FIFTEENTH GLOBAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

WHAT TO MAKE OF CRISSES: EMERGING METHODS, PRINCIPLES, ACTIONS

NATIONAL AND KAPODISTRIAN UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS
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Welcome
Letters
Dear Conference Participants,

Welcome to the Fifteenth Global Studies Conference held at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. It has been three years since we last met in person in Krakow in summer 2019, due to the Covid-19 pandemic the last two editions of the conference were held online. This year, we are excited to be able to offer you a blended format, with some delegates meeting in Athens and others joining online.

It goes without saying that the turmoil of the pandemic has given all of us a lot of food for thought. It is vital to reflect on the recent past and, drawing on that experience, to look into the future. There is no better platform for this than our Global Studies Research Network, the conference that brings us together on annual basis and the associated International Journal of Interdisciplinary Global Studies. The special theme this year revolves around global crises and what to make of them. When deciding on this particular focus we had in mind especially the long financial crisis – which, it is important to note, Greece has experienced in a particularly dramatic as well as protracted way – and, of course, the Covid-19 crisis that destabilized our lives on so many levels. Unfortunately, while the latter has been largely tamed, a new calamity is looming – the incredibly destructive war in Ukraine. It is not surprising that optimism is an increasingly scarce resource in this tragic context, and yet we must keep up hope and keep planning for a better world. As a forum for exchange of ideas and exploration of the synergies between different disciplines, outlooks and approaches that the extensive field of global studies comprises, this conference is a great place to start. With several plenary sessions and over 150 paper presentations concerned either with the special focus or one of the four themes we keep returning to each year – namely globalization’s relationships with economy, politics, culture and the environment – the conference will undoubtedly be intellectually rich and stimulating. Additionally, our Garden Conversations will facilitate discussions with plenary speakers about issues arising from their talks, while Talking Circles will allow participants to exchange ideas pertaining to a specific aspect of globalization.

I am very grateful to all who have made this conference possible and especially Dr Tamsyn Gilbert and Dr Phillip Kalantzis-Cope and their team at Common Ground, Dr Marcin Galent who co-chairs the conference, our Hosts at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, our Plenary Speakers, and – last but not least! – all our Participants: you are the reason we are here!

Next year’s Global Studies Conference will be held at Oxford, England (19–21 July 2023) under the theme Agency in An Era of Displacement and Social Change. Make sure you save the date!

I wish you all an enjoyable conference and a pleasant stay in Athens.

Rafal Soborski
Conference Co-Chair & Chair of the Global Studies Research Network
Editor of The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Global Studies
Dear Conference Delegates,

From wherever you’ve come, in which way you’re participating, welcome to the Fifteenth Global Studies Conference. I am grateful to all of you for sharing your work at this conference.

For over 30 years, Common Ground has invested in developing technologies that seek to break down barriers of access in scholarly communication. In each phase, we’ve built spaces to support interdisciplinary dialogue, before such approaches were in vogue, connected international voices when disciplines were too often isolated in national silos; and supported an agenda of access and equality, by offering pathways and opportunities for diverse voices. We now propose another kind of intervention -- to build a scholarly communication infrastructure for a blended future. Our blended model seeks to transcend physical boundaries by offering a space to extend in-person conference content online while ensuring online-only delegates are afforded equal participatory and experiential spaces within the platform. At the same time, the model offers participants a legacy resource to which they can return, with access to a social space where fellow participants can keep connected long after the conference ends.

But for us “blended” is more than an approach to technology. We’re using this conceptual filter to consider our mission:

- Blended disciplines as an approach to interdisciplinary research practices
- Blended affinities as a way to approach a shared politics for paradigms of recognition and redistribution
- Blended voices as a way to consider where research happens in and outside of academia
- Blended ideas as the common ground for a new sense of civics

We’re also committed to being industry leaders. In 2021 we became a signatory to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Publishers Compact. Launched in collaboration with the International Publishers Association, the compact “features 10 action points that publishers, publishing associations, and others can commit to undertaking in order to accelerate progress to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030. Signatories aspire to develop sustainable practices and act as champions of the SDGs, publishing books and journals that will help inform, develop and inspire action in that direction.

Alongside becoming a signatory to the UN Sustainability Publishers Compact. I had the honor of leading Common Ground Research Networks delegation to COP26 in Glasgow late last year. We are measuring current emissions in all aspects of what we do to identify areas where emissions can be reduced. And we’re committing to long-term science-based Net-Zero targets for our operations. We’ll be sharing a report of our activities and progress annually, so watch this space.

I thank our partners and colleagues who have helped organize and produce this meeting with great dedication and expertise.

Warm Regards,

Dr. Phillip Kalantzis Cope
Chief Social Scientist, Common Ground Research Networks
Scope & Concerns

Founded in 2008, the Global Studies Research Network is devoted to mapping and interpreting past and emerging trends and patterns in globalization. As a Research Network, we are defined by our scope and concerns and motivated to build strategies for action framed by our shared themes and tensions.

Mapping the ‘New Globalization’

Arguably the twenty-first-century momentum of globalization is markedly different from twentieth-century globalization and involves a new geography of trade, weaker United States hegemony and a trend towards growing multipolarity. Like a giant oil tanker, the axis of globalization is slowly turning from North-South to East-South relations in trade and finance. Large questions arise. Is the rise of East Asia, China, India and other newly industrialized economies just another episode in the rise and decline of nations, another reshuffling of capitalism, a relocation of accumulation centers without affecting the logics of accumulation? Or does this phase of globalization mark a departure? Does it advance, sustain or halt neoliberalism? The rise of Asia is codependent with neoliberal globalization and yet unfolds outside the neoliberal mold. What is the relationship between zones of accumulation and modes of regulation? What are the ramifications for global inequality?

On the subject of cutting-edge globalization there are two big stories to tell. One story tells of the rise of Asia and the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China) economies, with the accompanying growth of East-South trade and financial, energy and political relations. In the words of Paul Kennedy, ‘we can no more stop the rise of Asia than we can stop the winter snows and the summer heat’. The other story is one of growing social inequality and major crises in agriculture and urban poverty in the emerging countries.

The new globalization can be mapped as trends in trade, finance, international institutions, hegemony, inequality, social movements and struggles, cultural changes, and ecological dynamics. Here are some trend estimates, indicating some of the dimensions of this discussion:

- **Trade** Growing East-South trade leads to a ‘new geography of trade’ and new trade pacts.
- **Global value chains** Viewed in terms of global commodity chains, the role of emerging economies in East Asia, China, India, Russia and Brazil appears to be more limited. They generally play a subsidiary part in buyer-driven commodity chains and have so far established few producer-driven chains.
- **Finance** The current imbalances in the world economy (American overconsumption and trade and current account deficits and Asian surpluses) are unsustainable and are producing a gradual reorganization of global finance and trade.
- **Institutions** The 1990s architecture of globalization (built around the IMF, World Bank and WTO) is now fragile and the clout and influence of emerging economies is growing.
- **Hegemony** The United States is losing influence. Arguably, what is taking place, rather than hegemonic rivalry, is global repositioning and realignments toward growing multipolarity.
- **Inequality and social struggle** The flashpoints of global inequality are rural crises and urban poverty in emerging economies, chronic poverty in the least developed countries, and international migration. In advanced economies such as the United States social inequality is growing. In terms of political economy, the overall question is what the new trends mean for the emerging twenty-first century international division of labor and the implications of these trends for global futures, in particular from the viewpoint of the world majority.
- **Social movements** Social movements have succeeded in influencing policy changes, notably in Latin America. Planetary social movements such as international NGOs are increasingly important in articulating social demands. They also act as watchdogs of international institutions. The World Social Forum is a major global platform for formulating progressive alternatives. A key question, however, is the extent to which progressive movements are driven by opposition to globalization, or an attempt to imaging a different and more humane globalization.
- **Cultural change** Overall trends are towards the growing hybridization or intermingling of cultural patterns (new combinations of cultural motifs giving rise to new differences). Geopolitical conflicts and resource wars in many arenas produce local political backlashes. An incipient cosmopolitanism is short circuited in some instances.
- **Ecological changes** Climate change and global warming necessitate global collective action.
Globalization in the Larger Human Scheme

The newness of our latest globalization makes another kind of sense within a wider frame of reference. How wide might we cast such a comparative frame? One could make the case, for instance, that human beings have only ever been global creatures. From the moment we became a species, we become the first sentient beings to fill virtually every habitat. Our first act as a symbol-making species was to walk to the ends of the earth. This may have taken as little as one hundred thousand years, a mere instant in biological time. We did not stop walking until there was almost no desert, no tundra and no sea where we did not or could not make a life. This happened during a first globalization, a process unprecedented for any species in natural history.

There have been several other globalizations since then. Questions of how many, and the peculiarities of their forms, are amongst the subjects of the Global Studies network. Another globalization comes with the spread of farming. This happens independently in five different places over a span of just six thousand years. Another is the emergence of writing, which happens independently in four different places over several thousand years—in Mesopotamia about five thousand years ago and then in India, China and Mesoamerica. With these new material and symbolic modes came material inequalities of a type never experienced in the earlier globalization of hunters and gatherers. Farming brings the possibility of accumulating material wealth and the application of surpluses to the gratuitously monumental projects of ‘civilization’ which stand both as a testament to, and overwhelming reminder of, the scale of that inequality.

The relative simultaneity of these developments suggests that the peoples of the first globalization were talking, and that the transition from the one globalization to another was a singular event. This globalization also occurs remarkably quickly. It brings not just the continuities represented by large language groups, ‘world’ religions and ‘civilizations’. There is also a sameness across and between these groups: the handful of domesticable plants and animals that spread like wildfire across the globe, the world-encompassing religions which even share common ancestral figures, such as the Abraham of the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims; and the inventions that are so quickly swapped and copied such as the plough, the wheel, monumental architecture and writing. There are nuances, to be sure, and these are the stuff of tourist awe and foreboding about the apparently always-imminent ‘clash of civilizations’. On a broader scale of reference, however, these differences may be regarded as small.

Then there a number of globalizations in the varied permutations of modern imperialism, supporting mercantile, then industrial, then post industrial capitalism. Each of these phases of globalization brings with it peculiar logics of territoriality and sovereignty, its own framing of spaces and pragmatics of flows. They are all preludes to the ‘New Globalization’.

Globalization in Theory

So, what do we mean by this so–many faceted thing, ‘globalization’? Global markets are such that there is almost no place in the world where you cannot sell your wares and no place in the world from which people are unable sell their wares into your local market. There is almost no place in the world to which you cannot journey in a few days. There is almost no place in the world that is not instantaneously to be seen or heard at the other end of a telephone line, or the Internet, or a television reporter’s camera.

However, there’s a paradox here. Whilst the globalizations of our recent past forced homogeneity upon populaces, the New Globalization is more equivocal, complex, hybrid, potentially cosmopolitan. Neighborhoods are constantly changing as a consequence of global migration. The local community comes to feel like a microcosm of the whole world. Products and representations of the world appear more insistently than ever in our markets and on our screens.
In this new globalization, anti-cosmopolitanisms (such as racism and discrimination) are not only bad in principle. They are dysfunctional in practice. They are bad for business. If your neighborhood or your workplace is diverse as a consequence of global labor flows, you need to get on with your neighbors, your team-mates and your customers, or least quietly accept their differences. If your workplace is part of a global enterprise, you need to be able to get on with parts of the organization located in different places, and even move to live there if needs be. If your goods can be sold at the other end of the earth, you need to find out about the kind of people who might be purchasing them if they are going to sell well. If global tourism is one of the new boom industries, you need to be tolerant of the quirks of visitors from distant places in your midst and respectful of cultures you visit. If the big news is now as much global as it is local and national, you need to become an aware global citizen. As for imperialism, there’s no need to take over other people’s countries by force in order to access their markets. Besides, why would you? When other peoples’ markets are open, your enterprises can do business there without having to fire a shot.

Meanwhile, the powers who historically buttressed nationalisms and racisms come to discover that happy homogeneity amongst their citizens is neither possible nor desirable. Civil rights movements, anti-colonial movements, feminists and supporters of multiculturalism all begin to say, loudly and clearly, that exclusion and discrimination on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, gender, disability and sexual orientation are not acceptable either in principle or in practice. All manner of social movements vociferously dispute and discredit the very idea of the global homogeneity.
Networks of Economy and Trade
On the economic dimensions of globalization.

Living Tensions:
- Understanding Global Markets – Singular or Multiple
- Rules of the Game – Free Trade and Fair Trade
- Power of Scale – Transnational Corporations, Public Investment, Small Enterprise
- Patterns of Global Investment – Core and Periphery
- Leveraging Advantages – Engines of Growth in the Developing World
- Logics of Accumulation and Inequality – Patterns and Trends
- Division of Labor – Rethinking Inside and Outside

The Power of Institutions
On the political dimensions of globalization.

Living Tensions:
- Legacies of the Past – Imperialism and Neo-colonialism
- Understanding Soft Power – Structures of Hegemony
- Global Imaginaries – Neoliberalism, Anti, Alt-Globalization (and Beyond)
- From Below – Social Movements, NGOs, Non-State Actors
- Negotiating Conflict – Intervention, Political Violence, Terrorism
- Advancing Universal Rules – Democratic Practices and Human Rights in Diverse Contexts

Vectors of Society and Culture
On the socio-cultural dimensions of globalization.

Living Tensions:
- Globalism as Ideology – From Above and Below
- Visions of Progress – Development and Underdevelopment
- Imagining Communities – Nationalism and Post-Nationalism
- Pathways of Human Movement – Migrations and Diaspora
- Social Meaning Making – Cosmopolitanism, Multiculturalism, Cultural Hybridization
- Forced Movements – Refugees, Human Trafficking, Statelessness, Internally Displaced Persons
- Just Relations – Inequality, Poverty, Racism
- Digital Societies – Big Data, Internet of Things, Artificial Intelligence

Ecological Foundations
On the eco-systemic dimensions of globalization.

Living Tensions:
- Growth and Its Limits – Environment over Economy
- Common Space – Ecological Footprints, Atmospheres, Biospheres, Eco-spheres
- Biological Diversity – Its Past and Prospects
- Shared Danger Signs – Rising Sea Levels, Desertification, Soil Degradation
- Planning Food Systems – Security or Sovereignty
- The Built Environment – Urbanization and the Sustainability of Human Settlement
- The Future of Everyday Life – Weather events, Natural Disasters, and Ecological Surprises

Visit: https://onglobalization.com/about/themes
Dr. Rafal Soborski
The American International University in London, UK

Dr. Rafal Soborski is professor of international politics at Richmond, the American International University in London. He has taught and published extensively on globalization, ideology, social movements, and green politics. He is the author of two books: “Ideology in a Global Age: Continuity and Change” (Palgrave Macmillan 2013) and “Ideology and the Future of Progressive Social Movements” (Rowman and Littlefield 2018).

The Global Studies Research Network is grateful for the foundational contributions, ongoing support, and continued service of our Advisory Board.

- Niambi Carter, Howard University, USA
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Fifteenth Global Studies Conference
For over 30 years, Common Ground has been invested in crafting forums that seek to break down barriers of access in scholarly communication. In each phase, we’ve built spaces for interdisciplinary dialogue, before such approaches were in vogue; connected international voices when disciplines were too often isolated in national silos; and supported an agenda of access and equality, by offering pathways and opportunities for diverse voices.

**We now propose another kind of intervention -- a scholarly communication infrastructure for a blended future.**

Our blended model seeks to transcend physical boundaries by offering a space to extend in-person conference content online while ensuring online-only delegates are afforded equal participatory and experiential spaces. At the same time, the model offers participants a legacy resource to which they can return, with access to a social space where fellow participants can keep connected long after the conference ends.

**In this future we also commit to bilingual pathways.**

We support the presentation, publication, and social networking for English and Spanish speaking delegates. In doing so we seek to offer spaces where we can "speak our language" and at the same time interact together.

**And blended is more than technology.**

And blended is more than an approach to technology. We’re using this conceptual filter to consider some of our original mission positions: blended disciplines as an approach to interdisciplinary research practices; blended affinities as a way to approach a shared politics for recognition and redistribution; blended voices as a way to consider where research happens in outside of academia; blended ideas as the common ground for a new sense of civics.
What to Make of Crises: Emerging Methods, Principles, Actions

It is a truism to say that ours is a period of crises. COVID-19 has massively destabilized the world, but the pandemic has not been the only upheaval hanging over us in recent years. The Great Recession of 2008 and its continuing aftermath, and the existential threat of climate change, are other major crises that have contributed to the apocalyptic zeitgeist of the early twenty-first century. The populist wave that has swept the world amid confusion sown by the volatility of neoliberal capitalism and fertilized by mushrooming conspiracy theories has further entrenched the catastrophist mood both in academia and society at large. However, while dysfunctional and oppressive in many ways, a time like this also provides a window of opportunity to rethink and redesign our politics, economy, social relations and relationship with nature. As we emerge from a long period of lockdowns, curfews, and personal losses, there are more questions than ever about the direction that the global community should take in order to advance a fairer, more inclusive, and balanced world. Through interdisciplinary debate and exchange of knowledge, the Fifteenth Global Studies conference will offer the participants plenty of food for thought and point to several ways out of the mess we are in.

Topics we hope to explore include but are not limited to:
- Lessons from the pandemic, strategies to tackle future global health crises;
- Responses to rising nationalisms and right-wing populisms;
- Neoliberalism and its discontents;
- Rampant social inequality and ways to address it;
- Volatility of the global financial system;
- Tax havens and offshore investment;
- Prospects for global social democracy, global new deal;
- Principles of an equitable climate change mitigation;
- North-South relations, underdevelopment, foreign debt, neocolonialism;
- End of US hegemony and the rise of China;
- Resistance to racism, sexism, classism and other forms of oppression;
- The role of social movements.
Plenary Speakers

Dr. Maciej J. Grodzicki
Economist, Assistant Professor, Jagiellonian University, Poland

Dr. Maciej J. Grodzicki is an economist, assistant professor at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland; board member of the Polish Economic Network. A laureate of P.R.I.M.E. fellowship of German DAAD, conducted at the University of Bremen and the University of Sussex. In his research, he has analysed the contemporary international inequalities, industrial policies, development and global value chains, in the evolutionary and neo-Kaleckian schools of economic thought. Currently, he is also involved in the Marxist ecological economics, investigating the political economy of commons, forestry and de-growth.

21 July - 9:00 AM GMT

Agnieszka Kubal
Lecturer in Sociology, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, United Kingdom

Agnieszka is a lecturer in sociology at School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London. She is an interdisciplinary socio-legal, migration and human rights scholar with area studies interest in Central Eastern Europe and Russia. She is the author of two monographs, Socio-legal Integration. Polish post-2004 EU Enlargement Migrants in the UK (2012, Ashgate/Routledge) and Immigration and Refugee Law in Russia. Socio-Legal Perspectives (2019, Cambridge University Press). Together with Marina Kurkchiyan, Dr Kubal co-edited a volume on Sociology of Justice in Russia (2018, Cambridge University Press) acclaimed by the critics as ‘the most analytically sophisticated and empirically rich volume ever produced on the everyday operation of the Russian legal system.’

Dr Kubal’s current research The women behind Human Rights funded by Leverhulme/British Academy explores the gendered experiences of pursuing human rights claims before the European Court of Human Rights from Poland. In the past she was awarded research grants by the British Academy, Leverhulme/BA and the John Fell OUP Fund.

Agnieszka’s research among undocumented Syrian asylum seekers in Russia together with her involvement in their case before the European Court of Human Rights resulted in a court decision LM and Others v Russia (2016) and a real impact beyond academia: establishing standards of protection of Syrians against deportation in all European countries. This work has received recognition from the UCL’s Vice-Chancellor and Provost Office as it came first in the public vote in the ‘Justice and Equality’ category in #MadeAtUCL campaign for a socially impactful and engaged research (2020).

22 July - 9:00 AM GMT
Luke Cooper
Senior Research Fellow, LSE IDEAS, England

"Are Multilateralism and Collective Security Possible in an Authoritarian World?"

Luke Cooper is Senior Research Fellow at IDEAS, the LSE’s in-house foreign policy think tank. His primary research interests lie in the field of nationalism, historical sociology, authoritarianism and the theory of uneven and combined development, and his work analyses both historical and present-day case studies. He is the author of Authoritarian Contagion, the Global Threat to Democracy (2021) and Authoritarian protectionism in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe: diversity, commonality and resistance (2021).

21 July - 4:30PM GMT
Each year a small number of Emerging Scholar Awards are given to outstanding early-career scholars or graduate students. Here are our 2022 Emerging Scholar Award Winners.

**Gabriel Rached**  
University of Milan, Italy

**Gvantsa Gasviani**  
University of California, Irvine, USA

**Pratik Raghu**  
University of California, Santa Barbara, USA
The Populist Challenge to the Liberal Democratic Legal Systems: The Rule of Law on the Margins

Vasileios Adamidis, Principal Lecturer, Law, Nottingham Trent University, United Kingdom

The paper discusses the populist attack to liberal democratic legal systems. Focussing on the intersections of political theory and jurisprudence, the paper argues that populism aims to reconstruct the democratic rule of recognition (i.e. the ultimate test of legal validity in any legal system, according to Hart) according to the populist set of ideas. In liberal democratic legal systems, the rule of recognition envisages compliance with (a thick version of) the rule of law as a precondition for legal validity, with a qualified version of popular sovereignty and the protection of fundamental human rights (often placing the sovereign will of the people within limits) being mutually constitutive of the system. Conversely, populism proposes a rule of recognition whose ultimate condition of legal validity would be an absolute version of popular sovereignty. By claiming that the will of the people should be unlimited, populism is at best indifferent for the compliance of this will with integral features of the rule of law, such as certainty and predictability, judicial independence or the protection of the rights of minorities. The rule of recognition - as a social rule - depends its existence on its acceptance by citizens and its application by judges and state officials. The advancement of the populist set of ideas, undermines the social acceptance of the rule and breaches the consensus as to its content. This may put the rule of law under pressure, placing it on the margins of the legal landscape and of the societal system of values.

How to Influence Government: A Case Study from Malaysia’s Fight against Human Trafficking

Alexander Blocker, Student, MA in Conflict Resolution and Coexistence, Brandeis University - Heller School for Social Policy and Management, Massachusetts, United States

Throughout the late 2000s, likely thousands of Burmese people living in Malaysia were subjected to deportation, extortion, and enslavement in an arrangement between Malaysian immigration agents and Thai traffickers. For years, NGOs and the press had publicly raised the alarm about the trafficking operation but were met with denial and dismissiveness by Malaysian officials. Yet, the April 2009 publication by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee of a report on the scheme sparked a chain of results: an acknowledgement of the problem by the prime minister, a police investigation, arrests of five immigration officers, changes in immigration staffing practices, and within a few months, a sharp decline in reported trafficking at the border. This paper asks, why did a single Senate staff report move the Malaysian government in ways that years of advocacy by civil society could not? Conventional wisdom would simply attribute this to the cachet of the U.S. government, but closer examination reveals that this facile explanation is far from the whole story. Through documentary research as well as interviews with Malaysian and American advocates, this paper studies the behind-the-scenes tactics employed to maximize the Senate report’s impact, explores differences in approaches to advocacy, and ultimately offers considerations for civil society actors seeking to exert influence over government.
Students’ Perceptions of Poverty: Implication for Community Practice from a Global COVID-19 Pandemic Lens

Mioara Diaconu, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, Western Michigan University, Michigan, United States
Laura Racovita, Professor and Social Work/ Dean, School of Social Work, Southern Adventist University, Tennessee, United States
Domingo Carbonero Munoz, Professor, Law, University of La Rioja, La Rioja, Spain
Linda Reeser, Professor, Western Michigan University

According to the “culture of poverty theory,” those living in poverty adjust to the context of their lives and in doing so instill certain attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors in their children (Boxill, 1994), which are passed from one generation to another (Ludwig & Mayer, 2006). Although this theory has been extensively criticized for decades by social scientists, who attribute poverty to malfunction at the macro-level such as tight employment markets and deplorable wages, it has made a comeback in academia, political circles and in think tanks. A research study, conducted by the presenters, at three institutions of higher education in two countries, looked at graduate and undergraduate students’ attitudes concerning persons living in poverty, causes of and solutions to poverty, beliefs about who the social work profession should serve, and poverty content in the curriculum. This paper shares the results of the research study, lessons learned, and recommendations for research and education. Furthermore, the implications for community practice from a global COVID-19 pandemic lens are explored.

The Entanglement of Day-to-Day Fundraising: The Perspective of Local NGOs in Jordan’s Development Assistance Sector

Alexandrine Dupras, Teaching Assistant and PhD Candidate, Sociology, University of Geneva, Switzerland

In 2016, international organizations, states and donors gathered to the World Humanitarian Summit to pledge for the ‘Grand Bargain’ which pushed for the ‘local’ to be placed at the center of aid interventions, namely local NGOs. In the context of continuous criticisms over the effectiveness of aid actors and the development sector, the push for a ‘localization of aid’ is based on the argument that “in-country responders are better placed to design and implement effective programs than their international counterparts”. In the development sector, the ‘usual suspect’, the ‘go-to’ actor at the country level is the non-governmental organization (NGO) which is – rightfully or not – favored over states for being perceived as more cost-efficient, less corrupted, and more connected with the targeted population. On the one hand, local NGOs are key actors without which development assistance could not take place, but on the other hand, they consistently evolve in an unstable fashion. Local NGOs rely heavily on foreign funds to operate and such funding imply a series of accountability mechanisms donors impose to control the funds are spent according to their policies and standards. Several studies have shown how these control mechanisms impact the daily work of the local NGOs. By looking at daily practices of two local NGOs through an ethnographic approach in Jordan, this research mobilizes sociology of organizations’ conceptual approaches to shed light on the dynamics among actors through financing systems and artefacts, questioning the preconceived subordination of local NGOs to international organizations and donors.
From Neoliberalism to Orbán: Political Disaffection and Populism in Europe

Mert Kartal, Assistant Professor, Government, St. Lawrence University, New York, United States

What explains the rise of populist parties in Europe? The literature predominantly considers the negative economic effects of neoliberal policies adopted by established political parties on the middle class as the key cause. That is, the political establishment’s inability to offer any reasonable solution to worsening economic conditions is assumed to drive protest voting for anti-establishment parties. We identify the negative political impact of neoliberal policies as an equally important factor: By defining economic policy as a technical issue that requires special expertise, proponents of neoliberal policies effectively exclude “ordinary” people from participating in economic and political debates. In return, populist politicians have successfully framed the supporters of these neoliberal policies as “the corrupt elite.” Focusing on Central and Eastern Europe whose weaker economies and political institutions have been fertile ground for increasing populism, we employ an original dataset measuring the relative electoral success of populist parties in 11 EU-member countries in the region since 1990 and examine the conditions under which these parties are able to achieve electoral breakthroughs. Our analyses suggest that worsening economic conditions have a limited impact on the rise of populism as anti-establishment parties perform considerably well in elections during times of economic growth. Instead, the increase in perceived levels of corruption turns out to be the main determinant of populists’ electoral success. These findings are supported by case studies of various EU-member countries indicating that populist leaders successfully blame corruption on established political parties’ neoliberal policies and define themselves as “fighters for true democracy.”

Higher Education and the Establishment of Liberal Deliberative Norms

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Liberal democratic societies are increasingly rent by divisions correlated with level of education. Around the liberal democratic world, the norm of bounded competition is under threat, as political opponents no longer yield to the imperative of live-and-let live and accord the victor the requisite legitimacy to govern in the face of an unfavorable electoral outcome. To gain insight to this dynamic, we investigate the role of institutions of higher learning on the establishment and maintenance of the essential liberal norms of democratic deliberation. Using selected colleges and universities in Eastern Europe as case studies, we examine how these institutions reproduce democratic practices that are essential for the operation of liberal democracy. Owing to the almost concurrent transition to democracy among the states of the region, Eastern Europe provides a promising landscape to explore how the curriculums of these institutions promise to prepare graduates to promote mutual toleration across political difference and forbearance in the exercise of political power that Levitsky and Ziblatt identity as key liberal democratic norms. Through structured interviews and other means we ascertain the extent to which liberal arts college graduates in the transitioning democracies of Eastern Europe serve to facilitate and/or undermine the performance of the elite strata in protecting electoral integrity, promoting open debate, and working to filter out extreme candidates for office. The paper clarifies the role of institutions of higher learning in building habits of democratic practice and sustaining rules of deliberation.
How Are Skills Formed in Hierarchical Market Economies?: Institutional Arrangements in Malaysia and Thailand

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The aggregate of skills is without doubt a fundamental source of socio-economic progress, and the unprecedented structural changes of our time have accompanied heightened pressure for higher-level skills. Skills, however, are in large part the product of deliberate investment by a variety of actors including employers and states. Skills being influenced by the institutional context further suggests that as much as the forms and levels of skills are heterogeneous, skill formation systems and processes hugely differ by state. Therefore, we can assume that the national vocational education and training (VET) system is not developed in isolation merely within the educational domain, but rather shaped jointly by a state’s unique political-economic environment and various labour market dynamics. The divergent political economy of vocational skill formation has been rigorously examined focusing particularly on advanced capitalist economies. Both theoretical and empirical research on the political economy of skill formation of developing economies, however, is surprisingly scarce. The case study of Thailand and Malaysia, the most rapidly growing economies in Southeast Asia, shows that they share similar features of skill formation generally observed in a liberal skill regime in terms of the state’s emphasis on general education and low public commitment and passive involvement of firms in the development and management of initial VET. On the other hand, their institutional setup exhibits some distinctive features of hierarchical market-type skill formation as multinational enterprises play a significant role in the process of skill formation in initial vocational training in the first stages of employment career.

Changing the International System: Democratic Backsliding and Autocratic Control of the United Nations

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In its 2020 report, Freedom House stated that 2020 marked the 15th consecutive year that freedom and democracy declined globally, with the effects felt by almost 75% of the world’s populations, in both authoritarian regimes and democracies. Yet, instead of playing a leading role in stemming the tide of authoritarianism during this period, the United Nations has often stood to the side, failing to call out gross human rights abuses and illiberal policies. As the organs of the UN have remained largely silent on these issues, open UN seats and positions are increasingly being filled by authoritarian countries, and strong democracies that used to hold key positions within the UN are beginning to turn inward, grappling with ultranationalism and rejecting international organizations. As the linchpin of the liberal international order, the UN is designed to secure the integrity of international norms and laws. If autocratic countries increase their power in the political systems designed to hold them accountable, they could use these very systems to violate the spirit, laws, and norms held up by the United Nations, prohibiting the ability of the UN to secure a rules-based international order. Using UN elections data, Freedom House and V-Dem democracy scores, and outcomes of UN bodies, this study asks the question: amidst global democratic backsliding, how have authoritarian regimes utilized UN elections to monopolize and shape the agendas of UN bodies, defend their systems of governance, create an enabling environment for their actions, and contribute to the global rise of democratic backsliding?
Discussing the Challenges of Multilateralism: The Role of International Institutions and the New Global Governance

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The discussion on the contemporary challenges to multilateralism, its impacts on the globalization dynamics and the consequence of its eventual decay involves several aspects related to the Global Studies field. The debate concerning the role of the international institutions bring into scene many elements of the global governance and the revising process related to the multilateral institutions scope in the international system. This issue addresses to the emergent countries and their movement towards reviewing their participation in the international arena. At this point, the rising of China and the willingness of these intermediate countries (such as Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa) to revisit their insertion on global governance and international order, led to the conformation of the BRICS. Since 2009 these countries have been seeking to coordinate strategies and economic cooperation, aiming to reach a higher level of development accompanied by a repositioning in the international arena. Despite all differences between these countries, considering their common aspirations, which strategies are being promoted to open new paths considering the set of international institutions in force? How does these issues interfere in terms of the Global Governance sphere? Would the practice of “soft power” be relevant to conduce new dynamics in the international arena? From this perspective, this paper intends to discuss how to rethink the role of the multilateral institutions as an intermediary, by the International Political Economy approach – debating which kind of measures and shapes for the international organizations, would be suitable and fit better the contemporary challenges.
Stoning the State: The Pathalgadi Movement of Jharkhand, India as a Case Study in Messy Anti-globalization

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Since 2017, adivasi (South Asian Indigenous) communities in Jharkhand, India have put up large stone slabs known as pathals at their village entrances. These pathals reaffirm their independence from the Jharkhandi and Indian states and their opposition to the extraction of coveted resources on their lands by corporations and state authorities. Participating communities have established their own self-defense committees, banks, and schools, defying calls for assimilation through development. The Pathalgadi Movement, as it has become known, illustrates the complexities of contemporary anti-globalization: a far cry from the respectable professionalized trappings of the World Social Forum, it shows how Indigenous and otherwise oppressed populations across the world are combating the mounting crises of neoliberal extractivism, dispossession, and displacement and accompanying state repression and societal marginalization, at the same time as this resistance is replete with contradictions that could prove its undoing. This paper details the insights into messy anti-globalization offered by the Pathalgadi Movement. Drawing upon interviews with Jharkhandi activists and numerous news reports, it contends that the Movement emerged as a response to rampant neoliberal Hindu nationalism, embodying a collective alternative that Arturo Escobar describes in terms of ontological politics. Due in no small part to the Movement’s subversion of liberal rationality, Jharkhandi civil society has generally lagged behind its maneuvers, if not expressing open hostility to its militant reinterpretation of adivasi tradition. However, these maneuvers are not purely emancipatory: while useful for confounding state authorities, the Movement’s ideological amorphousness threatens to undermine the construction of a broader revolutionary project.

A Non-event: The Curious Case of Ratifying the African Women’s Rights Framework in Ethiopia

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Why did the Ethiopian government ratify the African Union’s Maputo Protocol 15 years after it had signed it, and why, once they had done it, did they tell no one? Constructivist accounts of women’s struggles discuss processes of translating international norms to local contexts, but rarely account for the intricacies of national politics. The case of Ethiopia shows that the reality of adopting a normative framework is immensely complex and contextual. This study contributes to an understanding of what happens to international norms in national political contexts. Based on qualitative interviews, the paper uses empirical data to understand how the interplay of international influence, political regime, dominant ideology and the content of the Maputo Protocol (Kang 2015) led to 15-years of contestation, and finally an ad hoc and quiet ratification of one of the most progressive women’s rights frameworks in the world. The paper argues that volatile politics explain the lengthy journey towards ratification and a long list of reservations, but also suggests that the actual ratification was little more than circumstantial.
How Promise Trackers Tools Influence Citizen’s Perceptions: A Conjoint Analysis

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During an electoral campaign, political parties make various promises that they undertake to fulfill once elected. Over the last decades, there has been a proliferation of more or less sophisticated tools making it possible to follow the pledge made during the campaigns, and, then their completion or not during the governance periods. Until now, there are 39 pledge tracking tools distributed across the globe. But what effect do these tools have on citizens’ perceptions of political parties and political institutions? Voting behavior theories offer some insight into citizens, taking into consideration of pledge fulfillment, but little by comparing it with other conventional variables of the funnel of causality and, above all, by isolating this factor. Using an experimental research design with a conjoint analysis, this study aims to measure the importance, for citizens, of the fulfillment of pledges by comparing it with several other factors that come into consideration when citizens evaluate a party. The results show that citizens attach great importance to the results of promise trackers and we call for more caution with regard to the methodologies inherent to these tools.

Changing Colors: Re-racialization as a Technology of Categorization

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Throughout the 20th Century, various groups and individuals have been re-racialized within the United States, often in ways that do not match group self-definitions. Both Asian and Latino immigrants encountering the racial regime of the US as well as white-passing groups such as those pejoratively called “Redbones,” “Melungeons,” and “Jackson Whites” have all experienced the profound destabilization that occurs alongside the redefinition of racial identity as Black, “ethnic,” or ambiguously “non-white.” This re-racialization is distinct from assimilation into already existing categories; it is rather a conscious attempt to assign meaning to populations on behalf of a variety of actors including corporations, media networks, and governmental agencies. This paper stems from my doctoral research into the selective and coercive nature of race as a technology of categorization and control. I consider the particular circumstances that lead to the redefinition of group racial categories, and the ways that groups and individuals have resisted and adapted to these attempts at re-categorization. In particular, the groups that form the bulk of my research have been marked as racially distinct in relation to strike violence, environmental pollution, and opposition to capitalist expansion. Implicated in this process are the contingent meanings of race across national and local contexts and the need to consider race as a process of categorization rather than a stable category across time and space.
In this workshop that addresses “vectors of society and culture,” we interrogate the meaning of “crisis” through examinations of Western-centric narratives and political definitions of crisis that erase the ongoing precarity and permanent crises of racialized and subjugated groups. We wish to question for whom, by whom, and where crisis is defined. Through transnational research spanning the US, France, and Greece, we will discuss examples that rupture the temporality of crisis as an exceptional moment of emergency. For example, the Covid pandemic is a global health crisis that has highlighted ongoing medical apartheid, economic and educational inequities, and the transnational lockdown of populations already immobilized due to war, siege, and border regimes. In the US, there is an imperial amnesia about crises overseas and the ravages of US-backed military interventions in places such as Yemen, now synonymous with “humanitarian crisis.” We will examine the racialized logics of hospitality and solidarity in the global “refugee crisis” and enactments of migrant solidarity and antiwar resistance that counter the humanitarian politics of “emergency.” The facilitators of this interactive session will briefly share their research in different sites on issues of displacement, resistance, solidarities, and counter-narratives that unsettle dominant notions of crisis. We will discuss how refugee, migrant, and diasporic communities resist the manufacturing of crisis through activism, digital storytelling, and reimagining belonging. After a brief framing, the facilitators will pose questions to engage participants in discussion and to elicit reflections on what crisis means in, and across, their own contexts and research settings.
Reading Refugee and Immigrant Protagonists in Children’s Literature: U.S. Undergraduate Students Examine Possible Shifts in Perspectives

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In college classrooms, topics such as immigration and the global refugee crisis can be labeled as “controversial” and thus difficult to engage in, especially when students are asked to call into question their own privileges they carry with them in society. Negative stereotypes can be brought implicitly into discussions unless students have the chance to explore narratives of marginalized people (especially migrant and refugee children) while also explicitly challenging and reflecting upon their own biases. “If we are to undo the racial inequities that continue to plague us, we must find constructive ways to talk about them and intervene constructively and consciously to end them” (Carter et al., 2017, p. 209). This study investigates how engaging in reading children’s literature may have altered students’ perceptions of the global refugee crisis and immigration policies to become better global citizens. Participants were unique in that they were undergraduate students from the United States enrolled in a semester-long study abroad program in Luxembourg, all from various majors enrolled in a children’s literature course. Texts included graphic novels, young adult literature, picturebooks, and self-selected titles centering protagonists seeking immigration or asylum as a refugee. Data are pre- and post-questionnaires, visual projects, and reflections. Findings include students’: 1) initial interpretations of who an “immigrant” or “refugee” is shifted pre-to-post experience; 2) empathy increased after putting themselves in the protagonists’ shoes (using literature as a “window”) (Bishop, 1990); and 3) appreciation of the urgency of the global situation in which the “refugee” protagonist fled their homeland.

Media, Globalization, and Human Integration: A Case Study of Taiwan’s Foreign Live-in Caregivers

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Taiwan is experiencing rapid population aging. The dependency ratio between working-age person and aged citizen is increasing dramatically. The ratio is predicted to rise to more than 45% by the mid-2030s. This means every three working-age persons will have to support one aged citizen by then. In addition to the potential economic burden, family members’ employment situations make it difficult to offer home-based care to their elders. Long-term elder care has become an urgent issue socially, economically, and politically in Taiwan. Responding to this social and economic demand, the government initiated a foreign live-in caregiver program in 1992. As of 2021, foreign live-in caregivers—mostly from the Philippines, Vietnam, and Indonesia—make up a large share of the more than 700,000 migrant workers in Taiwan. These caregivers usually sign 3-year contracts at a time and, therefore, become a quasi-member of the family. New patterns of family dynamics as well as social interaction ensue. Oscillating between the two ends of the continuum of cultural convergence and cultural hybridization, one can observe the emergence as well as the resistance of multiculturalism within the family unit and in society in general. This study examines how media reflect and cover this new social phenomenon in Taiwan and their potential in shaping public opinion of foreign workers and multiculturalism in Taiwan.
An Emerging Reactive Ethnicity Among 1.5- and Second-Generation Latinxs in Tennessee

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Emerging Latinx communities in the U.S. South provide rich case studies for examining the identity formation and group consciousness of children of Latin American immigrants. This paper explores the identities and sense of belonging of 1.5- and second-generation Latinxs who have come of age in Tennessee, a state in the U.S. South that has experienced a surge in immigration from Latin America. In-depth interviews with Latinxs who have grown up in Tennessee reveal how these individuals contemplate their identities in relation to questions of belonging to (and within) U.S. society. A shift towards developing a reactive ethnicity is evident as Latinxs convey how perceived interpersonal discrimination coupled with recent national and local anti-immigrant policies drive ethnic group solidarity. These factors influence individual life choices and encourage participation in social activism. Such reactions potentially have long-term sociopolitical ramifications for local host societies in the Southern United States.

Locating the ‘Global’ in Singapore’s Smart Nation Initiative: Technology in Public Imaginings of Singapore

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In his seminal 1972 ‘global city’ speech, Singapore’s Foreign Minister S. Rajaratnam argued that the world was Singapore’s economic hinterland. Since then, the ‘global city’ has become an integral component of Singapore’s self-identity. Indeed, it has been noted that Rajaratnam’s vision prefigured the later development of academic ‘global city’ concepts. However, in recent years, this identity has had to share public discursive space with Singapore’s Smart Nation initiative. The latter has become no less dominant in Singapore’s self-image than older longstanding identities. This paper interrogates the intersection and the tensions between Singapore’s Smart Nation initiative and its ‘global city’ identity. At the same time, this paper hopes to shed some light on the degree of overlap between the broader ‘smart city’ and ‘global city’ concepts. There is not much literature at present that specifically interrogates the intersection between the ‘smart city’ and ‘global city’ concepts. But this intersection is worth exploring for the very simple reason that there could be tensions between the multiple goals and self-images pursued by ambitious cities. For example, it has been shown that the ‘smart city’ concept does not completely map onto the ‘sustainable city’ concept. The pursuit of one particular urban objective may thus work to the detriment of the pursuit of another. Finally, this paper also highlights the value of allowing history to inform attempts to determine the degree and the nature of the intersection and the tensions between the ‘smart city’ and the ‘global city’ concepts.
Oral Testimonies of Partition Survivors - Decolonization and Migration

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The year is being celebrated as the 75th year of India’s independence. India’s triumphant moment of decolonization however remains forever marred by the tragedy of Partition. More than 14 million people were displaced from lands they had inhabited for millennia and over 2 million lives were estimated to have perished in the process of the migration journey and the ensuing ethnic violence. While macro-political studies of Partition have been undertaken, micro-level effects of partition on refugees have remained largely unnoticed. In this study, oral history interviews collected through online questionnaire and focused interview of 75 witnesses of 15th August 1947 are examined and an account of their migration is interpreted by descriptive analysis methods. This paper reflects an understanding of the phenomenon of migration through a South Asian perspective and documents sociological, cultural, economic, and personal dimensions of one of the largest forced migration events in the history of humankind. While the hastily executed cartographic fragmentation of India left a deep imprint of uncertainty about the migrant’s statehood, despite tremendous hardship, the testimonies of the partition refugees reaffirm a shared conviction in a democratic society endowed with civil liberties.

Standardized English, Global Englishes, and Education: Impacts and Empathy

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Although language is codified by grammar and style books, it is not bound by these books. However, many tend to conceptualize languages as bound systems, typically defined by national and state boundaries. Yet language is a fluid, living thing; therefore, a global lens embraces a heteroglossic ideology, where languages aren’t seen as bound systems belonging to nation states. This paper considers how institutions, such as education, can adopt a global perspective on the English language. We share data collected on the topics of Global Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca delivered in a 10th-grade classroom at an International School in the U.S. The data illustrate how this curriculum productively complicated students’ understanding of global language standards and the use of English in global spaces. Our results show an increase in student recognition of the negative impacts of standard English on global languages and cultures; and yet, curiously, we also observed a parallel increase in students’ desire for everyone to use a standard lingua franca in their daily and professional lives. After exploring the multidimensional spaces of Global Englishes, we argue that critical empathy needs to play a larger role in understanding the spread of English, even outside of educational contexts. Rather than using a lens of traditional empathy, which may be uncritical and unconscious, we will consider empathy as translation. Such empathy examines the social, political, and historical contexts in which English moves through the world.
Anti-globalization Ideas in the Eurasianist and Ultra-patriotic Camp in Russia

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The USSR, which promoted the ideas of social justice (the de facto impossibility of making money for creative individuals) and the brotherhood of all nations, collapsed at the end of 1991. It happened after the significant efforts of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe to break out of this paradise of equality and fraternity and the finding of the command economy’s inherent inefficiency. In spite of the shift towards a free market and demoliberal orientation in domestic and international politics it was in the early 1990s that the resentment toward Fukuyama’s predictions began to operate in Russia and some neighboring countries. Several ideologists of obvious post-Soviet links, such as Alexandr Prokhanov or Alexandr Dugin began to contest the new reality putting forward the ideas of a new empire and the necessity to fight the liberal “mondialism”, the idea of globalization based on free movement of people, capital and ideas. The most influential trend is by all means Dugin’s Neo-Eurasianism, which generated the doctrine of a universal struggle with the West in the name of the balance between the conservative (Eurasian) Continent and the Atlantic forces, victorious in the Cold War and representing progress understood in terms of triumphant democracy and free market. Today’s Russian militarism is a desperate attempt to prevent globalization on American terms and replace it by a world dominated by several polars of power conducted by ideologically formatted autocracies.

Populist Authoritarianism: The Rise of Trump and Erdogan

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Even though there are many differences between U.S and Turkish politics, current leaders of these countries have various similarities. Specifically, today both are leaders of highly polarized societies. In this paper I address the following question: Are these two leaders the causal factors in creating polarization or are they the consequences of polarization that is already present in respective societies? In order to understand this question, it is important to analyze why people of these two different cases elected their respective politicians. In this study, using Mill’s most different systems method, I argue that preceding economic crisis, grievance based politics and outsider status might be strong factors that resulted in a shift from class-based politics to value-based politics in both countries, leading to the elections of Donald Trump and Recep Tayyip Erdogan. I also argue that value-based politics tend to overlap with populist authoritarian policies, which further the polarization of the respective societies.
**Postsocialist Dreams: Women’s Personal and Collective Struggle for Liberation in the South Caucasus**

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This project considers the “Lost Generation” of women who lived under the Soviet Union and survived its collapse—only to face new challenges in independent republics like Georgia. It concerns their personal, collective, and national dreams of freedom, and analyzes whether the political and social freedom that was brought about through their tremendous political efforts delivered true liberation. I employ the term “Lost Generation” to refer to women who spent most of their childhood and adulthood in the USSR, and then after its breakup found that their communist education, working experience and other skills and values had become irrelevant. My project offers an alternative feminist interpretation of postsocialism as a mobile force and concept that disrupts the static idea that global neoliberal capitalism is the only realistic outcome of postsocialism. This research project focuses on the lives of those women and the gendered dynamics between the state’s patriarchal dreams of domination (USSR) versus dreams of female empowerment (new democracies such as Georgia and Armenia). I argue that the experiences of post-Soviet women living in Georgia provide a microcosm of a new set of political conditions that they have been forced to contend with since the 1990s. This includes national (democracy) and related to that the emergence of a regional South Caucasus identity (development) and new international (globalization) challenges and processes.

**From Epigraph to Epitaph: Graffiti as Cultural and National Defacement in Exarchia, Thessaloniki, and Messolonghi’s Garden of Heroes**

Jonathan Gross, Professor, English, DePaul, United States

This paper explores the desecration of Jewish tomb stones in Thessaloniki during World War II and its relationship to the construction of national memory in Messolonghi’s garden of heroes. Drawing on Devin Naar and Mark Mazower’s historical account of the expansion of Aristotle University, the essay argues that Jewish Hellenism’s effacement bears similarities to issues explored in Basquiat’s “Defacimento”, a graffiti work honoring the death of Michael Stewart. The sanitizing of political violence is exposed by defaced epitaphs, forms of writing that help explain the construction of national memory after the collapse of the Ottoman empire.

**The Social Ontology of Fraser’s Theory of Boundary Crises**

Pat Hope, Graduate Student Worker, Philosophy, Stanford University, California, United States

My paper is dedicated to clarifying the structural roots of contemporary social crises in the hope that it will help empower us to build that movement. To do so, I draw Nancy Fraser’s critical theory of capitalist society. I begin by presenting her theory of capitalism as an institutionalized social order composed of five interdependent spheres and subject to inter-sphere boundary crises. I then consider a limitation of Fraser’s theory: that it does not explain why the non-economic spheres are constitutive of but necessarily external to, the productive economy. In response, I develop Fraser’s ontology of capitalist to explain why the economic sphere presupposes, and yet necessary stands in tension with, its non-economic background conditions.
The New Geography of Surveillance: Social Media, the Internet, and Digital Power

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The term surveillance denotes monitoring in order to gather data and information on the behaviours and activities of targeted individuals and groups. However, in today’s digitally-connected world surveillance is no longer the exclusive domain of those with power and advanced technology. Members of the public now regularly upload photographic and audio-visual images and make them available to online audiences. And today individuals are under surveillance as never before through ownership of mobile phones and laptops, leading to what Shoshana Zuboff refers to as ‘surveillance capitalism’, a new economic order that appropriates and archives human experience as free raw material for hidden commercial practices of extraction, prediction and sales. Data has value both because of its predictive power and because it can shape the behaviours of individuals; what they will purchase and how they will vote. This research examines some of the new geographies of surveillance that have emerged through data collection and algorithmic analysis. The case studies presented include the influence on voters in the United Kingdom and the United States and the work of the citizens’ group Bellingcat. The paper considers the ramifications of the Internet for personal privacy and examines the asymmetry of power between citizens and the Internet tech giants. The Internet companies and others who gather data know plenty about us, which gives them the power to influence our behaviour, but we know nothing on how this data is gathered and used.

Tropology of the Imaginary Left in Lithuanian Alt-right Discourse

Karolis Jonutis, Post-doctoral Researcher, Sociology, Klaipėda University, Alytaus Apskritis, Lithuania

In Lithuania alt-right political discourse there is an emerging tendency to describe left wing (or everything that alt-right understands as a left wing) in derogatory manner, hereby exposing “it’s true ideological meaning” like Liberal Marxism, Cultural Marxism, Euro Communism and etc. The aim of this presentation is to show scenarios of how this imaginary enemy is constructed. The theoretical model of the research is based on the combination of Erving Goffman’s frame analysis and Ernesto Laclau’s discourse analysis, while the distinction of Left and Right is conceptualized using analysis of Norberto Bobbio’s theory. The material for the research was taken from Lithuanian alt-right internet portals. The result is various categories and sub-categories of the attributes ascribed to the left-wing, ranging from ideological characteristics (genderism, neomarxism…) to personal ones like greed or Soviet nostalgia. These articulated discourse elements then form certain distinct scenarios depending on the context or issue.
Mapping the Transnational in African Women’s Activism: Moving from Margin to Multiple Centers

M. Bahati Kuumba, Professor and Associate Director, Comparative Women’s Studies, Women’s Research and Resource Center, Spelman College, Georgia, United States

This paper explores the liberatory impact of African/African diasporan women’s transnational activism across time and space and in its multiple forms and expressions. Despite a radical tradition of autonomous linkages across national, ethnic, and continental borders, the transformational power of African women’s global resistance to oppression often “slips through the cracks” in the narratives of pan-African, anti-imperialist, and global women’s activism. This study emphasizes excavating and integrating lessons from the multiple centers of African women’s organizing across borders.

The Crimean Crisis, Lycanthropy, and the “Russian Bear” in Prosper Mérimée’s Horror Tale Lokis

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On February 26, 2022, The Observer published a cartoon entitled “The Russian Bear Advances on Kyiv.” The 2022 invasion of Ukraine was preceded by Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014. This war over contested land and ethnic affiliations evokes the memory of an earlier war, a major crisis over borderlands in the mid 19th century that contained the roots of the present conflict—the Crimean War of 1853-1856. In 1869, French writer Prosper Mérimée wrote Lokis, a tale mixing vampirism with lycanthropy, which he read out loud to the Empress Eugenie and her friends. In Lokis, a Lithuanian aristocrat, Count Michael Szémioth, is revealed to be half-man, half-bear. The story connects Szémioth’s violence with the violence at Sevastopol in Crimea. I argue that Mérimée’s tale is a brilliant twist on the image of the “Russian Bear” which emerged in the media during the Crimean War in the lithographs of Honoré Daumier, and in Punch in Britain. The intertwined motifs of linguistics and lycanthropy in Lokis raise questions about the limits of the human, the connections between language, hybridity and violence, and the territorial conflicts between Turkey, Poland-Lithuania and Russia. My paper asks: how does the transformation of Count Szémioth in Lokis reimage the political and cultural aftermath of the Crimean crisis and Russia’s drive to “Christianize” the region, as a result of the Russo-Turkish wars? How do the ramifications of this crisis continue to haunt us today as Russia attempts to build a “bridge” to the Crimea through Mariupol?
Social Media and Social Movements

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This paper offers research findings in social media use and political impact. It presents and assesses #BlackLivesMatter as a current instance of reliance on social media activism. Drawing from successful social movements, three ingredients for successful democratic social change are offered: mass action, participatory democracy in organization decisions, and political independence from established power.

The Archaeology of Colonialism at Fort Mose: Forging Freedom Through Practice

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Fort Mose was the first legally-sanctioned free black community in North America. The Spanish governor of Florida guaranteed the legal freedom of self-emancipated Africans and African-Americans if they converted to Catholicism, built and occupied a fort on the frontier of St. Augustine, and fought against Spanish enemies. These soldiers created a multicultural community of African, African-American, and indigenous families. This paper analyzes archaeological evidence and historical documents to investigate the daily practices people used to enact their freedoms in a location and time where those freedoms were contested.

Urban Development under Authoritarianism: Case Studies of Engagement in Urban Transformation in Kazakhstan

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Activism in authoritarian countries conjures images of crowded streets and clashes with police. However, as encroachments on civil liberties increase across the world, movement towards effective change can be made in quieter spaces through targeted initiatives. Issue focused activism is occurring in urban spaces in Kazakhstan responding to centralized urban development schemes and local issues such as residential displacement, historic preservation, transportation accessibility, and green space preservation. Successful civic activism in Kazakhstan’s cities sharply contrasts with the concurrent arrests and detainment of protestors in the streets. This study focuses on the mechanisms of change by asking: how do civic activists in Kazakhstan impact urban development processes and outcomes under authoritarianism? Political participation scholarship has deemed participation at the urban level inconsequential “low politics” with no expected impact on national political culture or policy. However the close connection between politics at the urban and national levels under a centralized system provides a unique and rapid feedback loop between these spheres. This study examines citizen impact in urban development through a multiple case study comparison of development projects in three cities in Kazakhstan: Almaty, Nur-Sultan, and Shymkent. Drawing from interviews, participant observation and archival review conducted over three years, this study examines urban development processes and outcomes to uncover the mechanisms enabling citizen’s impact on development. Preliminary results show that in the absence of civic and political freedoms, citizen are creating their own venues for participation, establishing themselves as legitimate participants in policy implementation processes and transforming state-society relations.
Lives in Transit: Subaltern Transnationals and Indian Circus

Nisha Poyyaprath Rayaroth, Fulbright Postdoctoral Fellow, Yale MacMillan Centre, Yale University, Connecticut, United States

This paper explores two significant happenings in India and Africa in two different periods, split by nearly one hundred years. Malabar region in the Southwest coast of the Indian subcontinent witnessed the emergence of circus kalaris (training centres) in the early twentieth century, from where women, men and youngsters from different communities got trained and went on to become renowned artistes in various companies around the world. This ‘new’ and ‘modern’ physical culture and the radical recasting of the body in a place where caste system imposed cruel restrictions of access to other bodies in terms not just in touch but even visibility and hearing was definitely one of the most significant historical moments in the subcontinent. In the second part, I look at the formation of several circus schools across East African countries such as Tanzania, Kenya and Ethiopia by the end of the twentieth century. I examine the various trajectories of inequality, labour, livelihood and dignity that have set in motion these transnational voyages of itinerant physical cultures and bodies to think through the global web of non-governmental capital, colonial, and postcolonial states and policy production in the Global South.

Transatlantic Masculine Identities between the Refugee Crisis, Covid, and the War in Ukraine

Johann JK Reusch, Associate Professor, Social and Historical Studies, University of Washington, Washington, United States

The post-WW II peace effort initiated a cultural shift that aimed to downplay identity politics tied to nationalism and masculinity. The European response to the Russian invasion of the Ukraine appears to have reversed these efforts radically. With a focus on Germany, this paper argues that the point of “epochal turn,” as the German Chancellor has coined it, had occurred already slowly through sociocultural developments that can be linked hegemonically to aggressive populist developments in the US where they culminated in the forceful occupation of the Capitol. Related public abandonment of normative nonviolent forms of communication in the US, intersecting with xenophobia and ethnic discrimination, and aggressive resistance to vaccination policies, influenced and transformed German ideals of male identity in the public sphere beyond populist groups. It simultaneously established public displays of aggressive behaviour that reverberated with the equally aggressive culmination of Russian and US rhetoric and foreign policy, and Ukrainian nationalism. Situating the argument in a framework of masculinity studies, a changing perception across the gender spectrum of transatlantic male identity ideals emerges as a foundation for popular support of European engagement beyond merely humanitarian support of the Ukraine.
Fostering Intercultural Competence Among Undergraduate Students: Course Design for Growth

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Tertiary education can provide students with experience with and understanding about other cultures, toward the goal of intercultural competence (ICC). This investigation examined the impact of two undergraduate courses on students’ ability to understand and adapt their behavior to cultural differences. The two courses were: (1) Introduction to Critical Race Theory (CRT) and (2) Human Relations in a Multicultural Society (HRMS). Researchers reviewed archived data of students’ scores on the Intercultural Development Inventory during the Fall 2021 semester. The hypotheses included: (1) students who completed the CRT course (called CRT group) will begin the HRMS course at a higher developmental stage of ICC compared to students who did not complete the CRT course (called non-CRT group) and (2) students who completed the CRT course will make larger gains in their ICC during the HRMS course compared to the non-CRT group. Data analysis found statistically a significant difference between groups at the beginning of the HRMS course (Hypothesis 1). In other words, the CRT course may have had a statistically significant impact on students. Analysis also found that there was no statistically significant difference between groups by the conclusion of the HRMS course (Hypothesis 2). The initial difference between groups seems to have dissipated; the non-CRT group caught up with the CRT group. The investigators report course instructional strategies that may have led to this development. Universities may use this information to consider the effectiveness of course design for growth in ICC among undergraduate students.

Impact of COVID-19 on Education: A Case Study of Dalit Children in India

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The pandemic has exacerbated inequalities in educational access and attainment and has even made them more visible. Online learning during the pandemic did not compensate for a large number of children, especially among the socially and educationally disadvantaged. While many such children eventually fell behind their counterparts in regular study and reading ability due to online education, some also ended up dropping out of school to take up jobs to support their families to mitigate their pandemic-induced crisis. This paper looks into pervasive inequalities brought about by globalization in the social and cultural differences in India. This paper analyzes the case study of Dalits, a group that has historically suffered from severe social, economic, political and cultural discrimination. Data and information are collected from various reports prepared by the national and international agencies on the COVID-19 pandemic, journals and e-contents relating to the impact of COVID-19 on the educational system. Too much reliance on digital education creates new means of social exclusion, thus making space for a new class. While the provision of infrastructure and digital connectivity is important, digital inequality is an intersectional problem. Weberian Cultural Perspective focuses on how ownership and use of digital assets define an elite lifestyle thereby excluding others. The highest adult education in a household, caste, and also the primary source of income of household differentiate the digital ownership and use. Overall, digital ownership and usage are significantly different for different socio-economic groups in India.
It’s Ideology, Stupid: How Capitalism Co-opts Education to Systematize Poverty

Todd Stewart, Student, Ph.D., Kansas State University, Kansas, United States

In this integrative literature review, I interrogate how capitalism co-opts education to systematize poverty. I utilize a unique methodological combination of critical history, critical pedagogy, and personal narrative to investigate the following research questions: 1. How does capitalism co-opt education to maintain the socio-economic status quo and systematize poverty? 2. How might social foundations of education (SFE) reverse the status quo and prepare educators to engage social inequities such as poverty? I pressed my research questions upon a diverse range of historical-scholarly texts and uncovered the primary perpetrator of poverty’s systematization is capitalistic education’s ideologically driven meritocratic construction of commonsense in which the capitalism-democracy marriage, the cult of standardization, and the neoliberal marketization of everything are all deemed normative. I also discovered that SFE’s roots as an academic discipline focus on the inequitable ideological impact of capitalism put it in a unique position to address and redress these systemic inequities.
The Crisis of Democracy in the New Cold War

Daniel Benson, Assistant Professor, Interdisciplinary Studies, St. Francis College, New York, United States

Whether or not the analogy is apt, it is difficult to avoid characterizing the relationship between the U.S. and China as one of a “New Cold War.” Unlike the previous Cold War characterized by the conflict between socio-economic systems of capitalism and communism, the New Cold War is characterized by the political binary of “democracy” vs. “authoritarianism.” Indeed, defending and defining democracy is one of the main fronts of the ideological battle, as the recent U.S.-led “Summit for Democracy” and the counter-summit from Chongyang Institute entitled Ten Questions for American Democracy reveal. The following study sets out to establish three points. First, the inherent association of democracy with legitimate government is a relatively recent one (dating to the late nineteenth century). Western Enlightenment thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau made no such association. Secondly, democratic governments are fast losing legitimacy with the increasing electoral success of populist/nationalist/xenophobic political formations, from the U.S., to Europe, to India and Brazil; and with abstention rates winning most democratic elections across the world. Thirdly, the actual track record of democratic governments has been less than stellar, given the patent failures of U.S.-led nation-building efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan, or Haiti, or the human rights abuses committed by India or Israel, among other democracies. I conclude my paper by arguing that the democracy/authoritarian binary is inherently unstable, and singularly unhelpful for understanding the current restructuring of the global political and economic system characterized by the rise of China.

The Emergence of Post-Neoliberalism in India’s Socio-political Landscape: Enlightenment from an International Perspective

Debasish Das, Student, Ph.D., Central University of Kerala, Kerala, India

From the onset of liberalization policies in India in 1991, Indian leaders throughout the following years could not have predicted that neoliberalism’s encroachment would penetrate so deep to the extent of turning Indian societies into a large number of hollow, morally regressive, and, programmed political units based on market-led policy mechanisms. However, this overarching progress has been struck abruptly by the recent COVID-19 pandemic that suddenly left open to the domestic population and the world at large the hidden and steady encroachment of the state on the market-led policy system that was being performed delicately with the help of gradual centralization, the rise of inflation, media control, hates speech promotion, encouraging communal disharmony among others in order to restore state control. This paper attempts to interrogate the reasons for a gradual shift from a market-led policy preference to the state-led mechanization of a market-based system which, in fact, remained ineffective, divisive, and discriminatory in the Indian socio-political context. Drawing from the examples of Latin American, North American, and European political developments post the failures of neoliberal policies, the paper identifies how India also has been and is going through the post-neoliberal phase.
European Integration, Gramscian Hegemony, and Public Goods: The Challenging Dialectical Social Identity Dynamics of the Construction of a Supranational European Self-Identity Community

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The provision of public goods is closely tied to the concept of hegemony. A hegemon provides public goods. This hegemonic power domestically in the ideal-typical case is the sovereign state. Internationally the regional or global hegemon provides public goods. International hegemony is benign if it is perceived as associating with the affirmation of national self-determination to contribute to a supranational liberal political and economic community, e.g., the European Union. The EU’s supranational institutions constitute its political representation, with the EU not being perceived by the modal EU citizenry as a cloak for German neo-colonialism. International hegemony is benign if the public goods it is functionally viewed as providing allow for social creativity strategies among the nation state member components, i.e., the national components are different in their features and contributions, but equal in status. Exploitation of these social creativity opportunities permit individual social mobility into the supranational European identity of liberal and economic values. Public health is a public good and the Covid-19 pandemic illuminates the necessity of global institutional infrastructure to provide it, which requires appealing to a global public. The existing institutional infrastructure around which confronting the pandemic coalesces provide utilitarian economic and participation opportunities to utilize state obligations and capacities to engage in social creativity. State authorities promote congruent utilitarian opportunity structures emerging around the coordination of national and global policies to confront Anthropocene climate change. The instability of international hegemony from reliance on scapegoating a common foe radically problematizes the construction of a supranational community identity.
Post-truth Politics Culture: Lab Leak Theory and Narrative Battle between the US and China

Angie Hesham, Student, PhD International Relations and Maritime Security Studies, University of Hull, Bradford, United Kingdom

New information platforms, robust muckraking, and cross-border publics are among the compelling social and political tendencies of our time. It is claimed that the revolution is beset by politically threatening contradictions and decadent counter-trends. One of these alarming developments is the shift to a world of post-truth politics. Promoting the Lab leak theory hypes a global China threat and aims towards undermining the Chinese communist government. To perpetuate US hegemony and undermine China global stance as a responsible player whose unprecedented economic heft has astonished the world. Bob Woodward last book on Trump, in which Trump conceded that Xi had spoken to him early and warned him of the dangers as opposed to Trump public characterization of China misleading the US on the severity of the outbreak, which Trump then escalated to the outlandish claim that this was deliberate bioweapons attack on the US and him personally One can ascribe the lab leak theory to the emerging post-pandemic theory of post-truth politics which aims to amass and shape the public option using the media. One can point to how well-practised culture war tactics used with impunity by competing US factions as well as competing media, have taken root in America’s us vs them anti-China narratives. These developments permeate the fractured American psyche in the era of US decline and particularly after devastating governance failures associated with the pandemic. The focus is on the narrative battle over COVID-19 that has escalated between two competing major powers China and the US.

New Regional Responses to New Global Challenges

Brendan Howe, Dean and Professor of International Relations, Graduate School of International Studies, Ewha Womans University, Seoul Teugbyeolsi [Seoul-T'ukpyolsi], South Korea

The global impacts of climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the humanitarian crisis of refugee and forced migration flows, have demonstrated that old, state-centric models of peacebuilding and development are insufficient to address the contemporary threat environment. These non-traditional security (NTS) issues pose additional challenges to policymakers in East Asia (both Northeast and Southeast), a region dominated by traditional state-centric approaches, and overshadowed by conflictual legacies. These challenges have also, however, given an opportunity to actors which are little regarded in the traditional paradigms, including small and medium-ranked powers, NGOs, and representatives of civil society. Furthermore, new policy platforms related to good governance, human security, sustainable development, the responsibility to protect (R2P), and the humanitarian-development-peace nexus (HDPN) are increasingly prominent. This paper advocates disruptive policy innovation, through a form of regional international commission driven by East Asian middle powers and civil society organisations (CSOs) engaging in track 1 and track 2 diplomacy, to address the new global challenges.
Crisis as Inspiration to Create New Ideas

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Anna Citkowska Kimla, Associate Professor, Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University, Malopolskie, Poland

The aim of the study is to show the crisis as an inspiration to create new ideas. The area of research is political thought. The argumentation for the hypothesis that the crisis may inspire the creation of new concepts will be carried out on the example of political theories from antiquity to the 21st century. Some examples: Socrates and Plato (crisis of Athenian democracy); Thomas Hobbes (crisis of absolutism); the political philosophy of Edmund Burke, Alexis de Tocqueville and the French theocrats – Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald (crisis caused by the French Revolution); Carl Schmitt’s concept (crisis of the Weimar Republic, parliamentarism); Hannah Arendt’s political philosophy (crisis of democracy and the emergence of totalitarianism); Slavoj Žižek (crisis of liberal democracy). The main part of the considerations focus on the identification and talking over the attitudes adopted by political thinkers towards the crisis in the political sphere and on showing the inspiring aspects of the crisis. It is worth emphasizing that the chosen thinkers represent various political options – from right-wing to left-wing.

Genesis and Causes of Insurgency in Mizoram: A Critical Analysis

Thelma Lalhmingthangi, Student, Ph. D Scholar, National Institute of Technology, Mizoram, Mizoram, India

Due to the outbreak of underground Mizo National Front (MNF) in midnight of 28th February 1966, Mizoram was brutally injured in its development which lasted for almost two decades. It had disturbed not only the general administration but also the development exercises as a whole. To counter insurgency, measures of grouping of villages was adopted which further exacerbated the socio-economic conditions of Mizoram. The Mizos had engaged in physical encounter for independence in 1947 itself. But the agreement of the onset of modernity in the Mizo hills caused them to be captivated in Indian Union. But a decade of lack of interest and marginalization by India developed in the alienation of the Mizos. The insurgency found expression after the neglect of the Mizos during the 1959 Famine. The political consciousness of the Mizos before independence of India and the feeling of discontent in political field was of prime importance in the context of insurgency. The present paper focuses mainly on the genesis and the factors determining the causes of insurgency in Mizoram. The paper is mainly based on secondary data and information which is collected from various books, journals, newspaper, and magazines and internet sources.
Regional instability in Central America caused by poverty, corruption, and gang violence has led to an influx of migration to the United States in recent years. The US’ outdated immigration system is unable to keep up with such a heavy flow of migration, so finding solutions to create regional stability is of key importance. This research project proposes a future-hunter approach that focuses on five areas of importance to regional stability: culture, security, economy, technology, and strategic partnerships. To address the issues of corruption, gang violence, and poverty, we suggest working with churches, schools, and other local organizations to harness the collectivist tendencies of Central American communities to promote stability in the family unit as well as the community as a whole. Police reform is also necessary to combat corruption, improve regional security, and re-instill trust in the systems meant to protect people. Addressing infrastructure issues is also important for increasing stability in the region, particularly sanitation infrastructure. Promoting education can help address problems in all these areas. All the problems outlined in the various areas of this report are interconnected, and solutions cannot focus solely on one area. These proposed solutions, over time, can help to build a more prosperous Central America.
Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: The Strategic Rationale of Vaccine Donations

Zhengqi Pan, Senior Lecturer, Business, Singapore University of Social Sciences, Singapore

As Covid-19 continues to ravage the world, countries scramble to secure vaccine supplies. Within this frenzy, some countries have emerged as donors of vaccines – beyond the COVAX initiative – albeit their motivations are unlikely to be purely altruistic. Under what conditions do countries donate Covid-19 vaccines to another country? More broadly, how is the donor-recipient vaccine network structured? This paper argues that donor countries have strategic political and economic incentives to provide vaccine doses to carefully selected recipient countries. Notably, these donations not only constitute targeted diplomatic efforts in times of crisis but are also important to safeguard strategic trading partners that would in turn affect the donors. Examining a novel up-to-date dataset comprising 17822 observations across 134 countries, and leveraging the Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM), this paper finds strong support for the formation of donor-recipient ties between robust trading partners. Moreover, political homophily effects are also significant, where donor countries tend to target recipients with similar political culture and regime. However, given supply shortages, coupled with the highly targeted nature of vaccine donations, triadic closures are not salient in the network. This paper contributes to the structural analysis of Covid-19 vaccine networks through political and economic lens.

THE COVID-19 Pandemic and the Questioning of the Principle of the Human Development Index: An Overview

Shonal Rath, Student, Research, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Haryana, India

The Covid19 epidemic has wreaked havoc and affected nearly all economic and social activities across the world, in addition to its destructive and fatal impacts. As a result, estimates for global economic growth have been lowered downward. Furthermore, the pandemic scenario has pushed scientific study in new areas in order to discover answers to the new problems that have arisen as a result of the virus. We have questioned the idea of calculating the human development index (HDI) in this context while providing new assessment criteria judged useful and compatible with pandemic conditions to evaluate sub-dimensional development indicators pertaining to health, education, and income. As a result, we have shown that the environmental dimension is necessary for measuring the progression of the HDI, allowing us to offer a novel HDI calculation formula.
The 2001 G8 meeting held in Genoa, Italy, arguably represented a turning point in the history of what was widely known as the “anti-globalization” movement, as it would be both its peak and, in many ways, its swansong. While much has been said about the widespread police brutality which led Amnesty International to call the event “the most serious suspension of democratic rights in a Western country since the Second World War,” much less attention has been devoted to the study of how the media contributed to the discursive construction and interpretation of Genoa’s events. The paper therefore sets out to critically analyze the discourse of opinion articles and editorials from four major, mainstream newspapers (the Corriere della sera, The New York Times, Le Monde, and the Frankfurter Allgemeine), each from a different Western country, published between July 19 and July 25, 2001, to assess how the concept of globalization, the protesters, and the movement were represented therein. In spite of differences in the amount and kind of attention that the four newspapers devoted to the issue, the findings indicate general, cross-national tendencies to banalize and dismiss the protests and their critique of neoliberal globalization, while foregrounding the episodes of violence and mainly blaming the protesters for them, in a clear example of what has come to be known as the protest paradigm. I argue that this discursive work contributed to discrediting the movement and rejecting the idea that “another world is possible,” ultimately causing its disappearance from public discourse.
Drivers of Entrepreneurship: The Role of Education in Latin American Countries

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David Benson, Student, Data Analytics, Utah Valley University, Utah, United States
Angela Schill, Associate Professor, Organizational Leadership, Utah Valley University, United States
Ryan Schill, Professor, Marketing and Entrepreneurship, Utah Valley University, Utah, United States
Ronald Miller, Associate Professor, Theatre Arts, McDaniel College

Entrepreneurship is associated with economic growth in developed countries. Education level, however, has different impacts on entrepreneurship. In some contexts, it has a negative impact due to educated individuals having greater job choice and awareness of risks and challenges in establishing a business. In other cases, low levels of education may drive the pursuit of entrepreneurship out of necessity. Using Global Entrepreneurship Monitor data from 2016, this research sought to determine the role of education and related factors in entrepreneurial motivation. The study focused on the following Latin American countries: Panama, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, Brazil, Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Belize. Extending current research on entrepreneurship in the Latin American context, specifically related to opportunity and necessity motivations, the current study examined household income, education level, and work status. Findings indicate that higher levels of education corresponded with greater likelihood to pursue entrepreneurship out of opportunity. Similarly, individuals who were employed full time, homemakers, or students were more likely to be nascent entrepreneurs than those who were unemployed or had low levels of education. Income levels were also associated with entrepreneurship. The higher the level of income, the more likely individual were to pursue entrepreneurship out of opportunity. The study provides insights into factors driving entrepreneurial motivations in developing countries.

Equality of Opportunism: Citizenship, Capitalism, and the Secret Success of the Far-Right

Rachel Cremona, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Studies, Associate Director, Honors Program, Humanities, Flagler College, United States

The purpose of this research is to suggest that the rise of the far-right in the contemporary politics of established Western democracies (specifically Western Europe and the US) is not at all reminiscent of the occidental ideology of early twentieth century fascism. On the contrary, it will be argued that while the West’s far-right parties build much of their strength on the same prejudices and fears that were exploited by their predecessors, they have adapted themselves ingeniously to the 21st century and the cause of global capitalism. In fact, the new European Right, like the new American Right, utilizes first and foremost the rhetoric of freedom in pursuit of its goals. While long considered the ideological utopia of modern Liberal Democratic states, the promise of ‘freedom’ has historically also proven to be the most useful weapon of corporate, capitalist exploitation. It is ‘freedom’ then that has facilitated the evolution of far-right right parties as key players in the defense and re-entrenchment of a Neo-Liberal World Order under threat.
Latin American Development from Populism to Neopopulism: A Multidisciplinary Perspective

Magda von der Heydt, retired, Sociology, Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, United States

The research analyses patterns of development in Latin America from the mid–twentieth century through the first decades of the twenty-first century through successive waves of its historical processes. Based on similar patterns of development, this book examines: populism, military dictatorships, democratic neoliberalism, and neopopulism. This research analyses the general trends, scrutinizing paradigmatic cases. Employing a world systems perspective, the book discloses the effects of foreign influences upon Latin America by examining the roles of successive hegemonic countries—England, the Unites States and most recently China. Thus, the book shows both the forest and the trees. The question of development runs like a common thread throughout the periods covered in the book. The book answers the complex question of why Latin American countries, blessed with a bounty of natural resources and capable of industrialization, could not escape their role as producers and exporters of primary goods. By taking a step back to analyze the complex and evolving impediments to Latin America’s development over the past seven decades, it becomes possible to envision paths to a different future. Understanding the past allows us to imagine how Latin America, condemned to one hundred years of extractivism, might have, at last, an opportunity for real development.

Innovators Facing a Crisis: Multinationals, State-owned Enterprises, and Private Domestic Firms

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Ruth Rama, Research Professor, Institute of Economics, Geography, and Demography, CSIC, Madrid, Spain

This study strives at understanding whether foreign subsidiaries are able to cooperate for innovation with local partners during good and harsh economic times. It also asks whether these companies and different types of domestic firms display similar cooperative behaviour during the 2004–2016 period. To this effect, the period is divided into three sub-periods (boom, downturn and recovery) and three logic models with panel data of a representative sample of Spanish firms are proposed. Foreign subsidiaries’ ability to cooperate for innovation is maintained throughout the business cycle. They are better at cooperating than unaffiliated firms but not significantly better than domestic business groups. State-owned enterprises strongly outperform both foreign subsidiaries and domestic private firms during the boom, the downturn, and the recovery. Unaffiliated domestic firms manage to cooperate during the boom and the recovery but not during the downturn. Predictors of cooperative innovation vary throughout the business cycle, but previous cooperative experience is always a crucial encouragement to cooperation for innovation.
'Real' Farmers and 'Natural Pioneers': How Rural Authenticity Obscures Global Issues

Anke Bosma, PhD candidate, ASCA, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

How do we address issues that pose world-wide problems when we cannot imagine them as global? The Netherlands is the second largest agricultural exporter in the world. Significant sectors of this industry are highly unsustainable, the reality of which begs world-wide questions about how food is produced and consumed. Yet, internally, the producers of those products, farmers, are frequently framed in solely national terms. In this paper, I show how this framing can be employed so effectively and how it benefits big-agribusiness by obscuring major problems. I argue there is a pervasive idea of what an “authentic” farmer is and that this idea is saturated with idyllic notions that often contradict the current material reality of farming, for example by obscuring mechanization, digitalization, and international trade. I will do so by close reading a case study: a Dutch show called Onze Boerderij. In light of this analysis I also wonder: Is there a danger in thinking environment over economy, when the two are so intimately linked? In order to engage with this question I turn to how more sustainable ways of producing food are framed: often as an idyllic escape from globalization by becoming one with nature. Through a close reading of the documentary Plattelandspioniers I argue that the imagination of sustainable farming is not deviating much from the imagination of mainstream agro-industry. Thus, global issues remain obscured and the question arises: what kinds of agricultural change can happen when its imagination remains as limited.

Inviting the World to your Backyard: Nature-based Tourism for Sustainable Development

Brenda Kauffman, Associate Professor, Humanities, Flagler College, Florida, United States

In the post-COVID world tourism will once again become a major factor in global economics. Local economies that have been devastated by the loss of tourism will be looking for ways to draw visitors back to their beaches, cities, and mountains. The impacts of tourism on the environment are significant and well-studied. Nature based solutions have gained attention as a more responsible approach to managing resources and implementing policies to mitigate climate change and protect natural resources, but assessing their viability and effectiveness remains underdeveloped. This research builds on the work of Nathalie Seddon, Alexandre Chausson, Pam Berry, Cécile A. J. Girardin, Alison Smith and Beth Turner and their paper “Understanding the value and limits of nature-based solutions to climate change and other global challenges” published in January 2020. In their work they propose a systems-thinking framework to better understanding and implementing nature-based solutions. Economic, political, social, and ecosystem research must all be considered in order to understand the complexities and costs of incorporating nature-based solutions. This paper applies that thinking to tourism locally and globally. It argues that more consistent systemic approaches to developing visitor experiences are needed to protect ecosystems and mitigate climate change.
Philosophy emerges in undefined era in the 4th industrial revolution today, only humans own the features that think. Humans built science that produces logical value by data. The data is significant to the Anthropocene by humans. ‘Smart Worlds 4.0(SM4)’ is the definition of today’s physical & digital space, which is connected by two worlds the ‘offline and online(O2O)’, the spatial transformation technology by data. In this sense, focusing on humans (I) commune with nature (environment) considers multi-crises (e.g., Climate crisis, multi-pollutions and pandemic). By design dealing with the issues (e.g., global warming, pollution, and anti-infection) could have reality a vital source of application in the 4th Industrial Revolution. Create a ‘Smart Auto Commune (SAC)’ system. It is by data of species in an ‘air and water’ through the ‘breathing and drinking’ process, that condition of species transforms to digitalization. The value of species purifies through the plasma (electric discharge) system automatically operates to the value of the optimal state. The human (Subject) and Environment (Object) “space (by species)-communication by sensor” through the natural vital process. Through the natural process naturally, you could sense in the skin, but also available to see to appear physically betterment. Humans and environment will experience a healthy life.
Attendance List

Vasileios Adamidis, Nottingham Trent University, United Kingdom
Danny Adams, Norfolk State University, United States
Maureen Snow Andrade, Utah Valley University, United States
Osman Antwi Boateng, United Arab Emirates University, United Arab Emirates
Kendall Artz, College of William and Mary, United States
Katherine Batchelor, Miami University, United States
Daniel Benson, St. Francis College, United States
David Benson, Utah Valley University, United States
Shu Ling Chen Berggreen, University of Colorado-Boulder, United States
Alexander Blocker, Brandeis University - Heller School for Social Policy and Management, United States
Anke Bosma, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
Grace Brown, none, United States
Domingo Carbonero Munoz, University of La Rioja, Spain
James Chaney, Middle Tennessee State University, United States
Benjamin Choo, Singapore University of Social Sciences, Singapore
Sujata Chowdhury, Gitika Trust, India
Anna Citkowska Kimla, Jagiellonian University, Poland
Rachel Cremona, Flagler College, United States
Debasish Das, Central University of Kerala, India
Benedict Edward, DeDominicis, Catholic University of Korea, South Korea
Michelle Devereaux, Kennesaw State University, United States
Mioara Diaconu, Western Michigan University, United States
Joachim Diec, Jagiellonian University (Uniwersytet Jagielloński), Poland
Alexandrine Dupras, University of Geneva, Switzerland
Cassie Fancher, University of Florida, United States
Gvantsa Gasviani, University of California, Irvine, United States
Tamsyn Gilbert, Common Ground Research Networks, United States
Jonathan Gross, DePaul, United States
Selin Guner, St. Edward’s University, United States
Maria Hantzopoulos, Vassar, United States
Ryuto Hashimoto, Minnesota State University, Mankato, United States
Angie Hesham, University of Hull, United Kingdom
Charlotte Holmes, Utah Valley University, United States
Pat Hope, Stanford University, United States
Brendan Howe, Ewha Womans University, South Korea
David Humphreys, The Open University, United Kingdom
Marcq Ishisaka Nolfi, UCDDOD, United States
Karolis Jonutis, Klaipeda University, Lithuania
Leda Kanellakou, University of Wisconsin at Whitewater, United States
Mert Kartal, St. Lawrence University, United States
Andrew Katz, Denison University, United States
Brenda Kauffman, Flagler College, United States
Jaewon Kim, Geneva Graduate Institute, Switzerland
Piotr Kimla, Jagiellonian University, Poland
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Common Ground Research Networks
Founded in 1984, Common Ground is committed to building new kinds of knowledge communities, innovative in their media, and forward-thinking in their messages. Heritage knowledge systems are characterized by vertical separations—of discipline, professional association, institution, and country. Common Ground Research Networks takes some of the pivotal challenges of our time and curates research networks that cut horizontally across legacy knowledge structures. Sustainability, diversity, learning, the future of humanities, the nature of interdisciplinarity, the place of the arts in society, technology’s connections with knowledge—these are deeply important questions of our time that require interdisciplinary thinking, global conversations, and cross-institutional intellectual collaborations.

Common Ground Research Networks are meeting places for people, ideas, and dialogue. However, the strength of ideas does not come from finding common denominators. Rather, the power and resilience of these ideas is that they are presented and tested in a shared space where differences can meet and safely connect—differences of perspective, experience, knowledge base, methodology, geographical or cultural origins, and institutional affiliation. These are the kinds of vigorous and sympathetic academic milieus in which the most productive deliberations about the future can be held. We strive to create places of intellectual interaction and imagination that our future deserves.
The Common Ground Media Lab is the research and technology arm of Common Ground Research Networks. Common Ground Research Networks has been researching knowledge ecologies and building scholarly communication technologies since 1984.

Since 2009, we have had the fortune of being based in the University of Illinois Research Park while building our latest platform – CGScholar. This is a suite of apps based on the theoretical work of world-renowned scholars from the College of Education and Department of Computer Science at the University of Illinois Urbana–Champaign. CGScholar has been built with the support of funding from the US Department of Education, Illinois Ventures, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

The CGScholar platform is being used today by knowledge workers as diverse as faculty in universities to deliver e-learning experiences; innovative schools wishing to challenge the ways learning and assessment have traditionally worked; and government and non-government organizations connecting local knowledge and experience to wider policy objectives and measurable outcomes. Each of these use cases illustrates the differing of knowledge that CGScholar serves while also opening spaces for new and emerging voices in the world of scholarly communication.

We aim to synthesize these use cases to build a platform that can become a trusted marketplace for knowledge work, one that rigorously democratizes the process of knowledge-making, rewards participants, and offers a secure basis for the sustainable creation and distribution of digital knowledge artifacts.

Our premise has been that media platforms—pre-digital and now also digital—have often not been designed to structure and facilitate a rigorous, democratic, and a sustainable knowledge economy. The Common Ground Media Lab seeks to leverage our own platform – CGScholar – to explore alternatives based on extended dialogue, reflexive feedback, and formal knowledge ontologies. We are developing AI-informed measures of knowledge artifacts, knowledge actors, and digital knowledge communities. We aim to build a trusted marketplace for knowledge work, that rewards participants and sustains knowledge production.

With 27,000 published works and 200,000 users, we have come a long way since our first web app twenty years ago. But we still only see this as the beginning.

As a not-for-profit, we are fundamentally guided by mission: to support the building of better societies and informed citizenries through rigorous and inclusive social knowledge practices, offering in-person and online scholarly communication spaces.

**Supporters & Partners**

As they say, “it takes a village.” We are thankful for the generous support of:

And to our Research Network members!

[www.cgnetworks.org/medialab](http://www.cgnetworks.org/medialab)
Climate change is one of the most pressing problems facing our world today. It is in the interests of everyone that we engage in systemic change that averts climate catastrophe. At Common Ground Research Networks, we are committed to playing our part as an agent of transformation, promoting awareness, and making every attempt to lead by example. Our Climate Change: Impacts and Responses Research Network has been a forum for sharing critical findings and engaging scientific, theoretical, and practical issues that are raised by the realities of climate change. We’ve been a part of global policy debates as official observers at COP26 in Glasgow. And we are signatories of the United Nations Sustainability Publishers Compact and the United Nations Climate Neutral Now Initiative.

Measuring
In 2022 we start the process of tracking and measuring emissions for all aspects of what we do. The aim is to build a comprehensive picture of our baselines to identify areas where emissions can be reduced and construct a long-term plan of action based on the GHG Emissions Calculation Tool and standard established by the United Nations Climate Neutral Now Initiative.

Reducing
At the same time, we are not waiting to act. Here are some of the “low hanging fruit” initiatives we are moving on immediately: all conference programs from print to electronic-only; removing single-use cups and offering reusable bottles at all our conferences; working closely with all vendors, suppliers, and distributors on how we can work together to reduce waste; offering robust online options as a pathway to minimize travel. And this is only a small sample of what we’ll be doing in the short term.

Contributing
As we work towards establishing and setting net-zero targets by 2050, as enshrined in the Paris Agreement and United Nations Climate Neutral Now Initiative, and to make further inroads in mitigating our impacts today, we are participating in the United Nations Carbon Offset program. As we see climate change as having broad social, economic, and political consequences, we are investing in the following projects.

- Fiji Nadarivatu Hydropower Project
- DelAgua Public Health Program in Eastern Africa
- Jangi Wind Farm in Gujarat

Long Term Goals
We’re committing to long-term science-based net-zero targets for our operations – and we believe we can do this much sooner than 2050. We’ll be reporting annually via The Climate Neutral Now reporting mechanism to transparently communicate how we are meeting our commitments to climate action.
Proceedings of the Fifteenth Global Studies Conference, hosted by the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece, 21-23 July 2022. The conference featured research addressing the following special focus: “What to Make of Crises: Emerging Methods, Principles, Actions” and annual themes:

• Theme 1: Networks of Economy and Trade. On the economic dimensions of globalization.
• Theme 2: The Power of Institutions. On the political dimensions of globalization.
• Theme 3: Vectors of Society and Culture. On the socio-cultural dimensions of globalization.
• Theme 4: Ecological Foundations. On the eco-systemic dimensions of globalization.