

# Global Studies Conference 2014 Abstracts

## The End of U.S. Hegemony?

## Friday, June 6:

1:00 PM - 2:30 PM: Friday Afternoon Panels Session A

### China on the World Stage

(Room CLC 302) Chair: Jerry Harris

#### The Chinese Transnational Capitalist Class

Jerry Harris, Global Studies Association/North American Secretary

There are many political and ideological fractions inside the CCP, but the leading fraction represents a statist transnational capitalist class. This fraction has reengineered the state to insert the Chinese economy into global circuits of accumulation, enrich themselves and their families, and integrate their political and monetary fortunes with transnational capitalists across the world. Private sector capitalists are also part of the Chinese TCC but a less powerful fraction. Nonetheless, they are firmly situated in the Chinese real estate market, information technology and some service sectors. National forces and contradictions are still present, as well as Marxists and socialist trends. The central alliance is built around making China a modern, respected and well-off world power.

#### China: Capitalist or Socialist?

David Schweickart, Loyola University, Chicago

I will argue that China is not a (yet) capitalist country, and, despite the presence of an increasingly influential capitalist class may not become one. Market socialism remains a viable option, the only one capable of confronting the massive problems China—and the world—now face.

#### Who Rules China?

Mel Rothenberg, University of Chicago

I will explore the distinction between ruling and governing, and argue the Chinese Communist Party continues to rule China, and therefore capitalism isn't entirely restored despite the existence of an increasingly powerful capitalist class. However the rule of the Party is becoming more and more shaky, and this leads to a basic instability, which can only be resolved by the rule passing to the capitalists or a repudiation of capitalism and pursuing some road to socialism.

#### Divisions and Dominations

(Room CLC 303)

Chair: Lauren Langman

# Reframing Heterogeneity as an Inherent Outcome of the Current Era of Globalization David Baronov, St. John Fisher College

Globalization has generated fierce debate between those for whom contemporary global forces portend a homogenizing universalization and those postulating a multi-layered process of heterogeneous particularization. It is argued here that those advocating heterogeneous particularization have built a formidable empirical case. It is further argued, however, that efforts to explain this heterogeneity remain hamstrung by tautological reasoning. The purpose of this presentation is, first, to demonstrate the tautological nature of current heterogeneous interpretations of globalization. Second, I introduce an analytical-conceptual framework that provides a basis for non-tautological rationale depicting heterogeneity as not merely a feature (or presumed trait) of globalization, but an inherent outcome. To further illustrate, I apply this framework to an analysis of HIV/AIDS in Mozambique.

#### Race, Philosophy and Derrida in a New Hegemonic Bifurcation

Eric Hamm, Purdue University

The cultural and economic supremacy of the United States contributes vastly to worldwide light-skin preference. After examining the cultural norms regarding "whitening," I argue that with the rise of a new superpower we might see a new kind of racial majority class. This is true particularly as hegemony splits, economic power in Asia, cultural power remaining, for the time, American. I draw heavily on Derrida's "Racism's Last Word," fleshing out a parallel between apartheid South Africa and the possibility of a bifurcated preferred race system where it is "cool" to be perceived as white, but "powerful" to be perceived Chinese.

#### Beauty and Benevolence: A History of the Cosmetics Industry

Hope Sippel, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

This research demonstrates how after World War II, the US cosmetics industry was able to feminize cultural imperialism by using philanthropic efforts in order to expand its influence within the global market. This presentation proposes four important frameworks in order to understand the role of capitalism, consumerism, and the cosmetics industry in a global arena: First, the cosmetics industry's increased globalization after World War I; second, the emergence of corporate social responsibility and philanthropy; third, selling products and advertising through philanthropy; fourth, the use of beauty and cosmetics as a way to employ a softer side of western cultural imperialism.

# Inclusion/Exclusion and Globalization: A Perspective from Systems Theory Joohyung Kim, Indiana University, Bloomington

This presentation discusses the much-debated themes of inclusion/exclusion and globalization from the perspective developed by Niklas Luhmann's systems theory, a viewpoint that has been rarely explored in the Anglo-American political and social theory. The presentation first introduces the main conceptual tools of systems theory (especially "functional differentiation" and "world society") Luhmann developed to offer an alternative explanation of inclusion/exclusion as the "metacode" of contemporary society. It then discusses how and to what extent Luhmann's systems analysis can be useful in illuminating the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion from a new light. In doing so, it critically examines the utility of systems theory as a potential alternative to the study of the phenomenon usually named "globalization."

# (Room CLC 304)

Chair: Veda Ward

# The Country Reports on Human Rights: Practices and US Human Rights Policy in a Changing World

Philip Aka, Chicago State University

In a majestic survey in 2000 on the emergence of human rights as an issue in world politics as a counterpoint to the doctrine of sovereignty, Professor Louis Henkin also commented on a set of unfinished businesses that should form the "agenda for the [21st] century." Henkin next instructively observed that, as a matter of history and national interest, the U.S. also needs its own agenda for the new century, one dictated by its "leading role" in shaping international human rights law. Henkin warned that unless it "moves to the forefront of international human rights," the U.S. could lose its leadership role in international human rights in the 21st century.

The purpose of this presentation is how to ensure that the prophesy does not come true—by suggesting means the U.S. national government can use to improve the utility of the country reports on human rights practices, an important tool for the application of human rights in U.S. foreign relations, introduced 37 years ago, keeping in mind the six areas of unfinished business Henkin pointed up in his piece, namely: women, minorities, human rights and religion, refugees, increased compliance with human rights, and the relationship between human rights and globalization.

# Migration Without Borders? The Case of the Mercosur Agreement and Bolivian Immigrants in Brazil

Amanda Pinheiro, University of Illinois, Chicago

Developing effective policies linking the notion of migration without borders to the existing Mercosur Agreement and the recognition of the "Mercosur citizen" is both an old and contemporary aspiration in South America. Associate and members countries of the block agreed to grant the right of free movement to their citizens through the Acuerdo de Residencia, however the incongruences in the implementation of a common nationality contributes to the social exclusion of immigrants in receiving countries. As a result, ineffective migration policies in Brazil led to an exploitative network of Bolivian immigrants, who drive the thriving garment sweatshop industry in Sao Paulo.

There are similarities in the way Brazil and Argentina have legally internalized the Acuerdo de Residencia, however Bolivian immigrants in both countries—regardless of their skills and capabilities—are condemned to be exploited workers with low income, no labor rights, and no protection or support from the state. The figure of the Mercosur citizen indicates that the notion of movement without borders is feasible, but it also proves that authorizing the free movement of people—as it is for goods—is not the solution for an effective regional integration or for quaranteeing labor rights, not even, human rights for migrant workers.

### **Unequal Access: How Nonprofits Fuel marginalization of Middle Eastern Immigrants** Kenneth Jackson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

What happens when responsibility for social service provisions used by immigrant populations falls to nonprofit organizations instead of official institutions? When services are fulfilled by non-profits instead of provided by government institutions, do existing inequalities between immigrants of different ethnic origins become exacerbated for marginalized immigrant groups? This study examines these questions by focusing on the Greater Detroit, Michigan, area and its uniquely high number of immigrants from the Middle East. Using data from the Census and the National Center for Charitable Statistics, this project will explore and compare dominant immigrant populations of Greater Detroit, with an emphasis on Detroit's Middle Eastern immigrants, their integration into public life and the effects of varied access to resources through non-profits.

## How many H's does it take to Critically Analyze Cultural Hegemony in the Contemporary Context?

Veda Ward, California State University, Northridge

Cultural hegemony, a concept attributed to Antonio Gramsci, is commonly described by words that imply the superimposition of a dominant society that limits beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values and mores and suppresses alternative views. This presentation analyzes cultural hegemony from the standpoint of the multiplicity of factors that impact quality of life for human beings—health, head (higher education: e.g.; Bologna Project, assessment of learning, etc.), home (housing, multinational; Gittins, 2012), help, heroism (The decline of deterrence, Economist, 2014)), happiness and hope. The case is made that each of these has been reshaped by a variety of social, political, economic forces that are inconsistent with the persistence of a single, dominant society. A new model may emerge that offers a more fluid and flexible approach to social culture.

More specifically the presentation delves into the rapid dissemination of influence through shared electronic media, the lack of support for traditional government to solve problems of any magnitude (e.g., the rise of crowd funding), and moderated definitions of success and happiness (Buettner), as implied by work-life balance preferences expressed by the millennial generation, including sacrifice of individual recognition collaboration (open source), loss of privacy along with desire for equity and social justice. The alleged shrinking middle class has been responded to by mass education and a resurgence in industry often associated with natural resources, housing, infrastructure, construction and food—questionably sustainable. The presentation concludes with a set of implications for a future—who leads and who follows.

### Transnational Sources of Nationalism (Room CLC 421)

Chair: Amanda Rumba Reason

# Foreign Ministers: Religion as Transnational Conduit in Colonial Connecticut Amanda Rumba Reason, Purdue University

Directly on the heels of the Great Awakening, Eleazar Wheelock's establishment of Moor's Indian Charity School in Connecticut in 1754 is an enlightening example of the multidirectional consequences that occur at the intersection of people and ideas in a transnational space. Applying a transnational lens to this effort at outreach to the Native allows a clearer picture to emerge of the agency and ambition of the actors involved. Messages of the school were inherently imbued with English Puritan morality and values, but were taken by their Native American recipients and used to reform conceptions of identity and place in this transnational colony.

# Long Island's "Streets of Cairo": Defining Americanness in the Transnational World of Coney Island

Olivia Hagedorn, Purdue University

In the early twentieth century, Coney Island was a "contact zone" where Americans engaged with the outside world. Park goers rode trains through the Swiss Alps, walked the streets of Cairo, and "experienced the Oriental," all without ever leaving Long Island. Yet Americans were not simply engaging with foreignness; they were consuming it. Thus, park goers embraced a tourist mentality that reinforced notions of American privilege and superiority. Such ideas fed into an emerging American identity that was increasingly defined by leisure and consumption. Accordingly, the privileged consumption of foreignness on Coney Island was, in many ways, part of an emerging American identity.

# "I'd Love to Turn you On": Sgt. Pepper and the 1967 Summer of Love Kristen Blankenbaker, Purdue University

The counterculture movement of the 1960s-1970s was embodied by the British rock band, the Beatles. As leaders of the counterculture, the Beatles served as a conduit that disseminated Eastern culture to American hippies in the Summer of Love. Released that same summer, the popularity of their Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band album transferred Eastern musical and spiritual constructs to the American counterculture. It both reaffirmed national boundaries and the civilizational dichotomy between East and West. The album projected a British sound while simultaneously promoting Eastern-oriented countercultural ethics to an American audience. Assigning great significance to Sgt. Pepper and the Beatles, American hippies ascribed uniquely American virtues to a uniquely British album.

### 2:45 PM – 4:30 PM: Friday Afternoon Panels Session B

### Transnational Capitalism, Nation-States and the Threat of War (Room CLC 302)

Chair: Donavan Braud

#### **Action Heroes for Transnational Capitalism**

Lee Artz, Purdue University, Calumet

International political economy presents evidence of a transnational capitalist class (TNCC) competing and collaborating across borders. To effectively rule, a TNCC must provide cultural and ideological leadership to avoid the more socially disruptive and potentially ineffective use of force. Transnational media (TNMC) produce and distribute media products, audiences for advertisers, and a global ideology of individualism, self-gratification, authority, and market norms. Action movies are the primary genre for TNMC production, profit, and audience. A content analysis of action movies from every region (Brazil, India, Indonesia, Korea, UK, France, and more) connects the political economic and social relations between TNCC structures and TNMC ideological content.

#### **Internal Violent Conflicts or Overt War among Strong Nation-States?**

Marcelo del Castillo-Mussot, National University of México (UNAM)

Neoliberalism is a class strategy designed to redistribute wealth upward toward an increasingly narrow fraction of people. Historical experiences show that crisis can produce internal violent conflicts or overt war among nation- states. Conflicts in a neoliberal environment can be analyzed by employing two frameworks; nation-states framework and global class relations. We argue that in a highly globalized world, overt wars among strong nation—states could seriously damage some important substructures of the globalist transnational commanding class, whereas internal violent conflicts can easily appear almost everywhere as a natural consequence of social and economic injustices and inequalities.

#### WWIII: More Inter-Class than International

Ismael Hossein-Zadeh, Drake University

Most pundits of historical developments tend to perceive another worldwide war, often called WWIII, in a manner similar to World Wars I and II; that is, large scale deployment of military means in pursuit of destruction and/or defeat of international adversaries. While prospects of such an ominous scenario certainly cannot be ruled out, there is reason to believe, however, that the much talked-about WWIII may be of a different form: more inter-class than international. Viewed in this light, WWIII is already here; it has indeed been raging on for years: the unilateral, cross-border neoliberal war of austerity on the 99% on a global level.

Globalization of capital and interdependence of world markets has reached a point where large scale military clashes of the magnitude of World Wars I & II could lead to economic/financial catastrophe for all. It is perhaps for this reason that the community of transnational oligarchs, who often elect politicians and run governments from behind the scene, seem to be averse to another wholesale international war that could paralyze financial markets worldwide.

# The Geopolitics of Neoliberal Imperialism in the Asia Pacific: The Strategic Position of the Philippines in the U.S. Realignment

Ligaya McGovern, Indiana University

Neoliberalism, often referred to as the "Washington consensus", has been named by some as "modern imperialism," where there is the dominance of the G-7 along with the power of non-state institutions (such as transnational corporations, the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank). Neoliberal policies promoted by these structures of power often impinge on the economic and political sovereignty of nations, as well as, the economic, social, human rights of civil society in the periphery of the global political economy, especially the Third World or developing countries. This presentation will examine the geopolitics of neoliberal (capitalist) imperialism in the Asia Pacific and the strategic position of the Philippines in the reassertion of American economic, military and political power in the region (amidst its desire to contain China). It will look into the subtle, covert, and overt ways of its re-assertion and reinforcement, such as the US-led Trans-Pacific Partnership, military-oriented agreements in the region, and the policy-oriented influence for constitutional change in the Philippines during the recent President Obama's visit there.

# (Room CLC 303)

Chair: Ingo Schmidt

Transistorized State: The Technique of Hegemony in the Early Cold War, 1941 - 1959

Eric Schuster, Loyola University, Chicago

Abstract Not Available

# Poking Holes in the Western Wall: East Germany's Attempt to Create Counter-Hegemony during the Cold War

William Pelz, Elgin Community College

With limited resources and constricted room for political maneuver, the German Democratic Republic (known by its German initials as DDR) attempted to present an alternative global vision that was sharply in contrast to that of West Germany and her capitalist allies. Although only partially successful, these campaigns nonetheless point to a quest for a different globalization based on non-capitalist international solidarity. Among the issues the DDR championed was, a) an alternative narrative of German, and world, history, b) anti-fascism as a model for national development, c) support for anti-colonial and liberation movements against imperialism.

#### Losing US Hegemony in a Multipolar World

Kasandra Housley, Ivy Tech Community College, Bloomington

Empires do not rise and fall in a vacuum, nor can their position in the international system be judged without context. However, it is not enough to look only at the condition of the neighborhood. The National Intelligence Council has already stated that the United States will lose its status as hegemon with the arrival of the multipolar world. What weaknesses in the United States will ultimately speed the arrival of a multipolar world? The American state and society are both responsible. This presentation will examine two of their faults: ideological gluttony and election gamesmanship.

### Teaching Global Studies

(Room CLC 304)

Chair: Philip McCarty

### U.S. Higher Education Hegemony: The Case for Positive Leadership

Ray Mitic, University of Illinois at Chicago

Despite reductions in public spending in the U.S. and the rise of global capacity in places such as China, U.S. higher education has maintained a hegemonic position in global higher education. The reasons include: English as lingua franca for study and research, expanding access (e.g. for-profit institutions), and technology adaptation (e.g. MOOCs). This presentation argues that while this hegemony exists, U.S. higher education has a responsibility to be a positive social force so that it does not face the backlash and loss in confidence the U.S. has faced recently due to severe economic downturns and lengthy failed overseas military endeavors.

### International Relations and Global Studies: Never the Twain Shall Meet?

Michael Anderson, University of Texas at Austin

Can global studies, an interdisciplinary perspective based around the study of globalization, be reconciled with international relations, traditionally viewed as a sub-field of political science? The University of Texas at Austin is attempting to do just this with the recent launch of an undergraduate program, International Relations and Global Studies, which has quickly grown to be one of the most popular majors at the university. This presentation—really, a report from the field—seeks to explore the inherent tensions, but also the potential collaboration, between these perspectives.

### **Conceptualizing and Communicating Global Studies**

Philip McCarty, University of California, Santa Barbara

In recent years Global scholars have made great progress in defining and expanding Global Studies as a field of inquiry. During this time Global Studies has established itself as an interdisciplinary major on many campuses and is rapidly being incorporated into the curriculum of disciplines across the social sciences and humanities. I would argue that the field is entering a new phase of institutionalization that requires us to communicate complex global perspectives and issues to increasingly diverse audiences on and off campus (i.e. different disciplines, administrators, granting agencies, private and public sector). This presentation will explore ways to effectively communicate global approaches to these audiences.

#### Teaching Ethics from a Global Studies Perspective

Gail Presbey, University of Detroit, Mercy

Practices of slavery in the ancient world as well as European colonization and imperialism in the modern world impacted the development of ethical theory. While standard Ethics courses cover Aristotle, Aquinas, Kant, Bentham and Mill, this course presents their theories in a context that shows the impact of geography, history, culture, and social structures upon the theories and theorists, to debunk accounts that suggest that Greeks were the first philosophers/ethicists. The ancient part of the course begins first in Egypt, then in India and China before coming to ancient Greece. Aristotle knew that he held his position on slavery in a context where some doubted whether there was such a thing as natural slavery, and defended the concept of natural slavery (although he criticized some conventions of slavery). Kant, while seeming to uphold a universal conception of ethics and human rights, nevertheless divided humanity into races that were seen to have different abilities regarding ethical judgment and moral responsibility. J.S. Mill had a career with British East India Company, and his moral theory is influenced by his perceptions of the legitimacy of colonial rule for colonial subjects in India, West Indies/Jamaica, and in the Antipodes/Australia and New Zealand. I argue that a common way of teaching ethical theory that abstracts from historical and cultural context distorts our understanding of the theories. Tying into the theme of this conference, "The End of U.S. Hegemony?," the presentation draws upon Silvia Federici's argument that an historically distorted narrative about idealized "Western" values (supposedly come to fruition in the United States) is supported by the idealized and decontextualized version of the history of Ethics. A more accurate version of Ethics is therefore needed to counteract prevalent tendencies by some to justify U.S. political and military dominance based on supposed moral superiority.

# Studies on China (Room CLC 421)

Chair: Tony Yan

#### Globalization and the New Urban China

Tianni Wang, University of Chicago

As a result of the "reform and opening up" of China in the past three decades, the country's urban landscape has increasingly reflected the changes brought about by global integration. In recent years, the reach of globalization has extended beyond the biggest Chinese cities like Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou to what is known as "second-tier" cities. This presentation focuses on a comparative study of post-reform Nanjing and Hangzhou, two leading second-tier cities both advantageously situated in the Yangtze River Delta Economic Region. I examine how the introduction of global forces has shaped urban development narratives of each city differently, contingent upon pre-existing relationships of the cities with the state, respective provincial governments, and Shanghai, the neighboring model global city.

#### **Demographic Patterns and Household Saving in China**

Steven Lugauer, University of Notre Dame

This presentation studies how demographic variation affects the household saving rate. I focus on China because it is experiencing an historic demographic transition and has had a massive increase in household saving. I conduct a quantitative investigation using an overlapping generations model that incorporates parental care through support for children and financial transfers to retirees. When I present agents in the model with demographic, interest rate, and wage data, their saving decisions mimic many of the features of the observed Chinese household saving rate from 1955 to 2009. Demographic change alone accounts for half of the saving rate increase.

# Old Bottles but New Wines: A Theoretical Comparison of Working Ethics in Chinese Firms and Indian Companies

Qiang Yan and Kingshuk Mukherjee, St. Benedict College and St. John's University

A significant amount of studies have been focused on the comparison of the difference between Indian or Chinese working styles and those of the Western firms. However, few studies have been conducted on the comparison of working ethics of the two emerging economies. This study intends to fill this gap by fully examine the similarities and differences of working ethics in Chinese firms and in Indian companies, first examining the new perspectives of working ethics in India and in China. Second, the data are mainly collected from intensive interviews with managers and employees who have worked in China or in India. Secondary data, especially some related government documents are also used if necessary. Third, historical and cultural models will also be employed to delineate some perspectives of working ethics in China and India. In sum, this study aims to outline some fresh perspectives of working ethics and its influencing factors in China and India. The study of the similarities and differences of working ethics in the two major BRIC countries may tell us that a comprehensive understanding of macro and micro context of the target countries is necessary.

### 4:45 PM - 6:30 PM: Evening Keynote Panel

### **US Hegemony and Latin America Independence**

(Room CLC L14) Chair: Jerry Harris

#### Washington's Cold War in Latin America in the 21st Century

Mike Weisbrot, Center for Economic and Policy Research

Abstract Not Available

Jesús Rodríguez-Espinoza, Cónsul General de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela en Chicago Title and Abstract Not Available

### Saturday, June 7:

### 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM: Morning Keynote Panel

# Contesting Hegemony (Room CLC L14)

Chair: Lauren Langman

### Theorizing the Working Class in 21st Century Global Capitalism

Beverly Silver, John Hopkins University

Abstract Not Available

### "This is What Democracy Looks Like!" Building Democracy in Canoas, Brazil

Ruth Needleman, Professor Emerita, Labor Studies, Indiana University

Canoas, a city of 330,000, developed a comprehensive strategy to implement a people's democracy following the election of Workers' Party (PT) mayoral candidate Jairo Jorge in 2009. Mayor Jorge publically equated neoliberalism with slavery, and stressed that "only solidarity and liberty" can create the conditions for democracy. Taking advantage of a culture of mass mobilization and collective struggle in the State, the government of Canoas identified four basic components for building urban and sustainable democracy: collective initiatives, radical innovation, participatory decision-making and de-sanctification of authority. Now in his second

term, the mayor and his team are pioneering new approaches to democracy from below as well as from above. The United Nations has awarded Canoas a first prize in popular participation and democracy. The presentation will describe this new system of governing, what is happening there and its impact, and will be accompanied by a PowerPoint of photos.

### 10:45 AM – 12:15 PM: Saturday Morning Panels

# The European Alternative to Neo-Liberalism (Room CLC 302)

Chair: Mel Rothenberg

#### The Struggle Against Neo-Liberalism

Mark Weisbrot, Center for Economic and Policy Research

Abstract Not Available

### After the European Parliament Elections

Ingo Schmidt, Athabasca University, Canada

The Euro-Crisis and its neoliberal management brought a lingering crisis of legitimacy of neoliberal capitalism and the EU as its institutionalized form to the forefront of politics. Euro-skeptics on the left and right gain popularity without offering anything resembling a coherent alternative, the neoliberal centre is gaining ground. This presentation looks at the outcome of the May 25 elections to the European Parliament and its potential impact on the national politics in EU member states.

#### Alternatives to Neo-liberalism and Austerity in Europe

Sharon Post and Ursula Mlynarek, Chicago Political Economy Group

After the 2007 global financial crisis, measures of European Neo-liberalism manifested as austerity policies. These policies, as hegemonic drivers, present the economy as fundamentally divided between a dynamic, productive private sector and an inefficient, enabling public sector. Challenges to austerity policies of Neo-liberal hegemony are found across Europe as viable alternatives. Beyond narrow technocratic proposals, these exciting alternatives build towards a human-needsfocused economy.

### Poverty, Violence and the Struggle for Equality in the Global South (Room CLC 303)

Chair: Audrey Watkins

### Jamaica and Global Post-Colonialism

Audrey Watkins, Western Illinois University

In what can be viewed as a new form of colonialism, skilled Jamaican professionals such as teachers and nurses are being aggressively recruited to serve the needs of developed countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Globalization is characterized by the interpenetration of capital across national borders. The power of transnational corporations to control and profit from postcolonial nations often results in dire consequences for these nations. From Marxists to theologians such as Pope John Paul II, many have and are debating and theorizing various causes, effects, and approaches to globalization. I will address/examine features of the economic, social, and political effects of globalization on Jamaica.

# **Evolution of Large Scale Land Acquisition in Cameroon and its Implications on Women's Rights to Land**

Lotsmart Fonjong, University of Buea, Cameroon

This presentation identifies and describes the evolution, actors and activities involve in LSLA in Cameroon and its implication on women's land rights as user of land. Through in-depth interviews with women from some localities affected, the presentation explores their experiences, and argues that women have faced different forms of tenure insecurity, both as farmers, gatherers and as wives in their relations with the wider kin, as landholding systems have been integrated into wider

markets. In fact, where there has been LSLA for agriculture, women's access to land is reduced, making them more vulnerable to food crisis, and gender based violence. The evolutionary models cannot therefore be treated seriously in the policy debate if it has to neglect women. LSLA must integrate independent and effective land rights for women, which are vitally important for family welfare, food security, equality, empowerment, economic efficiency and poverty alleviation.

# Gender and Factors Affecting Attitudes Towards Women in the United Arab Emirates Madalla Alibeli, United Arab Emirates University

This study examines the effect of gender, age, degree of religiosity, education, and employment on attitudes toward women in United Arab Emirates (UAE). To achieve the objectives of the study, a sample of about 1040 men and women were selected and interviewed by research assistants. General findings indicate a low to relatively low attitudes toward women. Still, male respondents revealed significantly much lower attitudes toward women than female ones. Degree of religiosity on the other hand provided mixed results. As the degree of religiosity increases among men, their attitudes toward women do sharply decrease. In contrast, religiosity showed no significant effect on females' attitudes toward women. Finally, age, education, and employment revealed no significant effect on attitudes toward women in the UAE.

### Social Movements

(Room CLC 304) Chair: Lauren Langman

Democracy after the Arab Spring?

Lauren Langman, Loyola University, Chicago

Abstract Not Available

#### Is there a Political Left Project in South America?

Nathalia Hernendez, Loyola University, Chicago

Since the last decade of the twentieth century it has been said that South America is turning to the left. With the exception of Colombia, Paraguay and the French Guiana, it seems that the rest of the region is actually part of the so call pink tide, with the governments of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador as some of its main figures. To understand what is and what is not going on in South America's political and social life today, the framework provided by some of the members of the School of Social Research is of much help. In this presentation I will especially focus on Marcuse's reflections on revolution and social change to analyze the causes of the rise of the "left" and the actual actions they are performing in their respective countries. At the end of the presentation I hope to have shown that (i) what we have in South America is not actually a pink tide, but what I call a left veil, and that (ii) even when critical theory provides a solid ground to comprehend many of the phenomena that are going on in the region, it is also insufficient at the time to give an account of what is going on in non-western, non-total capitalist countries.

# Branding a New Cultural Hegemony: Global Corporate Social Responsibility as a Neoliberal Response to Social Movements

Amanda Ciafone, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"Corporate social responsibility" [CSR], as practice and discourse, is representative of larger neoliberal shifts in political economy and culture, as this presentation demonstrates through the case study of The Coca-Cola Company in Latin America. As social movements in the global south have challenged the labor, human rights, environmental and health policies of multinationals, corporations have attempted to make claims to a moral leadership through the field of global CSR. Neoliberalism opened up greater possibilities for such claims, with a retrenchment of social welfare states and the celebration private-public ventures to address issues of societal concern. Realizing calls for public accountability could be a new kind of business opportunity, multinationals attempted to capitalize on them by re-branding as good corporate citizens both to ward off activists and market themselves as productive members of neoliberal civil society. Through international business associations, voluntary pseudo-regulatory regimes, and their own initiatives and self-representation, corporations constructed the now prominent field of CSR. While some liberal commentators celebrate CSR as a new private-public compact that sets corporations on a

track to make significant social change, it is clear that it is limited as a promotional paradigm and by the capitalist axioms that underwrite it. But, while critics have written off CSR as merely "greenwashing" or "bluewashing," corporate arguments for the capitalist imperative to address public concerns, because without the solution of societal problems long-term profitability is threatened, suggests more insidious logics that cannot be dismissed so quickly.

#### The Church and Immigration

Manuel Freire, COMBAR

Multistakeholder processes have been heralded as a new form of responsive and inclusive governance for confronting the challenges of a more rapidly globalizing world. In part because of the novelty and variety of the forms of such processes, to date, the vast majority of research on global multistakeholder initiatives has consisted of efforts to characterize them, expound their potential and lay claim to "good practice." Only recently have a small number of individuals, and most of them participants and observers not trained researchers, begun to question more critically the efficacy and accountability of such efforts, and especially their promise for better incorporating civil society and non-Western voices in global governance. Looking at the field of "corporate sustainability" as an example, this presentation highlights various challenges to the promise of global multistakeholder initiatives, avenues for more careful research on this topic, and illustrates some approaches to such research as examples for others to encourage the building of a globalized research agenda on global multistakeholder process.

### The Dynamics of Local Culture, Breaking Hegemony? (Room CLC 421)

Chair: Lesley Lee

#### African American Music in Africa: A Gift and a Curse

Stephanie Shonekan, University of Missouri

One of the most widespread exports of the United States is the irresistibly enigmatic quality that defines African American music, culture, and identity. Youth cultures around the world have appropriated the tropes of African American music and adapted them to create new cultural hybrids. The most significant precedents of Nigerian hip-hop—afrobeat and highlife—appropriated aspects of earlier African American musical genres and incorporated them into a local Nigerian musical foundation that was functional and responsive to the dire economic and social conditions of a post-colonial Nigeria. Today, Nigerian hip hop artists and their audiences appropriate African American hip hop culture to construct new identities and cultural behaviors. This presentation will raise new questions about the impact of African American hip hop on the psyche and identity of young Nigerians.

#### Do Chinese Young Diasporic Artists Break U.S. Hegemonic Art?

Lesley Lee, The School of the Art Institute of Chicago

My presentation will focus on the younger generation of Chinese diasporic artists living in the United States. I will argue that they are participants and contributors to a pluralist and decentralized art world where individualism is celebrated. I will first investigate the works of several artists who gained international recognition to show new faces of Chinese contemporary art: apolitical, multicultural and individualist. Then I would like to analyze how China's socioeconomic context and the global transformations shape the new ideologies of these younger Chinese diasporic artists, and how they affect the American-oriented art world.

#### Owning Our Food System: Urban Gardening and Local Food Movements Paige Edwards, Western Michigan University

Food is a means of examining culture, including identity, autonomy and power. It creates relationships and memories between people via shared connection. Through food, I explore local food movements and urban community gardening. We both ingest and produce garden-grown foods. This movement is often described as simple nostalgia. I suggest that it is a response against heavily processed foods within a system reliant on mass produced food. This desire for ownership pushes community gardens and other counter-hegemonic spaces forward in their goals

of using social practice to challenge the established food industry and take control within their own lives.

### Dollar Stores, At-Risk Communities and Global-Local Linkages

Donald Culverson, Governors State University

Low-income communities experience redlining, food deserts, and other discriminatory liabilities. These problems reflect the globally driven exploitation of populations confined to lower tiers of consumption who face barriers to the acquisition of basic material goods. This presentation uses the Chicago metropolitan area to examine the spatial distribution of lower-end discount, or dollar stores in neighborhoods that are unlikely candidates for more comprehensive, full-service retailers. Consumers in these areas find themselves faced with limited product selections and inferior quality goods. This presentation links globalization with forms of retail spatial territorialization that further marginalize already exploited communities and populations.

### 12:40 PM - 2:15 PM: Film Screening

### Gringo Trails (Room CLC L14)

Are tourists destroying the planet-or saving it? How do travelers change the remote places they visit, and how are they changed? From the Bolivian jungle to the party beaches of Thailand, and from the deserts of Timbuktu, Mali to the breathtaking beauty of Bhutan, GRINGO TRAILS traces stories over 30 years to show the dramatic long-term impact of tourism on cultures, economies, and the environment.

Directed by prominent anthropologist Pegi Vail, Associate Director of the Center for Media, Culture and History at New York University and a Fulbright Scholar, GRINGO TRAILS raises urgent questions about one of the most powerful globalizing forces of our time: tourism. Following stories along the well-worn western travelers' route-the 'gringo trail', through South America and beyond to Africa and Asia-the film reveals the complex relationships between colliding cultures: host countries hungry for financial security and the tourists who provide it in their quest for authentic experiences.

### 2:15 PM – 3:45 PM: Afternoon Keynote Panel

# Counter Hegemonic Alternatives (Room CLC L14)

Chair: Mel Rothenberg

The World is Not Flat: Nelson Mandela, Cuba and the Struggle for Global History

Lisa Brock, Kalamazoo College

Abstract Not Available

#### The Bolivarian Movements

Arnold August, Author, Journalist and Lecturer

Abstract Not Available

### 4:00 PM - 5:45 PM: Saturday Afternoon Panels

### S Labor and the Crises of US Hegemony (Room CLC 302)

Chair: Mel Rothenberg

#### The Crisis of US Hegemony

Beverly Silver, Johns Hopkins University

Abstract Not Available

# Counteracting Factors: The Unmaking and Remaking of the Working Classes in Europe Ingo Schmidt, Athabasca University, Canada

In the 1970s, the limits of integration of working classes into the then existing welfare capitalism were reached. Crises of accumulation and legitimacy led, after a period of intense political conflicts, to capitalist efforts to bypass institutionalized working class power through technological and geographical restructuring of production and distribution processes. The collapse of Soviet communism elevated and the subsequent reintegration of Eastern Europe into the capitalist world market elevated these efforts to entirely efforts. However, they also produced discontents, expressed in riots, protests, and strikes. Drawing on the works of Thompson, Silver, and Luxemburg, this presentation looks into the counteracting factors of the unmaking and remaking of working classes in Europe.

#### Global Multi-stakeholders as a Field of Governance

Horacio Trujillo, Occidental College

Multistakeholder processes have been heralded as a new form of responsive and inclusive governance for confronting the challenges of a more rapidly globalizing world. In part because of the novelty and variety of the forms of such processes, to date, the vast majority of research on global multistakeholder initiatives has consisted of efforts to characterize them, expound their potential and lay claim to "good practice." Only recently have a small number of individuals, and most of them participants and observers not trained researchers, begun to question more critically the efficacy and accountability of such efforts, and especially their promise for better incorporating civil society and non-Western voices in global governance. Looking at the field of "corporate sustainability" as an example, this presentation highlights various challenges to the promise of global multistakeholder initiatives, avenues for more careful research on this topic, and illustrates some approaches to such research as examples for others to encourage the building of a globalized research agenda on global multistakeholder process.

### Southern Insurgencies

(Room CLC 303) Chair: Ruth Needleman

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#### Reparations, Brazil-Style

Ruth Needleman, Professor Emerita, Labor Studies, Indiana University

Brazil has undertaken various initiatives to address the historic exploitation and genocide against Native Indigenous and Afro-Descendent peoples. Under President Lula of the Workers' Party, the government acknowledged the past genocidal policies, and established a De-Colonization Department (INCRA) to return lands and provide access to housing, education and public health care. The presentation will look at how this is done, how much has been done, and some of the challenges. A PowerPoint will accompany the presentation.

## Peasant Movements and State Elites in Post-New Order West Java: A Case Study of the Sudanese Peasant Union

Igra Anugrah, Northern Illinois University

This presentation examines the case study of West Javanese peasant movements particularly the Sundanese Peasant Union (SPP) in post-authoritarian Indonesia. It aims to answer the question of why SPP and West Javanese peasant movements in general are able to force local and national state elites to accommodate some elements of agrarian reforms promoted by the peasants. This presentation argues that post-New Order new political opportunity structures provide a new opportunity for West Javanese peasant movements and SPP to organize, which enables them to keep their repertoire of struggle, improve the movement's organizational capacity and form networks with other social movements.

# The Asiatic Mode of Production, Indian Law and the Naxalite Insurgency Donovan Braud, Oakton Community College

Marx's views on pre-capitalist non-western societies evolved during his intellectual development and are generally grouped under the (somewhat problematic) term "Asiatic Mode of Production." This presentation will examine the connections between the Asiatic Mode of Production from Marxist economics, post-independence Indian land laws, the violation of those laws in the period of liberalization, and the continuing popularity of the Naxalite/Maoist insurgency. The contemporary round of globalization seeks to finish what colonization started by forcibly removing Adavasi and other Scheduled Tribes in a process similar to primitive accumulation. Understanding this dynamic explains the Naxalites' continuing appeal in contemporary India.

# Micropolitics of Urban Slums: Variations in How the Subaltern Organize Politically Stephan Armet, University of Notre Dame

Abstract Not Available

### Education in the Global South

(Room CLC 304)

Chair: Karie Peralta

# Overcoming Marginalization in the Face of Globalization: Educators Fighting for Dignity in the Dominican Republic

Karie Peralta, University of Miami

Torres' (2009) theory of marginality constitutes a guide for action for responding to the consequences of neoliberal globalization. A central tenet of Torres' theory is that the marginalized are responsible for engaging in social movements and establishing a position to participate in public debates. This presentation examines this theory utilizing the case of public school teachers in the Dominican Republic by analyzing the effort to organize for increased salaries and benefits via the campaign, "Dignifying the Teaching Profession." In doing so, I identify barriers that preclude fuller participation in the development of policy related to their profession. Additionally, I recognize how teachers have attempted to overcome their marginalized status in order to become part of the discourse on issues related to their professional lives.

# Global Higher Education Reform and Student Affairs at United Arab Emirates University Mohamed Nur-Awaleh and Ghadah AlMurshidi, United Arab Emirates University

United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a federation state consisting of seven emirates which gained independence from Great Britain in 1971. In terms of population the country is roughly 94% Muslim with Arabic and English being the most common languages. Despite having one of the world's highest per capita incomes, higher education in the UAE is emerging as destination for campus branching and education hubs in the world. For example, the largest importers of branch campus in the world is in United Arab Emirates with 33 institutions

(http://www.globalhighered.org/) The first part of this presentation will examine the impact of American higher education model in UAE. It will also explore the ways in which this rich oil endowed country is reforming its higher education system. The second part of presentation will present a perspective by analyzing the increasing importance of international higher education exchange and awareness in the work of student affairs professionals, and review the specific ways in which the profession of student affairs is being internationalized at United Arab Emirates University.

## Global Campus Branching in Qatar and its Implications for Student Affairs Mohamed Nur-Awaleh, Illinois State University

Global higher education is intricately linked with transnational issues. Globalization is motivated by economic forces and driven by digital technologies; globalization links individuals and higher education institutions across the world with unprecedented interconnection and immediacy. Global higher education is the forum for the critical study and exploration of the individual and institutional links that touch us all. Global higher education embraces diversity in human thought, action, and creativity and is an essential component of current higher educational reforms. The unprecedented urgency of global higher education reforms confronts and challenges us all. Thus,

this presentation will examine how campus branching is touted as model for higher education reform in Qatar. The presentation will also explore the impact of this model on the development of student affairs in Qatar.

### Debate: US Hegemony, World Systems Theory and the Transnational Capitalist Class

(Room CLC 421) Chair: James Parisot

### Globalization as Hegemonic American Capitalism

Jennifer Wray, Michigan State University

McMichael (2012) describes globalization as a private project utilizing political intervention and geographically unlimited markets to serve the interests of powerful elites while simultaneously contributing to poverty and social class polarization. I view globalization as an umbrella term used to describe the proliferation of hegemonic American capitalism globally. Fueled by neoliberal ideology that ignores social justice in favor of capital gain, globalization has propelled "Ameritocracy," or individually determined success, across the globe. By describing how globalization as a private project utilizes political intervention, geographically unlimited markets, to serve self-interest and perpetuate inequality. I believe the manifestation of specific class commitments exercised through preferential and self-interested policy-making can provide such explanation.

#### Global Capitalism, World-Empire?

James Parisot, SUNY Binghamton

For world-systems analysis, capitalism has been able to thrive based on the fact that it has not been captured by a world-empire, but exists in a system of states. For Weber, world-empires, such as the Chinese empire, prevented the dominance of capitalism. And while Marx was living and writing in a world of empires, he tended to leave out systematic theorization of them. Given this, this presentation asks the question: to what extent does global capitalism itself constitute a form of world-empire, containing within it a system of states? More generally it suggests developing a historical materialist approach to empire, built through engagement with contemporary debates over the comparative historical sociology of empires, along with debates on Marxist methodology.

#### American Economic Power Hasn't Decline - It Globalized!

Sean Starrs, York University, Toronto

A key debate since the 1970s is on the decline or persistence of American economic power in world order. The vast majority of analysts have employed national accounts — especially GDP — as a measure of economic power. In contrast, this presentation argues that with globalization and foreign ownership, national accounts are no longer an adequate indicator of national power. In short, they under-estimate American power, and over-estimate Chinese power, due to the continued dominance of American transnational corporations. Hence, American economic power has not declined; it has globalized, and we need to move beyond national accounts to account for this.

#### Transnational Capitalism as a Hegemonic Global System

Jerry Harris, Global Studies Association/North American Secretary

The transnational capitalist class emerged with globalization, cross border mergers and acquisitions, worldwide stock markets, global assembly lines, foreign direct investments and finalization. These have been the major economic trends in capitalism since about 1980, have grown stronger over time and have been constructed by the TCC. Class relations and the method in which surplus value is extracted from working men and women around the world is define by global circuits of accumulation and production. Financial institutions are key to this world system because they collect, organize and distribute capital on a global basis, centralize profits and distribute wealth to their global investors. National contradictions still continue to exist and will do so for a long time. But the global dialectic being played out is a historic transformation from nation-centric economies to a unified global economy.