



After Globalization
The Future
of World Society
Online Conference
August 25-26, 2022
Program, Abstracts

World Society
Foundation (WSF)
Zurich, Switzerland
worldsociety.ch

Online Conference

After Globalization

The Future of World Society

Program

To receive a link before the sessions, register on
https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=2zjx2LklkypCsNYsWmAs6410Nmh3RNJok7_yrNMD4VUQ0FO NkdUMU1VRUJOR0FZN0tZWE01OU9LSy4u

1st Session August 25, 2022, 16:00-17:30 CEST: Impacts of Globalization

Rasmus Ollroge, Free University Berlin, Germany: **Transnationalization and Perceptions of Winners of Globalization: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Germany**

Melissa Lopez Reyes, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines; Shayne G. Polias, Liverpool Hope University, UK, Ma. Concha B. de la Cruz, University of Asia and the Pacific, Philippines: **Diverging Patterns of Youth Political Engagement in Countries with Varying Democratic and Egalitarian Profiles**

Georg P. Mueller, University of Fribourg, Switzerland: **International Tourists as Guardians of National Democracies?**

Ligaya Lindio McGovern, Indiana University Kokomo: **The Intensification/Expansion of the Neoliberal Agenda and Resistance in Philippine Context: Implications for a Movement Towards Deglobalization**

Discussant: Christian Suter, President of the World Society Foundation (WSF), Zurich, Switzerland

2nd Session August 25, 2022, 18:00-19:30 CEST: Globalization undone?

Albert J. Bergesen, University of Arizona, USA: **Rings of Geopolitical Power**

Jeffrey Kentor, Wayne State University, Rob Clark, University of California-Riverside, USA: **The Shifting Economic Geography of Foreign Investment Networks and Its Impact On Economic Development: 2009-2017**

Robert K. Schaeffer, Kansas State University/California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, USA: **Globalization Undone**

Robert Denemark, University of Delaware, Newark, USA: **After Globalization: The Political Economy of Mercantilism**

Discussant: t.b.d.

3rd Session, August 25, 2022, 20:00-21:30 CEST: Disruptions

Alexandre Abdal, Douglas Meira Ferreira, Sao Paulo School of Business Administration, Sao Paulo, Brazil: **The Cold War 2.0 Fallacy**

Paul Ciccantell: Western Michigan University, Spencer Potiker: University of California-Irvine, David Smith: University of California-Irvine, Elizabeth Sowers: California State University-Channel Islands, USA: **Supply Chain Crises: Harbingers of Deglobalization?**

Benjamin Selwyn, University of Sussex, UK: **Beyond the Global Value Chain World**

Anthony J. Roberts, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Matthew C. Mahutga, University of California, Riverside, USA: **The Globalization of Production and Wage Bargaining in Advanced Capitalist Democracies: Retrenchment and Convergence Revisited**

Discussant: Daniel Künzler, University Fribourg, Switzerland

4th Session, August 26, 2022, 16:00-18:00 CEST: Processes and Projects in the Global South

Salifou Ndam, University of Lausanne Switzerland: **The "New" Globalization. Rethinking North-South Relations and Inequalities from an Afro-Renaissance Perspective**

Madalitso Zililo Phiri, University of Johannesburg, South Africa: **Beyond Academic Imperialism in Comparative Public Policy Studies: Methodological Reflections from the Global South**

Jürgen Schraten, Justus-Liebig-University, Gießen, Germany: **Deglobalization for Saving the Rainbow Nation?**

Daniel Künzler, University Fribourg, Switzerland: **Social Polices in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Non-Globalization of World Society**

Lesley N. Braun, University Basel, Switzerland: **Chains of Dependency: Importation Practices in the Democratic Republic of Congo**

Discussant: Monica Budowski, University Fribourg, Switzerland

5th Session, August 26, 2022, 18:30-20:00 CEST: New Directions

Chungse Jung, Research Associate, Center for Korean Studies, Binghamton University, SUNY: **Has Global Semiperiphery Ended in the Era of Deglobalization? Transforming Epicenter of Antisystemic Movements in the Global South**

Andrzej W Nowak, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, Poland: **The Noosphere's Hope versus the Merchants of Fear, Uncertainty, and Doubt. Knowledge Structures and the Future of World Society**

Nadja Wolf, University of Applied Science, Munich, Germany: **No justice without a world society?**

Zhan Zhang, Università della Svizzera italiana USI, Lugano, Switzerland: **From the *Belt & Road Initiative* to *A Community of Shared Future for Mankind*: Contesting China's Aspiration and Roadmap for a Future World Society**

Discussant: Hans-Peter Meier-Dallach Board member of the World Society Foundation (WSF), Zurich, Switzerland

Online Conference

After Globalization

The Future of World Society

Abstracts

1st Session August 25, 2022, 16:00-17:30 CEST: Impacts of Globalization

Rasmus Ollroge M.A., Doctoral Researcher, Freie Universität Berlin, Cluster of Excellence “Contestations of the Liberal Script”, Junior Research Group ‘Comparative Survey’, Edwin-Redslob-Str. 29, 14195 Berlin, Germany; r.ollroge@fu-berlin.de

Transnationalization and Perceptions of Winners of Globalization: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Germany

Over the past decades, Globalization has led to forms of social transnationalization, whereby individuals’ social and cultural practices become more oriented beyond the nation state. Yet the ability to partake in social transnationalization is unequally distributed within national societies, with characteristics like studying or working abroad, having transnational social networks, or consuming foreign cultural products being stratified by class, education, and elite status. This divide has become politicized in recent years, with attitudes towards globalization being structured by a societal cleavage between winners and losers of globalization. In turn, transnationalization has become politically contested. In this paper, I propose a new way of measuring individuals’ attitudes towards transnationalization, by measuring their perceptions of the winners of globalization as the

social group with the most transnational orientation. I use data from a conjoint experiment based on a representative online sample of the German population (n=5000), in which respondents categorize profiles of people that are described by salient social characteristics associated with the winners of globalization as in-group or out-group members. The measurement taps into individuals' self-image, stereotypes, and perceived closeness to people with highly transnationalized characteristics, which, in turn, indicates their overall subjective perception of globalization and social transnationalization. The results indicate that a large majority of the German population sees persons with transnational characteristics as an out-group. Only people below the age of 35 and people on the left of the political spectrum have more positive perceptions of the winners of globalization. The findings suggest that expectations about the emergence of a transnational society have to be taken with some caution, as most people even in highly globalized countries like Germany have a skeptical view of transnationalization and stay oriented towards their national society.

Melissa Lopez Reyes, Department of Psychology, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines

Shayne G. Polias, Department of Psychology, Liverpool Hope University, United Kingdom
Ma. Concha B. de la Cruz, School of Education and Human Development, University of Asia and the Pacific, Philippines

Diverging Patterns of Youth Political Engagement in Countries with Varying Democratic and Egalitarian Profiles

While the youth sector can be an effective channel of political ideas and social change, there have been accounts of youth being ambivalent about political issues and distrustful of political processes and institutions. The current research is built on the premise that youth political engagement thrives in a democratic and egalitarian culture that has the necessary political and economic support. The analytic approach used follows the logic of convergence versus divergence of member units of world society and world systems. Cluster analyses of more than 30 countries on data for the years 2004 and 2014 were conducted; the clustering variables used were: youth political disengagement and distrust (youth data, ages eighteen to twenty-five years, from the Citizenship I and II modules of the International Social Survey Programme); and select political, social, cultural, and economic country statistics from international organizations and government sources. Cluster solutions are similar for 2004 and 2014, as follows: Cluster A is composed of core countries with a strong democratic and egalitarian culture; the youth exhibit high levels of political engagement and political trust. Diverging from Cluster A and more similar to each other, Clusters B1 and B2 are composed of semi-periphery and periphery countries; compared to Cluster A, these clusters have less favorable country conditions and the youth are more politically disengaged. Cluster B1 youth are politically distrustful, while Cluster B2 youth are politically indifferent or ambivalent. This three-cluster solution shows no clear convergence across countries; rather, there are two co-existing societies of politically engaged and disengaged youth. To be agentic actors in world society and systems, youth will need to be politically socialized in accordance with their country's democratic and egalitarian profiles.

Georg P. Mueller, Retired senior lecturer, Fac. of Economics and Social Sciences, University of Fribourg, Switzerland; Georg.Mueller_Unifr@bluewin.ch

International Tourists as Guardians of National Democracies?

Until very recently, international tourism was only indirectly affected by the general trend of de-globalization. In many places there was until 2019 a rising number of international tourists. This phenomenon was increasingly criticized as "overtourism" and consequently provoked a call for de-globalization of tourism. With the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, this call suddenly became a new, unforeseen reality.

The phenomenon of excessive international tourism has obviously negative consequences with regard to the self-destruction of touristic leisure activities as well as its ecological damages. However, it may also have positive effects on the political rights of the hosting countries. By the increasing "moralization" of consumption, potential tourists can be deterred by anti-democratic practices and thus may have an influence on the politics of the hosting countries – especially if tourism is an important economic factor. Thus we hypothesize that the higher the dependency of a country on tourism, the stronger the international constraints on the deterioration of its democratic rights by an authoritarian regime. Hence, in this article we are interested in the worst case of the maximum possible reduction of political rights for given economic returns from tourism. Simple statistical regression cannot answer this research question since it deals with the "average" deterioration of political rights. Instead, the author uses for this purpose an iteratively re-weighted least squares procedure.

The mentioned statistical process yields a regression equation that explains the maximum possible reduction of political rights by the economic importance of tourism. This equation is further used for the following three analytical purposes:

- a) Statistical tests of the main hypothesis of the paper, based on the significance of the beta-coefficients of the economic importance of tourism.
- b) The evaluation of the relative importance of international tourism as compared to the constraints given by the political self-defense of the national civil society.
- c) Simulations of the effects of different scenarios of de-globalization of future tourism on the democratic rights in the concerned countries.

Ligaya Lindio McGovern, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Indiana University Kokomo, USA; lmcgover@iuk.edu

The Intensification/Expansion of the Neoliberal Agenda and Resistance in Philippine Context: Implications for a Movement Towards Deglobalization

Utilizing primary data, I gathered during my fieldwork/research in the Philippines when I received the US Fulbright Research Award in 2017 and secondary data from a continuing review of related literature and webinars of various groups in the Philippines, this paper argues that while there is an intensification and expansion of global capitalism as the economic project of neoliberal globalization, there is also an intensification of social movements with a deglobalization agenda. This intensification of the neoliberal agenda deepens and widens inequalities within the neoliberal nation-states as well as within the world system. The "deglobalization" project aspired by the anti-globalization movement gets attacked by the growing rise of the militarized state and by what I call "the militarization of transnational capital".

The intensification and expansion of global capitalism as a neoliberal project and its

contestation is seen in the following instances in the Philippine experience as a neoliberal nation-state in the Global South: (1) in the extractivist expansion of transnational corporate mining in the Philippines where Indigenous People are rapidly dispossessed of their ancestral lands and farming livelihoods despite their resistance to it; (2) in the growing expansion of Chinese capitalist influence/presence in the Philippine economy and intrusion on the Philippine territorial sovereignty, as in the case of its aggressive posture on the West Philippine Sea that provokes a Philippine movement asserting nation-state sovereignty; (3) in the contractualization of labor that serves the capitalist logic of maximizing profits that has bonded a labor movement to end it; (4) in the continuing Philippine labor export policy that provides cheap labor in the global labor market; (5) in the maintenance of a semi-feudal economy (co-existing with capitalism) that produces landless peasants whose exploitation by landlords and transnational agribusiness has inspired a militant peasant movement for agrarian reform; and (6) in the continuing consolidation of a small bureaucrat capitalist class whose dominant power is bolstered by its alliance with transnational capital and loan institutions whose structural adjustment policies reinforce neoliberal policies in the Philippine political economy. These instances create a crucible for the emergence of social movements whose change agenda contribute insights in paving a road towards deglobalization.

This paper shows the theoretical usefulness of using the neoliberal nation-state in the Global South within the context of global capitalism as a unit of analysis in inquiring whether neoliberal globalization is intensifying or deglobalization is indeed occurring and the contestations that it produces.

2nd Session August 25, 2022, 18:00-19:30 CEST: Globalization undone?

Albert J. Bergesen, School of Sociology, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, 85721, USA; albert@email.arizona.edu

Rings of Geopolitical Power

Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022. One wonders what world-system explanation Immanuel Wallerstein would have offered. It's not a North-South issue; it doesn't appear to be a question of economic dependence, or exploitation, nor does it seem to involve the logics of the capitalist world-economy. In fact, it doesn't seem to be a world-system issue at all. Rather, it seems to be more about geopolitics: buffer states, spheres of influence, great powers, alliances, geopolitical encirclement, and maritime (NATO) and continental states (Russia, Ukraine). What this suggests is that along with economic, societal, and cultural world system analysis, studies of world system geopolitical structure should also begin. This paper seeks to begin this through introducing three world system geopolitical rings: a Land Ring, Sea Ring, and Space Ring, along with an analysis of how and why these rings arise, shape ring members geopolitical imperatives, generate the basis of inter-ring struggles.

Jeffrey Kentor, Wayne State University, USA; jeffrey.kentor@wayne.edu
Rob Clark, University of California-Riverside, USA

The Shifting Economic Geography of Foreign Investment Networks and Its Impact On Economic Development: 2009-2017

This paper addresses two related topics. First, we consider whether the world economy is "deglobalizing" and, second, what is the impact of this process on economic development. We address these questions in terms of foreign direct investment (FDI), which is one of the largest and fastest growing components of the global economy. Following Clark and Kentor (2021) we employ a social network perspective. We group countries by level of income, utilizing the World Bank's classification of High, Upper Middle, Lower Middle, and Low income. We then chart the number of FDI ties both within and across these economic zones for 2009 and 2017, using data from the IMF (2019). We find that the answer to the question of deglobalization depends largely on how this concept is defined, and offer several possible interpretations. In the second part of our analyses, we examine the impact of these FDI networks on economic growth, as moderated by income levels. We find that outward centrality in the global FDI network has a robust positive effect on economic growth, net of relevant control variables. Second, we find that this positive effect is enhanced for Low Income countries. The impact of inward FDI centrality on economic growth is more variable.

Robert K. Schaeffer, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Kansas State University, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, USA; rschaeff@calpoly.edu

Globalization Undone

During the 1980s, separate state policies channeled new resources into Wall Street and ignited stock-price inflation. This forced firms to adopt strategies—outsourcing, mergers, and new technologies—that made Wall Street an engine of capital accumulation and global social change. But “globalization” led to rising inequality and escalating economic crises in the United States and around the world. In 2008, the financial crisis and costly government bailouts to save Wall Street and revive stock-price inflation fueled the emergence of social movements on the left and right that attacked the foundations of globalization. Meanwhile, separate crises across the Middle East, Africa, and Eurasia also contributed to disintegration and deglobalization. Then in the early 2020s, the Covid pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine compounded and accelerated deglobalization.

Robert Denmark, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Delaware, Newark DE 19716, USA; denemark@udel.edu

After Globalization: The Political Economy of Mercantilism

I argue that deglobalization is a challenge to global society that is emerging given the decline of hegemony. We see this empirically with the rise global cooperation during hegemonic periods as evidenced by an increase in the number of multilateral treaties concluded, and the decline in multilateral treaties during periods of rivalry. Where hegemony seems to spawn globalization, hegemonic decline appears to generate deglobalization. In political economy we will see a return to elements of the system dominant in previous periods of rivalry: mercantilism. Mercantilism includes tension between smaller and larger polity structures; definitions of wealth that include infrastructural elements and patterns; concerns to avoid balance of trade and other forms of deficit; and a policy toolbox that is varied and contextual. In the realm of security, we see reduced obstacles to great power war that hegemony tends to dampen. Culturally, those changes will generate multiple competing, and sometimes purposely destructive belief systems that offer limited solidarity and very different ideas about what our global-level problems are, and what solutions we ought to adopt. Many of these new ideas will be anti-global in nature. We should be concerned, but not demobilized by the current move away from global society. Key elements of deglobalization may prove to be as ephemeral as they had been in the past.

3rd Session, August 25, 2022, 20:00-21:30 CEST: Disruptions

Alexandre Abdal, Professor at Sao Paulo School of Business Administration of Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV EAESP), Sao Paulo, Brazil; and postdoctoral research at the International Postdoctoral Program of Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (IPP-Cebrap), Sao Paulo, Brazil. Contact: aleabdal@gmail.com

Douglas Meira Ferreira, Master of Public Policy at Sao Paulo School of Business Administration of Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV EAESP), Sao Paulo, Brazil; researcher at Interunion Department of Statistics and Socio-Economic Studies (DIEESE). Contact: douglas_m_ferreira@hotmail.com

The Cold War 2.0 Fallacy: Exploratory Study of the Diplomatic and Commercial Relations amongst China and the US

The present article assesses the Cold War 2.0 concept applied to the US-China relations. Our main argument is that the cold war analogy is a bad metaphor to analyze current impasses in the capitalistic world-system. In order to demonstrate that, a historical reconstruction of Sino-American diplomatic patterns was built. Also, trade data was used to characterize commercial relations between both countries and other regions. Besides the increasing political animosities growing in the last decade, what mainly characterizes the economic relations amongst China and US is a strong commercial integration with unequal trade patterns. Such strong commercial integration is a different scenario than that shown in the US-USSR relations during the Cold War Era. Current Sino-American relations were built upon 50 years of diplomatic approximation since Mao-Nixon encounter, named "Ping Pong" diplomacy, going through rough times after Tiananmen incidents, many Taiwan Strait crises and the bombardment of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. After the incorporation of China in the capitalistic World-Economy, mainly after its acceptance in the WTO, China rose to an economic superpower status with subsequent trade surplus with the US and other Western regions.

Paul Ciccantell, Western Michigan University, USA; Paul.ciccantell@wmich.edu

Spencer Potiker, University of California-Irvine, USA; spotiker@uci.edu

David Smith, University of California-Irvine, USA; dasmith@uci.edu

Elizabeth Sowers, California State University-Channel Islands, USA;

elizabeth.sowers@csuci.edu

Supply Chain Crises: Harbingers of Deglobalization?

The ongoing supply chain disruptions of 2020-22 raise fundamental questions about the future of globalization and the potential for deglobalization. The growth of trade conflicts, most notably between the U.S. and China, the COVID-19 pandemic, and Russia's invasion of Ukraine disrupted production, transportation, distribution and consumption and increased costs and prices across almost all industries. Reliance on global commodity chains that separated stages of extraction, production and consumption into many linked nodes became unstable, unreliable, and vulnerable to disruption.

We have analyzed a wide variety of what we term raw materialist lengthened global commodity chains. We focus on the role of transportation networks and ports as potential chokepoints in these chains. We also examine the opportunities for labor and social movement organizations to use chokepoints as opportunities for contestation and resistance and the strategies of firms and states to articulate with and move up commodity chains or to disarticulate particular nodes from these chains.

In this paper, we will extend our comparative analysis of critical global commodity chains during the supply chain crises of 2020-22. We will examine both manufactured products such as automobiles and raw materials-based industries such as steel that confront severe disruptions of their global supply chains. We will analyze the causes of these disruptions and the extent to which firms and states may be seeking to promote deglobalization in these industries.

Another case study we will examine is Amazon and its efforts to overcome potential deglobalization. We will look at Amazon's efforts to deal with trade wars, supply chain disruptions, COVID, etc. via creating Amazon Air, chartering ships to move goods, and the new Amazon local service to connect to customers. Amazon fundamentally depends on globalization for cheap goods, so its efforts to keep the current model of globalization going (along with many other firms) and avoid deglobalization make it a key case study.

Benjamin Selwyn, Professor of International Relations and International Development, Department of International Relations, University of Sussex, UK; b.selwyn@sussex.ac.uk

Beyond the Global Value Chain World

Over the last four decades Global Value Chains (GVCs) have proliferated to the extent that it is possible to speak of a GVC world. Mainstream academics and institutions proclaim that GVCs benefit firms, consumers and developing countries and, in these crisis-ridden times, are committed to rejuvenating them. By contrast, this article argues that the GVC world represents the highest form, so far, of monopoly capitalism. It argues that monopoly capitalism intensifies two of capitalism's core dynamics – labour exploitation and environmental commodification/destruction. The article uses data and evidence from core publications by the World Bank and World Trade Organisation to show that even such ardent supporters of GVCs recognise these tendencies. It also argues that in the current context – of economic, (geo)political and environmental crises – it is time to consider how to transcend the GVC world.

Anthony J. Roberts, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, USA;
Tony.Roberts@colostate.edu
Matthew C. Mahutga, University of California, Riverside, USA

The Globalization of Production and Wage Bargaining in Advanced Capitalist Democracies: Retrenchment and Convergence Revisited

A highly contested issue in the international and comparative political economy literatures is whether the globalization of production is fostering a retrenchment in corporatist industrial relations and a neoliberal convergence capital-labor relations among advanced capitalist democracies. Despite the persistence of this debate, few studies systematically investigate of the long-run and isomorphic effects of globalization on a key dimension of industrial relations: wage bargaining. We contend the isomorphic pressures of production globalization on wage bargaining is contingent on the institutional configuration of national economies. We test this contention utilizing dynamic panel models to measure the effects of globalization on changes in the level of corporatist wage bargaining and the rate of cross-national convergence in wage bargaining among advanced capitalist countries from 1965 to 2015. Contrary to theories of institutional diversity and path dependency, the findings suggest wage-setting across advanced capitalist economies is converging, but the rate of convergence varies with higher rates of absolute convergence among coordinated and mixed market economies compared to liberal market economies. However, we find the globalization of production is associated with the long-run decline in corporatist wage bargaining in both sets of economies. More importantly, we find the rate of convergence is conditioned by the globalization of production in both sets of countries, but this isomorphic effect is greater in liberal market economies. Thus, persisting diversity in industrial relations between varieties of capitalism is in part a function of the larger effects of globalization on wage bargaining within liberal market economies. We conclude by suggesting directions for future research on the global and comparative political economy of industrial relations in advanced economies.

4th Session, August 26, 2022, 16:00-18:00 CEST: Processes and Projects in the Global South

Salifou Ndam, Post-doctoral fellow at the Institute of Geography and Sustainability of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland; salifndam@gmail.com

The "New" Globalization. Rethinking North-South Relations and Inequalities from an Afro-Renaissance Perspective

The marginalization and exclusion of the people "from below" force them to adopt subversive modes of behavior that are understood as centers of inventiveness, creativity, innovation, and multiple forms of living. It is under the banner of this logic of sociological observation that the approach known as "Afro-Renaissance" unfolds. It stands first for an epistemological break that generates a new grid of observation of society, and for determining the places of observation of the social reality that are the world of the resourceful, the DIY, and the peasant world. To reach these people from below in their social logic, it is therefore necessary to mobilize participatory and active observation, conversation, interaction, and scientific "confession" through a new posture of the investigator developed around the involvement, cooperation, and partnership in research with the producers of social reality that are the people from below. However, the rehabilitation of this approach supposes to put aside a Marxist reading of the social field. The Afro-Renaissance here is an approach that is born out of the "resistance" of the people from below to neoliberal ideologies of leveling the world. From this resistance to Westernization, a spirit of resilience develops that is rooted in the inventiveness, creativity, and innovation; in short, in the multiple forms of living and doing of the people from below, which reveal their social dynamics and their capacity for emulation. This paper intends to start from the "Ela theory" to demonstrate that the approach to the notion of African development in the context of globalization poses a problem of renovation of the scientific view and knowledge on Africa. It is this reminiscence of the remade African history that invites to the rediscovery of the place of observation of social realities, and to exorcise the scientific knowledge of Africans for the rebirth of the continent in the world society.

Madalitso Zililo Phiri, University of Johannesburg, South Africa;
madalitsophiri1@gmail.com

Beyond Academic Imperialism in Comparative Public Policy Studies: Methodological Reflections from the Global South

Abstract Contemporary debates on decolonisation have reluctantly forced social scientists to engage neglected dimensions on race and epistemology. This paper recasts this debate through methodological reflections that compared South Africa's and Brazil's social policies by centering the interpellations of racial capitalism, poverty, inequality, and social exclusion. I conducted 45 in-depth interviews with beneficiaries of social assistance programmes such as the Social Grants and Bolsa Familiaas as well as policymakers in South

Africa and Brazil. Both countries offer compelling cases for comparison because they share important characteristics: histories of colonial domination, slavery, and anti-black racism, which have provided grounds for what today are highly unequal societies. This paper asks, how does the generation of knowledge in comparative public policy deployed aid in advancing methodological perspectives that lead towards the imagination of a more democratic global social science? The production and dissemination of knowledge in public policy is defined by academic imperialism exemplified in the global division of labour; where the Global South exists as a 'zone of collecting data' and the Global North produces and reproduces itself as a 'zone of theory and knowing'. The aim of this paper is not to draw from my research interlocutors, rather a methodological reflexivity that underscores the importance of how local questions have global relevance in advancing an agenda for knowledge decolonisation. I achieve this by critiquing the positivist tradition in Comparative Sociology thereby shifting the locus of enunciation to prioritise the generation of knowledge from the geography of the subaltern. Language, geography, and the researchers' positionality in the global division of labour were problematised as social artefacts to overcome academic imperialism.

Jürgen Schraten, Justus-Liebig-University Gießen, Germany; juergen.schraten@sowi.uni-giessen.de

Deglobalization for Saving the Rainbow Nation?

Despite its transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa faces a continual disintegration of its society due to poverty and social inequality. This elicited political and scientific calls for a deliberate disentanglement of the country from world society again as its embracing of democratic openness seems to be unsuccessful. Referencing the theoretical work on prestige and power by Peter Heintz, the presentation argues that the roots of South Africa's societal disintegration lie in the accumulation of discretionary power by some individuals and multinational corporations during the pre-democratic period, though. The implementation of global values remained incomplete, as the modes of local distribution and access to scarce goods remained largely unchanged. The research study suggests that power resources for necessary reforms are accessible only by negotiating South Africa's position in the world society, and not by a renewed political isolation or a shift to the block of authoritarian states.

Daniel Künzler, University of Fribourg, Department of Social Work, Social Policy and Global Development, Route des Bonnesfontaines 11, CH-1700 Fribourg, Switzerland, daniel.kuenzler@unifr.ch

Social Policies in sub-Saharan Africa and the Non-Globalization of World Society

World society research is surprisingly silent about social policies. Applying general world society theories to this topic, the economic variant suggests a correlation of social expenditures with economic development, whereas the cultural variant assumes the diffusion of policy models that emerge in international organizations and INGOs. Such models are discussed in the Global Social Policy approach that is not explicitly related to but quite compatible with world society research. While there is a dominant model in the

domain of education, there is no clear model regarding health care and competition between models in the field of old age pensions and cash transfers.

How successful are these competing models for cash transfers in sub-Saharan Africa? This paper offers a comparative case study of cash transfer programs in the six most populous sub-Saharan countries (Nigeria, Ethiopia, DR Congo, South Africa, Tanzania and Kenya) based on the scientific process tracing literature. Cash transfer programs are highly institutionalized in South Africa, Ethiopia and Tanzania, to a lesser extent in Kenya, followed by Nigeria. Against the assumptions of the economic variant, cash transfer institutionalization goes not along with per capita income. There is no dominant cash transfer model in which all donors are involved, and which all states are expected to follow. The fact that cash transfers played a role in all countries is itself significant: It shows that the idea that individuals are responsible for their well-being has become dominant in world society.

Is there decoupling between policy and practice? With the exception of South Africa, there are examples of stalled pilot projects and thus decoupling in all countries. However, there is another form of decoupling that is less discussed in the literature: the gap between means and ends. Especially in Tanzania and Ethiopia, but to a certain extent also in Kenya and Nigeria cash transfers are not a means to reach the goal of lifting people permanently out of poverty. Cash transfers serve thus as a myth: they are believed to be rational organizational principles for social policies and national and international policy makers receive recognition and legitimacy when they implement these scripts.

Lesley N. Braun, PhD, Research Associate, Principal Investigator SNF Ambizione 2020-2024, Institute of Social Anthropology, University Basel, Switzerland;
lesleynicole.braun@unibas.ch

Chains of Dependency: Importation Practices in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

The DRC has a long history of dependency on imported products, persisting into the present-day. As there is little to no industry in the DRC for everyday items for Congolese consumers, manufactured goods are imported from abroad. The reliance on importation has rendered many sub-Saharan African countries like the DRC vulnerable to global disruptions such as supply chain bottlenecks that have been engendered and made visible by Covid-19 pandemic dislocations.

This paper considers the ways in which generations of foreigners in search of new opportunities have been imbricated in the region's economic landscape, one that has gone through waves of national programs premised on encouraging local capitalism. It is against this background that Congolese traders continue to participate as arbiters of transnational trade. Congolese women have historically been active in markets and have developed an aptitude for transnational trade. Much like their male trading counterparts, women traders build chains of contacts to enable the logistics of their work, ones which reveal an infrastructure of people vital to the foundation and operations of their business activities. Through an examination with the gendered geographies of supply chains—as they relate to transnational trade—as well as local social networks, this paper's empirical findings bring together the dialectical oscillations of global and local, and formal and informal into an analytical theoretical framework. The framework engages with both dependency theory and feminist theory to complicate circulating neoliberal narratives of development espoused by national and international stakeholders in the DRC.

5th Session, August 26, 2022, 18:30-20:00 CEST: New Directions

Chungse Jung, Research Associate, Center for Korean Studies, Binghamton University, SUNY; chungse.jung@binghamton.edu

Has Global Semiperiphery Ended in the Era of Deglobalization? Transforming Epicenter of Antisystemic Movements in the Global South

This study explores the world-historical activities of popular protests in the global South according to the transforming zones of the capitalist world-economy. The identification of three broad zones, core-semiperiphery-periphery, in the capitalist world-economy is a key contribution to the world-systems analysis for understanding structural transformations of global economic and political order. This study empirically examines what the political role of the semiperiphery in the structure of the world-economy was and how the centerpiece of antisystemic movements in the global South changed. To this end, this study uses the dataset of protest events spanning 43 countries/regions in the global South in The New York Times from 1870 to 2016. Empirically, popular protests during the long twentieth century mainly occurred in the semiperipheral countries and regions (core-contenders and upper-tier semiperiphery). That is, semiperiphery had been a powerhouse of antisystemic dynamics and had functioned as a revolutionary space rather than a stabilizer of the world-economy. In particular, the upper-tier semiperiphery took a central place during the first two protest waves: the 1930s and the long 1950s, and the core-contenders dominated the third protest wave in the 1980s. However, popular protests of the semiperiphery absolutely and then relatively began to decline in the late 20th century alongside an overall decline in popular protests of the global South. Popular protests in the periphery (strong periphery and weak periphery) drastically rose from the beginning of the 21st century. After the bifurcation of the pattern of antisystemic struggles between semiperiphery and periphery, the global epicenter center of counter-hegemonic forces has thus shifted from the core-contenders to the strong periphery. This outcome demonstrates that the strong periphery emerged as a revolutionary space in the era of deglobalization.

Andrzej W Nowak, Department of Philosophy of Science and Technology, Faculty of Philosophy, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, Poland; awnowak@amu.edu.pl

The Noosphere's Hope versus the Merchants of Fear, Uncertainty, and Doubt Knowledge Structures and the Future of World Society

In my paper, I would like to ask whether it is possible to recover the hope that Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky associated with the notion of Noosphere, a knowledge that encompasses the entire planet and represents a new level of systemic self-organization of humanity. According to Vernadsky, the Noosphere is a new evolutionary stage in the development of the biosphere when human-and-nature interaction will be consciously balanced. This, perhaps naïve, vision is an enquiry about the prospect of sustainable platforms for knowledge structures and universalist projects such as UNESCO. The concept of the Noosphere is all the more critical today in the era of the Anthropocene.

Especially since one of the creators of the term Noosphere - Vernadsky, defined it the way we often describe the Anthropocene today - as an epoch in which humanity will become a geological force and will be causal on a planetary scale. For Vernadsky, it was a cause for hope, a chance for global, rational humanity capable of directing its own destiny. For many contemporaries, those attached to the Anthropocene-style doom-pill narrative are a source of dismay. In my paper, I want to show how we came from hope to doom and point out that this process involved both the ideological struggles of the Cold War and the hegemony of capitalism, which in its neoliberal form promotes a non-alternative capitalist realism. For this purpose, I will analyze the emergence of a strategy FUD strategy (Fear, Uncertainty, and Doubt. It originated initially as the so-called tobacco strategy, which was a way for tobacco corporations to rid themselves of responsibility for the fact that smoking caused cancer. This strategy became the matrix for other fights around knowledge concerning: acid rain, vaccinations, or, finally, global climate change. As a result, knowledge structures are thus threatened today by deliberately manufactured ignorance. In conclusion, I am interested in whether we are able today to recreate the hope of Noosphere and reinvigorate universalistic global institutions to stabilize knowledge structures for a future World Society.

Nadja Wolf, Faculty of Health and Social Work, Hochschule Fresenius, University of Applied Science, Munich, Germany; Nadja-Wolf@web.de

No Justice Without a World Society?

The world is in a constant process of change, but there are lasting values and goals, such as the idea of a just order. John Rawls and Amartya Sen demonstrated distinct approaches to the development of fair international political rules. This research work investigates to what extent world society is needed for the discovery and theoretical implementation of just principles.

This is challenging because both theories begin with an analysis of a world with national societies and the authors attempt to avoid the consequences of societally influenced decisions. The philosophical foundation is based on rational decisions made by individuals. But – contrary to these thoughts - the sense of justice allows for the social imprinting of the concept of justice. While Sen's theory suggests that a world society could influence one's sense of justice, this would be unlikely in Rawls' closed society.

However, the concept of a "world society" is not mentioned in the theories. But the examination shows: it should be included. Both theories are designed for democracies (or at least for liberal peoples from well-ordered societies) and are based on transnational communication. Even if finding just rules without a world society were possible, there is a critical point to consider: the process of constant review, which is inherent in both theories, appears to necessitate society. A global justice system, however it emerges, that is not subject to global societal debate, most likely initiated by the existence of a world society, appears dangerous.

Zhan Zhang, Lecturer & Researcher, Academic Programme Coordinator of Master in Media Management, Project Manager of China Media Observatory (CMO), Institute of Media and Journalism (ImeG), Faculty of Communication, Culture and Society, Università della Svizzera italiana, Lugano, Switzerland

From the *Belt & Road Initiative (BRI)* to *A Community of Shared Future for Mankind (CSFM)*: Contesting China's Aspiration and Roadmap for a Future World Society

This paper unpacks the role of BRI and CSFM in the shift of China's foreign policy and Beijing's perception change of the world order. By analyzing sampled articles from Xuexiqiangguo (2019-2022) as the study platform for the 95 million Communist Party members in China, and accessing emerging research projects related to BRI and CSFM that were funded by the National Social Science Fund of China (2018-2020), this paper tries to offer an evolving internal perspective to understand the logic of Beijing's policymaking, the rhetoric preparation of its legitimacy, and the roadmap of its future development under BRI and CSFM. Through investigating the discursive contraction, philosophic contraction, the problematic fall of the Western paradigm, and a triangle sentimental mechanism behind the conceptualization of BRI and CSFM, the paper discusses: 1) to which extent the alternative future of the world society from the Chinese proposal is different from the West; 2) where comes the ambiguity and disconnection of the Chinese set of values from the prevailing neoliberal values in shaping the global system; and 3) what Beijing should critically evaluate and the international society (especially in the West) should appropriately understand is the Chinese approach and dilemma in legitimizing China to uphold globalization and contribute to "coexistence of civilization" as a contrast to "clash of civilization" for the future of the world society.

zp 06/24/2022



World Society Foundation