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Title of Session: New trends in globalization

Name of Session Convener(s): Jan Nederveen Pieterse

University/Organization incl. City: University of California Santa Barbara

Chair: Jan Nederveen Pieterse

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I) Title of Selected Paper: Cosmopolitan challenges to global capitalism

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Abstract: The standard view understands globalization as an impersonal process driven by unbounded market forces, new technologies, functional interdependencies and transnational corporations. Recently, cosmopolitanism is presented as a complementary side of the same process that pays due to 'soft aspects' like transnational rights, solidarities, political engagement and democracy. Cosmopolitanism seems attractive to sociology since it contradicts regressive reactions against globalization (esp. against nationalism) and, at the same time, offers critical criteria to evaluate the impacts of global markets on societies in terms of fairness, justice, equality and inclusion. And it presents an interdisciplinary formula that could give coherence to the social sciences beyond arbitrary postmodernism. Unfortunately, the literature of cosmopolitanism offers a great variety of different, sometime contrary positions. Therefore, to explore the prospects of cosmopolitanism in social science theory, it makes sense to differentiate. The paper will portray and evaluate three varieties of cosmopolitanism with different perspectives on a 'world society'. First, the (until recently) dominant neoliberal cosmopolitanism identified a rising global middle class as bearers of democracy and propagated the fairness of a 'level playing field' against national protectionism. Some sociologist (like Firebaugh) praised economic globalisation as the most powerful force to reduce world income inequality. Second, reformist varieties of cosmopolitanism rely on the long term evolution of international law and the emergence of the UN-System. Leaving the cold war divisions behind, this trend could define a normative framework for a more just world: reformed and reprogrammed international institutions should re-regulate the global economy. Third, a critical cosmopolitanism subscribes to the UN-system and 'global justice' but wants this seen realised not only for a society of self-standing states. In reality societies are concatenated by a global division of labour, by trans-national externalities,

and the after-effects of a common violent history. Those deeply affected by an externally imposed globalisation should also have a saying in those international institutions which until now are under oligarchic control by a tiny minority. Redistributive obligations don't stop at national borders. The ongoing global crisis refuted the neoliberal paradigm. There is a new consensus, even among politicians, that the rules of 'global government' have to be reformed. The political significance of a critical cosmopolitanism will depend on its influence on redesigning global institutions. There are at least some signs that this is, in fact, the case.

II) Title of Selected Paper: Global Crisis, Social Mobilization and Structural Transformation

Name/s of Author/s: Lauren Langman

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Abstract: The meltdown of neoliberal, globalized capital may be the most serious since the 1920s. While we have seen a number of such crises, most typically in the financial sectors, they have been somewhat localized such as the Asian Tigers, the stagnation of Japan's lost decade or the Argentine implosion. The contemporary crisis is far more widespread and far more serious. But a crisis can also be an opportunity as for example the autonomista movement of Argentina. It is not clear how the current situation will be resolved. It depends on at least two factors, ideological struggle over hegemony, and the power of social mobilizations. There may be a restoration of the present system along neo Keynesian lines, albeit with greater regulation of speculative capital, there may be various reactionary, populist, and/or nationalist movements that may fragment the current market system, there may be a more progressive, democratic, and indeed green global market economy, or, as some scenarios imagine, a breakdown of global markets and a Mad Max world. The outcome will depend in great deal on struggles and mobilizations. Before succumbing to the au courant gloom and doom, let us remember what the global justice movements proclaim, another world is possible.

III) Title of Selected Paper: Crisis as Global Rebalancing: Representation as Negotiation

Name/s of Author/s: Jan Nederveen Pieterse

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Abstract: The ongoing crisis involves a rebalancing of the world's economies and of ideological leanings and institutional practices within countries. The relationship between economies and politics was unbalanced prior to the crisis—overconsumption and growing indebtedness in the US and trade and financial surpluses in Asia. The crisis, then, can be viewed as part of a rebalancing process. This implies the crisis is not an 'ordinary systemic crisis' (at any rate, there are no 'ordinary system crises'). Second, it is more than a financial and banking crisis (the trigger is not the cause). Third, rebalancing will be a lengthy, phased and multilevel process. In broad strokes: trade is down, finance cools off, and Asia is rising relative to the west.

IV) Title of Selected Paper: From entrepreneurial state to state of entrepreneurs: ownership implications of the transformation in Mexican governance since 1982

Name/s of Author/s: José G. Vargas-Hernandez

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Abstract: This paper analyzes the ownership implications of the transformation in Mexican governance since 1982. The turning point of the implementation of a new model of development was prompted by the financial crisis of 1982, after a period of steady economic growth. The entrepreneurial state since then has been under the attack of new business elite who are direct beneficiaries of the massive transfer of public assets and change in ownership from public property to private property. The Mexican state is now captive to the interests of entrepreneurs rule and governance. This paper brings some specific cases related with the change in ownership in the land property, the banking and financial system, the telecom 3 company TELMEX, airlines, etc. The effects of this change in ownership are evident. A weak system of regulatory agencies and mismanagement of privatization programs has ended in private monopolies, low economic growth, uneven social development, political instability, alarming increment of insecurity, social unrest, etc.