*. New Press, 2002.

The anti-globalization movement has been criticized as lacking focus and as being parochial. The movement currently occupies the somewhat nebulous in-between stage. As people discover their dislikes, they begin to discern their likes. These still amorphous values will soon take sharper form and, as they do, will solidify with clearer distinction. Sources of problems will become increasingly easier to pinpoint. Viable, sustainable alternatives will quickly emerge. As the dominance of the Fifth Level worldview grows with its version of *corporate* globalization, the impending backlash from grassroots organizations lobbying for human and environmental rights against the elephantine Fifth Level also begins to grow, gain momentum, and become better organized.

Indeed, to some, the views of the anti-globalization advocates might well resemble a parochial movement on the part of Luddites. In fact, they have been portrayed as such in the mainstream American media outlets presently controlled by only five corporations. The backlash referred to here is from a source other than Barber's resistant version of globalization, which he calls Jihad. He describes Jihad as, "In its mildest form, it betokens religious struggle on behalf of faith, a kind of Islamic zeal. In its strongest political manifestation, it means bloody holy war on behalf of partisan identity that is metaphysically defined and fanatically defended ... I use the term in its militant construction to suggest dogmatic and violent particularism of a kind known to Christians no less than Muslims ... What ends as Jihad may begin as a simple search for a local identity, some set of common personal attributes to hold out against the numbing and neutering uniformities of Industrial modernization and the colonizing culture of McWorld."²⁴

The Engine Driving Jihad

Graves' Fourth Level is the thinking providing the foundation to Barber's Jihad which is "an attempt to recapture a world that existed prior to cosmopolitan capitalism and was defined by religious mysteries, hierarchical communities, spellbinding traditions, and historical torpor."²⁵ Jihad, in the Barber and Gravesian sense, would not be defined as a Holy War; rather, it is the struggle for nationalism, religiosity, patriotism, fundamentalism, tradition, community identity and group belonging – social and ideological "isms."

²⁴ Barber, Benjamin R., p.8.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 157.

Just as Jihad resists McWorld yet is locked together with it, Graves' Fourth Level, in some situations, resists the Fifth Level. It is similarly described as, "the saintly form of existence ... Here man perceives that certain rules are prescribed for each class of men and that these rules describe the proper way each class is to behave."²⁶ Sometimes Graves' Fourth Level view of human nature views the multiplistic Fifth Level as deceitful, sinful, morally bankrupt and, quite often, as evil. The absolutistic Fourth Level, like the 'Jihad' worldview that defends itself against McWorld's imposition, the Fourth Level, with its concomitant values, corresponds to Barber's definition of Jihad.

Barber focuses on Jihad as the single antagonistic force against McWorld and its counterpoint. Like the Fourth Level, sometimes the Sixth Level pushes back against the Fifth Level and resists it. Sometimes, the Fourth and Sixth squeeze the Fifth Level to a position between them. At other times, each forms alliances of convenience and reinforce the Fifth Level. As well, on occasion, these worldviews will all generate conflict with one another. These complex, dynamic and interacting colluding and colliding forces also create a problem when attempting to define the resistance to McWorld.

In the media, Anti-WTO - read Anti-Economic Globalization - activists are confused with Jihadists. These two anti-globalization perspectives are very different. The Fourth Level emerges from a world of fiefdoms and warlords where raw power and exploitation are the norm so that a single unifying "law" is needed to bring order to battling factions and nationalisms. The Taliban arose in response to these conditions in Afghanistan. Their brutality marked a society in transition towards an increasingly Fourth Level worldview.

Mark Juergensmeyer, thoroughly covers the quintessential elements of this mindset in his work, *Terror in the Mind of God*, where he examines Christians, Zionists, Muslims, Sikhs, and Buddhists and the logic of religious violence. In the cases he examines, all meet the pure definition of Graves' Fourth Level world.²⁷

Juergensmeyer finds a common thread throughout these groups and individuals who feel they are acting on the direction of God and in His name by fighting a 'Cosmic War' between good and evil:

"Every struggle [Jihad] has its heroes, but even more fundamentally, the struggle must have a foe ... Our discussion of the scenarios of war

²⁶ Graves, Clare W., p. 74.

²⁷ Note to Advanced SD readers: Interviews of the terrorists show a nodal DQ perfectly fitting the Systems Recognition Principles. Although it might be arrested or closed the sub-system is DQ without hints of CP.

has indicated that this is indeed true of virtually every instance of religious terrorism: enemies have to be invented if they do not already exist. If the point of scenarios of cosmic war is to give those who believe in them a sense of empowerment and hope, these feelings could not be generated without the role of an evil foe, a negative reference to which one can position oneself and over which one can hope to triumph. Put simply, one cannot have a war without an enemy.”²⁸

In effect, expansion and challenge to the Fourth Level creates the very circumstances it sought to resolve requiring different thinking. Some change and adjust others don't. When left alone it is the most peaceful of societies; when confronted by opposing views it results in the most violent of conflicts as we see between Israelis and Palestinians. The Fifth Level reacts to and sometimes arises from the inability to resolve differences between conflicting Fourth Level worldviews.²⁹

“Free traders and One McWorlders use nationalism as a scathing pejorative denoting a fractious and anticosmopolitan tribalism, reeking of bloody fraternalism and equally toxic doses of the parochial and the primitive”³⁰ – often a description of, and a reaction to, the Fourth Level from the Fifth Level. It emerges out of frustration and problems created by successful living at the highly structured Fourth Level and the new problems of potential individualism and competitiveness, which that period of stable, authoritarian orderliness creates. Yet, within the Fourth Level the seeds of the Fifth Level begin to emerge.

The Sixth Level follows this pattern by growing out of frustration with the problems created by an excessive zeal for autonomy, materialistic acquisitiveness, and constant competitiveness of the Fifth Level, itself the product of the Fourth Level.

Both the Fourth and Sixth Levels resist the Fifth Level's McWorld. Whereas the Fourth Level Jihad seeks a singular truth to be imposed as the righteous outcome for everyone, the Sixth Level seeks to

diversify, honor all truths and take control from the hands of a few and put it with the many. In both cases the Fifth Level elitism and centralized political/economic controls become an enemy to both the Fourth and the Sixth Levels but for different reasons.

***The Anti-Corporate Globalization Movement*³¹**

The Sixth Level 'anti-globalization' resistance is neither parochial, provincial nor out of touch, despite claims by prominent writers such as Thomas Friedman, who criticized WTO/WB/IMF protestors. Neither is this resistance related to religious struggle and spreading faith, which are more Fourth Level concerns. Although it might appear militant upon occasion, this similarity to Jihad is the result of a rigid resistance to duplicity, manipulation and placing profits above people, not religious dogma. The Sixth Level does not possess Eric Hoffer's attitude of the *True Believer* unlike the Fourth Level Jihad.

Jihad and the Sixth Level often share a rejection of the Fifth Level style of conspicuous globalization, described by Barber as resistance to “the numbing and neutering uniformities of Industrial modernization and the colonizing culture of McWorld.” The reasons for which the Jihad and Sixth Level worlds reject Fifth Level values are quite different, despite McWorld's trampling on both sets of toes.

Jihad turns against McWorld when those values stomp on Jihad's particular 'ism,' i.e. its local communities and way of life. The Sixth Level turns against the Fifth Level when it hurts people(s), lies, and harms the environment – when its practices are no longer sustainable.

Graves describes the transition from the Fifth to the Sixth Level by defining both the conditions humans find themselves in and how their thinking changes as a result:

“[The Fifth Level person] finds himself master of the objective physical world but a prime neophyte in the subjectivistic, humanistic world. He has achieved the satisfaction of a good life through his relative mastery of the physical universe, but it has been achieved at a price - the price of not being liked by other men for his callous use of knowledge for himself. He has become envied and even respected, but he is not

²⁸ Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the mind of God : the global rise of religious violence*. University of California Press 2000, p. 171.

²⁹ For Advanced SD readers: This transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Level only occurs when the 6 Conditions for Change have been met and it is not guaranteed. The DQ on DQ violence creates some of the most intractable situations in the world.

³⁰ Barber, Benjamin R., p. 158.

³¹ To Advanced SD readers: This movement has been oversimplified here as a Sixth Level movement when in fact, our research suggests a unique dynamic closer to a FSA & GTA pairing, [Sixth & Seventh Levels] with a DQR/ERR pattern [Rejection of Fourth & Fifth Level Values], which does not accompany all FSA/GTA pairings.

liked. He has achieved his personal status and material existence at the expense of being rejected ... he begins to see the problems of restoring the balance of life which has been torn asunder by his individualistically oriented, self-seeking climb up the first ladder of existence ... [he/she] becomes centrally concerned with peace with his inner self and in the relation of his self to the inner self of others. He becomes concerned with belonging, with being accepted, with knowing the inner side of self and other selves so harmony can come to be, so people as individuals can be at peace with themselves and thus with the world”³²

thereby providing fertile soil for the Sixth Level to grow with its emerging awareness of Gaia.

The Sixth Level value system first emerged visibly on the anti-globalization scene with the anti-WTO movement which came to prominence during the 1999 protests in Seattle. By virtue of this resistance, a key and often overlooked element is pushed into the globalization debate - the corporation. This is an ANTI-CORPORATE globalization movement, not a movement opposed to a more interdependently interconnected world.

The Sixth Level condemns McWorld’s corporatization of the commons³³ a phrase coined by Paul Hawken, author of *Natural Capitalism*. The Sixth Level seeks to arrange the world so that all might have enough. Without acknowledging the impact of the transnational corporation’s worldview that all human inhabitants are potential markets or cheap labour, and its propagation of the consumption and commodification culture, the globalization debate overlooks an essential ingredient fueling it and driving its expansion – the insatiable, Fifth Level corporation. The Sixth Level, however, ensures that this ingredient becomes visible and appears on the table.

Abbas Ali presents an alternative point of view coming from the Sixth Level and criticizing the Fifth. He counters the Fifth Level view of globalization with a warning as he, too, identifies this blindness in the transnational corporate predator. Ali is an advocate of a different kind of globalization. He criticizes the Fifth Level by saying:

“... such thinking/rhetoric will be counter-productive to the goal of establishing a prosperous world ... Globalization should never have been perceived as domination. Nationalistic sentiments and goals endanger the foundation of globalization and perpetuate world instability. It is a tragic mistake to impose national interests upon others while advocating global aims. Globalization should not be used as a code word for imperialism. Legitimization of force or the right to rule other nations is not globalization. Globalization is a process that is built on collective understanding, on the need to establish a world community that is prosperous and tolerant, and on respect for and equitable treatment of people across the globe. The heart of globalization is a strong commitment to and belief in the essentiality of common interests. Free access to opportunities, financial and otherwise, across the globe and reliance on constant constructive engagement, rather than military force and economic sanctions in solving global disputes, must be the basic tenets of globalization.”³⁴

Vandana Shiva, a physicist, environmentalist, and an outspoken critic of the kind of corporate globalization produced by the Fifth Level worldview, offers a similar perspective. She believes that, “Monocultures are an essential component of globalization, which is premised on homogenization and the destruction of diversity. Global control of raw materials and markets makes monocultures necessary.”

Just as the Fourth Level Jihad proselytizes exclusivity, Fifth Level McWorld also seeks a world of free trade and private markets narrowing under corporate domination – monomarkets. Shiva equates these views of globalization with political violence. She uses an analogy of monocultures and the ecological violence that results to describe what happens in societies.

Unlike many vague claims about the evils of globalization, her arguments link the natural world, the *Natural Capitalism* described by Paul Hawken, and human social systems. She draws a number of parallels: “What happens in nature also happens in society. When homogenization is imposed on diverse social systems through global integration, region after region starts to disintegrate. The violence inherent to centralized global integration in turn, breeds violence among its victims. As conditions of everyday life become increasingly controlled by outside forces [read Fifth Level] systems of

³² Graves, Clare W., p. 75.

³³ Hawken, Paul. Industrialization of the Commons. *Alternative Radio* [national broadcast] #PHAW1 The People’s Summit, Boulder, CO

³⁴ Abbas J. Ali “From the Editor-in-Chief: Globalization: Part II.” *International Journal of Commerce and Management*. UCM Vol. 7, No. 3&4, Indiana, 1997 Copyright 1996

local governance decay, people cling to their diverse identities as a source of security in a period of insecurity. Tragically, when the source of their insecurity is so remote that it cannot be identified, diverse peoples who have lived peacefully together start to look at each other with fear.

As local and national systems of governance break down due to the pressures of globalization, local elites attempt to cling to power by manipulating the ethnic or religious feelings that emerge as a backlash. In a world characterized by diversity, globalization can only be realized by ripping apart society's plural fabric along with its capacity to self-organize ... Globalization is not the cross-cultural interaction of diverse societies; it is the imposition of a particular culture on all of the others. [Corporate-globalization] is the predation of one class, one race, and often one gender of a single species on all of the others ... "global" does not represent a universal human interest; it represents a particular local and parochial interest and culture that has been globalized through its reach and control, its irresponsibility and lack of reciprocity."³⁵

In response to the Fifth Level form of globalization, Hawken also argues, "We are seeing the first global uprising in history."³⁶ People from all over the world went to Seattle. The resistance didn't stop there. Everywhere the World Trade Organization meets, it attracts protestors from all corners of the globe. Wherever world leaders, IMF, World Bank, World Economic Forum and Corporate Predators convene, the citizens of the world gather outside their doors to refuse and resist their version of globalization.

While business leaders met to discuss free trade and network at the World Economic Forum (WEF) after paying a \$25,000 entrance fee, tens of thousands of NGO's, concerned citizens and those opposed to the Fifth Level vision of free trade gathered at the World Social Forum to information share and brainstorm ways to achieve environmental, economic and social justice. Others protested outside WEF doors. When negotiations over treaties such as the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and Fast Track, to name a few, citizens from all over the

world realize that they must become involved in order to protect their interests.

Cochabamba, Bolivia, saw a million of its citizens rise up against the privatization of their water supplies by U.S. multinational Bechtel Corporation, because this 'progressive' economic move touted by IMF/WB, and partners, resulted in one-fifth of their income diverted to pay for basic water needs. Farmers all over the world are being forced to buy seeds from U.S. agribusiness because the genes have been patented - the seeds are sold with license agreements. Biotech companies have put their stamp of ownership on the smallest unit of life saying 'If we control seed, we control the food chain'. Terminator Seeds result in produce that never grows seeds; they 'terminate' growth before the seed phase so that farmers become criminals for doing what they have done for centuries - gather then plant seeds to renew their crops. Millions of farmers in India united to protest the seed conspiracy. Global citizens joined N30, the November 1999 Battle in Seattle, to protest these practices and policies.

As former presidential candidate and consumer watchdog Ralph Nader said to the activists gathered at the county courthouse in Santa Barbara for the second annual People's March for Social and Economic Justice on April 27, 2002, "Read history. If you don't turn on to politics, the politicians are going to turn on you ... put the time in!" These efforts by activists have been overlooked or portrayed as simple-minded by corporatized and consolidated mass media outlets. Yet, resistance to their machinations continues to bubble to the surface and spread.

Awareness of the 'corporatization of the world's commons' is growing and touching people deeply and globally. The resistance will only grow until governments, corporations and our economic and political systems radically transform themselves. The 2001 WTO meetings on an ocean liner off oil rich Qatar, a nation known for its traditional, hereditary, monarchical structure that disallows protest, symbolized the rigidity of the engrained Fifth Level world view and the monumental problems looming for all people to solve.



Our greatest global challenge will be to overcome Fifth Level, global, corporate plutocracy. Korten believes it is "the people's right to demand that governments and

³⁵ Shiva, Vandana. *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*. South End Press Boston, Massachusetts, 1997, p. 102-103.

³⁶ Hawken, Paul. *Industrialization of the Commons*. *Alternative Radio* [national broadcast] #PHAW1 The People's Summit, Boulder, CO.

corporations remain accountable to the public will and interest. Yet, in so doing, we wish to remind the world's political and corporate leaders that the authority of the state and the powers of the private corporation are grants extended to these institutions by the sovereign people, by civil society, to serve the collective human interest. It is the people's right to demand that governments and corporations remain accountable to the public will and interest."³⁷

Conclusion

The Fourth Level world is rooted in dogmatism, religious and cultural fundamentalism, and absolutistic thinking. Jihad sees only one right way to behave and anything other than mandated actions are criminal or insane. For many the Fourth Level world inspires comfort by bringing meaning, order and purpose to their lives. Globalization becomes a way of spreading truth for some. Yet, for others, it brings modernity which is evil because it impinges on cherished traditions and customs and goes against the One True Way.

For the Fourth Level there is the only possible way. From this stultifying rigidity comes the pluralism of the Fifth Level desperate to throw off shackles of predictability and tradition with multiple options and many possibilities to explore. The Fourth Level finds this mindset evil, sinister, and threatening. In the tradition of many a holy war the demon must be expunged and the Fourth Level sets itself upon the Fifth Level with the fury of God behind it.

Empiricism and the Fifth Level came out of religious war as an attempt to bring peace. Humanity had to learn to survive with a plurality of divinities and the multiplistic thinking at the Fifth Level allowed this experimentation to begin. Ironically the push-pull between the Fourth and Fifth Level worldviews creates its own brand of cultural, economic, religious, political and militaristic warfare. Sometimes bodies are left in its wake.

McWorld replaces ideology and religiosity with a powerful body creating an economic, marketing, financial and corporate battleground where the larger corporations swallow the smaller ones. In this battleground of giants 'the big boys' dominate markets. The public learns of corporate scandals when their shares have tumbled. Multiple options joust in a free, competitive market economy until the winner is left standing to claim the spoils. Yet, this world too

must fall. Just as the Fourth Level carried within it the seed of the Fifth, the Fifth Level carries within its fruit the seed of the Sixth Level as evidenced by the global movements surging against globalization.

'Anti-globalization' activists do not oppose trade or globalization. Nor do they oppose corporations, per se. Instead, they insist that a number of institutions have gone too far, and that there are no mechanisms for restraint. Benjamin Barber argues that democracy has been a restraint, but lacking global democratic institutions the Fifth Level has gone to the extreme and the Fourth and Sixth Levels have noticed, although they've noticed different things.

Increasingly all citizens urge that business and trade be conducted responsibly and with consideration for the people, the environment and the future generations of humans, earth's resources and the protection of all other living things in mind. They seek reasonable practices and policies that honour both people and the planet. Their banners and signs display causes with goals and words like: *People Before Profits*, *Fair Trade*, and *Living Wages*. They are neither backwards nor naïve, despite their attempts to hold corporations, politicians and financial institutions accountable for both their actions and the ultimate consequences of those actions.

Activists are asking for responsibility, awareness and sustainable practices. They are demanding that leaders look at the world in more complex ways than they have ever done before. They wish to preserve the world and create institutions, laws and systems focused on the long term. Vandana Shiva asks people to build systems that we can be proud of and that will be sustainable with nature and human needs for the next 10,000 years were we able to look back. This movement is a backlash *against* globalizing Fifth Level values. This movement is *for* a more humane, sustainable Gaia.



³⁷ Korten, David C. p. 330.

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Appendix A

Contrasting the Multinational and Transnational Corporation

| | MULTINATIONAL | TRANSNATIONAL |
|------------------------|---|---|
| INTEGRATION | Takes on many national identities. Maintains autonomous production and sales facilities in individual countries. | Vertically integrated. |
| INTERESTS | Community Interests. | Corporate Interests. |
| LOCAL ROOTS | Establishes local roots. | Local commitments are temporary. Actively attempts to eliminate considerations of nationality in its effort to maximize the economies that centralized global procurement makes possible. |
| OPERATING STYLE | Its globalized operations are linked to one another but are deeply integrated into the individual local economies in which they operate, and they do function to some extent as local citizens. | Take advantage of opportunities by moving production to countries with most advantageous offering i.e. lowest costs, barriers, wages, employment standards, taxes, and environmental regulations. |
| LOYALTIES | Local Good Citizen. | Global Playboy. |
| MARKETS | More Protected. | More Open. |

Adapted from: *When Corporations Rule the World* by David C. Korten

Exhibit 1

| WORLD VIEW | KEY OBJECTIVES | BEHAVIOR | THINKING | APPROACH TO WORKING |
|---|---|--|------------------------|---|
| FIRST LEVEL | Just staying alive. | Respond as instincts and senses direct to meet biological needs. | Instinctive. | Instinctive, automatic, and reflexive. |
| FIRST to SECOND LEVEL - Awakening to curiosity about cause and effect in a mysterious and frightening world where being with others means safety | | | | |
| SECOND LEVEL | Finding safety/ kinship/harmony/ reciprocity. | Follow ancestral ways and elders, listen to spirit world, form safe tribes. | Animistic. | Ritual ways where all share in and follow elders, chief, customs. |
| SECOND to THIRD LEVEL - Awakening of an egocentric self determined to break the shackles of the family or tribe and become a powerful individual. | | | | |
| THIRD LEVEL | Raw individualism/ exerting dominance/ power/survival. | Exploit others, feel no guilt, be courageous, avoid shame, live in the moment. | Egocentric/ Impulsive. | Hands-on, tough work controlled by firm, respected boss. |
| THIRD to FOURTH LEVEL- Awakening of a purposeful self with guilt in search of a meaningful existence and reasons why we live and die. | | | | |
| FOURTH LEVEL | Meaning in life and death/ stability/order/ deserve reward. | Seek absolute truth, obey rightful higher authority, keep things in order. | Absolutistic. | Linear processing, by-the-book with errors punished, dutiful. |
| FOURTH to FIFTH LEVEL - Awakening of an independence-seeking self who challenges higher authority, tests possibilities and seeks opportunity. | | | | |
| FIFTH LEVEL | Autonomy/success best options /material gain/ novelty/change. | Strive to win, make things better now, risk as needed, network, explore options. | Multiplistic. | Competing to gain advantage and come out in control, on top. |
| FIFTH to SIXTH LEVEL - Awakening of a sociocentric self who strives for belonging and acceptance and seeks to discover inner harmony. | | | | |
| SIXTH LEVEL | Affiliation/peace of mind/balance/ sense of community. | Sacrifice for mutual gain, share, cooperate to build consensus, teamwork. | Interpersonalistic. | Cooperation in joint ventures where all contribute and share. |
| SIXTH to SEVENTH LEVEL - Awakening of an inquiring, interdependent self who no longer needs approval yet can collaborate when appropriate. | | | | |
| SEVENTH LEVEL | Knowledge/ freedom to be free/ discovery of what life is about. | Learn diverse things, follow personal principles, be flexible, non-competitive. | Existential. | Independent focus on complex systems and functional flow states. |

Adapted from "Spiral Dynamics: The Layers of Human Values in Strategy." Cowan, Christopher & Todorovic, Natasha.