



# Conference 2012: Dystopia and Global Rebellion

Friday, May 4:

**12:00 PM – 1:30 PM: Friday Opening Keynote Panel**

## **The Occupy Movement (Room A144)**

**Title TBA**

Carl Davidson, Political Activist and Writer, Aliquippa, Pennsylvania

*Abstract Not Available*

## **Occupy Social Mobilization**

Lauren Langman Loyola University

Within little more than two months, the Occupy movements, inspired by Adbusters, had taken the world by storm, from its clever depiction of the 99% against the 1%, to its camps and the violent state responses. Yes, they emerged in response to capitalist contradiction, yes, many are underemployed or underemployed, and yes they note the growing inequality, demise of democracy, etc. But any newspaper or online news source can tell us that, what does this mean for social movement studies? Today there exist two dominant perspectives that indeed are not just different, but almost incompatible, the RM/Political Opportunity approaches that would seek to mobilize actors to further "interests" from wages to voting rights. This would include civil rights, labor, voting rights etc. that would seek to exert pressure on the political. But NSM theories focus more on identity, values and emotions-they look to the public spheres to transform identity now to so change the future of society whether to the right resistance identities or left, project identities. What makes OCW make especially interesting is that they seek both-redress of grievances of the political economy, and transformation of identity. To understand not only the integration of these perspectives, and include considerations of emotions, social movement organization, and framing that includes utopian vision, OCW has much to teach us.

## **Historical and Global Dimensions of the Occupy Wall Street Movement**

Jackie Smith, University of Pittsburgh

The Occupy Wall Street movement should be seen as one manifestation of what can be called an emerging "world revolution". In this presentation I will discuss the larger historical and global context of the movement, focusing on the global resistance to the neoliberal globalization agenda, which was begun in the 1970s. Drawing from my participation in the United States Social Forum National Planning Committee and Occupy Pittsburgh, I discuss some of the key strategic lessons that global movements and the World Social Forums can bring to activists in the United States. In particular, there is a need to envision the work of OWS as a political project that has global rather than simply national dimensions. This requires both more attention to alternatives to corporate globalization and more reflexivity about the movement's collective identities and relations to other fronts of struggle. Strategically, the global justice movement and World Social Forum offer important lessons and models that advance an emancipatory project. First, there is a need to simultaneously resist and roll back neoliberal globalization while advancing alternatives that expand the possibilities for popular engagement in politics and society. Second, as we liberate spaces for experimentation and dialogue, we must advance and encourage creative work to both envision and implement alternatives to globalized capitalism. These alternatives will be increasingly important as capitalist crises intensify. Third, there must be concerted efforts to build collective power that can both challenge elite projects and support popular alternatives. The models developed through the World Social Forum process, including perhaps especially those used in the US Social Forum, can inform this work to build networks that extend beyond national borders and enhance our movement's capacity for challenging globalized capital.

**Title TBA**

Jay Smith, Athabasca University

*Abstract Not Available*

🌐 **While We Were Sleeping: From Dystopia to Global Awakening  
(Room D101)**

Chair: Shawn Cassiman

Speakers: Shawn Cassiman, University of Dayton; Karen Korn, The University of Dayton; and Dana Fleetham, Wright State University

For years, activists and academics have been sounding an alarm to slumbering populations about the dangers of political elites and corporations operating unchecked in the international sphere. Occupy Wall Street has "broken the spell," awakening many from a sleep reliant upon vacuous media, consumption, and isolationism, facing criticism externally while attempting to mitigate internal divisions. In this presentation, we employ a local case study of an Occupy movement to discuss the nature of these challenges and possible ways in which Occupations can address them without ignoring the broader tasks of maintaining a horizontal hierarchical structure and appealing to the 99%.

🌐 **The Cultural Hegemony of Oppression  
(Room D103)**

Chair: Hyun-Key Kim Hogarth

**The Korean Wave: an Asian Reaction to Western-culture Oriented Globalization**

Hyun-Key Kim Hogarth

*Abstract Not Available*

**Disarming Fear in the Crisis City**

Fiona Jeffries, Simon Fraser University

Fear is seen to be one of the defining political emotions of late modernity. Sociologists, artists, philosophers, activists and pundits see fear everywhere. If fear has become a way of life, the contemporary city is seen to be one of its most prominent and productive social laboratories. However, while the growing fear scholarship argues that is such a politically significant emotion, the way it is studied often both naturalizes and exteriorizes fear from politics. As a result, fear's antagonistic status as both a social relation and an arena of political action is submerged. In this presentation, I will raise the productive role of social protest and propose a different approach to thinking about, and acting in, the city of fear.

**Adorno, Auschwitz and the 'New Categorical Imperative'**

Geoffrey Ostrove, University of Oregon

Theodor Adorno once claimed, "Hitler has imposed a new categorical imperative upon humanity in the state of their unfreedom: to arrange their thinking and conduct, so that Auschwitz never repeats itself, so that nothing similar ever happen again." In this presentation I will analyze exactly what Adorno meant by this statement, and how he believes humanity should act in order to arrange their thinking, conduct, and communication so that nothing similar to the Holocaust can ever happen again. I will also explore Adorno's thoughts on why the Holocaust was able to occur, how contemporary society should respond to such a catastrophe, and why he felt the creation of the modern state of Israel was not an appropriate response. Adorno felt that the only true form of revolutionary praxis was to change the dominant means of production, and any lesser form of rebellion only reified the contemporary commodity-form capitalist system.

**The Hegemonic Lure: Reinforcing Inequality by Propagating Prosperity in Global Visual Culture**

Teresa Pac, University of Arizona, and Joe Kohlburn, University of Missouri

In this presentation we will focus on global cultural capital as it is constructed by western hegemony and the manufactured expectation of prosperity through acquisition that is simultaneously the greatest draw and most profound shortcoming of the western hegemonic impetus. By examining images within visual 'global' culture, we will deconstruct promises of prosperity and fulfillment of the Western hegemony, and reveal the incongruous and disingenuous methods of exploitation leveled on the rest of the world by the progenitors of the western hegemonic narrative, particularly from the

seats of power within the Anglophone nations. We will demonstrate that the implicit promise is that one can co-opt some of the benefits enjoyed by societies like the United States, by abandoning or neglecting one's unique cultural capital in favor of western cultural values and beliefs. However, this promise of success through the fetishistic rite of mimicry is a tool of international diplomacy, reinforced by the political establishment. Western foreign policy extends the proverbial carrot, and hides not only the stick of imperial and militaristic intervention, but also the grisly reality that the actual state of western affairs is often neither ethical nor sustainable. Propagated in popular visual culture and advertisements, this fetishism represents a brush with the 'western standard' of living that is neither achievable, nor is it even necessarily desirable from the perspective of environmental issues, social justice (western modes of production rely on the exploitation of workers) or even personal happiness.

## **Education and Liberation (Room D105)**

Chair: Nels Granholm

### **Global Dystopia and the American Dream: A Survey of Student Aspirations in an American Studies Course**

Jeff Birkenstein and Robert Hauhart, Saint Martin's University

In 2008 the United States housing market collapsed due to the financial system's extension of uncollateralized loans to the subprime market. Since that time, financial distress arising from unsecured private indebtedness and overextended government budgets has spread throughout the post-industrial world and set off social and political disruption in Greece, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland, among others. While the U.S. unemployment rate has eased slightly to 8.3% in January, 2012, few economic indicators suggest a sustainable recovery is underway with most forecasts calling for a year of mixed results. In the midst of these global conditions, a survey of American undergraduates enrolled in an American Studies course unexpectedly shows un-diminished hope for the future of the American Dream.

### **Global Imperatives of the 21st Century: The Academy's Response**

Nels Granholm, South Dakota State University

Our 21st century world deteriorates socially and physically while we in the Academy blindly pursue our "disciplinary truths". As interdisciplinary global studies specialists, we have an obligation to educate our students and colleagues by providing them with fundamental knowledge, tools, training, and hopefully passion to become interculturally competent and authentic global citizens. Based on six years as Coordinator of a Global Studies Program, I will evaluate strategies on how to motivate students and faculty members to learn about widespread global injustice and inequities, to engage the world, and to work toward resolution of our 21st global imperatives.

### **The Pedagogy of Human Rights**

Ken Mulliken, University of Saint Mary

Starting in 2006, and for the past five years, the Lawrence D. Starr Global Studies Institute at the University of Saint Mary in Leavenworth, Kansas, has hosted up to 130 high-school students from nine high schools in Eastern Kansas for a one-day Global Human Rights Conference. The high-school participants role-played various interest groups in peace negotiations focused on international conflicts. Each year the focus conflict has changed—Armenia/Turkey, Pakistan/India, Darfur, etc. Each student was assigned a role to play in the respective conflict. For example, in 2011 some students played the part of United Nations representatives, others acted as if they were Armenian school teachers, and a third group were Turkish business leaders. There were ten roles in all. The role-playing provided a context by which students could approach peace negotiations while maintaining a real interest in their particular character. The University of Saint Mary students wrote the roles, organized the conference, and facilitated the peace negotiations with the high-school students. Our presentation will illustrate the pedagogy of this form of instruction and demonstrate how this approach is valuable in teaching both college and high-school students about the complexities of ongoing international conflicts as well as the intricacies and challenges of peaceful negotiation.

**Islam and the Modern World  
(Room D101)**

Chair: Madalla Alibeli

**American Muslims and Prejudice: What Next?**

Madalla Alibeli, United Arab Emirates University

Like many other minority groups in the country, American Muslims have been subjected to widespread stereotyping, negative attitudes, and lots of blame. National polls, public opinion surveys, and other academic inquiries confirmed the existence of such prejudice, its levels and its existing patterns in society. Studies also examined factors contributing to the anti Muslim prejudice like personality-centered, cultural-based, and power-conflict factors. A major question however is left open: what now? How such prejudice can be mitigated? What Muslims, in particular, ought to do in order to alleviate this prejudice and assure follow Americans that Muslims are as tolerant, as loyal, as patriotic, and as diverse as anybody else in America? These questions and more will be discussed in the presentation.

**Reading Gandhi in the Middle East**

Sean Chabot and Majid Sharifi, Eastern Washington University

Recent nonviolent movements in the Middle East have brought down dictators and ended tyrannical regimes. But have they challenged the imperial logic or fallen back into its trap? We argue that although participants in Arab Spring uprisings have created a few moments and spaces of escape, they have generally been seduced by the dominant approach to government, development, and democracy in our world system. We touch on episodes in Iran, Tunisia, and Egypt to make our case.

**Counter Hegemonic Globalization and its Effects on the Dynamics and Localization in Law: A Case Study of Islamic Law in the U.K.**

Gulseren Kozak-Isik

Dissemination of Western hegemonic legal, educational, cultural, and economic models, norms, and values around the globe has long been a focus of globalization research. An accompanying trend in the opposite direction, however, has not yet been adequately attended by globalization scholarship. That is the global expansion of institutions, models, values and norms, that present themselves not only as a challenge but also as an alternative to the hegemonic forms: counter hegemonic globalization. Approaching institutionalization of Islamic Law in Western settings as an example of counter-hegemonic globalization, and conceptualizing counter-hegemonic globalization as a multi-level institutional politics, this study explores the effects of this "counter-hegemonic" nature on the outcome of the globalizing and localizing tendencies in Islamic Law in its new settings. Based on field analysis of Islamic organizations, interviews, and archival works on Sharia and Fatwa Councils, this study illustrates how actors in those organizations strategically deal with the conflicting demands of globalization and localization in their reproduction of the law or making up of new interpretations and practices. In the presentation I will argue that shifting global dynamics are reflected in the legal frameworks those organizations have developed. I will also suggest that the Counter-Hegemonic form the globalization of Islamic law takes is influential in explaining the variation in localizing versus globalizing outcomes in different fields of law as that form is more evident in some fields of Islamic law than others.

**Contemporary Turkey as a Dystopian Society: Can Islamism and Democracy Co-Exist?**

Kemal Silay, Indiana University

The September 12, 1980 military coup crushed the so-called Turkish "leftist danger," provided the historical conditions for the birth of Turkish "liberalism," and also created significant political opportunity structures for all forms of Islamism, ranging from the most militant to relatively "moderate" ones. Today Islamism is the most powerful political reality of Turkey. Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of Turkey since 2002, has in recent years become more like a dictator than a democratic leader. There is no such concept as "checks and balances" left in present-day Turkey. Turkey has now become a nation of 73 million people who are literally afraid of talking on their *private* phones. Accused of being "members of a terrorist organization," over seventy journalists, many university professors, and others critical of the government have been jailed. The current

Republic of Turkey has multiple justice systems, cleverly designed to punish the opposition: one state law and court for the supporters, and one state supported and orchestrated law—with its so-called “private courts” and handpicked judges—for the opposition. In this presentation I will question the validity of the current Turkish government’s claims of being “democratic” and “liberal.”

## **Global Rebellions** **(Room D103)**

Chair: William Pelz

### **Lessons of the First Enduring Globalization Rebellion: A Generation of Zapatistas**

Duncan Earle, Marymount College (L.A.)

In this presentation I will explore the lessons of the first utopian, alter-globalization movement to challenge governmental legitimacy, “free trade”, and dependency in our times, the Zapatistas. Advances in governance, economy, education, healthcare, and women’s rights have consolidated the Movement’s territory as Mexico and Central America descend into narco-chaos due to dysfunctional institutions. Contrasts between their success and the failures that surround them provide insight into what it might take to restore these increasingly dystopic landscapes to social coherence and order.

### **Neoliberalizing Nature and Contemporary Social Movement in Bangladesh**

Omar Faruque, University of Toronto

In this presentation I will analyze contemporary social movement against privatization of natural resources in Bangladesh. Drawing on Polanyi and Harvey, I will focus on the activism of the National Committee to Protect Oil-Gas-Mineral Resources, Power and Port. The National Committee has launched a powerful movement in Bangladesh to oppose neoliberal transformation of development planning particularly in mineral resources sector. It challenges the power of global financial institutions, transnational corporations, comprador class and the state. It raises critical questions about national sovereignty and the vulnerability of the state in an era of neoliberal globalization and contributes to popularize a counter-hegemonic discourse in Bangladesh.

### **'We won't pay for your crisis:' Protests Against Austerity in Germany**

Christina Kaindl, Institute for Critical Social Analysis, Germany

In this presentation I will give a characterization of the German situation especially focusing on the role of the German government in enforcing austerity in Europe. The success in exports is based on a low-wage strategy that is dividing the working class (combined with the racist dismissing e.g. of “lazy Greeks” etc) and hindering building a block against these low wage and austerity measurements. The alliances against the crisis management or Occupy have not yet succeeded in broadening and deepening their basis; a new mobilization is on for May to join the international action days with a voice from “within the belly of the beast”. I will reflect on left strategies within this situation and the tries to overcome the fragmented state of the left in some kind of left “mosaic”.

### **Embodiment and Realness in Social Protest: A Polanyian Approach to Tar Sands and Occupy Movements**

Meghan Kallman, Brown University

Embodiment as a conceptual tool has been employed to analyze illness, specifically environmentally induced illness. In this presentation I will transpose embodiment to discuss neoliberalism, and explore the concept as applied to the recent Tar Sands Action and Occupy protests, arguing that embodiment can link these movements by providing a theoretical framework for understanding social dislocation. Tar Sands subjects large numbers of people to public arrest, while the Occupies focus on placing bodies in public locations; protesters live publically visible lives and create alternative institutions as a form of prefigurative democracy. By applying theories of embodiment to case studies from the two movements, I find that social dislocation can be physically embodied as well as experienced in the abstract, and that this embodied dislocation reflects both on feelings of agency and the public institutions that shape those feelings.

🌐 **The Political Economy of Globalization  
(Room D105)**

Chair: Carl Davidson

**Debt as an Affective Structure**

Marcia Klotz, Portland State University

I argue that debt cannot be understood simply as a structure of financial obligation; it is also, first and foremost, an *affective* structure. We experience debt as the articulation of our own personal shortcomings; the German "Schuld" represents both "guilt" and "debt" in English. Drawing on the work of Richard Dienst, I argue that debt codifies a relationship between a present self, who agrees to take on the debt, and a future self, who must pay it back under conditions never knowable in advance. The self who agrees to the debt is not the same as the self who is obligated to pay; at moments of crisis, the latter stands in a relationship of shame and guilt to the former.

**Dystopia of the International Multilateral Institutions**

Alexander Kuteynikov, St. Petersburg State University

*Abstract Not Available*

**Polarizing Wages in Liberalizing Developing Countries: Technology or Class Dynamic?**

Aashish Mehta, University of California-Santa Barbara

Contrary to the expectations of standard trade models, wage gaps between college and high-school graduates grew significantly in most developing countries as they liberalized their economies. Economists seeking to explain this have invoked new models of trade and attribute the earnings gap across education classes to technological change. I critique this explanation theoretically and empirically. Using data from Mexico in the 1990s I show that: (1) the attribution to technological change is residual—it only arises because the standard economic approaches cannot explain the increase in college premiums empirically through any other mechanism; (2) once the college-high-school wage gap is interpreted as a feature of class structure and we allow for persistent wage differences across occupations, its increase can be explained; (3) the gap increased because college graduates moved into occupations either sell non-traded services to an emergent Mexican middle class or reduce the costs of transacting in an increasingly arms-length economy. I conclude that by failing to consider features of class-structure and people who earn their living by reducing transaction costs, the mainstream economics literature may be missing some vital connections between globalization and inequality.

**Income and State Repression**

Ideen Riahi, Simon Fraser University

In this presentation I will discuss the relationship between income and government respect for human rights in a panel of 196 countries from 1980 to 2002. Contrary to the common belief in the literature, that economic development has a negative monotonic effect on repression; I show that the association between income and repression is non-monotonic; i.e. repression is most likely at mid ranges of income. Further, by exploring within country variation and using internal instrument by applying panel GMM techniques, I show that income has a causal effect on the probability of repression.

🌐 **Film Showing: Paraiso For Sale: A Documentary by Anayansi Prado  
(Room D110)**

## 5:15 PM – 6:45 PM: Evening Keynote Panel

**(Room A144)**

Chair Jerry Harris

### **Anti-Globalization or Alter Globalization? Mapping the Political Ideology of the Global Justice Movement**

Manfred B. Steger, RMIT University

*Abstract Not Available*

### **Crisis of the Human Condition: Global Rebellion Hits the Wall**

Paul James, RMIT University

In this presentation I will address the manifold crises of our time and the global responses they evoke. In the context of global financial crises, global environmental crises and crises of meaning, purpose, and community, the literary genre of utopia has died. In the place of the old visions of nowhere, which at least tried to imagine alternative worlds, we now either read science-fiction dystopia or watch 'last man' films. While the literary form of utopia has died without a burial, a new optimism has emerged around the sustainable city. It will make us 'richer, smarter, greener, healthier and happier'. The hopes are thinner and the visions less embracing, but books are coming out nevertheless that tell of work in global cities that provide a platform for social renewal. Meanwhile, Paris has been sacked, London is burning, Detroit is emptying of people, and Cairo experienced revolt. What are the possibilities for urban renewal, and what are the consequences of the urban-based rebellions? How do the two phenomena relate to each other?

## Saturday, May 5:

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

**(Room A144)**

Chair: Lauren Langman

### **Economic Crisis and the Working Class: Re-thinking Class Struggle**

Gary Teeple, Simon Fraser University

The continuing economic crisis has brought into relief changes in the political economy of the last decades of the 20th century, revealing an altered landscape for the working class and trade unions. Striking developments in technology have transformed the labour process; the global labour market has become a reality; national union organization hinders global cooperation; legal constraints to union activity have increased; and the structure of the working class bears little resemblance to the postwar era. Faced with a new and more antagonistic world, weakened unions have become increasingly defensive, uncertain about the future and the nature of resistance to the retrenchment of wages and benefits and social programs. In this presentation I will explore this changed world and examine the current dilemmas confronting the working class and union movement.

### **Beyond Inequality: Systemic Expulsions**

Saskia Sassen, Columbia University

*Abstract Not Available*

### 10:30 AM – 12:00 PM: Saturday Morning Panels

#### **Dystopia and the State**

**(Room D101)**

Chair: Jerry Harris

#### **The Global Crisis in Democracy**

Amit Gupta

At the end of the cold war Yoshihiro Francis Fukuyama suggested that we had reached the end of history and that liberal democracies had triumphed. Yet 20 years later, we are witnessing democratic gridlock, growing inequalities, and an increasing challenges to the democratic state. Such challenges

range from the 99% movement that has shifted the emphasis to inequality to the case of the Maoist rebellion in India that is a direct challenge to the state. In this presentation I will speculate on why this crisis in democracy is taking place and what may the paths to break away from these pathologies.

### **A Deadly "Democracy": State Terror and Neoliberalism in the Philippines**

Nick Jorgensen, University of Idaho

In this presentation I will offer an analysis of the spread of state-instigated extra-judicial killings in the Philippines, setting the irruption of death squad activity within the context of constitutional instability and deepening neoliberal development. While the Philippines has been classified as a formal or electoral democracy since 1986, the past decade has seen a wave of killings directed at civil society, primarily on the left. While the consensus within the Philippine and international human rights community is that these attacks have been carried out by members of the armed forces and police, to date there have been no successful prosecutions of these attacks. In this presentation I will provide a detailed geographic analysis of the distribution of killings and set those within the larger contexts of domestic sectoral conflicts and neoliberal development policies. These attacks, which are reminiscent of the "dirty wars" fought against the left in South America during the 1970s, are the paradoxical outcome of the broadening of the electoral system that began in 1995 with the passage of the Party-List Law. Political reform permitted "marginal" groups to gain political representation, which in turn posed a threat to continued elite dominance of Philippine politics. The Arroyo administration's dubious constitutional legitimacy and dependence upon the military provided an opportunity for the military to reverse the legal left's political gains.

### **The Transformation of American Foreign Policy Towards Turkey: From a Focus on Militarization to Neoliberalism**

Tugrul Keskin, Portland State University

In this presentation I will analyze and explain the historical transformation of American foreign policy towards Turkey and argue that there has been realignment in Turkish Politics based on the changing dynamics of American Foreign policy.

### **Globalization, Capital Accumulation and Migration**

Colin Tether, Simon Fraser University

There is a growing trend to establish managed migration policies that mediate the flow of global labour and the increasing numbers of people displaced by geopolitical conflict. The securitization of borders and the adoption of national policies that stratify migrants' access to citizenship rights in order to regulate the global movement of people intersects with other mechanisms of global segregation based on race, ethnicity and gender. In this presentation I will argue that these trends facilitate capital accumulation on a global scale and are poised to become a primary locus of conflict in the global struggle for social and economic justice.

### **🌐 Alternatives to Neoliberal Capitalism (Room D103)**

Chair: Jackie Smith

The Great Recession of 2008/9 still has economic and political effects on global capitalism today. Neoliberal hegemony, which seemed unshakable a few years ago, is disintegrating. Discontent with neoliberalism has given way to a, however cautious, contradictory, or even absurd, search for alternatives. This roundtable introduces some of the social forces of this search and the goals they are pursuing. More to the point, Bill Pelz takes a look at the Occupy Wall Street and Wisconsin labour movements, while Ingo Schmidt presents experiences from Europe where the crisis led to anti-austerity struggles in some of the debtor-countries whereas right-wing populists are attacking neoliberal Europe in the creditor-countries. These regional perspectives are complemented by David Huxtable's considerations on the international labour movement. In the past, international labour has been on the side-lines of global capitalism but the global crisis raises the question whether a global labour response will materialize, which agenda it could pursue and how it would link the diverse struggles, strategies and goals of working classes in different countries.



## **Passive Revolution from 'Below?' Trade Unions, Decent Work and the Coming Counter-Movement**

David Huxtable, University of Victoria

Emerging in the wake of the Washington Consensus is a diverse array of organized social forces seeking to protect society from the devastating effects of unregulated market forces (Polanyi). Within this diverse reaction are a number of competing efforts to assert a new common sense around the relationship between market and society, some which seek to build a counter-hegemonic project, others which seek to re-embed capitalist markets within a global civil society dedicated to social protection. In this presentation I will outline the current efforts of the international union movement to develop a historic bloc around a new set of concepts of control (Bode; van der Pijl) that foreground economic stability, social protection, and ecological concerns.

## **Rebellion, Resistance or Defeat: the Fate of Movements in 21st Century America**

William Pelz, Elgin College

*Individual Abstract Not Available*

## **Anti-Austerity Struggles in Europe**

Ingo Schmidt, Athabasca University

*Individual Abstract Not Available*

## **🌐 Cyber Rebellions, Social Media and the Struggle for Democracy (Room D105)**

Chair: Carl Davidson

### **South Asian Ethnic Media in British Columbia: Intersections of Race, Class and Gender**

Syeda Nayab Bukhari, Simon Fraser University

South Asians are the second largest visible minority group in Vancouver, British Columbia. With the increasing population, South Asian ethnic media ranks number one with 33 outlets out of 144 total listed ethnic media outlets in Metro Vancouver (Murray, et. al. 2007). In this presentation I will present work-in-progress research project focused on the role and effects of ethnic media on the South Asian communities living in British Columbia. Using the neo-liberal/globalization, critical race and feminist theoretical frameworks, I will discuss the rationale, research directions and methodological aspects of the research project to be conducted in the summer/fall of 2012.

### **Social Media and Democracy in Latin America**

Rachel Johnson, Elon University

Social media is a global phenomenon that has connected the world beyond the levels the internet alone made possible. Like the internet, could this new networking craze be a democratizing force for countries around the world? Scholars have viewed the internet as an inherently democratic technology, but further investigation has shown that the internet may be better for certain democracies than others. The regimes that benefit the most from the internet are semi-democratic systems, which is very prevalent in Latin America. Thanks to more widespread internet connections and mobile access, social media has experienced an explosion of growth in Latin America. I will highlight a number of cases in Latin America where social media has enhanced social capital, access to information, and citizen journalism and compare these cases to the major flaws of democracy in Latin America. Based on these conclusions, I determine that social media, like the internet, is not a cure-all for less democratic regimes, but is a powerful tool for countries who are seeking to globalize and democratize.

### **The Video Campaign Against Warlord Joseph Kony**

Justin Phalichanh, Middle Tennessee State University

As a globalizing force, social media has proved to be a remarkable one in creating radical movements promoting change and social justice. Most recently, a viral campaign by Invisible Children's Jason Russell targeted international criminal and warlord Joseph Kony. The video campaign launched March 05, 2012 and caught international attention literally overnight—over 100m viewers since. The group's goal of 'making Kony famous' was successful, but what was the true impact? With Russell's documented public breakdown—it's unclear what is next for the campaign. What are the implications of a social justice movement using technology today and what might we gain from observing the obstacles Invisible Children face in capturing Kony?

## **Cyber Rebellion: WikiLeaks, Anonymous, and the Struggle to Break the Power of Secrecy in the Global War on Terrorism**

Yamuna Sangarasivam, Nazareth College

Following the release of thousands of diplomatic cables which revealed the human rights abuses and networks of corruption that sustain the US-sponsored global war on terror, the US Justice Department has invoked the 1917 Espionage Act to indict the editor and publisher of WikiLeaks, Julian Assange. While censorship serves as an economic signal, as Assange asserts, how does the torture and prosecution of Pvt. Bradley Manning serve as a cultural signal which reveals the lessons of a patriotism that promotes a dystopic democracy? In this presentation I will examine the spatio-temporal predicament of secrecy, surveillance, and censorship in the face of cyber rebellion.

### **12:30 PM – 1:30 PM: Film Screening**

#### **"Shift Change: Putting Democracy to Work": Worker Owned Enterprises**

Directors Melissa Young, Mark Dworkin, Tony Harrah plus Carl Davidson

**(Room A144)**

While protests against inequities caused by multinational business and finance blossomed across the U.S. and Europe last year, documentary producers Mark Dworkin and Melissa Young filmed with the Mondragon cooperatives in northern Spain, and with a number of worker owned enterprises in North America. Employee owned firms have been commended for democracy on the job, long-term commitment to community, and combining a social agenda with successful business practices. Preview the film at <http://shiftchange.org>.

### **1:30 PM – 3:00 PM: Afternoon Keynote Panel**

**(Room A144)**

Chair: William Carroll

#### **Local Struggles, Global Implications: Why British Columbia Matters**

Karena Shaw, University of Victoria

Many have argued that there is no global; there are only many locals. All global phenomena must "touch down" in the local, and it is at these sites that their impacts—and possibilities for resisting them—emerge with most clarity. With this in mind, I will explore what is at stake in this locale and its struggles here and now. Venturing across the terrain of energy and climate politics—the proposed Northern Gateway pipeline, emerging shale gas industry, embattled carbon tax, and nascent green energy export ambitions—I will argue that what happens in BC has wide-ranging global implications. These are both direct and indirect: the outcomes of these struggles will shape geopolitical and biophysical realities, but perhaps more importantly progressive engagement with these struggles can provide a model for others seeking collective control over energy and climate futures.

#### **Savage Solutions to Civilized Problems**

Waziyatawin, University of Victoria

In the twenty-first century, we all face what some experts are calling the "perfect storm of ecological and social problems." Climate chaos and ecological destruction are compounded by population growth and the depletion of resources such as fossil-fuels, water, and topsoil. The convergence of these factors suggest we are about to realize a dystopic future. We may be able to mitigate the worst effects of the crises if we take dramatic action now to dismantle industrial civilization, but the likelihood of governments and corporations taking the necessary steps to avert the worst disasters is negligible. In this presentation I will explore an Indigenous vision of what is needed for humanity to survive in contrast to the "green alternative" proposed by mainstream society.

#### **Re-peasantization or bio-securitization: ecological feminist reflections on the future of food and farming".**

Martha MacMahon, University of Victoria

*Abstract Not Available*

## 3:15 PM – 5:00 PM: Saturday Afternoon Panels

### **Environmental Challenge (Room D101)**

Chair: Carl Davidson

#### **The Institutionalization of Waste in the Global Food System: The Biofuels Boom, Agribusiness Profits and the Making of Contemporary Hunger**

Joseph Baines, York University

In the last ten years there have been two key developments in the global political economy of food. On the one hand there has been rising global hunger and on the other hand the profits of the three largest agribusiness traders (Archer Daniels Midland, Bunge, Cargill) have sky-rocketed. In this presentation I will discuss whether these two trends are merely co-incidental or whether there is some causal relationship at play here. I suggest that the massive increase in the production of biofuels over the last decade helped increase the profit margins of the three firms while instituting structural scarcity in the world's food system.

#### **The 'Guardians of the Earth': Indigenous Bolivia and Global Activism Concerning Climate Change in the 21st Century**

Dustin Foskett, University of Oregon

I will analyze the Bolivian indigenous cosmologies concerning the relationship between Man and the environment. They now take it to the global level through indigenous conferences which has garnered UN support. Bolivia is trying to take down the global capitalistic model through environmental preservation means, since they believe in an eco-socialist ideology meaning that capitalism is responsible for climate change. Their perspective is gaining support around the world and can be seen as another example of how the world is moving away from the Washington Consensus. Many believe this perspective is necessary in order to survive the crisis of Climate Change.

#### **The International Environmental Agreement and Economic Sanctions**

Martina Lui

In this presentation I will analyze an International Environmental Agreement (IEA) that requires countries to impose a pollution tax on producers of a tradable good that generates negative externalities. The model includes three countries that have different cost functions in producing the good. One is an exporter of the good, one is an importer, and one is self-sufficient. Given the other two countries comply, I check whether it is in the interest of a country to deviate from the IEA, if deviation causes it to face a trade sanction. I find that trade sanctions are an incentive compatible mechanism for inducing the exporting country to comply with the IEA. Under certain conditions, it is in the interests of importing countries to impose the sanction, and in equilibrium the exporting country do not violate the IEA.

#### **Constructing Climate Capitalism: the Organizational Ecology of Climate Policy-Planning Groups Since the mid-1990s**

J.P. Sapinski, University of Victoria

Corporate-led environmental and climate change policy groups, such as the Copenhagen Climate Council or the European Business Council for a Sustainable Energy Future, provide a forum for global elites to elaborate political and economic responses to the global warming crisis. Drawing from qualitative and network data, I will discuss the organizational ecology of such groups, going back to the mid-1990s. It also looks at the recent configuration of the network that connects these global elite organizations together. This approach sheds light on the uneven process of constructing and promoting climate capitalism as a response to the current crisis that is coherent with the pursuit of accumulation at the global level.

🌐 **The Struggle of Migrant in Times of Dystopia: Combating Hate and Working Towards Compassionate Migration Policies Within the North American Political Economy**  
(Room D103)  
Chair: William Arrocha

Speakers: William Arrocha, Monterey Institute of International Studies, Steven Bender, Seattle University School of Law; and John Shuford, Gonzaga University

Globalization explained as the internationalization of capital has demanded a new International Division of Labor. The former has caused social and economic dislocations that are accompanied by a more repressive state with a dangerous increase in nativism among those social groups that feel threatened. In this panel we intend to discuss the possibilities for a counter-hegemonic discourse to combat hateful laws, policies, and practices against migrants. Moreover, we intend to continue the debate on how to identify the political spaces and legal institutions that best address the current migration policies that are punitive and repressive as they compromise the most fundamental Human Rights.

🌐 **Repression and Alternatives**  
(Room D105)  
Chair: William Pelz

**A Different Globalization**  
Manuel Freire Barcia

The Pro-Development Committee of Barinas State (COMBAR) has been engaged for the last thirty years in regional and local development issues in Venezuela. Through this work, it has developed significant amounts of information, up-to-date contacts and experience dealing with local, state and regional sustainable economic development issues involving governments, universities, productive sector and non-government organizations (NGO's). . We intend to describe in this presentation the methodology advanced and applied by COMBAR to promote the "Digital-Global-City-Region and Borderland" concept.

**Hegemony, Identity and Rebellion in the Occupy Movement**  
Ben Levy, Simon Fraser University

From October to November, I lived, marched, and protested with Occupy Vancouver. From this standpoint of participation, I studied and interviewed Occupy activists, and observed how the disparate groups involved—including the homeless, First Nations people, and university students—communicated to discover common notions of identity, oppression, and liberation. My theoretical repertoire consisted primarily of critical and post-Marxist theories such as those of Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Hardt and Negri (2000), and Jurgen Habermas (1981), whose concepts of hegemony, multitude, and instrumental/communicative rationality I used to explore the ways participants formulated, communicated, and negotiated their disparate beliefs.

**The Dystopia Thesis and Hope**  
Gary Potter, Wilfrid Laurier University

The Dystopia thesis argues that humanity's short-term future prospects are *extremely* grim. We face a multi-faceted complex of inter-related crises with interlocking positive feedback loops. It argues that the *only hope* for us is a deep-rooted radical systemic change. Such appears at the moment rather unlikely. However, since the book *Dystopia: What is to be done?* was published in 2010 we have had the "Arab Spring", "Occupy Wall Street" and the related Occupy movements. In this presentation I will first reassess the renewed Marxist claim of the dystopia thesis that humanity faces a choice between socialism and barbarism. Secondly, in the light of some recent small hopeful signs I will attempt to reassess just how grim our collective prospects really are.

**The Necessity of Utopian Discourses in an Anti-Utopian Age: OWS and our Social Imagination**  
Graeme Webb, Simon Fraser University

We are in the depths of multiple catastrophes that Western society is seemingly unwilling and unable to address: growing inequalities between the rich and the poor, a willful blindness to climate change,

and a political system mired in uncompromising and ever increasing extremism. However, there are no reality transcending dialogues, no new social imaginaries to drive change—our own dystopic reality had no utopian response. The greatest importance that the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movements may play in spurring social change and revolution is their success at bringing radical discourses into mainstream society. The OWS movements not only occupied fixed public locations, they also occupied our social imagination.

## **The Arab Spring (Room D110)**

Chair: Amandeep Sandhu

### **Virtual Democracies? Social Media and Democratization of the Public Sphere in the Arab Gulf**

Leila DeVriese, Hamline University

Because social media is playing an irrefutable role in the Arab Spring uprisings the central question in this presentation is to what extent Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in general, and social media in specific, are contributing to the democratization of the public sphere and shifting the monopoly on agenda setting in the Arab Gulf, particularly in the case of Bahrain? How will these technologies continue to shape contentious politics in the Middle East and will their utility for democratizing and expanding the public sphere persist in the aftermath of the Arab Spring? Or will the increasing liberalization of media and freedom of expression that had preceded the Arab Spring experience a repressive backlash as authoritarian states attempt to clamp down on social and traditional media—or even harness them for their own purposes as seen by Facebook intimidation campaigns against activists in Bahrain last Spring. Finally—using the lens of social movement theory—what repertoires of contention, and political opportunity structures will pro-democracy activists use to keep their campaigns alive? Activists in the Gulf have not only incorporated the ICTs into their repertoire but have also changed substantially what counts as activism, what counts as community, collective identity, democratic space, public sphere, and political strategy. Ironically this new technology has succeeded in reviving and expanding the practice of discursive dialog that had once characterized traditional tribal politics in the Arabian Peninsula.

### **Arab Awakening: A Dystopian Discourse?**

Sanae Elmoudden, St. John's University

Globalization has drawn attention to the importance of place in articulating power. In this presentation I stress the unsettled and multilayered connections of space, place, and power underlying globalization stable discourses like democracy. Examining the role of social media, I problematize the "Arab Awakening" as a dystopian discourse, it proposes that it is, instead, the West awakening to a middle-eastern people's concept of self-rule. I claim that our understanding of spatial power relations would benefit from the different articulations of place in the globalization discourses. Such inquiry offers possibilities for reconsidering new relations of spatial powers, belonging, and forms of democracy.

### **New Social Movements in Egypt**

Bassem Hafez, University of Calgary

In this presentation I aim to comparatively analyze the conceptual foundations of two Egyptian protest movements, the *April 6 Movement* and the *Revolutionary Socialists*, two prominent instigators of the Egyptian revolution, as part of the global rebellion against the dystopia perceived as the creation of neo-liberalism and globalization. In Egypt, the limitations of conventional opposition led to the mushrooming of *New Social Movements (NSMs)* over the past decade. The political dynamics since 2000 have yielded, among many, the aforementioned youth movements who represent two different approaches to the rebellion against the dystopia, which speeded up the downfall of Mubarak.

### **Global Crisis and the Rise of Oppositional Politics in the Arab World**

Amandeep Sandhu, Temple University

In this presentation I will examine oppositional movements in the Arab world in context of the global crisis. Sketching the background of political conjuncture in the Arab world before the global financial crisis, and focusing primarily on the case of Egypt, I argue that the transition in the region should be

seen as a byproduct of destabilization of the US supported regional authoritarian hegemony, in the first instance, by the specific economic policies unveiled to counter the financial meltdown and, in the second instance, by the two commodity shocks (2007 and 2010). The unfolding transition is hobbled by the counter responses from the US and western bloc in the form of overt military actions and covert low intensity democracy promotion and use of multilateral institutions such as the IMF.

## Sunday, May 6:

### 9:30 AM – 11:00 AM: Keynote Panel

(Room A144)

#### **Alternative Policy Groups and Global Civil Society: Networks and Discourses of Counter-Hegemony**

William Carroll, University of Victoria

In this presentation I will present preliminary findings from an investigation of an emergent component of global civil society: transnational alternative policy groups (TAPGs) that in recent decades have generated important ideas, both visionary and strategic, for a 'globalization from below'. Such groups as the Transnational Institute (Amsterdam), Focus on the Global South (Bangkok) International Forum on Globalization (San Francisco) and the Centre for Civil Society (Durban) have served as 'collective intellectuals' in facilitating the construction of a nascent counter-hegemonic bloc that transects national borders and poses democratic alternatives to neoliberal globalization. I will give a comparative overview of 16 TAPGs located in both North and South, the political projects they construct discursively, and the networks through which they exert political and cultural influence, in dialogue with subaltern classes and democratic movements. In exploring these issues, I address some of the challenges TAPGs face as transnational counter-hegemonic actors on the contested terrain of global civil society.

#### **Dystopia and Democracy: Power and the Transnational Capitalist Class**

Jerry Harris, DeVry University, Chicago

The global economic crisis and the crisis of democracy are intractably bound together by the power of the transnational capitalist class (TCC). The financial structure built by global capital has linked markets, banks and financial institutions in a world-wide casino of speculation. This integrated global edifice is not overseen by one nation-centric ruling class, but by the TCC as a whole through transnational governance institutions. Such tremendous financial flows need stability in order that the entire structure can avoid collapse. The governance by necessity has to take place within global structures outside the control of any one nation. Therefore, the TCC is driven to gain global authority and power over national laws and interests. The more severe the crisis the more frantic the TCC becomes as bankruptcy spreads, their ideology challenged, and protestors take to the streets. Each nation must bend to the dogmatic prescriptions of the transactional finance. But such attempts create greater pressures and tensions producing more instability, not less.

### 11:15 AM – 12:45 PM: Sunday Panels

#### **🌐 Standing in Solidarity -- Maintaining Distance? Exploring Methodological and Ethical Dynamics of Participatory Research with Food Social Movements (Room D101)**

Chair: Josh Brem-Wilson

Speakers: Josh Brem-Wilson, University of Bradford; Jessica Duncan, City University, London; Annette Desmarais, University of Regina; and Hannah Wittman, Simon Fraser University

Academic interest in food social movements is increasing, especially as these movements continue to carve out new spaces for engagement in global food governance and become increasingly influential in these fora. Developing and utilizing relationships of trust and solidarity with these

organizations is essential for researchers seeking access to them, but what limits does this impose upon the production and application of new knowledge? Movement struggles bring power dynamics to the fore; situating researchers in the very same fields of power in which movements themselves are active. What ethical constraints or responsibilities does this impose upon movement scholars? To date, there has generally been a lack of critical engagement with these—and other—methodological and ethical dynamics of participatory research with food social movements. In this session, which is structured around short papers by four researchers with first-hand experience of participatory research with food social movements followed by an open discussion, seeks to begin addressing this gap.

The objectives of this session are, amongst others, to:

- Provide a space for shared reflection on the methodological tensions, limitations, benefits, and ethical concerns associated with participatory research with food social movements.
- Consider ways of balancing our engagement with (and allegiance to) the movements with our role as academics (academic-activist).
- Identify the possibility of establishing a set of core principles to support academic research with food social movements.

## **Social Justice Themes in Literature** **(Room D103)**

Chair: Ligaya McGovern

### **"Reframing" Social Justice? Nancy Fraser on/and the World Social Forum**

Regina Cochrane, University of Calgary

In her recent text *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*, feminist political theorist Nancy Fraser characterizes the World Social Forum, in passing, as addressing "injustices of misframing" made visible by globalization and "prefiguring the possibility of new institutions of postwestphalian democratic justice." Evaluating the legitimacy of these (unsubstantiated) claims requires analyzing the WSF in terms of Fraser's redistribution/recognition/representation framework of social justice and, in particular, her notions of cultural monism, affirmative recognition, and metapolitical injustice. This, in turn, ends up casting critical light on some limitations of the WSF and ultimately of Fraser's approach as well.

### **Indigenous Women Redefine the Revolutionary Trajectory: A Comparison of Indonesian and Indigenous Canadian Literature**

Alicia Lawrence, University of Victoria

Revolutionary goals of Indigenous movements against colonial oppression during historic periods of insurgency are complicated by the fact that Indigenous women continue to suffer at the hands of those who claim to be the oppressed. Rukiah S. Kertapati describes Indonesia's movement for independence from Dutch rule in *Kejatuhan dan Hati*, while contemporary literature, such as Eden Robinson's "Queen of the North" examines the oppression of Indigenous peoples of Canada. These literary works voice the need for Indigenous women's intervention so that resistance to colonial oppression emerges with awareness, combines emotion with intelligence, and recognizes the political relevance of personal experience.

### **Authors on Globalization and Resistance**

Ligaya McGovern, Indiana University, Kokomo

*Abstract Not Available*

### **Imagining Dystopia: "Children of Men" and "The Road"**

Ryan Peters

Contemporary dystopian fiction often takes up the concerns of globalization theorists in questions about population growth, migration, and scarcity of economic and natural resources. In this project, I look to two pieces of contemporary dystopian art: Alfonso Cuarón's 2006 film *Children of Men*, and Cormac McCarthy's 2006 apocalyptic novel *The Road*. In *Children of Men*, war, immigration and infertility are the backdrop for a story of a society with no systematized structure for belief or hope of a future. McCarthy's *The Road*, meanwhile, illustrates a world struggling with the complete loss of organizing systems at all; governments, organized religions and even family units have all

disintegrated. Seen in the context of their dialogue with modern cultural and global critics, these stories become important tools for investigating the traumas of the contemporary world.

## **Globalization and Human Rights (Room D105)**

Chair: Carl Davidson

### **Assessing Moral Responsibilities for Fair International Trade Agreements**

Alanna Dyck, Simon Fraser University

Awareness about the global burden of disease highlights an important relationship between the needs of the desperately ill in economically disadvantaged countries and the need to ensure adequate compensation for the research and development of new medicines. Although the UN officially recognizes the Right to Health as a fundamental human right, I argue that it is simultaneously undermining its official position by enabling wealthy nations to take advantage of unfair bargaining positions in trade negotiations. Where such agreements target the epicenter for the creation and distribution of medicines for the globally disadvantaged, they must be viewed as particularly reprehensible.

### **Friending and Following: Social Networkings Global Impact on Social Movements**

Rachel Erstad, Oregon State University

Facebook and Twitter have altered the digital world through allowing users instant access to information from around the globe. In this research, these sites will be examined as social change catalysts regarding the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street movements. In order to examine the implications of social networking, I will provide a brief analysis of globalization through digital communication, specifically the effects of social networking sites upon movement behavior. I will conclude with an examination of the possible implications of global policy changes concerning information access, and the rights of activists.

### **Governmentality and the Analytics of Development**

Peter Ove, University of Victoria

In this presentation, I will discuss the implications of Foucault's concept of governmentality for the study of international development in general and charitable donations in particular. Using the term developmentality, I present a modified version of governmentality that highlights the connections between different uses of the term development and their relationship to contemporary practices of ethical subject formation. Specifically, I focus on the role that liberal discourses of charity and responsibility play within global relations of power and wealth. This presentation is part of a broader research project on child sponsorship programs.

### **Gold Corp and Subsidiaries: A Critical Comparative Examination due to International Inspiration**

Celia White, Vancouver Island University

While travelling three years ago in Guatemala, I became aware of my ignorance regarding the destructive mining activities of my home state. As the editor for Mining Watch Canada explains, "Canada's dirty little secret is only a secret to Canadians" (Saunders, 2010). In this presentation, I will analyze the effect that Gold Corp and its subsidiaries have on the indigenous populations affected by mines in three states: The United States, Papua New Guinea, and Guatemala. Most importantly, I will examine the different methods of civil disobedience used in each state, and how effective they have been at achieving human rights.