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Modernization in Times of Globalization I

## Contents

## Case Studies

## On Contemporary Philosophy
## and Sociology

# Contemporary Globalization, New Intercivilizational Visions and Hegemonies: Transformation of Nation-States

*Shmuel N. Eisenstadt*

**Abstract**
*The article focuses on the specific characteristics of contemporary globalization and hegemonies which constitutes a very new development in human history. Among the most important such specific characteristics are the changes in the structure of international relations and of hegemonies; the continuous impingements of the different peripheries on multiple hegemonic centers and entailing the growing power of small numbers, as well as the transformation of some basic characteristics of nation and revolutionary states and the close relations of these processes to new civilizational perspectives and inter-civilizational relations.*

## I  Introduction

Far-reaching processes of globalization that are taking place through the world which constitute indeed a very new distinctive development in human history—even if they share very important characteristic with earlier globalizations. Some of the specific characteristics of contemporary globalization are closely related to changes in the structure of international relations and hegemonic frameworks, as well as with new types of inter-civilizational relations.

## II  Contemporary Globalization—Social Dislocations and Mutual Impingents of Societies and Social Sectors

The central core of the different characteristics of contemporary globalization has been first the growing interconnection between economic, cultural and political processes of globalization, each of these processes retaining its relative autonomy, but at the same time being closely interwoven with each other; the continual development of multiple world-wide international networks—all

# Multipolarity means thinking plural: Modernities

*Jan Nederveen Pieterse*

*Abstract*

*Modernities are a theme of our times. Recognizing that modernities are multiple and diverse and transcending ideal-type modernity and its Eurocentric legacy, acknowledges the multipolar realities of twenty-first century globalization and the 'rise of the rest'. Real-existing modernities are mixed social formations in that they straddle past and present and import and translate styles and customs from other cultures. In addition, modernities are layered—some components are shared among all modern societies and make up transnational modernity while other components differ according to historical and cultural circumstances. The third section reflects on East Asia as an alternative modernity and sketches its main features. Leaving modernity as utopia behind, for a grounded modernity opens the possibility of coming to terms with the dilemmas that real modernities face.*

Multipolarity means thinking in the plural. The Cold War era was bipolar and involved comparisons between capitalism and communism across many dimensions. The period of unipolarity that followed the end of the Cold War was one of relatively unrestrained American superpower, in capitalism and finance and, in later stages, geopolitical expansion. This was the era of neoliberalism, the Washington Consensus, recurrent financial crises in emerging economies and, during the G.W. Bush administration, three new wars. In the process, the US overplayed its hand and became overextended.

In the twenty-first century we enter an era of multipolarity, which is shaped by two markers: the weakening of American hegemony and the rise of emerging societies. Thus, as one set of reference points unravels, or at least loses its model appeal—American hegemony and Anglo-American capitalism—other points of reference slowly, gradually emerge in East Asia, China, Singapore, the Arabian Gulf and Latin America (Nederveen Pieterse 2008). In international business, the talk is of 'decoupling'. In development studies, the conversation is about 'Asian drivers'. Investors and asset managers talk about the BRIC (Brazil Russia India China) and other emerging economies, several of which have been upgraded to investment grade. In international affairs, the talk is of 'the rise of the rest' (Zakaria 2008) and the transition from the G7 to the G20 as a

# Postmodernism and Globalization

*Omar Lizardo and Michael Strand[1]*

*Abstract*
*Interest in postmodernity has stagnated over the past decade and has come to be partially replaced by a concern with globalization. While the two terms are often considered to be divergent there is continuity as theoretical discourse transfers from one to the other. In what follows, we first distill the heuristic models employed by various knowledge-geographical traditions of social thought in conceptualizing postmodernism. We then transpose these models into recent debates on globalization. Globalization theory has become the provenance of British and American theorists because of a contiguity that extends back to a propitious model employed to understand postmodernism. Globalization theory in France and Germany are largely non-existent or tangential for similar reasons that find opposite tendencies. The spatial and temporal aspect inherent to both the modern and postmodern indicates that both already present a stance on globalization. Among the key factors predicting the fortunes of heuristic models is the continuation of classical theoretical concerns in the present situation of globalization. Post-classical tendencies in heuristic models indicate that more cloistered postmodern concerns do not transfer well to globalization. Those heuristic models that conceive of a postmodernist break are those whose application to present instantiations of globalization is subsequently limited.*

## 1 Introduction

Recent writings on the relevance of postmodernism for contemporary inquiry in social theory appear to have largely converged in reaching the conclusion of the increasing waning of concern with the modern/postmodern problematic and its gradual replacement by the notion of globalization (Albrow 1997; Tomlinson 1999). This shift in theoretical focus could be interpreted as a signal that the key issues associated with the emergence of interest in postmodernism in the Anglophone academy—increasing skepticism regarding the main goals of the enlightenment project, the problem of epistemic and ethical relativism, the relation between traditional forms of culturally authoritative knowledge and other subaltern ways of engaging the world—are no longer a concern. Thus,

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# Latin American Modernities: Global, Transnational, Multiple, Open-Ended

*Luis Roniger*

*Abstract*

*The analysis of modernity in Latin America has led to recurrent controversy and debate. In spite of its tension-ridden and even contradictory implications, it has been the relatively open-ended character of modernity and its élan of material and cultural progress and the promise of expanding autonomy and equality that has been a major asset for its endorsement in Latin America, a region that some have called the ‚farthest West,‘ a name that hints at the ambiguous and sometimes conflict-ridden relationship of these societies with the poles and agents of Western expansion and hegemony. This article claims that the confrontation with Western modernity is in Latin America a confrontation with roots, discourses and institutions that turned out to be their own. Accordingly, the dynamics of expansion of modernity has been linked from very early on to global and transnational arenas, turning modernity into multiple yet truncated, leading to recurring attempts to reconstitute and attain the unfulfilled promises of modernity in the region.*

As a concept used by academics, modernity has been associated with a series of sociological, political, economic and cultural trends that have altered the forms of space/time constitution of many societies worldwide. In the Western world, the concept became intimately connected with the increasing emergence—starting in the age of discoveries—of new forms of rationality, novel institutional frameworks, capital accumulation and capitalism, and later on such diverse developments as growing urbanization, bureaucratization, rapid transportation and communications. From a cultural perspective, modernity implies the development of a forward-looking attitude, shifts in the conception of human agency, the assumption of a stable self, a reflexive consciousness geared to the creation of new institutions and openness to multiple developments shaped by individuals and groups striving to shape their own future. As such, it involves both a cultural program and multiple institutional processes that affected personal and collective identities and have led to a reconstitution of the political domain, of civil society and public spheres. Modernity has had also its dark sides, evident in colonial expansion and domination of subjugated populations, imperialism and enslavement of non-Western populations, wars

# Institutions, Modernity, and Modernization

*Fei-Ling Wang*

*Abstract*
*Nations, as the hitherto highest level of human groupings, have their varied internal organizational structures featuring functionally differentiated yet interactive arrangements among three leading human institutions: economy, polity, and social life. An internal organizational structure affects the different members of a human grouping in different ways due to institutional exclusion that is inevitably the prerequisite for any human organization. With that in mind, this paper moves beyond ethnocentric confines to suggest an institutionalist understanding of the concepts of modernity and modernization, and discusses the issue of institutional exclusion and its four leading patterns in the era of globalization.*

This essay seeks a general understanding of modernity and modernization. By analyzing the main domains and patterns of human behavior and human institutions, I propose a concept of *domestic organizational structure* (DOS):[1] the structured human institutional arrangement of a nation as the primary human grouping. A nation's DOS contains, essentially, three basic human institutions—economy, polity, and social life. To examine these three institutions and especially the relationship among them opens the door to an uncomplicated but explanatory conceptualization of modernity and modernization.[2]

I move beyond racial and ethnocentric confines and define modernity as, primarily, a differentiated and interactive relationship among polity, economy, and social life; not merely being the most up-to-date, advanced, or powerful of

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1   I want to acknowledge Karla Luna for editorial assistance and many others who have kindly read and helpfully commented on earlier versions of this essay.
    The analytical concept of DOS has similarities to a number of existing ideas such as Karl Marx's "social relations," "societies" or "modes of production;" Emile Durkheim's "*conscience collective*" and institutionalized contract of differentiated units based on an "organic solidarity;" Talcott Parsons' "social systems" in his general theory of action; Jurgen Habermas' "realms" of human life; and Kenneth Arrow's "social worlds."

2   Fei-Ling Wang, *Institutions and Institutional Change in China: Premodernity and Modernization,* London & New York: Macmillan Press & St Martin's Press, 1998: 1–50.

# Modern Society and Global Legal System as Normative Order of Primary and Secondary Social Systems—An Outline of A Communication Theory of Law

*Werner Krawietz*

### Abstract

*A legal system consists of a complex body of practices—primary and secondary—, particularly practices of reasoning and justification. The intellectual, theorized aspect of legal order is embodied in legal doctrine: the corpus of norm-sentences, norms and rules, principles, doctrines and concepts used as basis for legal reasoning and justification. It includes elaborate conceptual structures of principles and doctrines, explicit and sophisticated forms of reflection and criticism. It is only when we have understood the nature of legal doctrine that we can comprehend the workings of courts, lawyers and even legislatures.*

*Concerning the need for a new conception of legal theory one question arises, above all, especially when external and internal observation as well as the critical reflection of the premises and presuppositions of all dealings with the law permit a degree of distance, the question, namely, whether it is not an increasing application of scientific methods that is needed, in the sense that the development of a legal theory from the beginning involves the integration of a norm-descriptive point of view and intellectual stand-point with the norm-prescriptive theory of law, by way of complementing each other, as it were (multi-level-approach to law). This, at least, appears to be the only way of clarifying also the relationship between legal theory and philosophy and the theory and sociology of law. The inevitable consequences of the development of a theory of norms and action also have to be drawn from this.*

## I. On Re- Defining the Concept of Law

Supported by anthropological, ethological, linguistic, cultural and other research in the social sciences there is now a growing insight that the law and its impact on human behaviour requires more detailed basic research both in law and the social sciences. At present the areas where it must start and on which it must focus are, if I am not mistaken, the theory of norms and action, theory

# International Justice and the Basic Needs Principle[1]

## *David Copp*

*Abstract*
*According to the basic needs principle, a state in favorable circumstances must enable its members to meet their basic needs throughout a normal life-span. Applied to the international situation, I argue, this principle implies that a global state would have a duty (ceteris paribus) to enable subordinate states to meet their members' needs. In the absence of a global state, existing states have a duty (ceteris paribus) to work to create a system of institutions that would enable each state to meet its members' needs. Near the conclusion, I respond to skeptical objections about global justice.*

There are striking and disturbing differences in the life prospects of people living in different countries. Most alarming is the fact that many people in many countries are unable to meet their basic needs.[2] In some cases basic physical needs are going unfilled. People lack a source of clean water, adequate medical care, a healthy diet, and so on. In other cases, the needs going unfulfilled are psycho-social needs. Many people do not receive a basic education. There is a moral gravity to situations in which people are unable to meet their basic needs. It is widely agreed that the better off have a duty of charity to assist those living in poverty. I believe, however, that there are duties that go beyond charity. Some differences in life prospects between people in different countries are to be expected, even in a fully just international order. But I believe, with qualifications, that there is injustice in the fact that some countries do not have the resources to enable their people to meet their basic needs while other countries have resources that are surplus to their people's basic needs.

In this paper, I work with a principle I have proposed before, according to which justice requires a state in favorable circumstances to enable its members to meet their basic needs throughout a normal life-span (Copp, 1992; Copp, 1998). I call this the "basic needs principle". My goal is to investigate the exten-

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2  For information on global poverty, see: <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/mission>

# Spatial Struggles: State Disenchantment and Popular Re-appropriation of Space in Rural Southeast China

*Mayfair Mei-hui Yang*

*Abstract*

*This article examines the struggles over space in rural southeastern coastal China, where the market economy has brought newfound prosperity to local communities. Instead of reinvesting all of their wealth into furthering industrial growth, local residents wish to also plow their money into building tombs for their deceased, ancestor halls, deity temples, Daoist and Buddhist temples, Christian churches, and holding extravagant rituals and festivals. These investments into the divine and celestial realms are not met with approval by the local government, who regards them as "wasteful" and "backwards". However, the local residents have some of their own ruses and strategies in this spatial struggle.*

## I. Introduction

In 1998, a township government in rural Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province, on the coast of southeastern China, approved the erection of a "cultural palace" (*wenhuagong*) on the site of a dilapidated elementary school. Cultural palaces date back to state socialist days when the state sought to provide workers with halls for healthy and uplifting leisure activities such as chess and drawing classes. This palace was intended by the township government as a place for old people to gather and while away their waning years. A local elder told me that, as far as the villagers were concerned, they were helping to rebuild the temple to "Granny Chen" (*Chen Shisi Niangniang*), the goddess Chen Jinggu, whose temple had originally stood on this site. It had been torn down by the new Communist government in 1950 to build the elementary school, and never returned to her. Local elders knew that the only way the government would agree to erect a new building on the spot was if it thought it was a cultural palace. It just so happened that its traditional architectural style, with its shiny green tiled roofs curved upward, mythological wall paintings, and opera stage bore all the hallmarks of a deity temple.

An old construction worker and Party member told me with a mischievous grin in 2001, "We have Granny's image ready, and other gods too, but now is

# Re-Engineering the "Chinese Soul" in Shanghai?

## Aihwa Ong

*Abstract*
*Foreign managers in China talked about the need to "re-engineer the Chinese soul" in order to make employees conform to global corporate norms. My approach examines how Western business knowledge and practices are transferred to Shanghai in two major ways. First, I discuss attempts by American managers to focus on corporate norms aimed at disciplining Chinese employees to be team players, not entrepreneurial figures. Frustrations encountered in attempts to "re-engineer" workers are expressed in terms of the opposition between Western business "rationality" and Chinese cultural "irrationality." Chinese employees appear to be driven less by company rules and goals than by individualist careerist moves in a turbulent job market. Western management knowledge is also entering not through American companies but through returning Chinese expatriates who exercise a sophisticated blind of business enterpreneurialism and cultural knowledge in their business dealings. The article concludes by identifying the contradiction in foreign firms wishing to remake Chinese workers as neoliberal subjects but then these same workers are faulted for being too self-enterprising and China critiqued as a site where neoliberal opportunism has run wild.*

> Standing on the roof, we looked at the silhouettes of the buildings lit up by the streetlights on both sides of the Huangpu River, especially the Oriental Pearl TV Tower, Asia's tallest. Its long, long steel column pierces the sky, proof of the city's phallic worship.
>
> The ferries, the waves, the night-dark glass, the dazzling neon lights and incredible structures—all these signs of material prosperity are aphrodisiacs the city uses to intoxicate itself. They have nothing to do with us, the people who live among them. A car accident or a disease can kill us, but the city's prosperous, invincible silhouette is like a planet in perpetual motion.
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> Wei Hui, Shanghai Baby[1]

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1  Zhou Wei Hui, *Shanghai Baby*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1999, 14–15.

# Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality

*Loïc Wacquant*

*Abstract*

*The comparative sociology of the structure, dynamics, and experience of urban relegation in the United States and the European Union during the past three decades reveals the emergence of a new regime of marginality. This regime generates forms of poverty that are neither residual, nor cyclical or transitional, but inscribed in the future of contemporary societies insofar as they are produced by the ongoing fragmentation of wage labor relationship, the functional disconnection of dispossessed neighborhoods from the national and global economies, and the reconfiguration of the welfare state in the polarizing city. Based on a methodical comparison of the black American ghetto and the French working-class banlieue at century's turn, this article spotlights three distinctive spatial properties of "advanced marginality"—territorial fixation and stigmatization, spatial alienation and the dissolution of "place," and the loss of a hinterland—and draws out their implications for the formation of the "precariat" in postindustrial societies.*

The comparative sociology of the structure, dynamics, and experience of urban relegation in the United States and the main countries of the European Union during the past three decades reveals, not a *convergence* on the pattern of the US *ghetto*, as the dominant media and political discourse would have it, but the *emergence* of a new regime of marginality on both sides of the Atlantic.[1] This regime generates forms of poverty that are neither residual, nor cyclical or transitional, but indeed inscribed in the future of contemporary societies insofar as they are fed by the ongoing fragmentation of the wage labor relationship, the functional disconnection **of** dispossessed neighborhoods from the national and global economies, and the reconfiguration of the welfare state into an instrument for enforcing the obligation of paid work in the polarizing city. Based on a methodical comparison of the black American ghetto and the French working-class *banlieue* (outer city) at century's turn (Wacquant 2007),

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[1]    This article is adapted from Chapter 8 of Loïc Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2007), to which the reader is referred for an in-depth analysis of the structure and transformation of neighborhoods of relegation in the United States and France at the close of the twentieth century and a fuller ideal-typical characterization of the new regime of urban marginality.

an immense, specifically political work of aggregation and re-presentation (in a triple cognitive, iconographic, and dramaturgical sense) can hope to enable this conglomerate to accede to collective existence and thus to collective action. But this work stumbles over an unavoidable and insuperable contradiction, springing as it does from the fissiparous tendencies that are constitutive of it: the precariat is a sort of *still-born group*, whose gestation is necessarily unfinished since one can work to consolidate it only to help its members flee from it, either by finding a haven in stable wage labour or by escaping from the world of work altogether (through social redistribution and state protection). Contrary to the proletariat in the Marxist vision of history, which is called upon to abolish itself in the long term by uniting and universalizing itself, the precariat can only make itself to immediately unmake itself.[14]

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14    For a collection of texts, documents, and calls for the European mobilization of the 'precariat' (a term launched by Droits Devants, see 'Globalisation du précariat, mondialisation des résistances', *EcoRev*, May 2005), consult the multi-lingual site: http://republicart.net/disc/precariat/index.htm. For an analysis of the rise of instability in the labour market and the new forms of mobilization it has generated on the margins of regular wage labor, see Perrin (2004).

# Implicature, Appropriateness and Warranted Assertability

*Ron Wilburn*

*Abstract*

*In a number of papers, Keith DeRose articulates his reasons for thinking that we cannot plausibly explain the mechanics of knowledge attribution in terms of varying conditions of warranted assertability (1998, 2002). His reasoning is largely comparative: "know," he argues, proves a poor candidate for such a diagnosis when compared to other terms to which such warranted assertabilility maneuvers (i.e., WAMs) clearly apply. More specifically, DeRose aims, through to use of such comparative case studies, to identify several general principles through which we might determine when WAMs are called for. In what follows, I take issue with one of these principles and argue that DeRose's efforts to deploy the others to pro-contextualist (i.e., anti-invariantist) ends are misguided. I conclude by examining DeRose's specific objection to Unger's skeptical invariantism, and identify a problematic feature of his recurrent appeals to linguistic intuition. The payoff of this is an enhanced appreciation of the factors on which the contextualist/invariantist dispute should be seen to turn.*

## I. Introduction

In a number of papers, Keith DeRose articulates his reasons for thinking that we cannot plausibly explain the mechanics of knowledge attribution in terms of varying conditions of warranted assertability (1998, 2002). His reasoning is largely comparative: "know," he argues, proves a poor candidate for such a diagnosis when compared to other terms to which such warranted assertabilility maneuvers (i.e., WAMs) clearly apply. More specifically, DeRose aims, by way of such comparative case studies, to identify several general principles through which we might determine when WAMs are called for. In what follows, I take issue with one of these principles and argue that DeRose's efforts to deploy the others to pro-contextualist (i.e., anti-invariantist) ends are misguided. I conclude by examining DeRose's specific objection to Unger's skeptical invariantism, and identify a problematic feature of his recurrent appeals to linguistic intuition. The payoff of this is an enhanced appreciation of the factors on which the contextualist/invariantist dispute *should* be seen to turn.

# Is the Whole More than the Sum of its Parts?

*Matthias Thiemann*

Network analysis is a relatively recent meso-level approach to social reality that is interested in the effect of specific configurations of social relations (power elite connections, social structures of communication and of exchange) on the dynamics of social processes (information flow, contagion, processes of exchange). Inspired and propelled by a specific relational structuralism (s. e.g. White et al. 1976) mostly American researchers have developed a sound methodological and mathematical-analytical apparatus over the course of the last 40 years to provide possibilities of measurement for their structural analytical claims. As has often been remarked, many original theoretical inspirations stem from European, and more specifically German scholars (e.g. Elias' 'figurational sociology', Marx's class in itself vs. class for itself, Simmel's forms of sociation). However, despite this heritage, network analysis has only recently become a bourgeoning field of empirical work in Germany.[1]

Up until now, network analysis and network theory did not establish themselves firmly in the mainstream German social sciences (s. Haas and Muetzel, this volume). Some authors (s. Liepelt and Krempel, this volume) blame the dominance of survey research as the main empirical method in Germany, and the higher costs of network research. The costs for gathering network information have been reduced dramatically due to the internet, while the epistemic limitations of survey research to capture social processes continue unabated. Accordingly, the field of network research has become more dynamic in recent years, a sign of which is this rather large (600 pages) volume. The volume intends to portray this new paradigm and make visible the many different authors and theoretical strands using network analysis, emphasizing the specific theoretical contributions (*Netzwerkforschung*) can make to the international debate. The main claim of the book is that network analysis is a complementary paradigm that can be connected to many other theoretical frameworks, elucidating the relational context of social processes. In this respect, the articles in the book explore these areas of potential overlap and present empirical work validating the fruitfulness of the network approach.

1   The book reviewed: *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie – Ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*, VS Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2008