

Final category: A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

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Grassroot strategies for Strong Sustainability: A Systematic Review of Intentional Communities

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Intentional communities, Social innovation, Sustainability transitions, Strong Sustainability, Systematic Review

Abstract/Description

Growing concerns over environmental unsustainability and inequality fueled by global neoliberalism have given rise to citizen movements such as ecological intentional communities, which aim to pioneer innovative ways of living, of relating with their environment and to each other, to fulfill deep human needs and respect planetary boundaries. These communities can be found in urban settings and sometimes hardly differentiated from their surroundings, carrying over conventional norms and cultures within an intentional and social form of organization. Some are the birthplace of unique social projects and foster their own sense of identity among their members, which collaborate and work closely to create alternative modes of living, employment, entertainment and community while retaining their embeddedness in broader society. Other intentional communities may live in the margins, conduct radical experiments of self-sufficiency and constitute micro-society of sorts where we can find alternatives to the dominant paradigms and institutions of modern life. Some of these communities are motivated by ideological standings which go beyond modernist optimistic assumptions or a longing for a romanticized view of the past and view their way of life as an experiment aimed to be learned from, and for their lessons to be carried over into broader society to promote its sustainability. With a philosophical grounding in critical realism and a conceptual framework drawing on strong sustainability, institutional theory and social innovation, the research design entails a systematic literature review and a realist synthesis of academic works relating to grassroots innovations in intentional communities to discover which strategies have the potential to bring about a transformation of our socio-ecological systems towards strong sustainability. Insights for this review are reported and the discussion concludes with a set of recommendations to grassroots movements and policymakers to accelerate a societal sustainability transition through intentional communities.

Emotional Narratives and Decolonial Praxis: Navigating Dual Colonialism and Resilient Solidarity in Hong Kong Activism

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Keywords

Decolonial activism, emotional resilience, Hong Kong diaspora, dual colonialism, affective solidarity

Abstract/Description

My research examines how Hong Kong activists construct decolonial narratives that unify diverse emotional experiences of displacement, oppression, and resistance. It explores which traditional practices persist and the new strategies that have emerged when neither empire, state, nation, nor capital offers genuine liberation. The project situates Hong Kong's dual colonial history—under British rule and current governance by the People's Republic of China—as an ideal case for understanding complex colonial legacies, nationalism, and resilience amidst crises.

Central to this study is the paradox that Hong Kong's sovereignty transfer did not equate to true political or psychological liberation but rather marked a transition into perceived continued subjugation under PRC rule. This inquiry disrupts dominant narratives that frame decolonization as the automatic end of colonialism, engaging with emotional narratives that sustain resistance movements. By incorporating affect theory, this research highlights how emotional communities foster enduring solidarity and shape political and economic discourses, advancing the scholarship on decolonization and resilience within global movements against authoritarianism and neoliberalism.

This study contributes to understanding how emotional narratives act as both sustaining forces and strategic responses within diasporic and activist spaces. It also underscores the importance of integrating affective dimensions into decolonial praxis, providing a nuanced framework that extends to other marginalized and displaced communities navigating precarious conditions.

Election administration for Pakistan's overseas voters: An interview study

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Keywords

Election administration, Overseas Pakistanis, Political parties, Election Management body, Democracy

Abstract/Description

Overseas voting was a long debatable issue in Pakistan because major political parties claimed that their overseas voters cannot participate in the electoral system. In the history of Pakistan, first time Election Management body- Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), gave political rights to overseas Pakistanis in 2018 and promoted the true spirit of democracy to give political rights to those people who are living abroad. The main aim of this study is to highlight the crucial factors which are the main hindrance of overseas voting registration. This study conducted purposive sampling and held overseas voters', from all over the world, interviewed for the deep understanding of their behaviour towards national politics and elections. This study highlighted the factors which are hindrance in the registration of overseas voters and election administration. These factors are lack of mass media campaign, lack of technical knowledge, complicated registration process, and no information sharing cells in concerned embassies and consulates. ECP should disseminate the information about overseas voting via foreign embassies or consulates generals because these are more effective ways to provide information to Pakistani community/overseas and conduct mass media awareness campaigns to properly inform citizens. Citizens have not only supported the country in terms of remittances but have also made the country's image in the front of other country's citizens. In this globalised world, more than 190 million people are emigrants. Only in the USA, more than 5 million voters are living abroad. Overseas voters' participation in national politics is becoming an important topic in the new arena because democratic countries have recognised their rights in national elections. Moreover, consolidated democracies have their first priorities to give rights to emigrants. For instance, Portugal was one of the first democratic countries to give political rights to their emigrants. According to Portuguese Emigration Observatory report, 22% of the Portuguese population is living outside their country. Apart from the political rights, emigrants have played an important role in the country's economic advancement as well. A growing interest in overseas voters in national politics is much different than domestic voters because domestic voters prefer to cast their votes to the faces of the candidates but overseas prefer to cast a vote to the party rather than candidates. Moreover, domestic voters have psychological connections with political candidates and support their favorite candidate rather than to focus on their political mandates. Overseas voters see national politics in a large domain where leaders can play an important role for their welfare. All across the world, different countries have given political rights to overseas citizens because they brought a lot of revenue to their country but were unable to actively participate in the country's politics as a responsible citizen. Overseas citizens played an important role in the country's economic development, not only in terms of

remittance but also played a crucial role in terms of participation in the country's political system. In the case of Pakistan, Overseas Pakistanis actively send back remittances to Pakistan of around US\$ 19 billion, which is 5% of the country's GDP.

Bar parliaments: Activity theoretical study of informal and collective learning of democratic practices and participation.

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Theme Track

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Keywords

Informal learning, Democratic participation, Agency, Democratic learning, Cultural-historical activity theory

Abstract/Description

Bar parliaments: Activity theoretical study of informal and collective learning of democratic practices and participation.

1. Introduction

My PhD dissertation study examines bar parliaments and their potential as contexts of learning and practicing agency and democratic participation. Bar parliaments are long-term social groups gathering in local bars, gas stations and similar locations of informal social gathering. These groups exist in many cities and also in rural municipalities throughout Finland, but don't garner much public interest.

The concept 'bar parliament' has garnered different portmanteaus in Finland, used in public in general and by the groups themselves, such as "saunaparlamenti" [sauna parliament], "baariparlamenti" [bar parliament] or "huoltoasemaparlamenti" [gas station parliament]. These groups are usually named by taking their fixed place of gathering and connecting that with the word "parliament". Thus, these groups earn their very name of parliaments through core concepts of their activity. These groups gather with mainly social intent, but the activity is often to discuss current events, for example by collecting newspapers of the day and going through their topics collectively. The activities appear to share very similar characteristics across bar parliaments of varying geographical location and/or socioeconomic status of their constituents, which makes them an interesting, mainly overlooked, object for research on democratic participation and how it is learned.

Indeed, I argue that bar parliaments are resonant with long-established concepts of democracy (Toqueville, 2004) as well as very recent formulations of democracy as all-encompassing participatory connections between citizens (Eranti, Haapajärvi & Binder, 2023). Voluntary, free associations are considered an essential context for fostering democratic citizenship. They are integral to the notion of community and foster experience of participation in the society. This

aspect of forms of activity that are common to bar parliaments has also been recognized by policy makers, autonomous. Informal and everyday democratic participation and promoting equal participation for all is set as one of the professed national goals by the Ministry of Justice Advisory Board for Civil Society Policy in their strategy for the years 2022-2026 (Wakeham-Hartonen & Männistö, edit. Ministry of Justice, 2022). The new strategy emphasizes the role of autonomous, dynamic, and inclusive civil society in a functioning democracy. Bar parliaments studied in this dissertation study arguably count as such form of participation – previously overlooked in research on adult learning and education– with citizens actively forming communities centered around discussing and deliberating current events and societal issues in the context of everyday life.

The contribution of this PhD study is twofold. The first contribution is made to the field of social sciences and it involves providing a thorough theoretical and empirical examination of a form of social activity known as bar parliaments. Finnish sociological research has a history of studying some similar groups and local culture especially in cities (Alasuutari & Siltanen, 1983; Sulkunen et al, 1985; Pekonen, 1998) and more recently from the viewpoint of democracy (Luhtakallio & Mustranta, 2017) and with distinctively ethnographic approach to areas of low economic status featuring similar groups (Junnilainen, 2019). However, these studies have focused on regions or cultural and socioeconomical spheres and differ in their sociological approach, without examining learning and processes of enacting agency. Learning and democratic participation in and through bar parliaments themselves has been researched very limitedly, and not much is known about bar parliaments as sites of learning and agency formation.

This limitation in the research on social sciences is addressed by the second contribution of this PhD study, which is made to the field of adult education and continuous learning, through theoretical and empirical examination of how democratic participation can be learned in a potentially powerful informal context of learning, which has previously escaped research attention. In this respect, this dissertation study contributes to an emerging field within learning sciences, which focuses on informal communities as contexts for learning regarding democratic participation and political activism. Previous research has focused for example on hobbies as context for developing political concepts (Suhonen, Cantell, Weselius & Kouvo, 2022; Ibsen, Elmoose-Østerlund, Feiler et al, 2019) and Cultural-Historical Activity Theory has been employed for example to study learning in social movements and for collective action (Engeström et al, 2016; Curnow & Jurow, 2021).

Research on democratic participation has focused on parliamentary politics and social movements that either try to affect parliamentary politics in different ways, or its legitimacy (Shalom, 2003; Kelty, 2020). Recent studies have examined transformative agency in relation to student empowerment in social movements (Hedges, 2021; Sales et al, 2020) or in social media (Cunha et al, 2019). The research gap is in studying non-political citizen actors in everyday context of democratic agency and empowerment.

Thus, there exists both a general research gap regarding bar parliaments as an activity overall as well as studying them from the specific viewpoint of democratic participation and agency. There are very few formulations or attempts to analyze these groups by their agency, social practices or

community. This is despite them being a somewhat known concept in Finnish society with many references in various Finnish media from local newspapers to documentaries focusing on bar parliaments.

The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of bar parliaments as an established form of social gathering and their potential for learning and expanding democratic participation. This provides value to both adult educational research on informal learning as well as sociological research on everyday practices of democratic participation.

The results of this PhD research are expected to offer a multifaceted and nuanced picture on bar parliaments as an activity and learning of democratic participation in their informal contexts. New knowledge on informal civic engagement will prove appealing and applicable to audiences both in and outside of the academic world. There is potential for expanding the agency of citizens in informal contexts and providing new innovations for engaging civic policy.

The academic impact and societal value of the research is significant. Academically it contributes to understanding of learning of democratic participation in informal contexts and widens the understanding of political participation. The study showcases aspects of Finnish participatory culture that hasn't been studied before from the viewpoint of learning everyday practices of democratic participation.

2. Theoretical framework

To examine learning, agency and democratic participation in bar parliaments, this interdisciplinary dissertation study draws on and extends two theoretical foundations. Firstly, it draws from social science research on forms of democracy and democratic participation, which are recognized as core values and ways of life in which all persons are recognized as equals (Barber, 1984; Shalom, 2003; Kelty, 2020). From this perspective, bar parliaments are then defined by their practices, continuity of action, status of the participants as recognized members of the group, and essentially by their fundamentally informal and autonomous status (Nivala & Rynänen, 2019).

Secondly, this dissertation study draws on Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) to examine bar parliaments as culturally organized activities in their institutional settings and wider socio-historical and cultural contexts (Engeström et al., 2015; Rajala et al., 2023). This aligns closely with the aims of the research to understand bar parliaments as an expressly local activity that is decidedly and organically shaped by its participants. A central feature of CHAT is that symbolic and material cultural artifacts are mediators of action in social interaction. Cultural mediation constitutes a fundamental precondition for the development of individuals and activities. The development of activities occurs in contexts of varying levels of inclusiveness and in a mutual interchange at intersecting timescales (Cole, 2016). Learning is understood as situated in sociocultural and historical contexts, and aligned with CHAT, defined as a process of "changing participation in changing communities of practice" (Lave, 1996). Thus, learning involves consequential participation, which is of significance for the learners (Jurow & Shea, 2015). Furthermore, I conceptualize agency as (realized) capacity, possibilities and will of people to act upon their lives and social circumstances (Holland et al., 1998; Engeström, 2006; Hopwood, 2022). Agency involves interactive, relational, and transformative aspects (Nivala & Rynänen 2013, 2019) and is potentially transformative in its expressions. Moreover, spheres of agency can extend from individual and imminent community level onwards to national and global level.

3. Aims and research questions

The aim of this study is to map bar parliaments as phenomena and specifically analyze their activity as places of informal learning and agency. I seek to expand our limited knowledge about learning of democratic participation and agency in bar parliaments currently and what prospects there are for expanding it. The bar parliaments are examined through case studies involving various groups that share similar practices but vary by geographic location, racial identity, economic and academic status of their participants and by the socioeconomic situation of their communities.

My research questions are:

1. What - if anything - characterizes the activity of bar parliaments as democratic participation?
2. What aspects of the group activity support and or hinder individual member learning of democratic participation?
3. How is agency manifested in bar parliaments in relation to individual, communal, and societal levels of democratic participation?

4. Data and methods

The data collection methods include individual interviews, focus group interviews, participative observation and fieldnotes, photography, collection of documents (Cohen et al. 2018). All the interviews are recorded and transcribed.

First set of collected data is collected through ethnographic participant observation and group interviews (n=10-12). These group interviews are supported by fieldnotes, photography and collection of documents to record the type and characteristics of these bar parliaments as groups and their activity. Groups are chosen to maximize diversity regarding geographical and socio-economical differences, as well as ethnicity, academic status, gender, and age (Patton, 1990). Individual interviews will be carried out as secondary data to support interpretation of the data.

These interview records are transcribed in full and analyzed inductively into main categories aligned with my research questions (Saldaña, 2021). Categorization focuses on opportunities for democratic participation, experienced agency, attitudes towards local and societal issues and characteristics of the activities of the bar parliament.

Collection of this first research data set is conducted early in my research, in order to enable longitudinal examination of learning and change in the groups, which is the focus of my second and third research questions.

Second core set of research data is narrowed by focusing on groups that differ markedly either by their participants' backgrounds, geographical location, and socio-economic status. This provides the context to analyze learning that happens in these groups and highlight differences and similarities that these varying groups exhibit.

After identifying these groups for the study, the second subset of core research data is collected using semi-structured thematic focus group interview(s) as well as participant observations and accompanied by at least one formal individual semi-structured interview at this stage for hypothesis testing and collecting detailed data for ontogenetic comparison of activity and experienced learning of the group.

The number of cases for this closer analysis is smaller (n= 3-4 case studies). All the interviews are recorded and transcribed. Composition of the interview groups are recorded in detail as per the interviewees allow: this includes self-described genders, age, general life situation and ethnicity. This data set is analyzed inductively and organized thematically in alignment with first interview data to analyze agency and learning of democratic participation in the group.

Publication plan

Article 1: Jauhiainen, A. & Eskelinen, T. "Bar parliaments in Finland and experiences of informal participation in democracy and agency". Intended journal: *Learning, Culture, and Social Interaction*. Fall 2026.

Article 2: Jauhiainen, A. & Rajala, A. "Informal learning of democratic participation in the context of bar parliaments: An activity theoretical study". Intended journal: *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, Spring 2027.

Article 3: Jauhiainen, A. "The potential for transformative democracy in bar parliaments: A Finnish perspective". Intended journal: *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*. Fall 2027.

The Moral Economy of the (football) crowd: creative organisation against financialization.

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Role

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Theme Track

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Keywords

financialization, shared ownership, moral economy, democratic governance, football

Abstract/Description

This paper explores the emergence of Unionistas de Salamanca, a football club founded in 2013 after the dissolution of Unión Deportiva Salamanca (UDS). Employing E.P. Thompson's concept of moral economy, it examines how supporters mobilized traditional norms and values to challenge the commodification of their club. Through ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation, and interviews in Salamanca, the study investigates how grassroots action preserved cultural identity while fostering a sustainable governance model.

The collapse of UDS left a profound void in Salamanca's social fabric. In response, the *Plataforma de Aficionados Unionistas* (PAU) organized a movement rooted in moral ownership and justice, resisting the exploitative financial practices that led to the club's demise. This mobilization culminated in the creation of Unionistas de Salamanca, a democratically governed club prioritizing transparency, fairness, and social responsibility over profit.

Unionistas' "one member, one vote" system and financial prudence reflect an ethos of popular football, proving that community-driven governance can offer an alternative to financialized football. Beyond sports, the club acts as a "reembedding" movement, reconnecting economic activities with local culture and values. Its inclusive practices and emphasis on collective identity exemplify football's potential as a tool for social cohesion and resistance to commercialization.

This research demonstrates the power of moral economy in shaping alternative governance models in football. Unionistas de Salamanca offers a compelling example of how grassroots efforts can resist financialization, blending sustainable practices with a commitment to community. The findings contribute to discussions on moral economy and sports governance, highlighting the intersection of economic practices, social movements, and cultural identity.

Redefining Entrepreneurship: From Profit Maximization to Economic Democracy and Social Value Creation

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Senian enterprise, economic democracy, social value creation, capability approach

Abstract/Description

In recent decades, there has been a growing demand for a more conscious and inclusive form of capitalism, accompanied by an emerging movement toward the humanization of business practices. This shift is driven by the realization that businesses can no longer operate purely on profit-driven goals; instead, they are increasingly called upon to make ethical, humane, and sustainable decisions that have a positive impact on society. This movement challenges the traditional paradigm of business as a purely economic entity, emphasizing the importance of corporate responsibility and accountability to broader societal concerns. Today, organizations, firms, and corporations are being asked to align their operations with values that promote environmental sustainability, social equity, and long-term well-being for all stakeholders, including employees, consumers, and local communities.

Furthermore, a growing awareness exists within certain sectors of the business world regarding the urgency of fostering sustainable development. Many firms now recognize the importance of contributing to positive social change, not just through charitable activities or corporate social responsibility programs, but through their core business operations. This marks a shift toward embedding social and environmental goals into the heart of business strategies. The idea is that companies should not merely seek to minimize harm but proactively work to improve society and the environment.

Amid this evolving landscape, we propose a model of the firm that embraces this paradigm shift: what we identify as the 'Senian enterprise.' This concept is inspired by the capability approach, a normative framework developed by Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen, which focuses on human well-being and development. Sen's capability approach emphasizes the importance of expanding individuals' freedoms and opportunities to achieve a good life, considering not just material wealth but also broader measures of well-being, such as access to education, healthcare, and a healthy environment. This approach has also influenced the human development framework

to redefine development beyond mere economic growth.

The Senian enterprise is distinct from a conventional firm, although its operational structure may bear similarities. Like any business, it seeks to transform inputs into outputs. However, the nature and characteristics of both the inputs it processes and the outputs it produces are different. Moreover, the motivations, goals, and values that drive the Senian enterprise diverge sharply from traditional profit-driven companies. At its core, the Senian enterprise is committed to improving the well-being of society as a whole. This includes fostering better working conditions and fair wages for employees, producing ethical and safe products for consumers, adopting environmentally sustainable production methods, preserving natural resources, and ensuring a fair and transparent value chain. Beyond economic gain, the Senian enterprise aims to generate both economic and social value, contributing to the well-being of the communities in which it operates.

In essence, the Senian enterprise embodies a holistic approach to business that integrates ethical considerations into every aspect of its operations. It reflects a vision of business not as an isolated entity driven by market competition, but as a key actor in promoting societal well-being. This concept echoes strongly with the growing movement toward social enterprises—organizations whose primary mission is to address social problems through entrepreneurial means. Social enterprises aim to strike a balance between financial sustainability and social impact, often reinvesting profits into their mission-driven activities.

However, the principles of the Senian enterprise can easily be extended to a broader array of organizational forms beyond the typical social enterprise. We envision a diverse spectrum of enterprises, ranging from cooperatives and benefit corporations (B Corps) to more conventional businesses that are gradually aligning with the humanization trend. These enterprises may pursue traditional business activities but are increasingly motivated by ethical concerns and a desire to contribute positively to society. For example, cooperatives often emphasize democratic governance and equitable distribution of profits, while B Corps are legally required to consider the social and environmental impacts of their decisions. Additionally, many companies are exploring social innovation initiatives that prioritize solving societal challenges through creative, entrepreneurial approaches.

Ultimately, the Senian enterprise represents a promising alternative to the traditional business model, one that places human well-being, sustainability, and ethical responsibility at the forefront of decision-making. As businesses continue to evolve in response to the pressing global challenges of our time—such as climate change, inequality, and resource depletion—the Senian enterprise offers a blueprint for a more just and sustainable form of capitalism. By adopting this model, companies can play a pivotal role in shaping a future where economic growth and social progress go hand in hand.

Values in the Social Economy: A Study of Mutual Health Organizations in France

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Mutual companies, Values, Social economy, Economics of conventions

Abstract/Description

Non-profit organizations with mutual or cooperative status occupy a significant position within the global insurance sector. In France, mutual insurers operate in the private health insurance market, providing complementary coverage to the compulsory health insurance scheme (i.e., the *Sécurité Sociale*). Three types of entities share the complementary health insurance market: mutuals and provident institutions (i.e., non-profit organizations) and insurance companies (i.e., for-profit organizations). In 2022, these complementary organizations financed 12.6% of healthcare expenditures (DREES, 2023).

The economics literature on this topic is divided into two distinct areas of study. First, research examines the specificity of mutuals compared to stock companies (Talonon, 2016; MacMinn and Ren, 2011). These differences concern democratic governance and the presence of solidarity mechanisms reflected in the organizations' pricing policies (Bunchnueller and Couffinhal, 2004). Second, the literature investigates the demutualization of mutual insurers, a process that often entails internal transformations to align these organizations with the structure of joint-stock companies (Fitzgerald, 1973; Butler, Cui, and Whitman, 2000; Keneley, 2012).

While no mutual insurers in France have undergone demutualization, their organizational practices have evolved under competitive pressures (Batifoulier, Domin, and Gadreau, 2011). Within this context, the literature has documented an erosion of historical practices tied to the social economy origins of mutual health insurers (Abecassis, Coutinet, and Domin, 2014).

These changes in practices raise questions about the persistence of the historical values upon which these organizations were founded. This paper explores the logic of action underlying mutualist organizations. It responds to the call for papers issued by Network A, "Community, Democracy, and Organizations," which invites contributions examining how organizations structure themselves around collectively shared principles and values. The objectives of this study are twofold. First, it seeks to determine whether mutualist actors actively mobilize their historical values—rooted in their social economy heritage—to justify their activities. Second, it aims to understand how these values are operationalized within a changing institutional framework.

To investigate mutualist values, the paper adopts the French institutionalist theoretical

framework of economics of conventions (Diaz-Bone and Larquier, 2024). This approach is particularly suited to analyzing the role of values in the coordination of mutual health organizations. Values serve as a motivating factor for actors within the social economy and frequently underpin the justification of an organization's activities.

Finally, the analysis draws on a qualitative survey conducted in France between 2020 and 2021 as part of a doctoral dissertation. The survey comprised 51 semi-structured interviews with 55 participants, each lasting an average of one hour and ten minutes. The interviewees represented three distinct groups: elected representatives (e.g., board or general assembly members), members of management or employees.

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Critical Reflexivity and Its Implications for Alternative Organizations

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

alternative organizations, reflexivity, social phenomenology,

Abstract/Description

The importance of critical reflexivity for alternative organizations cannot be overestimated. These collective and sometimes experimental attempts of building new and morally viable alternatives rely on critical reflexivity to monitor and to learn from their own experience. Accordingly, researchers have documented the prevalence of critical reflexivity in day to day alternative organizational life and claimed that it can support participatory-democratic forms and help further members' understanding of the inevitable tensions characteristic of any attempt to turn valued ideas into a lived reality.

Given its importance and prevalence, critical reflexivity, too, must be subjected to an in-depth reflection. In this paper I attempt to do so by revisiting a long awaiting theoretical path: the social-phenomenology of Alfred Schutz. More specifically, I build on Schutz's accounts of reflective lived experience and of the system of relevance that shapes it. I argue that critical reflexivity has a distinctive relevance structure and that this relevance structure constitutes a re-interpretive space that is at once thematically flexible and morally rigid.

As such, critical reflexivity has crucial and somewhat counterintuitive structural and social implications. Alongside its crucial contributions to learning, it tends to hinder the formation of stable organizational structures. Another implication is its tendency to entangle value fulfillment with social estrangement. These phenomenological characteristics and implications of critical reflexivity, I argue, can shed a new light on a range of phenomena that researchers have long known to be characteristic of alternative organizational contexts, including "degeneration," "regeneration," "mission drift," conflicts between so-called "idealists" and "pragmatists," and more.

On the whole, it appears that critical reflexivity is ironically both the building block of the project of building something *else* and a potentially corrosive force that can undermine this project. On the one hand, it is crucial for sustaining alternativeness; on the other hand, it both hinders the stabilization of this alternativeness and haunts the alternative self and its relationships with others. Critical reflexivity, then, is a complex and multifaceted social practice whose experiential, social, and structural implications transcend any neat, moral binarism. The struggle to cope with this complexity cannot be anything but ongoing, and it is perhaps this ongoing struggle that is the very core of what it means to seek "alternativeness."

Transforming outside-in: Co-creating shared social representations in developing transformative sustainable services

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

lifestyle change, organisational change, co-creation, sustainability, sustainable services

Abstract/Description

Customer-business interactions are mostly characterized by commercial exchange relationships. To achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals and provide well-being for people and the environment requires organizations to take on novel, transformative business practices that permit them – and the customers and communities they serve – to achieve the necessary transformation. However, understanding the process of developing sustainable services to foster solidarity and action requires further insights. In this extensive, multi-layered study, we present an analysis of six years of longitudinal research on behavior and lifestyle changes with the major international retailer renowned for its sustainability efforts, IKEA.

We draw on qualitative data in the form of 2141 blog posts from participating customer households that served as reflective interventions from six participant cohorts that partook in the so-called Live Lagom program for 10 months per cohort between 2015 and 2024 (note that the project was put on hold during the Covid-19 pandemic, 2019-2022). Interventions provided rich opportunities to reflect on emerging behavioural and self-representational changes (i.e., when people come to apply different concepts to themselves, thus managing to change the degree to which they are capable of facilitating desired or limiting undesired behaviors) and their underlying mechanisms.

Participating customer households received a monetary incentive to participate (year 1 = £500; year 2 = £300; year 3-6 = £100) in the form of a voucher they were able to spend on a range of products that were identified to support customers to live more sustainable lifestyles (i.e. the service provision). In the process, participating households were

introduced to an IKEA contact working in the respective local store who organized and executed workshops on, for instance, how to save energy, avoid food waste and the importance of living more sustainably, throughout the project.

As highlighted by previous research, a central opportunity to facilitate customer engagement is providing customers with opportunities to express their ideas and thoughts as integral part of a co-creational approach (e.g., Wagner and Majchrzak 2014). To provide ample learning and engagement opportunities for co-creation, several in-store and online workshops were provided. Here, in contrast to popular research on behavioral choice architecture or so-called 'nudges' (e.g., Barr and Prillwitz, 2014; Ghesla et al., 2019; Thaler and Sunstein, 2008) and other mostly unconscious behavior change initiatives (e.g., Young et al., 2017), we followed an approach that aimed to consciously co-create solutions in a democratic, open bidirectional manner. Further opportunities to engage with both IKEA and other participants were offered through a closed Facebook group that participants were invited to join (NB: the Facebook group was made open during the Covid-19 pandemic).

In the research, we were particularly interested in the role of social representations on customer behaviors. In line with Flick, Foster and Caillaud (2016), research drawing on social representations is first and foremost of qualitative nature. A qualitative, abductive approach to data collection and analysis was taken (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p. 27), which neither completely follows inductive or deductive processes, but allows for researchers' engagement in an iterative, back and forth movement between theory and data with the aim to develop new or modify existing theory (Saunders et al., 2012). This involved a process of moving between framework, data sources, and analysis, to reveal new insights. We identified three overarching themes that reflected the co-creational process allowing transformative services in the form of sustainable lifestyle co-creation to emerge, namely, *experiences, language and products*.

Applying a social representation lens allowed to shed light on factors that enabled and subsequently facilitated the co-creational process. The co-creational process between customers and IKEA, aiming to identify efficacious support offerings and feedback dynamics, was made possible through an active engagement between project participants (human agents) and other people, and IKEA as a business as well as the products and services that are offered (i.e. objects), experienced and co-created during the process. Interaction between project participants and others serves the *communicative function*. Interaction in the form of use and experiences between the participants and the existing and evolving services and products provide the *instrumental function*.

Findings show that by co-creating shared solutions, people-business imaginaries can offer a critical form of solidarity in that they allow actors to align their efforts into an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983). Indeed, the research demonstrates that the commitment-enabled through the group's cohesion-unlocked emerging practices that are key to i) fostering lifestyle changes and ii) informing potential organizational changes. Moreover, findings also suggest that the behavior change project offered a service that supported participants in their attempt to adopt more sustainable lifestyles.

Learning to Participate: Preparing for Power and Eliminating Barriers

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

democratic organizations, democratic participation, organizational learning, community organizations, democratic schools

Abstract/Description

How do collectivist-democratic organizations teach participants to be collectivist and democratic? For individuals accustomed to conventional bureaucratic, hierarchical organizations—that is, for most of us in Western societies—collectivist-democratic and participatory skills are not something we have developed. Research on alternative organizations, ranging from democratic schools to worker-owned cooperatives, shows that they often facilitate the diffusion of organizational knowledge, enable participants to develop new skills, and encourage the unlearning or relearning of conventional ways of thinking and acting—demystifying knowledge and tasks typically monopolized by experts. Relatedly, research suggests that participants' learning and experiences in prefigurative organizations can spill over into their work in other, conventional organizations in potentially transformative ways. Therefore, understanding how prefigurative organizations prepare participants for non-hierarchical participation is vital to grasping their role in advancing new, liberatory organizational models. However, while scholars frequently highlight the importance of (re)learning within prefigurative organizations, there is little systematic examination of how these organizations actively cultivate the necessary skills and dispositions among their participants.

In this paper, I seek to address this omission. I use ethnographic data, in-depth interviews, and organizational documents from two organizations attempting to shift the conventional power relations within their respective institutions: DSchool, a democratic school designed to give students and adults an equal voice in decisions, and the Stevens Foundation, a private philanthropic foundation seeking to transfer control over its grantmaking to the Community Project, a non-profit organization with a community-based board. (All names are pseudonyms.) I examine how the organizational structures and practices at DSchool and the Community Project scaffold learning and participation to equip participants with the tools and knowledge to participate on more equal footing. I show that, at both DSchool and the Community Project, this scaffolding includes explicit training, apprentice-like arrangements, efforts to make information and processes transparent and accessible, and a willingness to accept that messes and mistakes will happen and are part of the learning process. I argue that the learning that these practices foster is a key element enabling egalitarian participation because it distributes and demystifies what would otherwise be knowledge and experience held—and used—by only the few. As a result, community members at the Community Project and students at DSchool are empowered to participate in the decision-making and governance processes at each organization.

This paper is part of a larger book project that asks, How can organizations transform rather than reproduce existing power relations? This question hits at the core of new institutional arrangements taking place across a range of sectors—from participatory budgeting, to community policing, to free-range parenting—and it is at the heart of scholarly conversations about alternative organizations, organizational imaginaries, and the push for more participatory-democratic and inclusive organizations. My book project, *Powering Down: How Organizations Become More Democratic*, addresses this question by exploring the process of “powering down,” top-down attempts to redistribute

DSchool and the Stevens Foundation as each organization attempts to power down—DSchool, by reworking the power relations between adults and children, and the Stevens Foundation, by reworking the power relations between a funder and the community it funds.

Democratizing financial climate action: rethinking institutional investment decisions based on AkademikerPension's divestment process, 2014-2022

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

financial decision-making, fossil-fuel divestment, member democracy, governance, pension fund capitalism

Abstract/Description

With the financial sector's substantial influence in contemporary society, including on the climate crisis, it is critical to ask how financial institutions can become accountable to democratic concerns. This question can be emblematically exemplified by the medium-sized Danish pension fund, AkademikerPension (*AcademicPension*), expressly by examining its process from dismissing proposals for divestment of (i.e., exclusion of investments in) coal, oil, and gas in 2014 to becoming one of the most climate-progressive global institutional investors in 2022, both measured in terms of its divestment criteria and active ownership. I argue that AkademikerPension's divestment process has been advanced by its rare, compared to other financial institutions, formalization of member democracy.

The central role of the fossil-fuel industry in the climate crisis – its efforts to delay climate action and its reliance on investors both as co-owners (shareholders) and to finance its new large-scale projects (Wishart, 2019; Dordi et al., 2022; Folkers, 2024, p. 9) – has given rise to a growing global divestment movement. These elements have caused a burgeoning debate on whether investors should focus on divestment or 'active ownership' (i.e., remaining shareholders to try to push fossil-fuel producers into a green line of production). While the question of *whether* to divest is already well-discussed (for two overviews, see Braungardt et al., 2019; McDonnell & Gupta, 2023), this study analyzes *how* divestment decisions can come about.

The question of how investment decisions are shaped is widely discussed in the financialization literature (Arjaliès et al., 2017; Birch & Muniesa, 2020; Clark, 2000; Mader et al., 2020) – with only a few recent discussions on divestment decision-making (Christophers, 2019; Egli et al., 2022; Himick, 2023; Langley et al., 2021). However, absent from the theoretical debates and most practical investor structures is the component of member democracy. Supplementary to this issue, several studies (as evident in this network, SASE A) have studied and called for economic democracy (McGaughey, 2021; Piketty, 2019; Rothschild, 2016; Laplume et al., 2008; Ostrom, 1990), with only limited studies on democracy in financial institutions (Hess, 2005; Schneiberg, 2017; Schneiberg et al., 2008; Stewart & Yermo, 2008). The category of "democracy" in these investigations mostly does not imply direct member-based democracy, as is the case of AkademikerPension, where members vote at the general assembly and for board members. Instead, it often implies an increased role of unions or the state. Since no studies, to the best of my knowledge, have investigated how member-based democracy in financial institutions affects actual investment decision processes, this study contributes by analyzing AkademikerPension's divestment decision process. Specifically, I propose that a relationship between four factors was central in bringing AkademikerPension's transformation about: member democracy, financial expertise, individuals, and organized NGO pressure. While these factors could potentially explain the degree of other institutional investors' divestment decisions or lack thereof, it remains for further studies to examine their transferability.

I establish my argument by reconstructing AkademikerPension's transformation 2014–2022. To identify the factors that formed AkademikerPension's decision process in detail, I conduct an in-depth qualitative case study of this process, focusing on the interplay of the democratic governance structure, the various actors, and the context. I review the following documents: AkademikerPension's General Assembly minutes, annual reports, sustainability reports, and policy papers 2014–2023; select Danish and international media coverage 2013–2023; and NGO surveys regarding Danish Pension Funds' climate-related investments 2013–2023 (by ActionAid, AnsvarligFremtid (*ResponsibleFuture*), and WWF). I compare these textual documents with semi-structured oral-history interviews with key actors, including present and/or previous board members, chairs, chief financial officers, chief executive officers, chief investment officers, and pension fund members. The interviews interrogated the interviewees' recollections of the process and asked open questions about potential factors driving the transformation. Based on these materials, I reconstruct AkademikerPension's transformation process, the official rationales, the ongoing discussions, and relevant policy, governance, and societal changes.

In short, by analyzing how the proposed factors shaped AkademikerPension's divestment decision process, this study contributes to the research on the formation of investment decision processes. Partly, it responds to Ewan McGaughey's (2021) and Egli et al.'s (2022) call for further qualitative case studies on the factors shaping climate-related investment decisions and member-based democracy's role in financial institutions. Partly, it updates Gordon L. Clark's (2000) seminal framework for pension funds' decision-making by adding member democracy, the role of individual actors' hearts and minds, and NGO pressure as significant potential factors in pension funds' decision-making.

Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) and Labor Market Inequality: Investigating the Motherhood Penalty and Racial Disparities

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs), wage inequality, motherhood penalty, gender wage gap, racial wage gap

Abstract/Description

Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) and Labor Market Inequality: Investigating the Motherhood Penalty and Racial Disparities

A significant body of research has examined how personal life events, such as marriage and childbirth, shape labor market outcomes for women. Within this field, the motherhood penalty has emerged as a critical driver of gender-based wage disparities. Addressing these disparities remains a central focus in current employee ownership research. Scholars have demonstrated that employee-owned businesses provide stable employment, training opportunities, and competitive wages and benefits (Boguslaw & Shur, 2019; Wiefek, 2017; Weissbourd et al., 2021). A defining feature of employee-owned businesses is their democratic workplace structure, where workers are not merely employees but also co-owners who participate in decision-making processes (Blasi et al., 2018; Blasi et al., 2013, 2017; Kroncke, 2017).

One form of employee ownership is the Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). ESOPs function as a benefit offered by employers through company stock. While existing studies highlight the advantages of employee ownership—such as enhanced job satisfaction, financial stability, and alignment of worker and company interests—there is a need to delve deeper into how ESOPs interact with pre-existing labor market disparities related to race, gender, and class (Cappelli et al., 2020; Hennig et al., 2023). Although no research has directly examined the relationship between ESOPs and gender-based wage disparities, such as the motherhood penalty or the marriage premium, prior work on employee ownership provides a foundation for understanding potential impacts. For instance, Buchko (1992) and Aubert et al. (2014) found that employee ownership improves job satisfaction and organizational commitment and reduces turnover intentions. These factors may increase women's job tenure, potentially offsetting the negative effects of career breaks associated with childbirth and mitigating long-term wage penalties linked to job mobility or career interruptions.

However, while ESOPs have the potential to foster more equitable workplaces, systemic barriers remain. Black workers and women, for example, are more likely to hold part-time positions that exclude them from ESOP participation. This suggests that the benefits of ESOPs may not be equitably distributed across all demographic groups (Carberry, 2010).

Despite a growing body of literature on gendered penalties in the workforce, limited research has explored how alternative work arrangements, such as employee ownership, might mitigate or exacerbate these inequalities. Among existing studies, research on job mobility highlights how switching employers can intensify the motherhood penalty. Mothers who change employers after childbirth often experience greater wage losses than those who remain with the

same employer, forfeiting tenure-related benefits, established relationships, and accumulated trust (Yu & Hara, 2021). Additionally, scholarship on "family-friendly jobs" shows that flexible work arrangements, while reducing wage penalties for some mothers, can trigger "flexibility stigma." This stigma arises when employers perceive flexible work arrangements as signaling reduced commitment, further exacerbating wage penalties (Fuller & Hirsch, 2019).

This study uses data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY97) to examine the impact of ESOPs on women's labor market outcomes following the birth of their first child. It contributes to the literature in two key ways. First, it broadens the understanding of how ESOPs intersect with labor market disparities by considering not only gender but also racial and age dimensions of inequality. Second, it investigates whether ESOPs can mitigate the motherhood penalty and provide equitable career advancement opportunities for women, particularly women of color, who are disproportionately affected by systemic labor market discrimination. Preliminary results suggest that mothers within ESOP arrangements experience less penalty than those in non-ESOP arrangements. However, the findings also highlight limitations in the ability of ESOPs to address systemic inequalities. For example, access to ESOPs remains uneven, with part-time workers and employees in low-wage sectors—groups that disproportionately include women of color—often excluded from participation.

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Do intentions matter? From stated values to characteristics and circulation of the French convertible local currencies

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

values, convertible local currencies, territory, multiple correspondence analysis

Abstract/Description

French convertible local currencies (LCs) are generally conceived as activist projects with a transformative aim. In this respect, they are a particular manifestation of a broader movement of “alternative currencies”, which has been very dynamic worldwide since the 1980s (Maurer, 2005; North, 2007; Barinaga, 2024). They are also, and consequently, forms of contesting social innovation aimed at social transformation (Avelino et al., 2019). Their generally militant stance is not without raising questions about how the aspiration to transformation materializes into an associative project (Blanc, 2015). They are thus hybrid organizations in which multiple objectives are in tension (Magnani and Marais, 2021). The aim of the text proposed here is to study how the values affirmed by LCs issuing associations shape specific projects.

For this purpose, we use the results of a survey of French local currencies carried out in 2023. The survey covered a wide range of topics, making it possible to describe the French landscape of LCs (Blanc, Fare and Lafuente-Sampietro, 2023). One of the novelties compared to the previous 2019 survey was the presence of an open-ended question asking respondents to describe in a few words up to five objectives of their local currency project. Obtaining this verbatim allowed us to characterize the motivations of project leaders for 44 of the 73 currencies in circulation at the time, and to make links between these intentions, the characteristics taken on by the currencies and the scale of their circulation. The aim of this study is thus to analyze how the intentions of those involved influence the realization of projects, mechanisms that may prove important in the context of local currencies, but more broadly in associative circles, the social and solidarity economy and the economic world at large.

The methodology of this study is based on the objectives declared by LC representatives. We categorized these verbatim statements into 18 objective categories, which we then

used in a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to group the stated objectives and the currencies expressing them by proximity. Based on the MCA, we perform a hierarchical clustering on principal components (HCPC), assembling the local currencies into four groups according to the values expressed. These four groups are then used to study the diversity of local currencies in circulation, as well as territorial characteristics and size. To do this, we use cross-tabulated descriptive statistics for the qualitative variables, as well as linear regressions modeling the quantitative circulation variables on the basis of value groups and currency characteristics.

The preliminary results obtained show that certain LC characteristics, which we thought were strongly linked to the positioning of the representatives, such as their membership of certain LC networks or their circulation format, are in the end little correlated with the objectives expressed. Conversely, territorial characteristics, such as the type of territory declared, its size and its environment, are more closely linked to these objectives. Similarly, we can see differences in the size of local currencies (in terms of money supply and number of members) depending on the group of objectives. These preliminary results call into question presuppositions and highlight factors in the establishment and development of local currencies, whether or not they are linked to the initial objectives. They shed new light not only on our understanding of LCs, but also on the relationship between objectives and development in activist projects more generally.

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Sharing is Caring: Employee Stock Ownership Plans and Employee Satisfaction in U.S. Manufacturing

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

ESOPs, job satisfaction, organization culture, collective bargaining, shared ownership capitalism

Abstract/Description

Do employees fare better in firms they partly own? Examining workers' reviews of their employers on Glassdoor, we compare employee satisfaction between firms in which workers own company shares through an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP) and conventional firms in which they do not. Focusing on workers in U.S. manufacturing, we find employees report greater satisfaction in employee-owned firms overall and with specific aspects of jobs such as firm culture. The satisfaction premium is enjoyed by employees throughout the organizational hierarchy, including rank-and-file workers, high-skill engineers, managerial employees, and more. The satisfaction premium is greater when the ESOP is the product of collective bargaining or employees own a larger stake of firm equity. The findings of this first large-sample study of employee satisfaction relative to ownership have important implications for organization and mgt theory and public and private policy makers.

The full paper is available upon request.

Platforming the Civil Sector: Connecting the Civic Archipelago in the Digital Age

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Nonprofits, Collaboration, Platformization, Civic

Abstract/Description

Addressing social problems often necessitates substantial collaboration among organizations. While existing literature has thoroughly examined the benefits and challenges of such collaboration within the nonprofit sector, it predominantly draws on Western experiences, often assuming a natural partnership between foundations and NGOs for collective social problems. However, less is known about how these partnerships form and dissolve in contexts characterized by tightening nonprofit regulations and a rapidly evolving digital landscape.

In authoritarian states like China, for instance, domestic NGOs have historically received minimal support from local foundations. The metaphor "same bed, different dream" aptly captures the struggles of these natural allies and strategic partners to connect. During this period, the sector resembled a civic archipelago, marked by fragmentation and isolation. However, with the introduction of China's version of Giving Tuesday, known as Charity S Day, this disconnection has significantly improved since 2015.

This paper critically examines how the platformization of nonprofits enhances collaboration and networks, emphasizing its role in transforming the sector from independent organizations to interdependent networks. Utilizing network analysis of big data alongside qualitative interviews with representatives from a tech company, I explore the dynamics of strategic collaboration between foundations and NGOs. My findings reveal a dramatic increase in network density from 2015 to 2021, indicating a rise in strategic collaborations among various actors in the field.

The evolution of this network can be categorized into three distinct phases: fragmentation, multi-polarization, and, most recently, atomization. Initially, connections were sparse and scattered, resulting in fragmented groups. Over time, the network transitioned into a multi-polarized structure, where distinct clusters emerged. However, it has recently become highly atomized, characterized by numerous small, isolated groups or individuals with few overarching connections. Notably, the diversity in collaboration is not evident in direct partnerships between fundraisers and executing organizations, but rather in collaborations within each group. These within-group collaborations typically take two forms: localized partnerships, such as regional fundraisers working with local grassroots organizations, and project-based, cross-regional collaborations, where national-level fundraisers support grassroots organizations on specific initiatives.

To elucidate the dramatic shift in network dynamics, I analyze qualitative data to demonstrate how platform governance and critical events—such as the pandemic and national policy changes—have shaped these patterns. Interview data with experts and representatives from the company reveals that the tech company proactively collaborated with the local Ministry of Civil Affairs, effectively circumventing restrictive national solicitation regulations. The implementation of platform technology, combined with the network effect, has significantly facilitated the formation of an organizational field for crowdfunding. Hence, I argue that digital technology, coupled with the tech company's platform expansion strategy and substantial capital, has aligned the diverse interests of multiple stakeholders on digital platforms, thereby fostering the initial flourishing of strategic collaborations, creating an alternative digital civic space. This challenges the

Rather than stifling civic engagement, these developments suggest a dynamic and evolving landscape where civil society can adapt and thrive, albeit within a constrained environment.

Countering social marginalisation through 'cooperative democracy': the case of Worker Co-ops in Japan

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

care, democracy, worker cooperative, marginalisation

Abstract/Description

While worker cooperatives aim to achieve both solidaristic and social goals, there is less understanding of how their democratic structure interacts with an inclusive work environment among diverse workers. In fact, while the solidaristic and egalitarian principles of worker cooperatives can sometimes cause tensions with workers' individual interests (Puusa et al., 2016), studies that show how democratic structures and practices strengthened solidarity among participants often involve members who have similar social backgrounds—white, middle class—and, or already share strong democratic and egalitarian commitments (Kokkinidis, 2015; Langmead, 2017). Thus, there is more to learn about how democratic arrangements contribute to solidarity among workers who are diverse in terms of their social positions, commitments, needs and vulnerabilities.

This study aims to fill this gap by exploring how democratic arrangements in the workplace contribute to the inclusion of marginalised workers through an analysis of Worker Co-ops in Japan—a network of worker cooperatives with roots in a job-creation movement by unemployed workers which has expanded in the realm of care. Worker Co-ops have drawn on their historical roots as a self-help movement by workers positioned outside of Japan's employment-based social settlement to create an inclusive workplace for those on the borders of traditional work and welfare arrangements. This includes those with mental and learning disabilities, experiences of *hikikomori* (withdrawal) or *futoko* (school non-attendance), alcohol and drug use or other accumulated disadvantages interacting with contemporary socioeconomic structures (Kubo, 2020; Otaka, 2017). Thus, they provide valuable test cases of how democratic working arrangements can contribute to inclusive workplaces in the expanding realm of care from the perspective of those who have been excluded from industrial citizenship.

Unlike in conventional studies of worker cooperatives, members of Worker Co-ops are diverse in terms of their needs and vulnerabilities, and most ordinary workers are not politically motivated from the start. Drawing on in-depth interviews of worker-members, this study examines what kind of 'democracy' is practiced among such diverse workers as well as how these practices contribute to countering social marginalisation in and through work. The study finds that Worker Coops have reconceptualised democracy, not as the exercise of individual voice among equally empowered individuals, but as a cooperative practice of institutionalising the relational conditions to draw out the perspectives of others. This allowed previously marginalised workers to express their opinions before others and thus to participate in an interactive web of mutual interaction which enabled them to become 'part of the story'. At the same time, creating these conditions was potentially empowering for all participants because it enabled them to partake in creating their own collective story—one that is at once more diverse and inclusive than the dominant system. In this sense, *resisting the narrative* also contributed to workers' ability to work with diverse members.

These findings have implications for contemporary societies facing the decline of employment on the one hand, and the rising importance of care as a public matter. Rather than assuming independent citizens who appear in the public

previously hidden needs and perspectives of differently situated people as matters of collective concern. In addition, spreading such cooperative democracy in work could offer windows of opportunity for ordinary citizens who are not politically motivated from the start to imagine new realities and exercise collective power to counter marginalisation in cooperation with others.

Organizations and Class Politics: UK and US Trade Unions at the Turn of the 20th Century

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

welfare, organizational sociology, trade unions, solidarity, comparative historical sociology

Abstract/Description

Studies of class have broadly fallen into three categories. The first is concerned with analyzing developments in class structure: these studies stress the inherent interests of different class actors and explain institutional development through the effective mobilization of those actors. The second places greater emphasis on the characterization of class experience. Though it may at times reflect class structure, the lived interpretation and conceptualization of political interest may or may not directly represent it. This may be, as EP Thompson suggests, because class identities reflect historical relationships, or because identities other than class more directly inform political consciousness in specific historical moments (Sewell 2005; Therborn 1999; Thompson 1966). Finally, an expansive literature aims to articulate how changes in class structure and class experience inform one another (McCarthy and Desan 2023; Wright 1997).

It is the contention of this paper that neither class structure, nor class experience, nor the relationship between them can adequately explain formal class politics. In line with the late Mike Davis's call to study labor movements from a sociological and historical, rather than deterministic, lens (Davis 1999), I start from the view that, at every historical period, overlapping and contingent structures generate a variety of contesting class identities and organizations. Neither the structure nor experience of class alone ultimately shape which of these models predominate at the national political level. Instead, the political arena calls forth a range of social, institutional, and economic developments that influence who effectively mobilizes and how. It highlights configurations of elite power and their influence on successful models of mobilization within a broader system of governance. And it draws us into a world of organisations—their structures, identities, and interactions.

As the organised representatives of workers, trade unions inhabit this world. Their strategies are not merely a reflection of the demands of their membership or industrial conditions but are formed in dialogue with a changing organisational context. Organisational sociology offers a meaningful lens for understanding this multi-layered political arena. I highlight three theoretical insights from organisational sociology that illuminate the study of organized class politics. The first is that organisations cannot be studied in isolation—instead, they must be situated within a wider organisational field. The second is that organizations depend on legitimation in order to survive, and thus, that they have an interest in embracing legitimating identities and practices. The third is that organisational forms are in themselves political signals, and thus structure the coalitional landscape in a given historical period.

This paper begins with an overview of the limitations of the frameworks of class structure and class experience for explaining formal class politics. It demonstrates how organisational sociology can contribute to the study of class politics. Finally, it illustrates the value of this framework through a historical example: Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the British and American labor movements shared a tradition of skilled craft unionism which viewed government insurance provision as a paternalistic intervention at odds with the integrity of independent working men. By the early twentieth century, the two movements had diverged—while the British Trades Union Congress came to

government intervention. The paper's closing section leverages an analysis of organisational fields, legitimating practices, and organisational forms to examine this divergence.

Promoting democratic and pre-democratic work : the role of social enterprises

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

social enterprises, democracy, post-socialist countries, democratization, pre-democratic work

Abstract/Description

The global trend of democratic retreat in recent years, characterized by increasing authoritarianism, weakened rule of law, and rising populist forces (Carothers & Press, 2022), has sparked growing interest among organizational scholars in how organizations contribute to democratization (Adler et al., 2022; Muhammad et al., 2024). The role of organizations in fostering democracy has been analyzed primarily through their broader societal contributions as civil society organizations, mini-publics (Dahl, 1989; Pek et al., 2023), or through promoting democratic decision-making and participation at the workplace (Felicetti, 2018; Battilana & Ferreras, 2022). However, civil society organizations, valued in political science for their role in counterbalancing governmental power and enhancing political participation (White, 2004), are now increasingly facing a 'shrinking space' problem that limits their effectiveness in channelling citizens' demands and holding state administrations accountable (Youngs & Echagüe, 2017). While organizational democracy is important for countering authoritarian principles on corporate structures (Lounsbury & Phillips, 2022; Davis, 2022; Gartenberg & McGahan, 2022; Battilana & Sheppard-Jones, 2022) and educating and allowing employees to exercise their citizen's rights by serving as 'schools of democracy', it remains predominantly relevant for large corporations operating in well-established institutional contexts. Moreover, this approach overlooks the roles of organizations in addressing authoritarian ideologies within broader society, as well as the challenges these pose to democratic governance and the international rule of law (Lounsbury, Phillips, 2022; Meyer, 2022), which is particularly relevant for the developing countries. Existing theoretical frameworks fail to adequately explain how organizations can contribute to democratization, particularly in politically challenging contexts where civil society

this context, we examine the role of social enterprises, which tend to garner broader support due to their focus on addressing social challenges through entrepreneurial efforts without an overt political agenda. Exploring the democratizing potential of social enterprises is especially compelling in contexts where traditional democratization allies, such as civil society organizations and private businesses, face growing challenges due to shrinking civic space and the negative impacts of restrictive governance on private sector development.

We explore how social enterprises contribute to democratization in post-socialist countries where traditional approaches have proven ineffective. To tackle this question, we conducted 66 interviews – 31 in Georgia and 35 in Kyrgyzstan – during 2023-2024 with social enterprises and their stakeholders such as business associations, experts, government representatives. We also complemented data with four focus groups with 32 participants, observations from two entrepreneurship events, conducted 12 informal meetings and examined archival data consisting of media, press, web-page publications and social network publications. Our findings enabled us to categorize social enterprises into three main types based on their approach to social entrepreneurship – pragmatic (resource-seeking approach to social entrepreneurship); solidaristic (based on self-help approach to social entrepreneurship) and custodian approach guided by the desire to preserve and upholding social aims and values through entrepreneurship. We observed that social enterprises contribute to democratization in two distinct ways: engaging in democratic work by stimulating participation, but more importantly by conducting pre-democratic work that consists of safeguarding and transforming their entrepreneurial communities.

Our research makes two important contributions. First, we advance the research on the broader societal roles of social enterprises by suggesting a theoretical model that allows to distinguish the roles of organizations in conducting democratic work from pre-democratic work. Our research sheds light on the contextual challenges faced by societies that are heavily exposed to democratizing efforts while pre-democratic groundwork remains incomplete, highlighting the mismatch between deployed resources and achieved democratic outcomes. Second, we present a repertoire of social enterprises based on their approaches to social entrepreneurship, offering policymakers a nuanced understanding that moves beyond broad generalizations. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of the roles of local organizations in international development contexts, offering valuable insights to inform international development policies about the unique characteristics of social enterprises.

Social Work as a Counterbalance to the Increasing Narcissism in Western Democracies

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

capitalism, narcissism, Social Work, right wing populism, transformation

Abstract/Description

In recent times, there has been a noticeable shift towards the right in various western democracies such as Italy, Hungary, and the US. This phenomenon raises critical questions regarding the growing approval of leaders who overtly exhibit autocratic inclinations. It prompts an inquiry into how such individuals can attain power through democratic processes, only to systematically undermine fundamental democratic structures, curtail freedoms of expression, dismantle social welfare programs, and diminish recognition of climate change. It is perplexing that leaders who contravene democratic principles often secure electoral victories despite the prevalence of scientific evidence, logical reasoning, factual data, and value-oriented legal frameworks.

Through empirical research and comprehensive literature review, this presentation aims to elucidate the complex dynamics that emerge when capitalist values—including profit maximization, competitive practices, and deregulation—intersect with democratic ideals. Such interactions may serve to foster the ascendancy of authoritarian governance. In addition, the presentation will underscore the pivotal role of social work and the broader social sector as essential components in safeguarding the integrity of Western democracies against the rising tide of right-wing populism.

Terms such as "gaslighting" and "narcissistic abuse," which are typically employed in the context of interpersonal relationships (Benecke 2019; Durvasula 2021; Burschel 2023) or domestic violence (Howard 2019), will be repurposed within this discourse to enhance our understanding of the factors contributing to the weakening of social work, particularly in environments where bolstering support for these services is critically needed (Burschel 2025). The emerging concept of "societal gaslighting" (Sweet 2019) will be explored to clarify the mechanisms by which the social sector is systematically undermined, along with discussions of circumstances in which social work may inadvertently exacerbate its own decline.

This analysis will be supported by empirical examples drawn from Germany and the United States, as well as insights gained from qualitative interviews with German social workers. These elements will collectively contribute to a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by the social sector in the contemporary political landscape and its implications for democracy. The importance of the social sector in promoting sustainable transformation will be emphasized, along with the necessity of thoroughly understanding narcissistic dynamics within democratic societies.

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Cooperatives at Work: Pathways to Economic Democracy, Justice, and Transformation

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Worker cooperatives, Economic democracy and democracy at work, Cooperatives and innovation, Cooperatives and education, Cooperatives and the commons

Abstract/Description

This presentation introduces our book *Cooperatives at Work* (Cheney, G., M. Noyes, E. Do., M. Vieta, J. Azkarraga, C. Michel, 2023, Emerald), winner of the 2023 Joyce Rothschild Book Prize (coordinated by the Institute for the Study of Employee Ownership and Profit Sharing, Rutgers University). The book focuses on worker cooperatives and cooperatives related to labour around the world, demonstrating their viability and their inspiration for nourishing more democracy at work and broader economic democracy in society. During the book's writing, interrelated social, economic, health, and environmental crises, as well as rising authoritarian nationalism, became more pronounced. But myriad alternative organizational and bottom-up democratic forms that have been largely neglected by the mainstream media also became more compelling. These include co-ops, especially worker-owned-and-managed ones, organizations of mutual aid and alternative trade, women's collectives and co-ops, time banks, and a growing number of commons and "commoning" arrangements—face to face, online, or hybrid.

Deploying a multi-theoretic and reflexive approach, the book is grounded in research from across disciplines, features dozens of case studies, and draws from over 100 interviews with a wide variety of experts and workplace democracy practitioners from the global North and South. The book equally speaks to scholars and students of alternative economics as well as to people considering forming or working in worker cooperatives. It particularly resonates with those critically reflecting on the possibilities for more just and democratic labor and economic realities.

This presentation by one of the book's co-authors, Marcelo Vieta, will focus on key themes from the book's six chapters, each centred on key sociological concepts directly addressing vital issues facing our current socio-economic reality: "Crises and Opportunities," "Democracy, Equity, and Justice," "Innovation to Transformation," "Community to Solidarity," "Cooperative Ecology," and "Cooperative Education."

Emerald, we seek to stimulate reflection and discussion, presenting worker co-ops as one important if imperfect pathway to “just work,” economic justice and democracy, and a post-authoritarian society that lives up its democratic potential.

Reference

Cheney, G., Noyes, M., Do, E., Vieta, M., Azkarraga, J., & Michel, C. (2023). *Cooperatives at work*. Emerald.

Theory of Varieties of Worker Co-operatives

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

worker co-operatives, organizational typologies, workplace democracy, institutional theory, resilience in organizations

Abstract/Description

Although present across all sectors, worker co-operatives are often misunderstood. There is significant confusion about their organizational models. In recent years, interest in worker co-operatives has emerged globally, particularly in the tech industry, where ecosystems of tech worker co-operatives are thriving in places like Argentina and the United Kingdom. Moreover, the United Nations (UN) has declared 2025 as the “UN Year of Co-operatives,” recognizing co-operatives for their democratic structures, importance in building resilient businesses, and providing decent work—efforts aligned with achieving Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8: Decent work and economic growth.

We use these trends to analyze worker co-operatives in different sectors and contexts. We present a framework that categorizes them based on legal status, employment relations, and business operations. Legal status includes formal and informal organizations, co-operative and non-cooperative structures, and de jure and de facto co-operatives. Employment relations involve employees, self-employed individuals, and freelancers. Business operations cover start-ups, spin-offs, freelance networks, conversions, mergers, holding or international entities, multi-stakeholder co-operatives, federations, and worker recovered businesses. These dimensions show the structural diversity of worker co-operatives and form the basis of a comprehensive typology.

Our framework draws on self-determination and institutional theories to explain how individual motivations and institutional environments give rise to diverse worker co-operatives. We define worker co-operatives as worker-owned and managed firms with democratic governance and explore how they differ from other organizational forms, like employee-owned firms and labor-managed firms. The diversity of worker co-operatives, we argue, reflects adaptive responses to legal, industry, economic, and social contexts.

This paper advances debates on alternative and democratic organizational forms by developing a comprehensive theory of worker co-operative typologies. We argue that the varieties of worker co-operatives reflect adaptive responses to institutional, market, socio-economic, and cultural pressures, which shape their legal structures, business models, and employment relations. By integrating the self-determination and institutional theory perspectives, we

show how worker co-operatives balance individual agencies with external constraints in creating democratically owned and managed firms. This typology not only enhances our understanding of alternative work organizations, but also contributes to broader discussions on organizational and management typologies, the future of work, and workplace democracy.

The Politics of Moral Engineering and Community Governance in China: State Strategies and Local Contestations

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

moral engineering, kinship networks, grassroots adaptation, civilization engineering, moral cultivation

Abstract/Description

This paper examines the implementation and implications of *moral engineering* as a state-led governance strategy in Shenzhen's urban villages, focusing on its interplay with traditional kinship-based community governance. Rooted in the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) *Socialist Core Values*, moral engineering represents an effort to cultivate "civilized" citizens and embed ideological conformity into everyday life. Yet, the top-down imposition of moral ideals encounters negotiation, resistance, and adaptation at the grassroots level, particularly within kinship organizations and ritual spaces.

The study adopts a **mixed-methods approach** that combines ethnographic fieldwork, semi-structured interviews, archival research, and spatial mapping. Data collection includes interviews with shareholding cooperative leaders, local officials, and community members in Shenzhen's urban villages, as well as textual analysis of policy documents and clan genealogies. Spatial analysis of ancestral halls and ritual sites across Shenzhen provides additional insight into the geographical dimensions of kinship power. By integrating **Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and symbolic power** with **Foucault's governmentality**, this paper conceptualizes moral engineering as both an external force shaping behavior and an internalized cultural framework that restructures social practices and community order.

This paper advances two central arguments. First, **moral engineering represents a strategic form of state-led cultural governance** aimed at addressing perceived moral and social decay in rapidly urbanizing areas. The CCP's efforts to integrate *jiaohua* (moral cultivation) into community governance reflect its broader ideological project of aligning cultural norms with political legitimacy. Programs like the *New Era Civilization Practice Centers* impose top-down moral frameworks that prioritize urban elites' notions of modernity and civilization, while marginalizing the lived experiences of rural-urban migrants and traditional kinship practices.

Second, **grassroots actors contest and adapt moral engineering through localized governance practices**, producing **hybrid models of governance**. For instance, the shareholding cooperative (SC) in Fenghuang Village asserts its authority over temple revenues and land management, positioning itself as both a custodian of traditional rituals and a pragmatic economic entity. By leveraging cultural legitimacy, SC leaders negotiate with state actors while maintaining localized governance practices that preserve ancestral land rights and community cohesion. Similarly,

cultural workers reinterpret state-imposed moral narratives through traditional practices such as ancestor worship and temple management, blending state directives with cultural continuity.

This dynamic interaction reveals that **moral engineering is not a one-directional process of state control**, but a contested and negotiated practice that reshapes community governance. While the state imposes standardized moral ideals, grassroots actors reshape and reinterpret these frameworks, producing a plural moral landscape where cultural resilience intersects with state power. At the same time, moral engineering introduces inequalities by privileging urban elites' notions of "civilization" over rural-urban migrants' lived realities, creating social and cultural exclusions that further complicate governance efforts.

This study makes two key contributions. First, it enriches scholarship on **cultural governance** by demonstrating how state-led moral engineering intersects with grassroots kinship organizations, challenging the dichotomy between state power and local autonomy. Second, it offers empirical insights into **hybrid governance models** that emerge in rapidly urbanizing contexts, highlighting the resilience of local cultural practices amid state-imposed modernization projects. By focusing on Shenzhen's urban villages, this research sheds light on the broader processes of state-society negotiation in contemporary China, with implications for understanding governance, cultural transformation, and social inclusion.

The Restorative City: Restorative Practices in Civil Servant Professional Development

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Work, Employment Relations, Public sector, Restorative practices, Legal consciousness

Abstract/Description

In recent years, methods of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) such as mediation and arbitration have been incorporated into American workplaces as part of a wider move from collective to individual regulation (Neuhauser 2021; Stehr 2023; Hodges 2004). Unlike legalistic approaches to workplace rights-- in which wrongdoing is framed as a violation of policy and justice involves the application of standardized sanctions--alternative dispute resolution (ADR) aims to provide an efficient remedy that is meaningful to victims. Proponents of ADR see it as a tool to promote democratic values in the workplace and improve access to restorative justice, while critics point to the way ADR can undermine the use of collective bargaining and other formal methods for pursuing statutory rights at work (Atzeni 2016; Gallie et al. 2017; Hyman et al. 2023; Ruben 2006; Etzioni 2009).

Since 2021 New York City has expanded access to ADR within its civil service workforce, with an emphasis on ADR as a means of improving access to restorative justice at work. Restorative justice is rooted in indigenous practices and aims to address harm by repairing relationships via dialogic communication in which wrongdoers acknowledge harm, accept responsibility, and engage in active reparations for the harms they have caused. The city integrates restorative practices into civil servants' training as part of a wider effort to rebuild trust in government; the idea is that city workers who experience their workplaces as just and use restorative practices in their contact with the public will be agents for repairing civic relationships with a long history of systemic racism and other forms of earned distrust.

This paper reports on an ongoing field methods study of conflict resolution among NYC civil servants, with a focus on the use of restorative circles in civil servant workforce training. Restorative circles are community-building processes in which everyone listens while a talking piece, the visual marker of whose turn it is to speak, makes its way sequentially among the participants. While restorative practices have been widely applied in criminal justice reform, New York City is unique in the way it seeks to weave the approach into its civil service workforce development.

For nearly two years I have interviewed the city's conflict resolution experts, sat in on training sessions, and observed city workers in their public-facing roles (n=38 in-depth interviews). I have gotten to know civil servants across many agencies and roles--among them attorneys tasked with presenting new land use guidelines to the public, foresters who care for the city's tree canopy, and public housing staff who work to maintain the accessibility of stairwells, sidewalks, and other shared spaces for residents. I have learned from these public servants that conflict is inevitable in the work of city governance, particularly in the context of fiscal austerity, but it is made worse by bureaucratic modes of communication that fail to acknowledge past harm perpetrated by the state. I argue that training civil servants in restorative practices is a starting point for transforming interpersonal and institutional relationships in ways that promote trust and engagement.

Privilege is ...

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Privilege, inequality, democracy, social movements, culture

Abstract/Description

Privilege is ...

In the days following the second election of Donald Trump, the post mortem essays began pouring out. Analysts suggested that Democrats failed to capitalize on their economic accomplishments, or that Republicans dominated the media coverage of the economy emphasizing the uncertainty and anxiety that has become commonplace throughout the industrialized world. Another approach might say that Trump spoke to the working class in their own language or that Democrats had abandoned their working-class support. The Democrats failed on immigration reform, or the Republicans tanked President Biden's attempts at reform. Each of these perspectives have something to offer, and each ignores the larger narrative. Donald Trump's entire political life to this point had been defined almost exclusively by privilege and the exploitation of marginal groups for the benefit of wealth and white male supremacy. The tens of millions of supporters who voted for him were fine with that. As Chris Wallace pointed out, "This is a man who would get up in rallies and say, 'I am your retribution.'"

This study does not seek to explain Donald Trump or the recent election specifically. Rather, we are concerned with the persistent and seemingly insurmountable posture of those with the most power in our society, and comparable societies, that their privileges are natural, are not privileges, and are under constant attack. We are looking at the *implicit social movement* of privilege with particular attention to the manner in which those who most benefit from the existing social hierarchy defend and reproduce it. In contrast to social movement studies that locate movement activism within a larger field of public life, we consider privilege as a cultural field in which a shared recognition of the interests of the field allow those who live within or adjacent to it to borrow the strategies

and tactics of counter-movements without the need for actual movement organizations as such. This idea will be further explained below.

Systems of Privilege

When social, political, economic, and judicial institutions routinely issue decisions and policies that favor one or more social groups over the rest, that's a form of privilege. And when the same institutions favor the same groups, or punish the same groups repeatedly over decades or centuries, resisting every attempt to eliminate the biases, that is a deeply ingrained system of privilege. There are no simple explanations for any given instance of bias or privilege. The long-term pattern reveals the existence of a biased value system distinct from its causes.

In this study we take the following two positions: (1) that contemporary so-called Western industrial society is fundamentally reliant on massive and persistent social, political, and economic inequalities that make life much more precarious for the majority of people than it needs to be; and (2) those who benefit from these inequalities, whether through fear or greed or a variety of other concerns, actively resist all efforts to create change. This does not mean that every white person is racist or that every man is sexist. It does not mean that straight people should feel bad about themselves for all of the queer people who have been murdered or otherwise mistreated out of fear and prejudice. It means that, generally speaking, all else being equal, those with privileges put more energy into protecting those privileges than they do into questioning them, let alone alleviating the injustices and inequalities that follow from them. We therefore need to examine the ways in which we as a culture protect and propagate systemic social privileges.

Systemic issues are difficult to qualify. In the contemporary United States and throughout much of the capitalist industrial world, we often represent collective behavior as though it required some kind of secret conspiracy or formally organized movement. Conspiratorial thinking masks the fact that collective action, along with forms of collective identity and shared beliefs regularly occur in a great many ways with little or no coordination at all. Ideas, patterns of behavior, and language spread quickly and easily throughout a culture and are available by default to everyone in that culture. "Culture" is, in fact, the word we use to describe the processes by which ideas and language, beliefs and images, diffuse throughout a society. Cultures themselves have leanings or biases which either gently or forcefully push people into the adoption of familiar terms, ideas, expectations, and values. It has been suggested that the dominant ideas of any given culture are the ideas of the dominant group within that culture.^[1] In this paper we attempt to draw the lines of continuity and reproduction among the dominant voices, widely shared cultural beliefs, and the persistence of privilege among the most privileged groups. We will discuss and demonstrate the ways in which vast amounts of energy and effort in Western culture serves the same underlying goal: to protect and reinforce the social hierarchy.

In order to address these kinds of questions, we focus on the various workings of privilege in society. It is well understood that a patriarchal society privileges men, a

hetero-normative culture privileges cis-gender heterosexuals, a religious society favors members of the established religion, and a majority white society gives or withholds privilege according to the hue of one's skin color. Yet there is relatively little agreement about how extensive these privileges are, how resistant to change, how consequential, or how they are reproduced and defended. As well, many of those who experience some forms of privilege distinctly lack others and question whether privilege amounts to anything. White men rarely claim out loud that they *should* have privileges over Black women, but it isn't uncommon for some of them to claim that something has gone wrong when they see Black women who have any amount of social standing above themselves. As usual for the study of norms, the identification of the negative case demonstrates the assumption of the positive case.^[2] We will therefore focus primarily on the individual and collective responses to events that violate or attempt to violate the normal workings of privilege and the rhetorical and practical strategies by which privilege reproduces itself at the expense of everyone else.

^[1] Marx, Engels, Whyman, 2022.

^[2] Durkheim, among others.

What do multi-member cooperatives produce? A comparison of two business models from the perspective of multifunctionality

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

cooperatives, social economy, business model, multifunctionality, socio-ecological transition

Abstract/Description

According to the IPCC report (2021), climate change is primarily caused by human activities. Today, numerous scientists agree that the current ecological, political, social, and economic crisis stem from the unsustainability of our capitalist development model (Bonneuil & Fressoz, 2013; Sekulova, 2013; Campagne, 2017; Hickel, 2017; Moore, 2024). Building on Polanyi's (1944) analysis, Fraser (2016), highlights the unsustainable extension of commodification at the expense of human solidarity, working and living conditions, and ecosystems. Following Polanyi's substantive view of the economy, this calls for re-embedding the market-based production process (the economy) within society and the environment, as Polanyi (1944) suggested, to design a socio-ecological transition (Guay-Boutet et al., 2021) towards a post-capitalist society.

This paper examines this issue through the lens of the economic models of social and solidarity economy organizations (SSEOs). Indeed, the importance of their role in achieving sustainable development goals and rebalancing economic, social, and environmental dimensions has been recognized by the International Labour Organization (2022), the United Nations (2023), and the OECD (2022). Among the emerging organizational forms in the SSE, multi-stakeholder cooperatives, such as *sociétés coopératives d'intérêt collectif* (SCICs) in France (Favreau & Hébert, 2012), are experiencing significant growth, particularly in key transition sectors like organic food, short supply chain agriculture, and renewable energy.

Cooperatives, by definition, conduct economic activities with limited profit motives, aiming to meet the aspirations and needs of their members and, in some cases, the community. Their production is thus not purely market-driven. Yet, their economic model is often assessed through this lens, risking trivialization. This perspective is problematic given the crisis (notably ecological) arising from our unsustainable development model.

This article aims to delve deeper into how, in the context of a socio-ecological transition, SCICs strive to ensure sustainable development through economic activity (market-based production) with social and environmental objectives (collective interest, social utility), guided by a political project (social transformation). To this end, we analyze what two French cooperatives produce, the types of resources and means they mobilize, and how these elements coalesce into a relatively sustainable economic model. Specifically, we explore how multi-stakeholder cooperatives engaged in socio-ecological transition construct sustainable economic models that address political, economic, social, and environmental dimensions.

This study adopts a qualitative approach, incorporating participatory action research, to investigate two multi-stakeholder cooperatives: one focuses on entrepreneurial activities and the empowerment of employee-entrepreneur-members through the transformation and distribution of organic agricultural products in short supply chains; the other provides long-term rental of responsible electronic devices to promote digital sobriety.

Using an institutional perspective on the SSE (Demoustier, 2000; Lamarche & Richez-Battesti, 2023), we offer a political reinterpretation of cooperative economic models (Alcouffe et al., 2013), aiming to re-legitimize non-market forms of production (Postel & Sobel, 2024), as "production is political" (Lamarche & Richez-Battesti, 2023). Indeed, if we consider the primacy of society over the economy (Polanyi, 1935), the SSE can serve as a vector for a "plural economy" (Le Velly, 2006; Laville, 2008; Chochoy, 2015). From this perspective, we analyze the distinctiveness of SCIC economic models using Ballon's heuristic framework on the multifunctionality of business and employment cooperatives (2025), applying it to another cooperative form in the context of socio-ecological transition.

The multifunctionality of a business and employment cooperative defines the integration of productive functions contributing to the political, economic, and social development of a cooperative as a unified entity. These functions are distinguished by different productive logics—market-based, general interest, mutualist, and reciprocal—and concretely correspond to various productive activities (e.g., providing training, participating in general assemblies). Thus, this study examines the production of two SCICs through the prism of the multifunctionality of cooperative economic models (Ballon, 2025) to understand how these multi-stakeholder cooperatives shape productive compromises aligned with their political projects and sustainability across economic, social, political, and environmental dimensions.

The article provides an analytical description based on a monographic study of the multifunctionality of these two cooperatives, highlighting several mechanisms illustrating the nature of the compromises made by each cooperative. The first contribution lies in a nuanced understanding of what these cooperatives construct in terms of economic models capable of integrating, producing, and valorizing productive functions, particularly social, environmental, and territorial ones. The second contribution demonstrates the existence of different configurations of multifunctionality, incorporating territorial and environmental functions aligned with the cooperatives' political projects. The third contribution shows that these configurations result from compromises, marked by the predominance of mutualist and community functions, which contribute to their sustainability—albeit fragile—within a capitalist system. These compromises vary based on the competitive environment, socio-economic and political context, and the productive and strategic choices of the member community. Ultimately, this article contributes to re-politicizing the analysis of cooperative economic models to envision their role in the socio-ecological transition, within the broader perspective of transforming capitalism, with an original analytical and heuristic model: the multifunctionality of cooperatives.

The reproduction of elite structures in UK social investment

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Elites, Social investment, Education

Abstract/Description

This study builds on existing research into socio-economic diversity in the UK market for social investment. It critically examines how elite educational institutions may contribute to the formation of a class of individuals who possess the social and cultural capital necessary to carve out an elite hierarchy in this new market. It develops a novel data set to reveal that employees with an elite education are over-represented in social investment organisations compared with the population. The UK social investment market provides financial capital to organizations that deliver social or environmental impact alongside financial returns. Worth over £6 billion, the sector is supported by a robust infrastructure, including government-backed initiatives and regulatory frameworks enabling private investment into social enterprises (Nicholls, 2010).

Drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1996, 1997, 2006), this study examines how elite education may enable power hierarchies to be reproduced in this new market. Viewed through a Bourdieusian lens, such elite education may be seen as preserving an elite social order by creating a form of social 'nobility' through the creation of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1996). In particular, Bourdieu's concept of social capital is relevant. Networks of influence and support may serve to reinforce an individual's position within social hierarchies. Alumni of elite universities may be expected to be part of a network with other alumni of the same or similar institutions. In the field of social investment, elite-educated individuals may have access to elite networks capable of granting them proprietary knowledge of the 'rules of the game' and information, helping them succeed.

Prior research into measures of diversity in social investment - including gender, race, and disability - has tended to rely on small data sets of self-reported data collected through surveys. Better Society Capital (BSC) collected data in 2021-22 from the fund managers in its social investment portfolio. In contrast, this study develops and analyses a larger data set. These are publicly available disclosures of LinkedIn profile data for employees working at key social investment organisations.

The first set of data, collected in 2014/15, includes educational data on 219 managers at key social enterprises. The second set of data expands significantly on the earlier data. Collected in 2023, it comprises data from LinkedIn records of 1,736 employees (both managers and more junior employees) working at current key social investment organisations. The analysis reveals that the employees of these organisations in 2023 had an educational experience that was skewed towards attendance at elite universities, with 19% having studied at an elite university and 12% having studied at Oxford or Cambridge. Although this data is limited by many factors, it nevertheless offers insights into the educational backgrounds of individuals in social investment.

Why does such an overrepresentation of elite educated employees matter for the market for social investment, and for society more generally? I argue that this dominance by elite may have potentially negative consequences for allocation of resources to social projects. This is because elite individuals may exhibit biases in the types of social projects viewed as appropriate and may impose implicit costs on organisations, for example by requiring investment-style performance reporting with which they are familiar from their prior experience.

Top-Down Empowerment of Marginalised Social Service Providers: The Role of Social Economy in South Korea

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

social economy, South Korea, informal social service providers, marginalised social policy area, social embeddedness

Abstract/Description

This study investigates the development of the social economy (SE) in South Korea (hereafter, Korea). The SE in Korea is a representative case which, through a series of legislation and policymaking, has undergone state-led development (Mendell et al, 2010; Defourny and Kim, 2010). This approach appears to conflict with the general characteristics of the SE, which traditionally emphasise autonomy and community-driven values (Pestoff, 2014; Vidal, 2014). This paper aims to understand how SE practitioners, motivated by state initiatives, construct and internalise the values of the SE in practice. Specifically, it examines how marginalised informal social service providers, such as sole proprietors and family-based carers, are incorporated into formal social economy organisations (SEOs) through top-down government policies. These policies aim to address emerging social risks while fostering self-help and social solidarity (Defourny, Hulgård and Pestoff, 2014).

Drawing on qualitative data from interviews with eight SEO organisers and four social workers, this research explores the motivations, challenges, and constructed values experienced by these actors. The findings highlight a process in which the original intentions of newly organised SEOs, influenced by government-led promotion, are often frustrated. However, through interactions with other SE-related organisations, actors develop and internalise distinct SE values. On the one hand, many providers incorporated into SEOs were motivated by expectations of government support, organisational sustainability, and policy compliance. On the other hand, some were driven by a commitment to self-help and social integration for vulnerable groups, such as individuals with disabilities or those excluded from mainstream employment.

Despite formalisation, SEOs face numerous challenges. Financial independence remains a critical hurdle, as many SEOs struggle to balance profit generation with their social missions. Uncoordinated government policies further exacerbate frustrations, with conflicting regulations hindering organisational goals. Moreover, democratic governance—a cornerstone of SE principles—often clashes with the demands of efficient business operations.

In response to these challenges, SEO actors seek breakthroughs by engaging with SE-related organisations, including other SEOs and intermediary organisations within the SE ecosystem. Over time, they develop distinct SE values, redefining concepts of autonomy and social inclusion. While state policies often position SEOs as tools for recommodifying welfare dependents within neoliberal frameworks, grassroots actors reinterpret their roles as providing spaces for marginalised groups to integrate into society. Job creation, in this context, becomes a means of ensuring these groups can participate as ordinary members of society. This reinterpretation aligns with Karl Polanyi's concept of social embeddedness, where economic activities are integrated within social relations, prioritising community solidarity over commodification (Polanyi, 1927, 1957).

This research contributes to SE discourse by highlighting the lived experiences of street-level actors operating within a state-driven policy context. It illustrates how government intentions intersect with grassroots adaptations to foster a

its actors navigate tensions between state goals and aspirations for social solidarity and autonomy. The study underscores the need to understand the mechanisms through which SE actors construct their identities and redefine SE principles within an evolving welfare state framework.

By examining the case of South Korea, this study offers broader insights into the potential and limitations of government-led SE initiatives in addressing the needs of marginalised groups while fostering grassroots empowerment.

Community and common good: filling the gaps of worker and community wellbeing

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

collectivism, community, common good, industrial relations

Abstract/Description

Industrial relations research has long been centred upon unions as the basis for collectivism and organising of workers despite the consistent dwindling of union coverage (Atzeni and Cini, 2024). While some have argued that the field's focus on unions as the vehicle for solidarity has assumed a homogenous, ideal worker and excludes cohorts of workers (Borello, n.d.; Tapia, 2013), there remains a desire to centre unions in building 'class' solidarity. As such, involvement of communities in workers' rights more often focuses on the strengthening and revitalisation of unions (Holgate, 2021; Harcourt et al., 2023). There has been less research that focuses on non-union community organisations (Osterman, 2006) and different manifestations of collectivism (Borello, n.d.). Indeed, new or 'indie' unions are sometimes perceived as a threat to the status quo of collectivism and of 'class solidarity' rather than new ways of collective organising for the new ways of working and challenges in the twenty-first century (Atzeni and Cini, 2024). Recent research has entertained the concept of common good and the role of community in industrial relations. Common good refers to both producing outcomes that benefit society in general (Harcourt et al., 2023) and how different organisations or constituencies can share resources to work collectively (Sheldon et al., 2024). Meanwhile, research into new forms of co-operation draw on the role of traditions and cultures of cooperation within communities, thus challenging dominant ideas of unions and collectivism (Atzeni and Cini, n.d.; Cardullo et al., 2024). This is underpinned by the idea that communities are a 'web of social relations' that exist outside of institutional or organisational boundaries and can provide resources to support workers and worker mobilisation (Atzeni and Cini, 2024).

Drawing on 87 interviews with home care support workers conducted by academic and participant researchers in a community-based research framework, this paper explores the role of 'supportive communities' (Atzeni and Cini, n.d.) in upholding workers' safety and ensuring the delivery of community services. The context of the research is in home-based support work during covid-19 which provides an ideal context for examining the role and different forms of 'community' when traditional institutions such as the State and unions failed workers. While the crisis of the Covid19 pandemic is over, the crisis itself to some extent only highlighted existing inequalities for workers (Seck et al., 2021),

both workers' rights and provision of social services, we consider what collectivism and worker solidarity looks like when it is centred on community common good, rather than on workers' rights alone, thus envisioning new approaches to collectivism in industrial relations.

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Emotional Well-being and Voting Behavior in Support of Redistributive Policies

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Redistribution, Happiness, Emotional well-being, incidental emotions, prosocial behavior

Abstract/Description

The rise of populist parties in the United States and Europe has drawn attention to the voting preferences of low-income groups who often support parties opposing redistributive policies that would economically benefit them. Support for redistributive policies is traditionally viewed as a matter of self-interest, with lower-income individuals expected to favor policies that improve their financial situation (Meltzer & Richard, 1981). However, in reality, many low-income voters back populist candidates who oppose such policies, despite the potential economic benefits.

There are several explanations for this paradox. For example, when individuals believe that upward mobility is attainable, they are less inclined to support redistribution, viewing poverty as a temporary condition and wealth as a realistic goal (Piketty, 1995; Ravallion & Lokshin, 2000; Benabou & Ok, 2001; Cruces, Perez-Truglia, & Tetaz, 2013). Additionally, perceptions of fairness influence support for redistribution; when poverty is seen as self-inflicted, there is often less support for policies aimed at redistribution (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2005; Alesina & Angeletos, 2005). [preferences for redistribution might also be related to trust in the government]

However, recent studies suggest that voting behavior is not always driven by rational, self-interest-based decisions. For instance, Burger & Eiselt (2023) show that subjective well-being affects voting behavior, finding that support for populist candidates often stems from emotional dissatisfaction rather than a rational evaluation of policies. Other studies have further linked emotions to prosocial actions, indicating that emotional states can significantly impact social preferences (Kirchsteiger et al., 2006; Capra et al., 2010; Forgas & Tan, 2013; Drouvelis & Grosskopf, 2016; García-Gallego et al., 2019).

happiness can positively impact charitable giving, indicating that even short-term emotions may promote prosocial and altruistic behaviors. They argue that emotions might foster altruistic behavior by heightening aversion to inequality (Fehr & Schmidt, 2006). Similarly, Krekel et al. (2020) find a link between happiness and lockdown compliance during the Covid pandemic.

Building on this theory, this study will examine the extent to which emotional and physical well-being impact preferences for redistributive policies, with the hypothesis that higher emotional well-being may increase support for redistribution by enhancing prosocial tendencies. This research implies that emotional well-being may shape preferences for redistribution by affecting social attitudes and perceptions of inequality.

This research will assess the impact of emotional and physical well-being on preferences for redistribution, employing conjoint analysis with a sample of European and American respondents. By controlling for various socio-economic factors, we aim to isolate the specific influence of well-being on support for policies aimed at reducing income inequality. We hypothesize that, *ceteris paribus*, individuals with higher levels of physical and emotional well-being will exhibit greater support for redistributive policies.

We will explore this relationship with an experimental setup. Using an interactive survey, we will ask respondents about their political preferences and their preferences for redistribution. We will also engage them in the public goods game (Fehr & Gächter, 2000). To test the effects of emotional states, we will use mood induction techniques (Drouvelis & Grosskopf, 2016) to induce either happiness, sadness, or anger. Our sample will consist of American and European (specifically Dutch) citizens, to better align with the current political landscape involving populist leaders such as Trump and Wilders.

We explore physical and emotional well-being in conjunction, acknowledging the interconnectedness of these domains. This approach aligns with recent shifts in political science, which view individuals not merely as rational actors but as embodied beings whose physical and emotional states shape their social preferences and prosocial behaviors (Chari, 2016). Through this research, we contribute to the broader literature on redistribution, well-being, and the determinants of prosocial behavior.

Book Salon: Co-operative Enterprise in Comparative Perspective by Dr. Jason Spicer (Oxford University Press, 2024)

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

A recently published book, *Cooperative Enterprise in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 2024) by Dr. Jason Spicer, we believe, merits full discussion within Network A at the coming meeting of SASE. Thus, we propose this "Author Meets the Critics" or book salon discussion session.

Worker co-operatives offer an alternative to investor-owned businesses and to state-run enterprise because they offer both ownership and governance to their workers (and sometimes also to their customers). However, the cooperative business sector has remained far less developed in the U.S. than it is in many other capitalist countries, such as Finland, France and New Zealand. The author asks WHY this is. By examining cooperative development through a comparative lens, Prof. Spicer is able to show how specific aspects of each nation's history, culture and political economy shaped its cooperatives' development. Our book salon discussion will focus on the conditions in some countries that allowed their cooperative sector to thrive and to scale in size; while in the U.S., cooperative development remained isolated and inhibited, if not repressed.

We will begin with our moderator introducing Dr. Spicer and his book. Prof. Spicer will then provide a brief overview of the chief purposes and take-aways of his work. Our four panelists will then ask questions of the author in order to encourage a lively and inclusive discussion of the book's main themes.

Although we show three panelists/ discussants below, we expect to add a fourth panelist/ discussant very soon.

Democratizing Policy Expertise: Tenant Organizing for Economic Justice in the Neoliberal Era

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

housing, knowledge production, community organizing, expertise, solidarity

Abstract/Description

Present-day tenant mobilizations across the globe contest the precarity experienced by residents as a result of capitalist transformations in housing, including the expansion of neoliberal governance of social policy and the deepening imbrication of housing with circuits of global finance. While these political economic shifts may constrain avenues for working-class renters to make claims upon the state to assure adequate and affordable housing, the activities of tenant organizations, which focus on power-building, autonomy, and deep relationship-building at the local level, enact alternative and pre-figurative processes for collective knowledge production and deep democratic participation. Scholars have long debated the “housing question,” or the extent to which inequality is resolvable at the site of housing within capitalist political economies. Cross-disciplinary debates trace the transformation of shelter, as housing, into a commodity governed by the logic of the market and argue that this process renders land and housing into technical objects and policy a domain of technocratic knowledge. This way of seeing shapes both how the housing crisis is understood and what types of solutions are considered possible and desirable. Where housing is understood as a resource allocated through the market, the housing crisis is understood in terms of production and supply. Housing policy is largely shaped by economic expertise, at a remove from public input and purview. Recent tenant mobilizations operating in the domain of private rental housing in the United States reframe the “housing crisis” as a “tenant crisis,” to rearticulate the stakes of housing problems in terms of those most impacted rather than in the economic terms of the housing market. These mobilizations operate through tenant organizations, which tend to defy categorizations of civil society groups typically employed in the academic literature. Tenant organizations’ visions of housing justice entail discursive and epistemological interventions that assert the social meaning of housing, reinterpret dominant notions of the housing crisis, and build alternative infrastructures of knowledge production. These alternative knowledges not only disrupt what is taken for granted in market-based housing allocation but also inhere alternative ways of being and shaping social policy and society.

This paper examines how working-class tenants build collective power in the context of atomization. What does housing, and tenancy in particular, offer as a domain by which to build solidarity across diverse members of the working class in the pursuit of economic justice? How does this coalition contest taken-for-granted ideas of policy expertise through its focus on tenant experiences as lived expertise?

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted with a national and multi-scalar tenant organizing coalition in the United States, I examine the processes by which tenant organizers recast “tenant” as a political category and translate the lived experiences and input of tenants into formal policy proposals and demands. Tenants engage in collective study and knowledge production to articulate an analysis of the root causes of the tenant crisis and desired federal policies to address immediate housing issues. Together with allied policy advisors and researchers, tenant organizers design and develop policy proposals aimed at regulatory agencies. The coalition’s emphasis on tenant expertise underlines the disjuncture between housing as shelter and housing as a commodity, one that has accelerated with the

expansion and consolidation of corporate ownership of rental properties. In seeking to establish “tenant” as a political class, organizers pursue a humanistic approach to “tenant-centered housing policy” that bridges between technocratic and community knowledge. The coalition identifies and aims to fill gaps in knowledge about the private rental market through independent research, data collection, and information-sharing with regulators. In parallel, efforts to build collective power take an expansive view of “tenant,” and seek to engage individuals across tenurial status, including renters, unhoused people, and mortgage-holding homeowners. While “tenant” offers a flexible category with the potential to build solidarity across geographies and tenure classifications, the fragmentation of housing policy together with the privatization of housing provision and finance threatens to fissure broad-based solidarity.

These findings shed light on constraints and avenues for claim-making available to tenants and community organizers across scales in today’s financialized economy. Tenant organizers seek to alter institutional arrangements in housing through the proliferation of local-level tenant unions as part of a broader strategy to disrupt narrowly economic approaches to housing policy, and employ transgressive as well as cooperative strategies by which to contest the commodification of housing and pursue economic justice in the United States.

Dignifying Performance Measurement in Modern Slavery Survivor Care

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

values and measurement, sociology of valuation and evaluation, sociology of quantification, supererogation, organizing for values

Abstract/Description

"So, we are always faced with this dilemma: should we follow the wishes of survivors and risk financial penalties, or just register survivors to fulfil the contract but risk jeopardizing their recovery? And this is a difficult dilemma. We want to listen to survivors and provide a service that is appropriate for each individual, but we also want to show the Home Office that we are doing a good job. So, we need a framework for that." (Advocate1, Summer 2021, SurvivorCare2)

In this opening quote, the advocate provides an account of the uneasy relationship between organizational recognition of the needs, wishes, and values, such as autonomy and respect of modern slavery survivors, and the strict performance requirements of the accountability demands placed against the organization by the UK Home Office. This tension is at the heart of our study that examines an internal organizational project which sought to reform their performance measurement system so that it could more closely capture the values held by the organization while complying with the externally demanded reporting measures stipulated by the UK Home Office. Previous research has documented that organizations in response to externally imposed accountability demands often display one of three responses: resist, decouple, or discipline. Some organizations resist the imposed accountability demands; other organizations decouple by using one set of metrics for external reporting and a different set of measures for internal control and learning; yet other organizations are disciplined when externally imposed measures become overbearing and undermine substance and value of the work. In contrast to these works, we adopt Horvath's notion of supererogation to explain how and why organizations may use their performance measurement systems to overcomply with externally imposed accountability demands (see Horvath, 2023, Organizational supererogation and the transformation of non-profit accountability, in *American Journal of Sociology*, 128(4), 1031-1076). Supererogation can be understood as a process "through which organizational action outstrips externally imposed evaluative demands" (ibid., p. 1031). We examine how and why our case organization engaged in a process of supererogation rather than resistance or de-coupling.

The focus is on an internal reform project of the organizational performance measurement system, which sought to imbue the externally imposed contractual accountability measures (KPIs) with the values the organization held, particularly those underpinning trauma-informed and survivor-centric care. We describe and analyze how SurvivorCare dealt with the dissonance between external accountability demands and their own elusive values of fairness, respect, equality, dignity, and autonomy. We develop the notion of 'dignifying measurement' to problematize and theorize the process by which the organization tinkers with externally imposed performance measures to give expression to resonant values and subdue perceived dissonances. Through 'dignifying measurement', we seek to capture both the process by which measures are tinkered with and how the resulting measures are envisioned to give

expression to resonant values and subdued dissonances.

Empirically, we draw on an organizational ethnography that was conducted by the first author within a charity contracted by the UK government to provide care services for survivors of modern slavery. This ethnography involved 16 weeks of observant participation which enabled us to follow the design of value-driven performance measures from start to finish. We argue that our ethnographic, first-hand empirical insight helps to better understand the different challenges that accompany the development of value-driven performance measures. Understanding such challenges is not only important from the standpoint of performance measurement design; it is also useful for those who seek to utilize such measures for external evaluation purposes, as it helps to better assess their potential limitations. Thus, our study holds relevance not only for academics but also practitioners, policymakers, and regulators involved in the development and interpretation of measures for values.

Neoliberalism and the Politicization of Youth: Age-Based Governance Movements in Post-2010 South Korea

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Youth, Youth Activism, Identity, South Korea, Youth Governance

Abstract/Description

This study investigates how neoliberal restructuring in South Korea catalyzed the politicization of youth as an age-based identity, reshaping a traditionally transitional life stage into a coherent sociopolitical category. While research on youth activism often focuses on why and how young people join broader struggles, less attention has been paid to situations in which youth itself emerges as the central mobilizing frame. In post-2010 South Korea, youth activists—facing precarious employment, inaccessible housing, and delayed life transitions—strategically framed their challenges as generational injustices rooted in limited political decision-making power. By doing so, they established youth as a politically salient category capable of achieving concrete policy outcomes.

Neoliberal reforms introduced after the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis eroded once-stable employment conditions, raising job insecurity and housing costs. Unlike previous youth mobilizations that contributed to national democratization movements, young Koreans in the 2010s confronted a distinctly neoliberal landscape. They increasingly recognized that their difficulties—unstable jobs, unaffordable rents, postponed family formation—were not merely individual problems but outcomes of political exclusion shaped by economic liberalization. Framing these problems in generational terms allowed them to claim that “youth” constituted a marginalized group deserving institutional recognition.

Diverse youth organizations emerged during this period, ranging from liberal-leaning groups like Minsnail Union to conservative-leaning ones like Today for Tomorrow, as well as more politically neutral associations. Although each group initially focused on particular issues—housing rights, welfare, or employment—they soon discovered a shared thread: a lack of genuine influence in policy arenas. Their response was to emphasize youth identity, forging alliances across ideological lines. This strategic framing transcended internal differences, uniting activists under the banner of age-based marginalization. Unlike earlier student movements that operated as part of broader national struggles, these youth governance groups highlighted their own generational

A notable accomplishment was the collaboration with the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Youth governance initiatives, such as the Seoul Youth Policy Network, provided a platform for young people to propose policies addressing their specific needs. The outcomes included the 2015 Seoul Metropolitan Government Framework Ordinance on Youth, free coworking spaces, and targeted subsidy programs—clear evidence that youth-based claims could prompt institutional change. These local successes emboldened activists to push for broader recognition, culminating in the 2020 passage of the national Framework Act on Youth. This Act formally acknowledged youth as a distinct category worthy of dedicated policy attention, expanded the age range for official “youth” status (19 to 34), and institutionalized youth involvement in policy-making bodies.

Methodologically, this study is grounded in extensive fieldwork, interviews with 60 key informants—activists, organizational leaders, policymakers—and computational analyses of policy documents and media coverage. This mixed-method approach allows for a chronological reconstruction of how the neoliberal context created fertile ground for the politicization of youth, and how activists translated these conditions into sustained action. Interviews reveal that while political beliefs and socioeconomic backgrounds varied, activists and policymakers alike recognized that the common denominator of age-based vulnerability galvanized collective mobilization. This stands in contrast to many well-studied movements, where youth involvement often occurs alongside other identity-based claims, making it difficult to isolate youth identity as a primary factor.

The post-2010 South Korean case underscores several sociological insights. First, it highlights the capacity of neoliberal conditions to transform demographic categories into politically charged identities. Youth became more than a transitional life stage; it emerged as a coherent category defined by ongoing precarities. Second, the case clarifies that youth mobilization can center on age itself, rather than serving as a secondary factor behind more established identities such as class or gender. While other movements often rely on youth as an auxiliary asset, here age functioned as the primary dimension of collective identity and action.

Finally, this case adds to our understanding of how activist framing can convert structural inequalities into politicized identities with enduring policy implications. Youth activists moved beyond immediate demands, pressing for institutionalized mechanisms of representation and influence. Their achievement of policy changes and the establishment of formal youth governance structures suggest that, at least under certain conditions, age-based identity can rival more traditional identity frames in mobilizing action and generating tangible outcomes.

In sum, the post-2010 youth governance movements in South Korea reveal how neoliberal contexts can cultivate age-based political identities, uniting young people across ideological divides to pursue generational interests. This study encourages sociologists and scholars of social movements to consider youth not merely as a demographic stage or a pool of participants, but as a potential source of collective identity capable of reshaping political landscapes and institutional frameworks.

Bricolage as a political tool: Reframing Civil Society in a young democracy.

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Bricolage, Civil Society, Social Movements, Organizing, Democracy

Abstract/Description

Civil society is a concept representing space autonomous from both the market and the state, originally encompassing constructs such as families, churches, education and associations. Previous research highlights a shrinking of this space in favour of political society in countries led by populist governments. Yet, the mechanisms underpinning such processes have not been thoroughly investigated and uncovered. In our study, we focus on the governmental rhetoric and practices in Poland between 2015 and 2023, which eroded the foundations of a young democracy. These practices fuelled a rise in nationalism, the marginalisation of minority groups, and the restriction of freedoms, including the right to assembly, women's reproductive rights, and other fundamental human rights. In this paper we bring together, Gramsci's concept of civil society and Lévi-Strauss's process of bricolage, to examine how the government's rhetoric on both emancipatory and anti-emancipatory social movements is represented in conservative right-wing media, including weekly newspapers and social media posts, supportive of the ruling party. This paper demonstrates that the government engaged in bricolage, such as tinkering with the boundaries of civil society, reframing the roles of civil and political society and the roles of competing social movements. The ruling party utilised whatever means were available to depict themselves as part of civil rather than political society, engaging in street protests, speaking on behalf of families, aligning with the Church, and rallying against vague or unspecified enemies. The results show that the space of civil society has not been shrinking; rather, it has been taken over by the state, which claims this territory as its own. This has left emancipatory social movements at risk of being left without a space or becoming effectively 'dis-spaced', imposing questions such as who they represent and who they are against, if there is no political society.

We contribute to two streams of social movement literature: one focusing on the conceptual differentiation and overlap between social movements and civil society, and the other on bricolage, enriching and extending both. First, we demonstrate that defining emancipatory social movements as centred around specific issues, rather than focused on building a broader frame of civil society, risks being "dis-spaced" by those in power who employ negative bricolage strategies. In particular, social movements that depend on improvised and issue-focused bricolage when merging with other movements must pivot and reconsider their positioning within the broader civil society, especially in contexts dominated by populist governments.

Second, we highlight the emergence of a phenomenon where anti-emancipatory social movements, such as street protests, are not grassroots initiatives but are instead orchestrated by the ruling party. This serves as a bricolage strategy to create a counterforce against emancipatory social movements. Our research reveals that government

framing of emancipatory social movements in government-supportive media serves as a powerful weapon for generating backlash against emancipatory activists.

Finally, we contribute to the social movement literature on bricolage by integrating insights from research on governmental-level bricolage, boundary bricolage, and framing. We demonstrate that bricolage strategies are highly effective tools, irrespective of the intentions of the actors employing them.

This has important practical implications for the future of emancipatory social movements. It emphasises that bricolage, often employed by activists, is not merely an option but a vital necessity to achieve comparable levels of effectiveness. Further, it calls for expanding the scope of bricolage activities beyond issue-focused bricolage to include the creation of broader shared frameworks, such as building a cohesive civil society. Moreover, bricolage practices must be guided by a clear long-term vision and strategic plan, as both the bricolage literature and our findings demonstrate that aligning bricolage with a broad vision consistently enhances its impact.

An educational approach to sustainability

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Environment, Sustainability, Education, Overlapping Generations, Agent-based model

Abstract/Description

The sustainability perspective on economic systems aims to protect natural resources and minimize human impact on the planet, ensuring that future generations' interests can be considered as relevant as those of the present one. This implies preserving resources, reducing pollution, and safeguarding ecosystems aiming to achieve a balance among economic, environmental, and social health. Typically, policy solutions to environmental issues have relied on proactive measures such as taxes (Pigou (1920), Hashmi and Alam (2019), Manta et al. (2023)), regulations and standards (Directive 2010/75/EU) and reactive strategies like monitoring (OECD Environmental Performance Reviews), fares, and legal sanctions as stated by the "polluter-pays principle" (Luppi et al. (2012)).

In this paper, we question this conventional approach, advancing a perspective related to the role of education and people's civic consciousness. If education successfully provided awareness of the role of Nature and its functions, people would naturally respect the environment, and sustainability could easily result from spontaneous conduct.

To test our hypothesis, we present a model considering a community of heterogeneous agents, differentiated in terms of age, by means of an overlapping generation framework with two distinct cohorts, in terms of ideology, through three different approaches to social interaction, and in terms of attitude regarding the environmental problem, by adopting two distinct behaviours in their consumption/production actions. More precisely, our agents are endowed with three different ideological orientations: Conscious people understand the relevance of the intergenerational environmental problem and therefore accept the important role of policies and actively promote their ideals, believing in governmental interventions to protect Nature; Uninterested agents do not believe instead in this intertemporal problem and therefore dislike paying taxes for government actions; Ill-Informed are completely unaware of environmental problems and consequently do not support policies, seeing them as an unjustified waste of money. The behavioural characterization consists, finally, of two possible attitudes: responsible individuals who are oriented to protect the environment, and selfish people who, instead, do not care about the future generation and, therefore, about environmental sustainability.

The intertemporal nature of environmental problems is evidenced by the seminal works of Solow (1993), Howarth and Norgaard (1992), and Pearce et al. (1989). To depict this characteristic, we implement an Overlapping Generations Model (Samuelson (1958) and Diamond (1965)), which allows us to examine scenarios where the actions of agents have consequences that extend beyond their lifetime. Several overlapping generation models have been proposed about the environment, such as the work of Kemp and Long (1979), Mourmouras (1991), Marini and Scaramozzino (1995), and John and Pecchenino (2017). As in many of them, our population lives for just two periods. In the first one, younger individuals work and form their ideologies, learning from their parents and being influenced by other agents. In the second period, they retire, consume without working, and display their attitudes toward environmental

problems. At the end of each period, the elderly pass away after having generated a new cohort that substitutes them. This cyclical process ensures the continual renewal of the population within the model framework. Young agents receive their basic education from their parents and, under certain circumstances, from other old agents, thus forming their initial ideology but, being inspired by a model of contagion (Aldashev and Baland (2008)), we include the possibility that young agents interaction spreads ideas and persuasive dynamics.

To investigate the effect of different network topologies to further explore the role of contagion and interactions among agents, we also add to our analysis an agent-based implementation, which has been extensively used in literature to analyse environmental problems (see Nannen and van den Bergh (2010), Farmer et al. (2015) and Granco et al. (2019)).

Results confirm that the consciousness of people, i.e., their understanding of the relevance of natural equilibria and the ability to transmit their values to their sons revealed to be fundamental in contributing to the adoption of sustainable conduct in society, thus leading to mitigating sensibly environmental problems. However, a strong effect is obtained by employing policies that reach initially uninterested individuals. Intergenerational environmental problems concern individuals and both present and future societies. Our main finding, thus, underlines the relevance of social interaction and individual involvement in addressing these problems. This highlights that important intergenerational policy targets could be more effectively pursued by prioritizing the emphasis on the value of individuals, encouraging personal growth in consciousness and culture, rather than relying on a market-oriented approach that sets prices and fares to penalize people.

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The Business Model of CDFI Loan Funds

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

CDFI loan funds offer fair and flexible financing and technical assistance to individuals, businesses, and nonprofits often excluded from traditional financial systems. They invest in projects—including affordable housing, small businesses, and community facilities—that aim to boost local economies, create jobs, and cultivate community well-being. While the business models of community development banks and credit unions are largely understood, the same cannot be said for loan funds. No existing empirical study explores the CDFI loan fund business model. Therefore, the study seeks to educate a broad audience about loans funds by addressing a central research question: What is the business model of CDFI loan funds? The study relies on 15 semi-structured interviews with loan fund leaders to paint a rich and detailed portrait of the business model.

Mission-driven Lenders

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

The U.S. government created the Community Development Financial Institution (CDFI) certification to promote greater credit access in distressed communities. In this paper, we provide a systematic analysis of CDFIs and provide insights into why CDFIs are growing and how they are different from other lenders. Consistent with their mission-driven requirement, we document that CDFIs have expanded in counties with a greater reliance on government-subsidized business lending, higher unemployment rates, and a larger minority population. Within the universe of depository institutions, credit unions and minority depository institutions (MDIs) are more likely to become certified CDFIs as well as institutions with relatively low levels of cash and high leverage. After becoming certified, CDFIs tend to grow faster and lend more, which suggests that the resources available to CDFIs alleviate institution-level financial constraints. In our final analysis, we analyze the cost of CDFI lending using a novel loan-level dataset.

A Study to Examine Michigan's CDFI Landscape

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

This study examines CDFI loan funds headquartered in Michigan to help identify potential policy priorities that will increase equitable community investment in Michigan. Conducted in collaboration with the Michigan CDFI coalition, this study focuses on capacity building for Michigan's CDFIs and recent achievements within the Michigan CDFI landscape, including establishing the Michigan CDFI Fund, which has been awarded \$94 million in state funding since 2023, and the formation of the Coalition itself. The focus is on exploring opportunities to enhance the impact of CDFIs throughout Michigan, maintain CDFI capacity and foster ongoing progress and transformation. The primary aim of this initiative is to improve access to grant funding for Michigan's CDFIs, thereby supporting vital community development outcomes essential for the well-being of local communities and the state's overall social and economic health. The research methodology encompasses collecting primary data through interviews, surveys, and focus groups or group discussions. It also involves engaging with key stakeholder groups to discuss the importance of CDFIs, identify opportunities for policy advancement, address data needs, and develop improved measures of return on investment. The findings from this study will inform future Michigan CDFI policy decisions and contribute to the broader literature regarding the impact of CDFIs in the state—specifically on state policies and programs, the benefits of collaboration in strengthening the ecosystem, and the role of CDFIs in fostering resources for underserved communities, thus energizing local economies.

Breaking Barriers: Strategies of Community Development Financial Institutions in Reducing Social Inequities in Marginalized Communities

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

What strategies employed by Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) effectively dismantle institutional barriers and contribute to mitigating social inequities, particularly in underserved or marginalized communities? Our intent is to analyze the impact of CDFIs on borrowers' lives, trajectories, capacities, and connections with other individuals and financial institutions. We will relate this analysis to our work on redlining and the impacts of withholding financial services from neighborhoods with significant concentrations of racial and ethnic minorities. We will continue our work by investigating the current role of the CDFI and how it can be enhanced, including CDFIs' relationships with communities, their social connectivity, information flows, local community-based organizations, local public agencies, and capacities to support small business and home ownership. This investigation will help us understand how CDFIs are actively involved in overcoming institutional barriers and promoting social equity, and which strategies and approaches employed by CDFIs are effective in removing obstacles and fostering inclusivity in underserved communities. The goal is to generate insights that can inform policymakers, practitioners, and stakeholders about effective interventions for promoting economic and social justice through CDFI initiatives.

A “Mouse that Roared?": How CDFI Financial Hybrids Scaled Up to Support Inclusivity within the American State’s Banked-Based Crisis Interventions to Save Small Business

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

CDFIs promote financial inclusivity in marginalized communities by combining commercial logics of banking and credit with mission driven logics of community service and developmental or relational banking. Yet this business model involves tensions between commerce and mission and cost, capital and legitimacy constraints that have limited CDFIs’ capacity to scale. Such constraints were particularly acute in the Paycheck Protection Program, the US federal government’s credit market-based intervention to save small business during the pandemic. CDFIs were effectively closed out of the program round 1, issuing barely 3% of PPP loans. However, over the course of the program, CDFIs increased their lending volumes thirty-fold, issuing over 1 million loans, and standing on par with mainstream banks and Fintechs in round 3. Based mainly on interviews with 90 participants and CDFI officers, we trace how CDFIs overcame cost, capital and institutional fit constraints, reconfigured practices and learned at the intra-, inter- and community organizational levels, and scaled up via three pathways within the PPP’s. In so doing, we highlight both underappreciated adaptive capacities in the CDFI community and possibilities for CDFIs participating fully as partners in federal interventions to manage crises, promote development or foster inclusion, while identifying new ways that hybrid financial organizations can negotiate tensions between commerce and cause.

The contribution of platform cooperatives to the exercise of democracy. Case study: La Diaria (mass media)

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

platform cooperatives, democracy, new business model

Abstract/Description

Introduction

In Uruguay, as in other Latin American countries, platform cooperative experiences are beginning to emerge. The article seeks to determine how a new cooperative management model will be developed within the current environment, considering the actors that can facilitate the implementation of this type of business, the regulatory framework within which it is developed and the disruptive transformation that has occurred. brought the digital age.

This experience is framed within the experience of the Uruguayan cooperative movement. In a country of just over 3.4 million inhabitants, nearly 900,000 people are members of at least one cooperative, highlighting the number of members of savings and credit cooperatives, followed by consumer cooperatives. The vast majority are found in the department of Montevideo, followed by Canelones and Colonia. The dynamics that the cooperatives have had is reflected in their high growth, having tripled in the last ten years.

The central aspects of a strategy in the digital era are addressed and the changes that this has meant compared to more traditional strategies where technology was not as relevant or was of a different type. Cooperatives have been able to innovate from a social perspective and this new situation presents them with completely new challenges. It is worth asking whether social innovation will have space to provide answers to new challenges.

The article considers a particular case, which is the case of the La Diaria cooperative (<https://ladiaria.com.uy/>), a mass media outlet, which in recent times has experienced a transformation towards a platform cooperative based on to Trebor Scholz's definition.

Objectives

Given the disruptive changes that the increasing presence of technology and digitalization has generated in companies, particularly in cooperatives, the essay seeks to answer the following questions:

Do cooperative values take place in the face of the disruptive changes that technology has brought? What strategies are necessary to develop to contemplate these values?

Will cooperatives be able to adapt their strategy to the digital era? How? What elements can facilitate the construction of a solid strategy from the vision that platform cooperatives provide?

A specific case is addressed, which is the La Diaria platform cooperative. La Diaria is the second best-selling newspaper in Uruguay, with 12,500 subscribers. It was created in 2006 in an alliance between journalists and entrepreneurial citizens; It is managed cooperatively and currently has 137 permanent employees, 41 of them in the editorial office and the rest in distribution, call center, community and administration. (La Diaria, 2019)

Future development of technology and its impact on organizations

Technological change has had an impact in various dimensions. Customers are changing, the competition is changing, the way we think about data, how we think about innovation and how we define the value of our business and our industry, everything is changing. Particularly in the cases of cooperatives, they are also changing both from the perspective of the business model and its members and how they are linked to the cooperative and to each other as well as the expectations with which they come to them. Both partners and clients begin to have network behaviors, which are much more horizontal and broad.

At this level it is important to differentiate between collaborative economy and social economy. The collaborative economy in the traditional sense is one where investors obtain a return from the shared use of certain goods, facilitating access but without this meaning that the values of participation, democracy and inter-cooperation are promoted, but rather it is based on other values. Cooperatives are part of what constitutes the social and solidarity economy by their very essence.

Cooperatives go beyond the sum of experiences or a certain social responsibility that the collaborative company can assume. Where competition is enacted, the SSE promotes cooperation, where profit is exacerbated, the solidarity economy promotes fair profit; Where materialism is exacerbated, the solidarity economy promotes the satisfaction of all human needs; Where consumerism is exacerbated, the solidarity economy promotes responsible consumption; Where free trade is exacerbated, the solidarity economy promotes fair trade; In short, when we only talk about economic growth, the solidarity economy prefers to talk about development on a human scale. (Guerra, 2009)

A platform cooperative is understood to be a company that operates primarily through digital platforms for the interaction or exchange of goods or services, and that is structured in accordance with the International Cooperative Alliance Declaration on Cooperative Identity. (Mayo, 2017)

As Trebor Scholz describes: "Platform cooperativism insists that we will only be able to address the ills of comparative economics (i.e., platform capitalism) by changing ownership, establishing democratic governance, and revitalizing solidarity. (Mayo, 2017)

Methodology

In order to consider La Diaria's strategy and the opportunities it offers to the actors with whom it works, we will carry out analysis using the platform business model map developed by Prof. David Rogers of Columbia University.

platform, and analyze where the creation and exchange of value takes place between different clients and within the platform. The tool seeks to clarify the role of each actor in the platform business model. To this end, the following questions must be answered:

1. What are the different types of platform actors?
2. What value does each type of actor receive from other customers? (in bold if monetary) What actor does it come from?
3. What value does each type of actor receive from the platform? (in bold if monetary)
4. What value does each of the other actors provide? (in bold if monetary)
5. What value does the platform provide each of the actors? (in bold if monetary)
6. For which actor, what types of actors does the platform attract?
7. What is the profile of each actor? The criteria are:

If an actor attracts more actors than any other, it is an axis actor

Any actor who provides monetary value to the platform is a payer and if he receives money from it he is a collector

If there is one actor who provides the greatest monetary value, it is the primary payer

Any actor who does not provide monetary value to the platform, but brings value to other groups is a sweetener

La Diaria: platform cooperative in the mass media sector

Subscribers are key to La Diaria's business model given that 80% of its income comes from subscriptions, 15% from advertising and 5% from the sale of services. It has been characterized as an innovative information company. It mainly attracts a highly educated audience: 70% have completed tertiary education, 20% with postgraduate studies. 53% are subscribers and 63% of web users are women. La Diaria offers a paper edition and a digital edition, the average age is 50 years for the paper edition and 46 for the digital edition, and 18% are under 30 years old. 80% is located in the country's capital and metropolitan area and the remaining 20% in the interior, having a presence in all departmental capitals. (La Diaria, 2019)

In this context, the current challenge is to grow sustainably through digitalization, the development of thematic verticals and improving the experience. (La Diaria, 2019)

In parallel, the purpose is to continue betting on strengthening the brand. To achieve this, it is essential to reinforce the sense of belonging of the La Diaria community, placing the reader at the center of management; increase physical presence in the territory with open spaces (La Diaria Lab, Café La Diaria) and be promoters of cultural mobilization (La Diaria Community, Day of the Future).

Likewise, it is necessary to provide cooperative members who work at La Diaria with training, experimentation and learning of the company's internal innovation tools, developing capabilities and empowering workers with methodologies that allow them to develop innovative projects focused on the user-subscriber. To this end, different workshops will be held to train in useful topics, such as Design Thinking, UX, service design, creativity, participatory journalism, audience strategy, use of data. In the future, we will seek to generate spaces for joint experimentation between subscribers and internal work areas. (La Diaria, 2019)

Application Methodology Value construction map.

La Diaria's value proposition is a cultural platform that makes available to its subscribers alternative content and forms of relationship to those found in traditional media. This value proposition is specified in: La Diaria as a newspaper that is accessed by subscription, a monthly magazine, cultural programs and initiatives. More recently it has incorporated a digital television medium. La Diaria is committed to self-management: trust, involvement, commitment of workers,

values that are shared.

The network behavior that is more horizontal and broad is much more compatible with the cooperative values of democracy and participation, it could help revitalize the model and even attract more young people to cooperatives through the platform. The dynamics that La Diaria has presented reflects this process. (La Diaria, 2019)

Figure 1 shows the value construction map where the newspaper is the axis, the subscribers the main payers to whom it offers quality and current information, the advertisers and the community other payers who even when in terms of income are not so relevant they constitute a relevant part of their environment. CUDECOOP and INACOOOP as well as other state agencies (ANII - research and innovation, INEFOP - employment) and even the University can be actors that serve as sweeteners, contributing to the business model without being part of the central actors.

Figure 1 - Value construction Map



Source: Elaborated based on information from the cooperative

Conclusion

Uruguay has significant technological development with a vision of human development. In this sense, the public policy of one laptop per child has allowed no one to be left out and that all citizens have access and have developed capabilities as technological users. On the other hand, Uruguayan companies have achieved a significant degree of internationalization and the ability to access external markets; however, cooperatives must further develop their platform business models.

The new digital reality presents a set of challenges and in the future cooperatives must be able to rise to these challenges. The logic of the collaborative economy is not enough, as on many occasions they end up serving a very small group of shareholders. The logic of cooperatives is different and implies participation and democracy in all its dimensions. Rewriting the principles of cooperatives in the new environment and putting them into practice is not always easy because to a certain extent it goes against the established market logic.

If it continues in this way, the future of La Diaria is very interesting and could constitute a reference to be contemplated at the level of the members of the ACI as well as to generate capacities that strengthen human development.

In a cooperative movement with a Rochdalian matrix, this new form of relationship will require contemplating other models that allow operating on the platform without being denatured, keeping in mind the cooperative values in the new reading of them within the framework of the digital age. This will require clear definitions and a lot of education, as has been demonstrated by experiences where growth has been present, such as that of Canadian or Spanish

cooperatives throughout their history.

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Cooperative University and New Education Policy; Focus on Democratic Governance.

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

university, education, innovation , experiential, technology

Abstract/Description

Background

Cooperative education in India is poised to make a great leap forward with the establishment of Cooperative University soon. At present, Cooperation as a subject of higher learning, has not been given due recognition in the educational syllabus of India. Cooperatives are covered in a very insignificant manner in the economics and commerce text books at the school level. As cooperatives have been neglected in the educational policies, no serious attempts have been taken for mainstreaming cooperative education. With the formation of Cooperative Ministry, for the first time, in a major policy shift, revamping of cooperative education through setting up a cooperative university has been given serious consideration.

teaching, multidisciplinary education, and experiential learning. The setting up of Cooperative university, against the backdrop of new Educational Policy, is an interesting area of study.

Objectives

The objectives of the paper will be following;

Methodology

As the subject is new, with non-existent literature on this subject, the methodology of the paper will be exploratory in character, based on the secondary sources.

Findings

The paper will argue that the focus on multidisciplinary education in the university will broaden the critical thinking of the students so that they come up with fresh ideas and solutions for strengthening democratic governance of cooperatives..

In experiential learning , which will be one of the focal areas of the university, the focus of education shifts from rote learning to a more student-centred approach. The best experiences from experiential learning comprise 'learning with doing'. This not only develops reflective practice habits but also gives beyond classroom learning to facilitate proper communication between students, teachers and cooperative organizations. Focus on study tours of cooperative organizations will enable the students to understand the functioning of cooperative organizations and how democratic governance can be strengthened

An experiential approach to cooperative study is clearly missing. The students are not exposed to work in cooperative organizations to supplement their theoretical knowledge in cooperatives. Though there are study visits as a part of the course structure, or project reports, but due to lack of effective collaborations with the cooperative organizations, the visits of cooperative experts to sensitize students in cooperative educational institutions, or opportunities of internships for students to work in cooperative organizations, are almost non-existent. The democratic governance in cooperatives can be strengthened only if the students are aligned with the functioning of cooperative organizations.

There are strong hopes that the cooperative university in India will revolutionize cooperative education in India and strengthen democratic governance of cooperatives.

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Community Wealth Building and Net Zero in Canada: the potential bridging role of organizations, institutions and policy networks in just transitions

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Abstract/Description

Canada hosts two dynamic and growing policy movements: Community Wealth Building (CWB), which seeks to enhance democratic ownership of local economies using the support of place-based 'anchor institutions,' and Net Zero, a legal and policy commitment to decarbonize Canada's economy and support the rapid proliferation of renewable energy technologies. Rarely have these two policy movements engaged with one another, yet the overlaps are significant, particularly in Canada's energy transition, where decentralized energy projects can support wider CWB goals through the use of energy co-operatives and municipal energy projects. This paper will show how these two policy movements can become more closely aligned in Canada, giving civil society organizations and actors a primary role in Canadian just transitions. We begin with a comprehensive review of CWB-focused research and policy literature in Canada, pointing out key stakeholders, organizations, and institutions responsible for advancing CWB in a diversity of local and regional economies across Canada. We then review Net Zero policies and just transition initiatives in Canada, noting developments within the energy sector that support building community wealth. Our paper emphasizes the bridging role that anchor institutions and CWB organizations can play in simultaneously driving CWB while facilitating the transition to Net Zero in Canada. However, we find that mutually supportive connections between the two are rare in Canada. The CWB sector seldom engages in local Net Zero activities despite considerable overlaps in pathways for advancing community ownership of renewable energy systems. By exploring various institutional approaches,

effective implementation through Canadian case studies. We find that Canadian CWB tools and policies, such as Community Benefit Agreements, Public-Private Partnerships and local financial innovations such as Green Bonds and Community Investment Funds, are key to aligning CWB with net zero transitions. In addition, we find that policy networks, particularly anchor institution networks and CWB networks, are key to advancing more decentralized net zero transition pathways in Canada that can build community wealth. Decentralization pathways therefore offer a lot of promise to root and fix new green economies in areas that may benefit the most, in addition, anchor institutions and their networks can be key players in these area-based strategies. However, one key challenge for Canadian CWB organisations is how much they prioritize economic localization over broader aspirations for economic democracy; this greatly influences how a just transition is enacted. Our paper concludes by calling for future research to explore how anchor institution and CWB networks can work more effectively with net zero and community energy network organizations, particularly where there are shared goals to develop local and regional economies according to sustainable development pathways. Finally, with the right policy support and co-ordination, we note the potential for CWB approaches to democratize net zero transitions amongst a plurality of communities; first nations and low-income communities and those living in isolated and rural peripheries in Canada that can benefit most from decentralized energy projects that lock-in inclusive community benefit agreements that facilitate a truly just transition.

Incorporating a Community: Civil Society, Legal Incorporation, and Place in the West, 1863-1909

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Incorporation, Civil Society, Comparative History, West Coast, Place

Abstract/Description

In the early U.S. republic, cash-strapped state governments leaned heavily on charitable organizations to do the work of the state. This was possible through a legal tool: the corporate charter (Kaufman 2008). Although today it is associated with large companies and global capitalism, the U.S. corporation started out as a legal technique to improve the public good. After the Civil War, however, the history of the corporation turns its focus to the major interstate and commercial interests of the time (Lamoreaux 2004)—the railroads, manufactories, and conglomerates of the Gilded Age. What happened to the charitable organizations that had been the early and numerous beneficiaries of the corporate form?

The late 19th century was a time of rapid growth in fraternal societies, women's groups, and labor organizations (Soskis 2020). However, none of the research mapping this growth of civil society analyzes incorporation data—the tool that legal theorists saw as required to effect social change. This is surprising given that the mid-19th century policy change, the General Incorporation laws, were passed specifically to build a more pluralistic, republican civil society. General incorporation was a policy innovation that North, Wallis, and Weingast (2009) argue was crucial to letting civil society not only persist but thrive. To fill this gap in the literature, I first ask, what happened to civil society organization incorporations after the Civil War?

In Portland, Seattle, and Los Angeles, civil society incorporations did grow after the Civil War, but this growth was exceedingly slow when compared to for-profit incorporation. Civil society incorporations rose more slowly than population leading to a decrease in per capita rates of incorporation in all three cities at the end of the 19th and beginning of

the 20th centuries. This finding is at odds with the consistent finding that civil society rapidly expanded in the U.S. at this time.

To make sense of this contradiction, I theorize and empirically test what incorporation now meant for civil society in the late 19th century. I argue that civil society organization incorporation came to represent the ability and desire to establish a community's mission in a place. Both incorporation law and its practical purpose highlighted the importance of incorporation for the communal ownership of property, particularly land (Ciepley 2021; Hansmann and Kraakman 2000; Hansmann, Kraakman, and Squire 2006; Lipton 2010). Local civil society became intertwined with place physically, culturally, politically, and financially. The way property, politics, and economic organizations intersected, and built cultural meanings tied to the history and idiosyncrasies of each county, gave place its own independent character (Molotch, Freudenberg, and Paulsen 2000). This in turn had effects on civil society incorporation.

Differences in civil society ecologies emerged quickly across Portland, Seattle, and Los Angeles revealing far more about a place than incorporation had prior to the mid-century policy shifts. Comparatively, Los Angeles developed a conservative and elite civil society oriented around churches and cooperation among commercial firms. Incorporation for Portland's civil society was typified by large proportions of women, labor groups, and other marginalized communities. King county formed a middle ground between the other two, but with a strong labor movement. A commonality across the places was the relatively high level of incorporation among ethnic groups. This was surprising given that county administrators systematically discriminated against ethnic communities' incorporation (Bloch and Lamoreaux 2017a). Notably, more marginalized ethnicities, such as the Asian and Black community, incorporated more organizations per capita than others.

To arrive at these findings, I utilize county-level data on all general incorporations from each county until ten years after the given county reached a population of 100,000. This includes county-level incorporation records of 2,459 civil society and 15,108 for-profit corporations founded after the Civil War. These counties are in three of the first states to adopt general incorporation law into their constitution when they were admitted to the Union (Evans 1948). Given the similar dates, economic theories that disregard the importance of place would expect each county to have similar levels of incorporation across different types of organizations. The resulting differences I observe thus highlight the strong relationship between place and civil society incorporation.

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Race-Conscious Data: The New Political Taxonomy

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Theme Track

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Keywords

Racial Justice, Political Theory, Information Sciences, Civil Society, Critical Theory

Abstract/Description

Should universities, companies, or the government be prohibited from asking for information that reflects our racial identities? Outlawing any such information outright was once a fringe legal claim in the States. Claims that target our abilities to discuss, detect, or remedy racism impacts now animate the far-right's elites and base. Throughout the twentieth century, U.S. law has failed to rein in its narrower logics from hollowing out law's advancements toward meaningful equality. Bouyed by Trump's far-right presidency and a Supreme Court unconstrained by precedent, conservatives now revive dignitary privacy frames to advance "colorblindness." But unlike the 1990s, the Article argues, attempts to dismantle race-consciousness will clash with a now-globalized legal-political regime regulating information about racial identity, as the paper argues. In response to recent calls for a "social recognition" taxonomy among privacy law scholars, it proposes a political taxonomy of ideologies centered around race-conscious data.

Existing scholarly fields identified with anti-discrimination, information studies, and privacy law each highlight important aspects of the dangers and offer an integral piece to the puzzle, but have yet to conceive of the political-legal infrastructure holistically. Nor do they acknowledge the failed liberal state, constraining the scope of analysis and effectiveness of their prescriptions. (Lin, 2023, *Race, Solidarity & Commerce*.) Each specialty still adheres to vocabularies—such as "anti-discrimination," "racial privacy," and "sensitive data"—rarely adopted by other discourses. In the long run, continued siloing of theoretical analysis undermines society's ability to debate long-term strategy and foster multidisciplinary collaboration amid a democratic crisis. As its first contribution, the Article advances an original synthesis of the disparate developments in race studies, information science, and law, particularly anti-discrimination and privacy. Scholarship that analyzes the powers granted over and through racial information at the level of theory has come due. Notably, the burgeoning (legal) scholarship focused on

privacy and technology often sideline methodologies of at least equal importance from broader information science and social science disciplines. Thus, Part I introduces a multi-disciplinary history of racial formation and race-consciousness, concluding with the social settlement over race-related data as a tool of U.S. civil rights law. It then reprises the dominant privacy-law frames of "social recognition," "sensitive data," and "racial privacy," and offers a new multi-disciplinary lens, *race-conscious data*. Race-conscious data refers to information that communicates or ascribes racial identity, without assuming race is a fixed social category. Part II contrasts literature to date that limits discourse to subtypes of liberalism or neglects the existence and growth of colorblind and white supremacist ideology. Here, the Article makes its second contribution to the literature, an up-to-date taxonomy of five modern ideological categories with respect to such data: (1) Liberal Data Guardians; (2) Race-Conscious Dignitarians; (3) Colorblind Regressives; (4) Libertarians; and (5) White Supremacists. Leading proposals addressing race-conscious data, including in the technology space, are then assessed under the principles each now espouse, affording opportunities to discern overlaps and incompatibilities within U.S. and European jurisprudence.

Part III addresses the implications and challenges that policymakers, advocates, and the public may likely raise, including difficulties in forging coalition and expanding race-conscious discourse among lay communities. By evenly incorporating law, political theory, and information science, the lens of race-conscious data stands play a role in understanding, evaluating, and reaffirming racial justice under law in ways that may realistically engage with popular ideologies.

Who Mourns and Who is Mourned? A Qualitative Study on Volunteering for Seoul's Public Funeral Services

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public funeral, unclaimed deceased, volunteerism, civil society, modern South Korea

Abstract/Description

Contemporary South Korean society faces significant social issues, including the rise of lonely deaths and unclaimed deceased individuals. These challenges stem not only from increasing social isolation but also from the weakening of traditional family-based care systems and insufficient welfare provision by the state and market. Seoul's public funeral services were designed to address this gap, ensuring dignity for the deceased while fostering social solidarity and responsibility. However, the operation of these services relies predominantly on the voluntary participation of civil society rather than direct state intervention. This study explores the motivations and experiences of public funeral volunteers, analyzing the social and personal significance of their mourning practices and shedding light on the role of civil society within the broader economic and sociological context.

Using a qualitative methodology, this research combines ethnographic approaches with phenomenological analysis. The study involved participant observation and in-depth interviews with volunteers and service organizers at Seoul Memorial Park, the central site for public funerals. Volunteers, despite having no familial ties to the deceased, willingly assume the role of chief mourners. Through their participation, they transform the narrative of death from a private loss to a collective social concern. This process not only reaffirms their sense of belonging within the community but also facilitates the construction of new forms of solidarity in an increasingly individualized society.

From an economic sociology perspective, the study highlights how public funeral services reflect structural shifts in Korean society, where civil society compensates for the gaps left by the state and market in the provision of care. Public funerals emerge as a unique case of non-marketized care, countering the efficiency-driven logic of capitalism and emphasizing non-material values such as social responsibility and solidarity. Volunteers contribute their time and effort without monetary compensation, demonstrating a commitment to public value beyond economic incentives. Moreover, the services show how civil society can function as an enduring and sustainable force to support socially marginalized groups, such as unclaimed deceased individuals, without requiring extensive financial resources. This underscores the importance of social capital and collective action as key resources in addressing societal challenges, even in the absence of economic rewards.

The findings reveal that public funeral services, driven by volunteer participation, alleviate social isolation and promote a culture of public mourning. Volunteers navigate their roles not just as individuals providing care but as part of a larger societal movement to redefine collective responsibility for death and mourning. This creates opportunities for civil society to play a central role in addressing issues of economic and social inequality, particularly in contexts where traditional systems of care have disintegrated.

Furthermore, public funerals offer a model for balancing the roles of the state and civil society in addressing complex social problems. The volunteers' work transcends the immediate task of mourning and demonstrates the potential for collective mourning to foster civic engagement, community building, and an alternative to the commodification of care.

responsibility to honor life and death, shifting the focus from familial obligation to communal solidarity. This resonates with broader global discussions in economic sociology about how non-market forces can challenge and complement the limitations of market and state mechanisms.

This research argues for the institutionalization of public funeral services as a collaborative model between the state and civil society, highlighting their potential for nationwide adoption. The study also underlines the significance of public funerals as a framework for addressing the broader challenges of social disconnection and economic inequality in modern South Korea. By placing the public funeral service within an economic sociological framework, the study demonstrates how civil society can emerge as a key actor in creating sustainable social solutions and reconfiguring communal values in response to the limitations of market-driven and state-centered approaches.

In conclusion, Seoul's public funeral services are not merely a welfare initiative but a testament to the transformative potential of civil society in modern capitalist societies. They illustrate how non-marketized, volunteer-driven care can address pressing social issues, foster public mourning practices, and reinvigorate a sense of civic responsibility. This study contributes to understanding the role of civil society in mitigating social exclusion and inequality, offering valuable insights for policy development and the redefinition of public mourning as a collective, shared responsibility.

(Re)vitalizing the Foodshed: How Community-based Enterprises Tackle Social Problems in the US Food Industry as Intermediary Organizations

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community-based enterprise, food industry, cooperatives, hybrid organizations

Abstract/Description

Capitalization of the US food system is fraught with social problems. On the producer side, intense competition and increased commoditization is favoring industrial agribusinesses while leading to family farm abandonment and unsustainable growing practices (Brookfield & Parsons 2007; Smith et al. 2007). On the consumer side, affluent customers have an ever-expanding selection of food choices while millions of low SES households lack access to fresh, healthy produce and an obesity pandemic is mounting (Larson et al. 2009; Powell et al. 2007; Tillotson 2004; Wallinga 2010).

How can business organizations tackle such social problems? A novel group of intermediary organizations, frequently referred to as “food hubs” (Barham et al. 2012), is trying to accomplish just that liaising between various stakeholders. Food hubs tend to be community-based enterprises (CBEs) that are collectively established, owned, and controlled by members of a geographic community, in which they are embedded and for which they aim to generate economic, social, and/or ecological benefits (Hertel et al. 2019, p. 440). As CBEs, they function as linchpins between local producers and consumers. They support small-scale, regenerative farmers as well as diverse consumer segments, including underserved community members. In so doing, they (re)vitalize regional and sustainable food chains by actively managing the aggregation, distribution, and marketing of source-identified local food products.

Drawing on a revelatory case study of a CBE, pseudonymed FoodShed, that has gathered acclaim for its successes in the food hub community, we unpack its approach to alternative system (re)vitalization. Central to its approach is its function as an intermediary organization. FoodShed draws not only on (remnants of) cooperative capitalism in US agriculture but also participates in the capitalized national (organic) food industry by serving as a local distributor for major brands. We unpack the community engagement and organizational practices that allow FoodShed to reconcile the tensions of operating simultaneously in a local cooperative and national capitalist system. By serving as an intermediary organization, FoodShed manages to both reconcile divergent stakeholder expectations and nurture a resurgent local economy.

(Bacq et al. 2022) as well as organizational hybridity (Battilana et al. 2017; Smith & Besharov 2019). First, our findings highlight the importance of CBEs as intermediaries, revealing the buffering function these organizations can play between co-existing alternative systems, to alleviate social problems for local producers and traditionally disenfranchised consumers. While CBE research has acknowledged the important social change potential of these organizations (e.g., Mitzinneck et al. 2024; Stott et al. 2019), it has so far overlooked the important boundary work these organizations undertake. Second, our findings move research on hybridity beyond binary distinctions between business and social objectives, highlighting how the presence of multiple beneficiary groups creates the potential for varying emphases within a given social mission (e.g., farmers versus underserved consumers in our context). This in turn has implications for the meaning and consequences of mission drift within hybrid ventures (Grimes et al. 2019).

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Who's Got the Key? Class, Social Capital, and the Schooling Information Marketplace

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

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social capital, socioeconomic status, education, field experiment, public school principal

Abstract/Description

Over the past three decades, the landscape of schooling in the United States has undergone a dramatic transformation, marked by increased options for parents to select schools outside of their residential catchments. These changes have institutionalized the process of school selection, creating a "schooling marketplace" where parents must navigate information on school options. While school choice policies are often framed as enhancing access to high-quality education for all families, they also risk reproducing structural inequalities, particularly through the ways information about schools is distributed and accessed. While a significant body of research has examined how parents access information, less is known about how school leaders, such as principals, supply this information and whether biases influence interactions with prospective parents.

This study situates school choice within the framework of organizational and economic sociology by examining how principals, as key gatekeepers, navigate pressures to allocate limited resources while responding to parent inquiries. Drawing on theories of "privilege-dependent organizations" (Calarco 2020), it argues that principals are incentivized to cater to higher-status families due to their perceived social and economic capital, which aligns with organizational goals to secure resources and maintain reputational standing. The study also highlights the role of parental social capital in reducing transaction costs and fostering trust, suggesting that perceived connections within the school community can mitigate class-based disadvantages. By integrating insights from resource dependence theory and social capital, the research reveals how individual and institutional biases perpetuate inequalities in access to educational opportunities.

To examine these dynamics, I conducted a large-scale, pre-registered email correspondence audit study of 11,578 public high school principals--the near universe of

public high schools in the United States. Using a between-subjects design, I emailed each principal as a fictitious white mother who was ostensibly considering the school for her high school-age child and was looking for information on school quality. The emails vary in two key ways: the parent's perceived class background, signaled by a novel manipulation of lexical variations in the email text, and social capital, signaled by references to connections within the school community. Findings reveal that while perceived class alone does not significantly affect response rates, social capital consistently increases the likelihood of receiving a response, with a particularly pronounced effect for low-SES parents. This suggests a compensatory role for social capital in reducing class-based disadvantages. Additionally, principals in resource-constrained schools are more likely to respond to high-SES parents and to parents signaling social capital, reflecting the pressures these schools face to attract and retain privileged families.

The study contributes to ongoing discussions about how schools, as public institutions, can balance market pressures with their democratic obligations to provide equitable access to information and opportunity. Principals act as gatekeepers, balancing participatory aspirations of equitable access to education with the calculative pressures of resource constraints and reputational maintenance. This tension highlights how schools, as privilege-dependent organizations, can reinforce hierarchical and exclusionary structures by privileging higher-status families, while also highlighting social capital as a critical tool for overcoming barriers faced by low-SES families. These findings have implications for educational equity and policy, suggesting the need for interventions that promote equitable access to school information and mitigate biases in principal-parent interactions. Future research will explore the content and tone of responses to gain deeper insights into how schools communicate with families and how these interactions perpetuate or disrupt patterns of inequality.

Democratizing Socio-Ecological Transformation through Alternative Organizations? Institutionalizing Citizen Participation through Food Policy Councils

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Keywords

deliberation, citizen participation, civil society, food democracy, municipality

Abstract/Description

This paper analyzes the democratic legitimacy of citizen participation processes aimed at fostering sustainable food systems, with a specific focus on the input, throughput, and output legitimacy of such participatory mechanisms. Through an in-depth case study of the Food Policy Council Cologne (FPCC) in Germany, we investigate the extent to which all relevant groups are incorporated into decision-making processes and the measures implemented to ensure that participation opportunities are inclusive and democratic. We also examine how the outcomes of these participatory processes find meaningful integration into Cologne's urban food policy.

Food policy councils (FPCs) represent initiatives emerging from civil society that aim to institutionalize citizen participation at the local and regional level in addressing the transformation of food systems. Engaging local stakeholders in developing sustainable food strategies and policy proposals, FPCs play a crucial role in the sustainability transformation of local food systems (Schiller-Merkens & Machin, 2023; Schiller-Merkens & Degens, 2024). By seeking to influence public policy-making, these councils contribute significantly to transformative changes within the food system, offering a potential institutional response to the democratic crises that have surfaced in many liberal democracies. To counter the crisis of democracy, the integration of elements of direct

democracy and citizen participation is posited as a means to strengthen the legitimacy of the political system and empower citizens.

Unlike top-down, state-led initiatives like citizen assemblies or participatory budgeting schemes, which typically recruit participants through random selection, food policy councils rest on self-selection of engaged citizens. Food policy councils aim to facilitate “democratic experimentalism” in a Deweyan sense, where stakeholders collaboratively seek solutions to joint problems. However, this mechanism of self-selection might also lead to significant exclusions. Predominantly, the engagement tends to emerge from the White academic middle classes, while marginalized groups and neighbourhoods are frequently underrepresented. How to increase input legitimacy is therefore an important concern. Furthermore, even after recruitment, inequalities can still be reproduced. We therefore also address throughput legitimacy by exploring the extent to which participants in FPCC events genuinely have the opportunity to raise their voice and to be heard. Finally, as a basic indicator of output legitimacy, we assess whether the results of participatory processes are integrated into urban policy.

Our contribution employs a mixed-methods approach, which entails participant observation at FPCC events, interviews with experts and activists, as well as document analysis of the “Edible City Action Plan”—a plan initiated by the FPCC. This action plan emerged from a participatory process in 2018 where hundreds of citizens articulated concrete concerns to the city, leading to its integration into urban policy in 2020 after two years of collaboration. The action plan outlines goals for urban community gardens, allotment gardens, edible public green spaces, participatory agriculture, corporate gardens, and school gardens. Currently, the FPCC is advancing toward a second phase (2025-2030) where new objectives are being formulated, using a formalized process of civic engagement in collaboration with the city. In November 2024, approximately 40 participants took part in a public assembly to revise these demands. Participant observation during this key event is a prime source of data. The degree to which these demands will translate into urban policy will be assessed during spring 2025.

In conclusion, this study critically evaluates the potential of food policy councils as vehicles for democratizing food governance through participatory processes. By assessing the legitimacy dimensions—input, throughput, and output—we provide a nuanced understanding of how FPCs can enhance or hinder democratic practices in food policy contexts. In the long run, the findings aim to inform scholars, policymakers, and community organizers on best practices for fostering inclusive participation and producing tangible outcomes in urban food governance, ultimately contributing to broader socio-ecological transformations.

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Pricing the Priceless Barter: Context, Relationship and Gender in Contemporary Barter among Small-Business Owners

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Keywords

Contemporary barter, Price, Social relations, Context, Gender

Abstract/Description

This paper asks the following question: how do context, relationships and gender influence the way small-business owners decide on pricing in contemporary barter? It is part of a broader research project that examines how social value is created from economic action, through contemporary barter among small-business owners.

While classic economic accounts consider monetary pricing an a-cultural mechanism for communicating information, such as scarcity, in a system where people's knowledge differs (Hayek 1945, Lie 1997), classic sociological accounts argue that the rapid spread of money as the primary system of measurement (price) removed the individuality of products or services, rendered them interchangeable and ultimately diminished their value (Marx [1844]1977, Carruthers and Espeland 1998, Simmel [1900]2004). Monetary pricing also nullified alternative means by which to judge the social and natural world, as price became the standard by which everything was measured (Simmel [1900]2004). Indeed, money has been considered a main contributor to the erosion of humanity (Maurer 2006), particularly in economic action.

This reductive idea of *hostile worlds* between the impersonal world of the economic action and the intimate world of personal relationships has stymied efforts to understand the social meaning of economic action (Granovetter 2017, Zelizer 2004). Neither of these classic approaches gives adequate attention to either the cultural beliefs or the interpersonal interaction that informs discussions regarding money (Zelizer 1997), pricing (Zelizer 2000) and value in exchange (Zelizer 1981, Velthuis 2005). Personal relations and embedded systems of meaning are increasingly considered as fundamental to economic action and pricing (Velthuis 2005). Across different types of social contexts, individuals adapt their economic actions according to their interpersonal relations (Zelizer 2004). Furthermore, while it has been acknowledged that

economic life is, to a great extent organized around gender (Milkman and Townsley 1994), research on the gender component of economic action has tended to take a narrow view (Zelizer 2002). Household work for example, is generally excluded from discussions of economic activity, and the role of gender in structuring the economy is often omitted (England and Folbre 2010). Given the standardization of pricing across products and services, the way price is adapted based on personal relations, context and gender are challenging to observe. Studying contemporary barter among small-business owners permits such observation, because small-business owners engage in barter and standardized monetary transactions concurrently.

The study takes place in Midwest College Town (Midcolt), United States. First, to establish an overview of bartering practices, I surveyed 90 business owners in the Midcolt area. Second, to analyze the practice of barter, I carried out opened-ended interviews, with a total of 60 small-business owners in Midcolt. I drew mainly from four industries: food and beverage, personal care, agriculture, and construction. However, the challenges collecting data during the Covid 19 pandemic necessitated that I use snowball sampling. Therefore, I include other sectors.

Preliminary findings identify three forms of social relations that influence small-business owners' decision to barter: personal acquaintance, professional acquaintance and industry or co-worker. Next, the paper elaborates on two contexts that influence that decision. First, industry or workplace practice, in which barter is considered a normalized practice of an industry or workplace, although it may not have taken on the status of an industry norm. Second an aligned approach, in which small-business owners have a shared perspective when it comes to barter or business more broadly. It is not necessarily tied to a particular industry or workplace.

Stemming from both the relationship between small-business owners and the contexts in which they are bartering, contemporary barter is informed by flexibility in pricing. It can consist entirely of product or service exchange, or it can include partial monetary payment. There are five forms of pricing used by small-business owners in contemporary barter. These include: direct trade (product/service for product/service), trade of worth (monetary value of product/service for monetary value of product/service), partial trade (partial money and partial barter), evolving trade, and ambiguous trade. Small-business owners use multiple pricing forms across multiple barter partners depending on their social relations and professional context. Finally, the paper explores how the influence of context and personal relations on pricing varies, according to the gender composition of the barter.

Roundtable: Connecting with Montréal and Québec's Social and Solidarity Economy: Site Visit to La Centrale Agricole

Jason Spicer

City University of New York, New York, NY, USA

Jason Spicer

Role

Chair

Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

The host region of this conference this year has long been associated with a world-leading and widely studied social and solidarity economy (the SSE, or in French, ESS, *l'économie sociale et solidaire*), which includes a host of democratically owned and controlled enterprise models and forms, including co-operatives (Bouchard, 2013; Hall and Lamont, 2013; Spicer and Zhong, 2022).

In this session, we will visit La Centrale Agricole, a local incubation hub which is structured as a co-operative, and which seeks to stimulate and develop enterprises focused on the circular economy and on urban agriculture. It is believed to be the largest urban agriculture co-operative in the world. We will receive a tour of the site and speak to participants in its activities, as well as have time to ask them questions about their operations and approaches.

Separately, we will also hear about a locally maintained scholarly resource, PortailCoop, the world's largest digital library on co-operatives and mutual, housed at HEC Montréal.

Attendees must contact the organizer of this session before arriving for the conference, so that we can confirm the total number of participants. The site visit will also involve a small site visit fee, to be paid to La Centrale Agricole for the administrative cost of their time and the visit.

Bouchard, Marie J. *Innovation and the social economy: The Québec experience*. University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Hall, Peter A., and Michèle Lamont, eds. *Social resilience in the neoliberal era*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Spicer, Jason, and Michelle Zhong. "Multiple entrepreneurial ecosystems? Worker cooperative development in Toronto and Montréal." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 54.4 (2022): 611-633.

From Political Resistance to Mutual Aid: Innovation in Civil Society Mobilisation under Political Instability

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Civil society, Democratisation, Political instability, Conflict, Mutual aid

Abstract/Description

Since 1989, civil society has been deliberately weakened in Sudan through successive policies limiting political party activity, suppression of press freedoms and targeting of political dissidents, and cuts in funding for cultural and research institutions. The recent Sudanese revolution triggered a revival of civil society activity in Sudan. While price increases sparked the protests that started in December 2018, they soon mushroomed into broader calls for regime change. The protests were initially led by an umbrella of professional unions, the Sudanese Professionals Association. As protests became more frequent and larger in size, and as the violence of the security services intensified, neighbourhood-level organisations were formed across the capital city, Khartoum. This move allowed civil society to localize protests, which made them more manageable and less vulnerable to violence. After the fall of the incumbent and a series of fraught negotiations, a power-sharing agreement between civilian members of the opposition and the military assumed power in the summer of 2019. The neighbourhood-level organisations – Resistance Committees – soon assumed broader responsibilities, including sourcing cooking gas and distributing bread during fuel and wheat shortages, and organizing testing and vaccinations for COVID-19. They had inadvertently taken on some of the responsibilities of the state. These activities were accompanied by tensions and internal debates on the political role and service provision responsibilities of these new groups. After the coup in October 2021, orchestrated by the military against their civilian partners in government, Resistance Committees intensified their stance against the military's usurpation of power through weekly schedules of protests. They communicated their vision for self-sufficiency, political inclusion and a democratic transition in two charters published in February 2022 and slowly became the most consequential players in Sudan's political arena. However, during this time, they had refused to engage in the institutionalised political process – including UN-led negotiations – and rejected all attempts at mediation between the military and political parties. After the current conflict in Sudan started in April 2023, Resistance Committees reorganized themselves into mutual aid groups serving as first responders delivering food and medical services, and facilitating travel for people leaving conflict areas. Their new operational structure under the banner of Emergency Response Rooms captured the imagination, with its inherent flexibility allowing for innovative solutions to the new reality. Being the only organisations on the ground, they have direct access to households and soon started receiving funds from various sources. Similar organisations sprung up across the country, particularly in the current conflict hotspot in Khartoum and the Darfur states. Today, only a fraction of civil society organisations operating on the ground

various needs in their respective communities. And some mutual aid efforts have no formal structure, instead organizing under common trades, such as butchers, millers and farmers, distributing their surplus. The Emergency Response Rooms created state-level committees to coordinate the distribution of funds from the Sudanese diaspora, donors and aid organisations. Despite the instability brought on by the conflict, some organisations have developed mechanisms through which communities could contribute to service provision and nominate members to local committees. Others, recognizing the conditionality and intermittency of aid, are seeking more sustainable funding models. This paper presents the findings from a mapping exercise and interviews conducted with members of mutual aid groups operating in conflict regions in Sudan. We trace the origins of various civil society organisations and document their approaches to local governance, financial management and service provision.

Pop-up Cities as Sites of Cosmo-Local Convergence: The Case of Zuitzerland

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Network States, Pop-up Cities, Sovereignty, Identity, Blockchain

Abstract/Description

Pop-up cities are communities of value-aligned individuals who commute from various geographic localities to partake in collective public discourse and exchanges in pursuit of experimentation in network states. The idea of network states was popularized by Balaji Srinivasan, an American entrepreneur and investor, who has defined network states as highly aligned online communities with the capacity for collective action that crowdfund physical territory globally and seek diplomatic recognition as a new type of state (Srinivasan, 2022).

There have since been numerous implementations of this idea which have to different degrees adhered to Srinivasan's definition. Calzada (2024) makes an attempt at establishing a general classification framework of the implementations associated with Web3 and blockchain technology, which he categorizes into three value-based paradigms: 1. Network States, symbolizing crypto-libertarian principles, 2. Network Sovereignities, focusing on communal governance and digital commons, and 3. Algorithmic Nations, which explore the possibility of self-determination through data sovereignty. All these are underpinned by blockchain technology as the technological enabler of decentralized, more participatory forms of governance.

In this paper, we examine how pop-up city communities express, enable, and complicate identity, particularly in relation to concepts of 'belonging', 'social ties', and 'citizenship'. These transient urban environments often foreground the interplay between local specificity and global interconnectedness, which we analyze through the lens of "cosmo-local identity" (Schismenos et al., 2020). By cosmo-local identity, we refer to the dynamic interplay between local cultural specificity and global systems of exchange and influence. Sachs describes this concept as "transfiguration of the relation between locality and universality, respecting and promoting local communities across a global network of equal co-existence" (1992, in Schismenos et al., 2020). Moreover, we are particularly interested in the pop-up iterations affiliated with the Ethereum blockchain ecosystem. Participants in the Ethereum ecosystem are specifically known for being preoccupied with the concept of the network state partly because Ethereum blockchain is known as the "world computer", meaning that it allows a broad range of use cases.

We draw on ethnographic data from a pop-up city called Zuitzerland and examine how this community utilizes blockchain technology in their self-infrastructuring (Nabben, 2023) of social and political processes. We understand self-infrastructuring as "the ability [of people] to place boundaries around their own actions in relation to shared purposes or goals, that are then expressed in technical and institutional infrastructure" (ibid). Zuitzerland is affiliated with Next Gen Village (nextgenvillage.com), a Swiss start-up city initiative which offers a blueprint for a "new model of civilization" premised on the values of cosmo-localism (Horat & Baeriswyl, 2021). It outlines a vision of interlinked virtual

and local realities of autonomous individuals in self-determined communities, which are part of a larger global network. It is conceived as a permanent entity with full ownership of the land where it is based.

In our research, we focus on the cultural, economic and political aspects and dynamics of the Zwitterland experiment, discussing the broader implications for citizenship, community, and belonging. Furthermore, we will investigate the geospatial dimension of this community in terms of boundaries, sovereignty and autonomy. Firstly, we ask the question of how pop-up cities and their participants negotiate local community practices and their boundaries within the confines of the host nation-state, as well as what kind of boundaries it may erect internally. We also explore the tools and technologies deployed within such contexts and how they are imagined to serve the needs of the community by focusing on an artifact called "Zupass". Secondly, we will show how, if at all, such experimental communities exploit the weakened position of nation-states and lead to a fragmentation of nation-state sovereignty. Finally, we will explore the levels of autonomy achieved by this community and the governance systems and decision-making mechanisms it employs in its self-infrastructuring efforts (Nabben, 2023).

Throughout our empirical and theoretical analysis, we investigate how cosmo-local identity is both a framework for fostering inclusive communities and a site of tension, as it necessitates constant negotiation between global ideals and local realities.

Economic and Cultural Precarity as Contributors to Opioid Use Disorder: A Qualitative Study of Urban and Rural Joblessness, Income Insecurity, and Social Isolation

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

opioids, economic precarity, social isolation, working class, deaths of despair

Abstract/Description

Deaths related to suicide, alcohol-related diseases, and drug overdoses have spiked, reversing trends of improving life expectancy for many groups of Americans (Case and Deaton 2015, 2017, 2020). Scholars have examined the relationship between these deaths and changes in the labor market that have made high-paying and stable work harder to find, especially for those without college degrees (Cherlin 2016). Research to date on rising mortality among the less educated across these causes and others (Case and Deaton 2021, 2023) has been almost entirely quantitative, however (though see, for example, Silva 2019). Drawing from ethnographic observation and in-depth interviews, this study explores the pathways that connect joblessness, income insecurity, and social isolation to opioid use disorder within two contexts in Virginia, the urban Richmond metro area and rural Nottoway County (50 interviews planned in each location). Through organizational referrals, Craigslist ads, and other strategies, we are recruiting a sample of individuals who (1) are of prime working age (ages 25 to 54); (2) have experienced unemployment or left the labor market in the past five years; (3) have engaged in opioid-related abuse at some point in the past five years; and (4) have less than a bachelor's degree. Importantly, this sample includes both men and women, building upon recent research on the tenuous attachments of working-class men (Edin et al. 2019; Francis 2021, 2022, forthcoming) to understand why less-educated women have not been spared similarly elevated rates of mortality. Leveraging our purposive sample, we examine possible mechanisms by which the changing structure, pace, and content of work and family life may be pushing non-college-educated individuals toward risky health behaviors (Cherlin 2014; Kalleberg 2011, 2018). Preliminary analysis of our interview data in the Richmond area (to be followed later by fieldwork in rural Nottoway) finds that working-age men and women without

family and community ties. The absence of such ties worsens the psychosocial impact of their inability to find a meaningful focus for their activities both in and out of the workplace, placing greater cultural weight on their lack of progress in the labor market. This combination of growing economic precarity and fraying cultural rootedness may explain, in part, why the non-college-educated have been hit so hard by substance-related mortality risks that have grown more lethal in recent decades.

It must be stressed that supply-side factors have always played a proximate, and possibly determinative, causal role in intensifying the risks of lethal drug poisonings and thereby driving up rates of mortality (King, Scheiring, and Nosrati 2022). As the ubiquity of fentanyl has grown, fentanyl-related deaths among African Americans have even outpaced those of whites, challenging demand-side explanations about relative decline and despair. Profit incentives to unscrupulously develop, market, and distribute highly toxic prescription opioids, along with shifts in domestically focused drug markets trading in heroin and fentanyl, appears to have allowed the death toll to reach such startling heights (Quinones 2015). Nevertheless, the divide in health and mortality outcomes by education levels remains stark, raising questions about how the declining fortunes of the less educated may exacerbate these risks of death—that is, putting certain disadvantaged groups at greater “risk of risks” (Link and Phelan 1995). The impact of the crack epidemic on deindustrialized African American communities at the end of last century and the surge in alcohol-related deaths in post-Soviet Russia suggest that alcohol and substance use disorder can become one of many ways that frustrations and despair about the conditions of life are expressed, with the rate of death from these disorders dependent on the relative toxicity of the substance (with fentanyl transforming this picture) as well as the duration and intensity of socioeconomic decline.

This qualitative study adds a much-needed cultural and psychosocial lens to the literature on rising mortality rates among the non-college-educated. In part because of data limitations, research to date has been focused on relative economic deprivation and precarity as the key mechanism of various forms of frustration and despair among this relatively disadvantaged group (e.g., Case and Deaton 2020; Cherlin, Ribar, and Yasutake 2016). Our interviews and observations so far suggest a generational shift in (a) the quality of work available to the less educated; and (b) the social supports provided by not just family and friends but also community institutions (Silva 2016). Notably, the downward trajectory of both trends for the less educated operate in tandem; after all, the factory jobs common among earlier generations are hard to describe as “good jobs” in terms of their working conditions or opportunities for creative and meaningful labor (Chen 2015; Chen and Goldstein, forthcoming). However, these jobs existed in a context when two-parent households were more widespread, Main Street businesses and organized religion provided structure and social interaction for larger numbers of people, and strongly held traditions and moral perspectives—albeit exclusionary ones—offered set paths that individuals could follow to moral respectability and stability (Sherman 2006, 2009; Silva 2016, 2019). In contemporary times, we instead see the hollowing out of institutions serving working-class households, with our respondents commenting on their social isolation (Chen 2016), estrangement from both family and community organizations, and the predatory nature of what supports exist, given, among other things, the expansion of market sectors that see the disadvantaged as sources of profit (including treatment centers, respondents say, that have been compromised by a focus on securing more abundant Medicaid dollars). Meanwhile, for the less educated individuals we interviewed, it is not generally hard to find jobs (even for the formerly incarcerated), but the types of labor available to them—and, equally important, the sorts of activities for enjoyment and social connection that exist outside of work—have been stripped of meaning and personal reward. While today’s college graduates explicitly seek out autonomy, creativity, and self-growth in and out of work,

cultural and social ties among the working class in particular have narrowed such possibilities elsewhere. Indeed, in addition to the “Durkheim-like recipe for suicide” stemming from social disintegration that other social scientists have commented on (Case and Deaton 2017), our study’s focus on culture builds upon arguments made by theorists of various politics, from Edmund Burke (2015) to Viktor Frankl (2006) to Simone Weil (2001). Specifically, we see the decline of tradition and communal rootedness as opening up possibilities for alcohol and substance use as a palliative within increasingly chaotic, atomized, and existentially troubled communities (Chen and Bland 2022, 2024). Anthony Giddens (2003), for example, has argued that the loss of tradition in modern societies promotes “addiction,” as communal restraints on individual behavior have loosened—undoubtedly to the benefit of the well-educated postmaterialist elite, but at a possible cost to less advantaged individuals reliant on such deeply connected, place-based communities. In this sense, the deterioration of African American-majority neighborhoods during the crack epidemic can serve as an instructive historical comparison case, one characterized not just by lethal drug overdose but also lethal violent crime and other related social harms; here, the decline of such communities was linked both to policies that razed and tore apart Black neighborhoods as well as company decisions to relocate factory jobs out of the urban core (Wilson 1987). Across genders and racial and ethnic groups within our sample, we so far observe a similar pattern of simultaneous social disconnection and economic precarity, made more individually lethal in modern times due to market innovations in the production and distribution of opioids and fentanyl.

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Space-making and Values Work: Maintenance of inclusion in Canadian Public Libraries

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Spaces, Built environment, Values, Values Work, Inclusion

Abstract/Description

Public libraries play a critical role in fostering literate, sustainable, and connected communities (Audunson et al., 2019; Dalmer et al., 2022; Forrest, 2022). The value of inclusion, that is, welcoming anyone and everyone who walks in through the doors, is a cornerstone of public libraries. Yet, inclusion in public places is often contested (Wright et al., 2020). In this study, we extend this stream of scholarship and explore how public libraries remain inclusive, thereby maintaining democratic societies. Specifically, we aim to understand how spatial arrangements, experiences, and practices support values work in the context of public libraries.

A focus on built environments in the study of values is relevant and timely; the extant literature on values work drops various hints about the importance of space for values work and yet the relationship between space and values work remains underexplored. For example, the creation of discursive spaces in Wright et al.'s (2021) study, spaces to display signed and framed copies of the honor code in the study of Gehman et al. (2013), or safe spaces in Reay and colleagues' (2017) study on physicians were all shown to be relevant for institutional, organizational, and professional values, respectively. However, we have yet to understand how space influences values work; thus, this gap motivates this study.

We conduct a qualitative, comparative case study of four small to mid-sized Canadian public libraries that aim to be inclusive (e.g., Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2018). For these libraries, inclusion is a continuous work-in-progress within the physical boundaries of the library buildings and requires them to constantly develop and maintain their spaces as useful and welcoming for different groups of customers who present themselves at the libraries with often competing demands (Aabø et al., 2010; Forrest, 2022; Summers &

Buchanan, 2018). We are currently collecting rich qualitative data comprising interviews, field observations, and archival records. In our data analysis, we trace strategic (e.g., branch renovations) and every day (members' use of spaces and spatial arrangements) space-making practices of libraries to support inclusion. Building on this rich data, we conduct a preliminary comparison of our cases and explore the value of inclusion in these libraries through the lens of space-making.

We find that all library systems in our dataset, engage with spaces on an ongoing basis and space-related practices, in turn, determine how the value of inclusion manifests in those libraries. We find that inclusion manifests through a combination of safety- and hospitality-related practices within library spaces, where safety and hospitality can be imagined as two ends of a continuum. Further, each library maintains a different orientation in practicing safety and hospitality. While some libraries implement safety in their spaces more strictly, others focus on utilizing spaces more actively to engage audiences and create a more hospitable space. Together, libraries' orientation toward safety and hospitality determines what the value of inclusion looks like on the ground. Ultimately, we find that a focus on safety maintains the boundaries of the value of inclusion, whereas a focus on hospitality expands these boundaries to include previously overlooked and/or marginalized groups in the libraries' communities.

Our findings help extend the literature on values work by showing that ongoing space-making informs values work by shaping the libraries' spatial orientation. From a practical perspective, we believe our study helps shed light on space-related hospitality practices that can enable libraries to be more inclusive to their communities.

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The native evaluations of tuition-free education ("gratuidad"). The Argentine public university in question

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tuition-free, gratuidad, evaluations, values , money

Abstract/Description

The Argentine public university has as one of its main and inseparable characteristics what in Argentina is known as "gratuidad". To avoid confusion, this concept in English can be understood as "tuition-free education". This implies two aspects: no registration or tuition fees are charged to attend college, and public universities are financed by the state through various tax mechanisms (CUINAP, 2020). However, I intend to use the native term, "gratuidad", as it is known in Argentina, as a synonym of "tuition-free". That is relevant because public university in Argentina cannot be thought of as disassociated from its "tuition-free" status.

Decree No. 29,337, issued on November 22, 1949 declared: "The collection of university fees currently in force shall be suspended as of June 20, 1949." Since then, and with a single interruption during the last dictatorship government (1976–1983), the "gratuidad" of the university system has been maintained over time. In 2015, this principle and political value were enshrined in Law 27,204, which in various articles upholds "free university education as a public good and a personal human right" (Art. 1) and "the national government is responsible for providing funding" (Art. 2). The unrestricted admission, the absence of tuition fees, and the various inclusion strategies implemented by different governments have given enrollment a universalistic character. This implies the admission of 'non-traditional' students into the university, that is, first-generation students (Carli, 2012; Marquina and Chiroleu, 2015).

Under the current presidency of Javier Milei (2024), public universities have been defunded. The administration maintained the 2023 budget, but the year-on-year inflation rate for March 2024 was 287%, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses. This led to the first (among others) mobilizations in defense of public universities on April 23/2024. These protests were massive and took place across the country and showed part of the relationship that Argentine society has with the public university.

This presentation stems from my ongoing doctoral research, which aims to analyse the various relationships, tensions, controversies, and contradictions between Argentine public universities and its "gratuidad", and the different types of monies associated with them: state funds derived from taxpayer contributions and the money from families and students, which cover costs not included in the absence of tuition fees. The study seeks to argue that "gratuidad" is not a static value but rather a dynamic one. It is a moral, political, and monetary value, around which controversies, ambiguities, disputes, equivalences, and metrics emerge. In this sense, the thesis addresses from various perspectives –history, public opinion, state agents, families, and students–how the "gratuidad" of public universities is a constantly evolving value that drives different debates, contradictions, and evaluations. The conceptual framework used takes up the contributions of Viviana Zelizer's sociology of money (1989, 1985, 1994, 2009) to identify uses, meanings, monetary equivalences, but also non-monetary values linked to "gratuidad". It also takes up the contributions of Bloch and Parry (1989) to investigate money as a crucial social link that places society as a whole on the plane of commitments, rights

This presentation focuses on the "native" evaluations of "gratuidad," which consist of three dimensions: 1) A series of representations and narratives about gratuity (resources available in various spaces—media, social networks, etc.—that people use to express judgments, valuations, or evaluations of public universities); 2) a set of experiences directly or indirectly related to "gratuidad" (having attended or currently attending university, family history and its relationship to the university, etc.); 3) a series of units of measurement, equivalences, or monetary offsets related to gratuity (mechanisms, metrics, or valuations people use to quantify, assess, or equate their discourses, experiences, perceptions, and opinions regarding gratuity).

Given the universality achieved by public universities (mentioned above), all these evaluations occur in an inter-class space. In this context, all these evaluations place students (and by extension, their families) within a framework of rights and obligations (determined by what "gratuidad" would imply in terms of redistributing opportunities to access to university). These link them to other citizens and the state as a redistributor, collector, equalizer, etc. Thus, in response to the sociological question of "who deserves" gratuity, individuals outline different notions of rights, privilege, opportunity, or injustice regarding access to it, given that resources are provided by all citizens through a taxation mechanism.

I conducted a contrastive analysis between two public universities with distinct student populations: The National University of the Litoral (UNL), where over 50% of students come from the interior of Santa Fe or nearby provinces, and the National University of San Martín (UNSAM), where over 50% reside within Greater Buenos Aires. This highlights inter-class interactions in different regional contexts. To capture social diversity, I interviewed 60 students (and their families), focusing on scholarship aid recipients (first-generation students) and non-scholarship students (second- or third-generation), including UNL students who relocated for their studies.

This research provides insights into how "gratuidad" functions not only as a financial arrangement but as a deeply embedded value that reflects broader societal debates about equity, opportunity, and access to higher education in Argentina. The ongoing changes to public university funding under the current administration indicate that "gratuidad" is a relevant area of study for understanding the intersection of public policy, education, and social justice.

Samba and Social Justice Struggles: An Unlikely Duet of Tactical Frivolity

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Samba, Social Justice, Tactical Frivolity, Performance, Boundaries

Abstract/Description

Different genres of popular music have long been associated with social justice movements across the globe, helping to mobilize people on a variety of concerns. The ways in which this is achieved are site-specific, engaging musicians and audiences in struggles that highlight the geographic emplacement and historicity of sociocultural processes in the larger context of globalization and interculturalism. The Brazilian samba is a contested cultural object, embroiled in complex ethno-racial discourses of both Afro-centric identity-politics and "melting pot"-style patriotic forms of nationalism. While these politics are not evident abroad, on the international stage today, social justice-oriented groups in disparate contexts and on different continents have taken up samba's potential to mobilize people emotionally, physically, and politically: Rhythms of Resistance International uses street samba at political rallies, Indigenous peoples in Peru use it to build community and resist marginalization. An appropriated symbol of Brazilian-ness, whose political impetus as an instrument of social critique was disavowed through nation-making narratives in Brazil, samba today is a key political tool in global struggles, through the use of tactical frivolity.

This paper presents preliminary findings from an ethnographic participatory action research project on Turtle Island (treaty 3 territory, on the traditional lands of the Mississaugas of the Credit River) about the role of community samba in social justice struggles. In partnership with a local Public Interest Research Group (PIRG), I spearheaded the re-start of a samba group intended to energize local demonstrations through cultural performance and offer allyship to a more diverse community in a sustained way. PIRGs are activist centres for research and action for social and environmental justice, whose decision-making practices are commonly based on consensus. Action Groups are groups of five or more people who work on a particular issue with a PIRG's support and funding. The case study focuses on a particular Action Group, the social unit through which Canadian PIRGs organize a large part of their activities.

The participatory research project fostered the (re)creation and maintenance of a drumming Action Group where people learned how to play Brazilian samba to perform at PIRG's and PIRG-supported rallies and demonstrations. The intent was two-fold: first, to increase the PIRG's ability to mobilize activists/supporters and enhance the diversity of its membership by becoming more welcoming and inclusive through arts and culture; and secondly, to ensure the Action Group was sustainable through time as opposed to fizzling out, as had been the case with a prior drumming group. Central to the project was the facilitation of strategies for collaborative community music in a sustainable and publicly resonant way.

Music can help articulate contexts for questioning identifications with majoritarian politics and culture. By creating sonic and social spaces that disrupt conventional political boundaries, amateur collective music making is able to subvert dominant arrangements and produce new models of civic life through empowerment, education, and community building. The PIRG Action Group ensemble took as its model the practices of Rhythms of Resistance International, a London-based organization that helps social justice activists around the world to create their own street-based samba

This organization developed the concept of "tactical frivolity" as a collective theorization of the relationship between performance, mobilization and social justice. On their website, the term is defined as a form of public demonstration that uses drumming, dance, radical cheerleading, clowns and fairies to "create an atmosphere of festivity and humor during street protests..." The site argues that using music and dance to radically redefine street protests is both a powerful tool to circumvent police violence, and a way to unleash the power of the body and its desires "in the moment of protest itself."

This paper will discuss how in conceptualizing the role of tactical frivolity, Rhythms of Resistance situates it as a spectrum of strategic enactments encompassing cultural production, community work, social praxis and political protest. Mobilization is understood in this framework as simultaneously socio-political as well as cultural, corporeal and emotional, and experienced at the level of the subject, the group, and the body politic.

Reimagining Power Research Approach: Worker Centers and the Quest for Working-Class Empowerment

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

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Abstract/Description

Reimagining Power Research Approach: Worker Centers and the Quest for Working-Class Empowerment

Abstract:

The decline of traditional unions and the rise of low-wage work in the United States have left many marginalized workers without effective forms of collective representation (Fine, 2006). These trends are projected to persist private-sector unionization rates are expected to remain low, reaching only 8.69% by 2050 at current growth rates—or 12.5% if the rate doubles—thereby leaving most U.S. workers dependent on public laws and enforcement for workplace protections (Fine & Round, 2023). In response, worker centers have emerged as alternative organizations to support immigrant, low-wage, and informal-sector workers who typically fall outside the scope of conventional union structures (Fine, 2006). Unlike unions, which rely on membership dues and leverage their bargaining power through strikes, worker centers operate by building broad coalitions of workers, faith groups, community allies, and other nonprofits (Garrick, 2021). Rather than organizing along industrial or occupational lines, they bring workers together based on shared race, ethnicity, immigration status, or community ties (Garrick, 2021).

Worker centers emphasize leadership development among the workers themselves, recognizing that frontline workers are best equipped to understand workplace dynamics, engage their peers, and lead collective actions (Livenwood, 2013). Although their organizing campaigns are often more limited in scale and financial resources, worker centers serve as critical platforms for empowerment, enabling workers to advocate for their rights, protect their dignity, and increase their collective voice (Loomis, 2022). Immigrant workers continue to come to the United States due to push and pull factors within their home countries. Union models that once work have compromised the lively hood of workers. Workers are terrified to openly participate as their fear deportation or indefinite detention (Jayaraman & Immanuel, 2005).

This proposal aims to examine case studies and how worker centers are cultivating working-class solidarity through their organizational structures and the strategic use of diverse Power Resource Approaches. Originating from Marxist ideas about class struggle and the capitalist mode of production—where those who control the means of production

influence both the likelihood and intensity of social conflicts. (Korpi, 1974). Grounded in the Power Resource Approach (PRA) and Inclusive Leadership Theory, this study presents internal and external mechanisms through which worker centers mobilize collective action, foster equitable leadership, and address systemic barriers faced by marginalized workers. Through an examination of Structural, Associational, Institutional, Symbolic, and Coalitional forms of power, this proposal will demonstrate how worker centers in the United States can be analyzed through a more comprehensive framework—implementing a framework from how unions are traditionally analyzed. While there's an amount of literature on non-union forms of worker organizing, such as worker centers and forms of self-organizing (Atzeni 2016; Fine 2006), there is little is known and lack of how worker centers exercise structural power (Greer, 2024). In doing so, the research explores new ways and understand the gap on how these emerging organizations navigate economic constraints, build inclusive coalitions, and ultimately enhance workers' collective capacity to improve labor conditions.

Keywords: Working-class, Community empowerment, Grass root organizing, Leadership Development, Power Resource Approach

Creating community-oriented markets: how socially and economic disadvantaged groups come together to create their own economic opportunities

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markets, collective action, community, entrepreneurship, marginalized groups

Abstract/Description

In the last decade we have seen a growth in the social recognition for structural barriers that socially and economically disadvantaged (SED) communities face (Canizales and Vallejo 2021; Chen, Zhang, and Liu 2020; Davis 2022; Funakoshi and Raychaudhuri 2023; Mendez et al. 2021), and the corresponding emergence of the voice of marginalized communities demanding the recognition of and intervention to address structural patterns of socioeconomic inequality (Nkomo 1992, Nkomo 2021, Ray 2019). One way that marginalized communities have historically persisted and enacted change despite exclusive economic structures is by creating new organizations to occupy (Canizales 2018; Vallejo 2016). The emergence of markets, organizations and collectives centered around minority- racial, ethnic, and gender and/or sexual- identities represent a growing trend in addressing systemic inequalities and fostering empowerment (Cairns et al. 2023).

These efforts can take many different forms. Prosperity Market, based in Los Angeles is a mobile platform, offering a space for Black farmers and food producers to sell directly to consumers, with a mission to provide economic opportunities and strengthen community ties (Prosperity Market n.d.). Retail pop-ups like zine fests often center around queer, trans, and POC artists, aiming to platform creators that are often sidelined in mainstream art scenes (Deal 2015; Stroozas 2023). Creative collectives like Particle.FM in San Diego work to platform independent art and music of creators at an "intersection of cultures, identities" (Particle.FM n.d.). Finally, Mujeres Market, is an organization partnering with markets around Los Angeles and Riverside counties, that ensures

“help one another and to be self-reliant” (Ducker 2019). These examples demonstrate increasing social efforts toward recognizing and addressing the unique challenges faced by SED people in business and the arts. They serve as economic platforms but also as meaningful cultural and community hubs where collectives of socially and economically disadvantaged (SED) people come together and, using collective identities and narratives, push for social change and for opportunities for social mobility.

Nonetheless collective narratives face some challenges. The focus on “identity politics” have become increasingly salient as marginalized communities demand increased recognition of structural inequalities and greater social efforts towards social inclusion. Although often perceived as divisive (Lopez 2017; Renström, Bäck, and Carroll 2021; Shapiro and Iwry 2022), identity politics has also fostered the formation of larger collectives where marginalized groups unite, supporting each other in seeking economic and social mobility. Yet the question of how the sociocultural salience of different identities is actually mobilizing changes in actions, both at the individual and collective level, is still a matter of great academic debate. For example, it is unclear how many people actively identify as “people of color” and whether and how that identity is associated with political action (Kalunta-Crumpton 2020; Starr 2023; Torrez 2022).

While initial research has opened up important questions about the psychological, socio-economic, as well as political roles entrepreneurship might play within marginalized communities, it has overwhelmingly focused on individual ventures. While there is significant literature examining ethnic enclaves, these studies largely focus on contained geographical areas. There has been little scientific attention to the emergence of collectives that are rallying around shared identities and cooperating to pursue shared objectives. Our study seeks to understand how collectives of individuals and entrepreneurs as well as organizations engage in collective action and leverage collective identities to create inclusive market and community spaces for SED entrepreneurs. We do so by collecting ethnographic data, news and media documents, as well as interviews with actors creating or participating in these collective markets/spaces. We hope our research will shed light on the ways that these groups overcome struggles to create community-oriented market spaces.

Eyes in the Warehouse: Surveillance and Resistance at Amazon's U.S. Facilities

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surveillance, logistics, labor, grassroots, organizing

Abstract/Description

Amazon's impact on competitive dynamics in the warehousing industry cannot be overstated. Employing nearly 30% of workers in the industry, the company has been at the forefront of implementing new software and hardware in its facilities, a trend that other warehouse operators have started to follow. Specifically, when it comes to individual worker-tracking techniques through various forms of electronic surveillance, Amazon is the clear industry leader.

While scholars and journalists have exposed the effects of electronic surveillance on work intensity and worker wellbeing at Amazon, much less is known about the extent to which this technology affects workers' ability to effectively exercise their rights to concerted activity at work. Addressing this gap, the current research focuses how electronic surveillance at Amazon warehouses impacts workplace collective action.

Drawing on a national survey of nearly 1,500 Amazon warehouse workers and qualitative interviews with workers working in Staten Island, New York, and St. Louis, Missouri, we unpack the double-edged relationship between electronic monitoring and collective action. On one hand, technology-enabled surveillance stokes greater interest in organizing and a heightened desire for union representation. On the other hand, workplace monitoring suppresses collective action—a chilling effect that is more pronounced among those interested in unionizing.

This research contributes to the literature on technology, power, and work. Even though employer surveillance is not

new, we show specifically how the use of new technologies has expanded and intensified the ways in which employers are able to exert control over workers. Applying a racial and intersectional lens, we also find that the punitive and dehumanizing effects of surveillance are especially acute for groups that have long faced disproportionate employer monitoring, igniting heightened interest in pursuing collective action even while creating particular barriers to doing so.

The paper ends by drawing on our qualitative interviews to consider how worker organizations have navigated the challenges posed by Amazon's surveillance practices. The JFK8 facility in Staten Island became the first in the country to successfully unionize when the Amazon Labor Union won its election in 2022 (though the company has since refused to come to the bargaining table). In St Louis, the Missouri Worker Center has helped to build a multiracial, cross-class organizing committee that has led successful local actions at their fulfillment center to improve wages and working conditions. We will consider how these organizations contend with Amazon's surveillance and monitoring in building grassroots worker power.

Who's the expert? Knowledge, power and legitimacy in Chile's two failed constitutional experiments (2021-2022 & 2023).

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Latin American Politics, Expertise, Constitutional Change

Abstract/Description

This paper examines the evolving role of expertise in Chile's recent constitutional processes (2021-2022 and 2023), offering a comparative analysis of how expert knowledge was mobilised, legitimised, and contested. While traditional analyses of expertise in Chilean politics have focused on economists' influence during the dictatorship (1973-1990) and early democratic transition, this study investigates how expert authority shifted following Chile's 2019 wave of protests and the constitutional debates that followed.

The first process (2021-2022) emerged from a crisis of legitimacy in traditional political institutions, featuring a Constitutional Convention with significant representation from social movements and independent actors. In the wake of the failure of the first, the second process (2022-2023) took a markedly different approach, privileging formal expertise, especially in law, through two new bodies: an Expert Commission and an Admissibility Committee, both appointed by parties with parliamentary representation.

Drawing on Eyal's (2013) view of expertise as a contested space rather than a fixed attribute, and Medvetz's (2012) analysis of how policy experts navigate between academic, political, and media spheres, this study moves beyond credential-based definitions of expertise. Instead, it examines how different actors establish and deploy expert authority through various networks and relationships. This theoretical framework helps illuminate how expertise functions not just as a form of knowledge, but as a social position that must be constantly negotiated and maintained.

We employ a sequential mixed-methods design to capture both the structural patterns and lived experiences of expertise in action. The quantitative component maps the educational and professional trajectories of participants in both processes, including convention members, advisers, and public hearing participants. Network analysis complements this mapping by tracking how expert influence operates through formal and informal channels, revealing the complex web of relationships that shape constitutional deliberation. The qualitative component comprises semi-structured interviews with 27 actors from the first process and 20 from the second (with more planned), representing diverse political coalitions. These interviews provide rich insights into how different actors understood and attempted to legitimise their claims to expertise.

heterogeneous group with varying forms of expertise, from traditional academic credentials to experience-based knowledge from social movements. This diversity sparked ongoing debates about what constituted legitimate expertise, leading to both innovation and conflict in how knowledge was validated and applied. The second process, however, institutionalised a narrower conception of expertise, particularly favouring constitutional lawyers from elite universities based in Santiago. This shift reflected both a reaction to the perceived chaos of the first process and an attempt to ground constitutional deliberation in more traditional forms of authority. Regardless, both processes failed to be ratified by the Chilean electorate.

This research contributes to our understanding of democratic innovation and institutional design in Latin America and beyond. It suggests that efforts to democratise constitution-making must grapple with fundamental questions about whose knowledge counts and how different forms of expertise can be productively integrated into political deliberation. The Chilean case offers valuable lessons about the challenges and opportunities of balancing 'expertise' with democratic legitimacy in moments of constitutional change. By examining how expert authority operates in these critical junctures, it seeks to inform debates about democratic legitimacy, the role of knowledge in politics, and political representation in contemporary democracies.

Worker coops and environmental awareness

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worker cooperatives , employee ownership, environmental awareness, sustainable development, green production

Abstract/Description

In recent years, institutions and governments have increasingly focused on the economic activities of companies. This growing interest in business practices has led to heightened expectations for sustainable business models that balance economic growth with responsible development. In response, both the European Union and the United Nations have incorporated the social economy into their agendas, emphasizing its potential benefits for society. Enterprises play a crucial role in socio-economic development, and their structure and operations can significantly impact community and regional growth.

The role of cooperatives in advancing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has gained recognition, particularly in the context of international organizations such as the United Nations Task Force on Social and Solidarity Economy and the International Co-operative Alliance's Cooperatives Europe. Economic literature also highlights how cooperatives are particularly aligned with the SDGs (Fernandez-Guadano, J., Lopez-Millan, M., Sarria-Pedroza, J., 2020). In fact, numerous studies have demonstrated the positive impact of cooperatives on local economic development, particularly in enhancing the business sector in specific regions. From this viewpoint, cooperatives represent a paradigm shift in business management—one that emphasizes not only economic growth but also the fulfillment of both human and environmental needs (Manera and Serrano, 2022).

The International Labour Organization (ILO) affirms that cooperatives inherently promote sustainability through their guiding principles and values, and are well-suited to achieve the triple bottom line of economic, social, and environmental goals. Furthermore, the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) underscores that "the co-operative business model is based on ethics, values, and principles that prioritize the needs and aspirations of their members over the mere goal of maximizing profit."

The purpose of this research is to explore the relationship between worker cooperatives and sustainable development, particularly from an environmental perspective. The central hypothesis is that worker cooperatives, where employees control key aspects of work and business strategy, are more likely to internalize the SDGs compared to traditional businesses. To model this, we propose a utility function for workers, which includes a variable representing environmental awareness and its weight in the overall utility calculation. If this value is positive, it suggests that workers in cooperatives are more inclined to prefer cleaner, more sustainable production technologies.

In this context, worker cooperatives foster sustainable and local development through their unique governance model. They are likely to produce several positive effects on the economic health of their communities. Moreover, they contribute to building a more sustainable society by generating social value that benefits future generations (Sacchetti and Borzaga, 2021). In fact, the intergenerational nature of cooperatives provides a stronger guarantee of sustainable development when compared to traditional capitalist firms, not only in environmental terms but also from social and economic perspectives.

Communities of Struggle Among Critical Teachers: The Case of Arab Civics Teachers in Israel

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Hegemony, Communities of Struggle , Palestinians in Israel, Civics education, Civil society

Abstract/Description

Communities of Struggle Among Critical Teachers: The Case of Arab Civics Teachers in Israel

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This paper focuses on an intriguing case of organization and struggle by critical teachers within the Arab-Palestinian minority in Israel (hereafter, the Arab minority) against curricula aligned with the agenda of the Israeli right-wing, which has worked vigorously over the past decade and a half to consolidate its hegemony within state institutions. The paper presents a case study based on qualitative methods (Yin, 2018).

This case highlights the role of educators in the struggle for hegemony in the civil society arena, beyond their formal roles within the education system. The focus is not on struggles related to unionization or employment conditions in response to neoliberal reforms but rather on struggles concerning curricula and the definition of "good citizenship" in its political, economic, social, and other dimensions. For this analysis, I utilize a theoretical framework that integrates various concepts and approaches. First, I draw on Gramscian ideas regarding the struggle for hegemony in society (Apple, 1990; Femia, 2001; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Williams, 1976) alongside neo-institutional approaches (Campbell, 2004). Additionally, to understand the status of Arabs in Israel, I rely on critical approaches to the study of Israel's stratified citizenship regime, which grants inferior citizenship to Palestinian citizens and employs multiple control and surveillance mechanisms across various spheres, including education (Ghanem, 2000; Lustick, 1980; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2019; Shafir & Peled, 2002; Yiftachel, 2006).

The Arab minority in Israel is a relatively new indigenous minority that emerged in 1948 after most Palestinians were expelled from their homeland in what is referred to in the Palestinian narrative as the Nakba, while the Jewish majority in Israel refers to it as the War of Independence. This minority constitutes approximately 17% of Israel's citizens. From 1948 until the mid-1960s, the state imposed military rule on this population, and subsequently, various control and surveillance mechanisms were implemented (Lustick, 1980; Smooha, 1980, 1990; Yiftachel, 2006). Control over "Arab

education" was one of the key tools used to govern the Arab minority and shape its identity (Al-Haj, 1995; Lustick, 1980). As such, education within the Arab community lacks autonomy and is directly controlled by the Ministry of Education, which manages budgets, curricula, and appointments of key personnel.

In recent decades, the Israeli right-wing has expanded its influence over Israeli society and politics, working to strengthen Jewish supremacy within the state's citizenship regime, reinforce the ethno-religious Jewish character of the state and society, expand settlements in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, and annex these territories to Israel. In its struggle over the identity of the state and society, and given the weakness of alternative political streams, the right-wing has fought to establish its hegemony within state institutions and society. Within this broader struggle, education has become a central arena for contesting hegemony. Since 2009, right-wing governments have worked to rewrite curricula and textbooks, with civics becoming a key battleground (Hassan, 2016, 2017, 2020; Peled, 2019, 2022).

As part of its hegemonic project in the education system, the right-wing has restructured the civics curriculum to align with its worldview and its conception of the Israeli citizenship regime. It has also appointed professional committees and officials to lead the civics curriculum in line with its agenda and rewritten the Ministry of Education's official civics textbook (2015) to reflect its vision of citizenship. Beyond education, the right-wing has pursued institutional arrangements to consolidate its dominance. This includes enacting the "Nation-State Law," which reinforces Jewish supremacy within the citizenship regime, and promoting legislation known in Israel as the "Judicial Overhaul," which weakens democratic components of the citizenship regime in favor of ethnic considerations in lawmaking and enforcement (Jabareen, 2018; Peled, 2019, 2022).

Amidst these developments, Arab civics teachers have developed a novel approach to confronting the changes in the civics curriculum. They have organized within the realm of civil society (Hassan, 2023), forming an active community of teachers that challenges the prevailing hegemony. These teachers have created alternative educational materials that balance the need to prepare students for external standardized tests—an effective mechanism of control—with the aim of exposing students to critical perspectives and additional knowledge. I term this phenomenon "communities of struggle," distinct from the professional communities often established by the Ministry of Education to advance its professional, political, and social agendas.

This case exemplifies a significant struggle by critical teachers and the establishment of teacher-led initiatives within the civil society arena, separate from state-affiliated spaces. The effectiveness of such initiatives is partially derived from the blurred boundaries between state and civil society and the reconfiguration of the neoliberal state in education and other sectors.

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From Duterte to Marcos Jr.: Shifting and adapting the repertoire of collective action under threatening conditions

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

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human rights activism, resistance, repression , democratic backsliding , Philippines

Abstract/Description

The dawn of the 21st century promised peaceful days in Southeast Asia. However, despite advances in democracy and enviable economic growth, we currently face a range of regimes marked by various forms of elected and authoritarianism. From the presidency of Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines to the return of the military regime in Myanmar, the marked shrinkage in Cambodia's democratic space, and more recently the electoral victory of a former military general during the New Order Era in Indonesia, the liberal democratization in Southeast Asia faces challenges. These countries are facing a democratic backsliding, defined as the deterioration of qualities associated with democratic governance, within any regime. Given these paradoxes and democratic setbacks, we try to answer two questions in this paper: How do human rights organizations adapt and navigate within shifting fields of contention? How can we explain the choices made by human rights organizations when confronted with a repressive yet democratically elected and popular regime? To do so, we focus on the case of the Philippines, not only there is a growing consensus in the comparative literature that Philippine democracy experienced backsliding in the Duterte years, but also that human rights advocates and organizations have been targets of repression and extrajudicial violence. Based on a comprehensive review of documents and archival data from human and Indigenous rights organizations such as Karapatan, Human Rights Watch Philippines (HRW), Kalikasan People's Network for the Environment (KPNE), Katribu, and the International Coalition on Human Rights Philippines (ICHRP) as well as the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) reports, we offer an overall picture of who, when and how human rights activism has been object of repression that evolved during Duterte presidency and took different characteristics recently with Ferdinand "BongBong" Marcos' electoral victory in May 2022. We then examine illustrative cases of national and transnational human rights organizations, namely the International Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines (ICHRP), International People's Tribunal, Rappler, and Investigate Ph, to analyze the evolution of their framing strategies and collective action repertoires under the Duterte and Marcos Jr. administrations. We argue that Duterte's War on Drugs expanded during the second half of his term to target human rights associated with above-ground organizations and social movements to adjust their advocacy strategies, particularly during the second half of his term. Under Marcos Jr.'s presidency, repression has taken a greater counter-insurgency character. With the assistance of advanced military equipment provided by the United States, become more specialized, a result of Philippines geo-political alignment with the US, the Philippine army has targeted with more success the New People's

Army (NPA) leaders and cadres, nonetheless with an important number of victims among non-armed civilians and human rights activists. We propose that the repression mechanisms employed by both administrations ranged from: undermining credibility of human rights organizations (HRO); accusation of neo-colonial and Western influence; online trolling, red-tagging; direct threats; and, extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances. And, in the process, we highlight the balance between continuity and change in these practices. Third, from an agentivity perspective, we suggest that human rights organizations have had to adapt to these evolving and changing repressive mechanisms. These coping mechanisms include: shifting the scale and focus of their campaigns; increasingly engaging with and mobilizing international solidarity networks and internationally recognized HRO such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International; exiting and temporarily leaving the Philippines; organizing international fact-finding missions; and preparing and submitting human rights reports submitted to different international entities. And, we explore how these mechanisms vary in their deployment through time suggesting that these variations were linked and correlated to shifts in the nature and degree of repression. Finally, we discuss whether particular patterns of scale-shifting advocacy from local, to national or transnational, or a peculiar combination can be correlated with the nature and features of repression and more broadly the opening and closure in political opportunities structures.

Citizen Engagement and commoning: A Catalyst for Social Capital

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Social capital, commons, commoning, transformative organization, social practices

Abstract/Description

The private organization can be criticized for its negative impact on interpersonal and community relationships. Indeed, issues related to community, friendship, and solidarity are often relegated to the "private sphere" (Fraser, 2018, p.11). This separation makes it difficult to develop relationships based on solidarity, which can not only weaken social cohesion but also hinder individuals' ability to build connections with their community (Brain, 2019; Huron, 2015).

Conversely, democratic organizations offer a space where the private sphere and collective action come together harmoniously. In these organizations, friendship and community life are closely linked to collective action (Ballon and Veyer, 2020). This dynamic is close to the definition of commoning. It is defined by Euler as an opportunity for individuals to develop through activities aimed at finding shared solutions for caring for others and nature. These activities foster the creation of extended and meaningful relationships (2018, p. 12). Thus, more than a decision-making and organizational process, commoning integrates the creation of supportive and inclusive bonds and interrelationships in a participatory process (Durand Folco, 2015; Euler, 2018; Tronto, 2013). Organizations that practice it can be seen as vectors of solidarity, collective life and inclusiveness, helping to strengthen social ties and promote a shared vision of the common good.

Social capital can be used to measure commoning practices. It refers to the ties and relationships that an individual or organization can use in an orderly fashion to acquire benefits (Putnam, 1995, 2000). At the individual level, these ties are generally referred to as bonding, when similarities are at the origin of links between people. This bonding bears many similarities to the concept of commoning (Durand Folco, 2015; Euler, 2018; Tronto, 2013) and involves notions of trust, inclusion, socialization, reciprocity, belonging and mutual aid (Perras and Normandin, 2019). At

the interstice between individual and organizational practices, bridging refers to the relationships an individual may have with other individuals or collectives with whom they will network. The individuals or organizations behind these groups will maintain horizontal relationships with each other that present similar levels of influence, hierarchy or action (Baylis, Gong and Wang, 2018; Perras and Normandin, 2019; Safarzynska and Sylwestrzak, 2023). Together, bridging and bonding promote the development of cooperation while being significantly associated with collective action (Kim, 2018, p. 1023; Perreault, 2024).

With this in mind, we investigated the effects of social capital on informal citizen groups within commons, using the case of the Espace des Possibles in Ahuntsic, a common developed by Solon Collectif in Montreal. In this context, we define commons as “sets of social practices rooted in self-determined communities and forms of communalization” that “address various needs and aspirations through values of sharing, care, participation, inclusion, sustainability, and conviviality” (Perreault and al., 2024). We asked ourselves the following research question: Do the commoning practices of Espace des Possibles enable the creation of social capital in the bonding and bridging format through the involvement of citizens?

To explore this interrogation, in spring 2024 we distributed a questionnaire to the users of Espace des Possibles to measure their level of social capital. We then held two workshops with respondents in June of the same year to contextualize, deepen and inform the data collected. The results presented during this presentation enabled us to identify the elements that limit or encourage social capital in this space, and to explore their repercussions within the neighborhood. Finally, by examining certain questions relating to the commitment and civil leadership of Espace users, we have statistically evaluated the extent to which different aspects of social capital are linked to the levels of solidarity and inclusiveness present in their relationships. This enabled us to establish an initial reading of the health of commoning practices at Ahuntsic's Espace des Possibles.

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No se puede: a Materialist Alternative to Identitarian Accounts of the 2024 Latino Vote

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

US Politics, Latinos, Working-Class, Labor Markets, Identity Politics

Abstract/Description

In assessing Trump's stunning triumph in the 2024 elections, a common approach has been to highlight the roll of pro-MAGA Latino voters, to then attribute their rightward turn to a combination of social conservatism and susceptibility to misinformation. Latinos backed Trump either because his campaign tapped into their deep-seated patriarchal traditionalism and white supremacist aspirations, or because they were manipulated by propaganda in the form of hysteria-inducing social media posts. Well positioned in media, non-profit and university milieus, the Latino intelligentsia has responded indignantly by minimizing, when not denying, Latinos' contribution to Trump's victory, pointing the finger at more culpable demographic groups. The typical tactic involves abstracting the Latino vote from, or contrasting Latino voting to that of, other, far weightier, demographics, such as white women or working-class white men. By replicating the establishment's preferred strategy of blaming Trump's political success on the backwardness of working people, both approaches obscure more than they elucidate. More correctly, the 2024 Latino vote should be analyzed as a key driver and component of broader electoral trends, one that unlocks a definitive account of ongoing class shifts in voting.

Latinos should not be viewed as an isolated demographic. In revealing ways, Latinos *are* the US's working class. They embody transformations in working-class structure, the material insecurities American workers face, and the political abandonment they have suffered. Their national and ethnic cultures have next to zero bearing on these key problems and their political consequences. Rather, it is Latino experience as class actors, above all, that shapes their political behaviors and reveals America's wider class-inflected political reconfigurations. Seen in this light, this essay contends that the Latino vote a) shifted significantly toward Trump, b) in doing so joined with other voting groups to give him the victory, and accordingly c) decisively contributed to the class de-alignment and potential realignment that is the central feature of contemporary American politics. As such, Latino voting flags the growing perils taking hold of the US party system and the urgency—before egalitarian politics suffer their deepest defeat in generations—of rebuilding a progressive, universalist working-class strategy that might begin to lead us out of our bleak morass.

After dispelling competing accounts of the 2024 Latino vote, the article shows that Latinos, like other working-class voters previously denounced for their MAGA support, have rationally rejected the Democratic party in favor for a less unappealing option, however disturbing, in Trump. It does so by demonstrating the failure of Democrats' identitarian pitches and MAGA's efficacy in appealing to key sections of Latino workers. Following an analysis of Latinos positions in the labor market, it proposes an analysis based in levels of employment insecurity. Latino workers did expand their support for Trump and in doing so helped elect him. But they did not do so motivated by regressive cultural and political positions or unreflectingly swayed by fake news. Rather, key segments from sectors in which they are vastly overrepresented, like unskilled service and blue-collar branches, decided that restrictive immigration, protective trade, and pro-investment policies made sense. Construction workers, drivers, food preparers, custodial and cleaning staff, and manual stock handlers, who comprise Latino workers' largest employment categories, reasoned that, compared to

the Democratic Party's targeted planks, MAGA policies are more likely to protect their industries and their jobs. All told, reflecting the general American electorate, whereas high-income professional and managerial Latinos formerly voted for the Republican Party, today they are increasingly integrated into the Democratic Party. Conversely, while Latino workers previously felt more at home voting for Democrats, today they have been neglected and pushed out, with the most precarious among them incorporating into an expanding MAGA coalition.

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Neoliberal capitalism and the extreme right in Latin America

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

neoliberal capitalism, Latin America, Chile, Brazil, Argentina

Abstract/Description

Neoliberal capitalism and the extreme right in Latin America

What is the role of the political economy in the rise of the extreme right in Latin America today? How does global capitalism determine inequality and marginalization in countries on the capitalist periphery? Are neoliberal capitalism's late effects in dependent countries reflected in the vote for disruptive figures?

This paper aims to understand the relationship between neoliberal capitalism and the crisis of democracy in Latin America, expressed here in the rise of the far right. The goal is to understand to what extent support for extremist figures is related, albeit indirectly, to global capitalism and its effects on peripheral economies. Three countries will be analyzed – Brazil, Chile, and Argentina – to understand how the crisis of democracy is related to the neoliberal political economy model in these countries. The growth of Bolsonaroism in Brazil, the resurgence of the Pinochetist far right in the Chilean elections, and the election of politician Javier Milei in Argentina appear as a symptom of democracies in crisis.

The objective is to understand how the political economy model proves to be an important explanatory element (although not the only one) to understand support for far-right figures who advocate reducing the role of the State as a promoter of social rights and defend that market forces are the main driver for achieving economic development and well-being.

The neoliberal capitalist model is a central element of research in these three case studies from Latin America. The research will seek to understand whether extremist figures have risen thanks to signs of exhaustion of neoliberal capitalism (Streeck, 2018) in countries dependent on foreign capital (in portfolio and FDI) or whether their projection can be understood as the survival of this model.

Among the effects of global capitalism in the Latin American region, we can mention the deindustrialization and commoditization of local economies due to the rise of China in the global arena, which would have led to an accelerated transition of these economies from the secondary to the tertiary sector, without this process being accompanied by an increase in human capital and value aggregation. The result in the countries analyzed ends up being the visible precariousness of work, as well as of the way of life resulting from it, in what authors such as Standing (2011) call precariat – workers without labor rights, without a state protection network, in addition to being

the work will seek to answer is: Was the precariousness of the way of life resulting from the effects of global capitalism in the region crucial for extremist leaders to be elected?

However, it is important to mention that these leaders came to power in the region after years of center-left governments. These governments sought to combine increased social spending with the demands of the economic elites (productive and financial), which was achieved with the commodities boom without the need for structural changes. The research will question, albeit marginally, the influence of previous center-left governments on the current scenario. Did the desire for leaders apparently capable of delivering what their predecessors failed to do lead voters to seek radical solutions in these countries? It seems relevant, therefore, Adorno's (2020) warning made in 1967 that democracy, in its socioeconomic content, remained something formal – and not realized – and that fascist movements could be characterized as "wounds of a democracy that to this day still does not do justice to its own concept."

Initially, two mechanisms were identified that could help explain the relationship between the consequences of global neoliberal capitalism and the rise of the far right. First, the government prioritizes the interests of the financial market, which takes precedence over popular demands, penalizing fiscal stimulus, leading to spending cuts and austerity. This scenario results in precariousness and loss of rights, reflecting the weakness of politicians and parties. It would lead to a desperate vote for populists who promise magical changes and tend to reverse democratic rules to perpetuate themselves in power.

In a second mechanism, governments that ignore the market but depend on it are equally penalized. By increasing spending and giving up fiscal balance, these governments suffer capital flight, which impacts the exchange rate, generates inflation and unpopularity, and protests against the political elite. This dissatisfaction fuels the "do it yourself" sentiment and questions about the importance of the State, resulting in a hollowing out of politics and paving the way for figures who promise to act based on new rules, often outside the democratic game.

Within the scope of this second mechanism, it is worth noting that such far-right figures not only seem to fit in but also renew neoliberal principles – if not internalize them (Gago, 2018) – since they defend the logic of the so-called "microentrepreneur," which in Latin America translates into informal workers, without labor rights or State support. This aspect perhaps explains why, in the last elections in these three countries, we saw a kind of split among workers about supporting these figures in the elections, with the most precarious workers tending to support far-right candidates.

This research analyzes political economy as a central element from an interdisciplinary perspective. It covers both comparative political economy and political science, considering the importance of international political economy factors. The idea is not only to understand the effect of neoliberal capitalism on politics and democracy in these countries but also to assess the limits of economic development in dependent economies (Cardoso and Faletto, 1970). In addition, it analyzes the controversies over liberal democracy and the market economy to overcome the separation between politics and economics.

By exploring the structural socioeconomic roots of inequalities and marginalizations in these peripheral countries, the objective is to understand how neoliberal capitalism has not only modified relations between the Global North and South but also labor relations in less central economies of capitalism, in the cases analyzed here dependent on foreign capital and whose insertion in global capitalism occurs as providers of commodities.

Latin American case studies have been less explored, and analyzing them from a comparative perspective looking at politics and political economy – domestic and international – can shed light on the rise of the extreme right in ways that may help reverse and prevent authoritarian tendencies.

Noninstitutionalized forms of mental health support in Belgium, Japan, and the U.S.: How three sector failure encouraged shapeshifting, destigmatization, and third spaces

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Sector failure, Third space, Cross-country comparison, Alternative community forms, Mental health

Abstract/Description

Under what conditions can organizations that pursue complex missions with unconventional practices arise and persist? How do their organizing practices that support stakeholders in transformative ways (cf. Chen & Mandiberg 2024; Walker & Thunus 2020) also place them at odds with more accepted efforts? This paper explores how community and grassroots efforts develop to support people with serious mental illnesses (SMIs) following the dismantling of psychiatric institutions in three countries. Each context reveals different emphases in how emerging organizations defended their practices of connecting members within their respective communities.

Goffman (1961) famously identified psychiatric institutions as “total institutions” that so thoroughly controlled patients’ lives that they became alienated, losing their personhoods and connections. The US and Europe have longstanding institutionalized approaches to those with SMIs (Foucault, 2006, Porter, 2003, Scull, 2016), with Japan adopting a similar approach in 1879 (Mandiberg, 1993, 1996). After WWII, outcries over patient mistreatment and the costs of maintaining facilities justified efforts to deinstitutionalize them. Excessively simplified and centrally planned approaches attempted to address the complex problem of reintroducing formerly institutionalized

people to communities. These generated failed models, frequent policy changes, expensive alternatives, and contributed to social problems such as homelessness (Lamb, 1984). Such missteps can be traced back to a key oversight: how core organizational and professional structures and cultures of the institutions could be reconceptualized to support the community lives of those deinstitutionalized (Thunus 2015, Thunus & al. 2019).

The failures of organizations in this regard across all three conventional market, public, and nonprofit sectors encouraged informal efforts to support vulnerable deinstitutionalized populations (Mandiberg & Chen, 2024). These community-led efforts rarely receive planning, funding, and ongoing support from government, philanthropies, and other institutional funders. They also must contend with legal liability in serving an at-risk population, normative expectations posed by more traditional networked partners about referral processes and shared information through a “clinical” versus a supportive lens, and legal conundrums such as who can represent an unincorporated organization in practical matters such as signing leases? These are typical challenges that confront the relational, emergent, transformative, and change-oriented organizations (RETCOs) identified by Chen and Mandiberg (2024).

This paper explores how community-based RETCOs developed to support the needs of people with SMIs. Based on documentary analysis and qualitative research, combining semi-structured interviews, focus groups and creative devices, this paper details, for each case example from Belgium, Japan, and US, how their culture and governance structure developed. It highlights how RETCOs navigate resource challenges, thereby allowing for the identification of conditions that support versus suppress their development. In the US, a RETCO called We Are Not Alone eventually incorporated as the nonprofit Fountain House. Their experimentation, including training visitors on how to launch the clubhouse model elsewhere and shapeshifting or morphing the appearance of their programs to potential funders, enabled them to persist. Japan’s Yadokari no Sato (Village of the Hermit Crab) embedded itself deeply in the surrounding town, which provided resources and volunteer labor, mitigated stigma, and gained community acceptance. Alternative Spaces in Brussels, which offers a third space for persons with mental illnesses, seeks to sustain their community spaces by integrating with the general population. They challenge dominant modes of social, political and economic integration (Walker & Thunus 2020), by developing anti-authoritarian and decentralized organizations (Robcis 2021), relying on a paradigm of vulnerability (Scheibmayr 2024) and an ethic of care (Tronto 2010).

All these RETCOs pursue their missions in ways that emphasize transformative relations and defy conventional practices, limitations, and demands for bureaucratic efficiency. The development of such RETCOs reveal how smaller organizations can navigate

challenges while supporting vulnerable populations in communities.

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Situated Storytelling: The Case for Informal, Public Education to Catalyze Climate Action

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

climate action, community, situated learning

Abstract/Description

A recent study by the UNDP of 1.2 million people from 50 countries found that 64% felt “climate change was an emergency” (UNDP, 2021, p.7). With this degree of concern, why has this knowledge not transformed into collective action? Myriad reasons have been identified by scholars to explain climate inaction through studies of organizations (Slawinski et al 2019), psychology (Gifford, 2011), and socio-political positions (Gunderson et al, 2019). Some scholars have explored the *inaction* of individuals who strongly believe in climate change (Latkin et al, 2023). Environmental activists and educators advocate for climate action and work to build momentum through community organizing, political advocacy, public education, canvassing, and engagement with the media. However, there is still a gap between the collective understanding that there is a climate crisis and the lack of action from everyday citizens.

This paper asks, how do busy, responsibility-laden individuals not engaged in formal, classroom education or are already active environmental activists find paths to participation in climate activism? How can informal, public education projects and campaigns catalyze action for the climate? I argue that *situated storytelling* offers a pathway to actively engage in climate education and activism leading to more sustainable decision-making in our daily lives. Situated storytelling, as I define the concept, is the articulation of personal stories, experiences, imaginings, and reflections about how the climate crisis impacts our daily lives, as well as our hopeful visions for the future. There are growing examples of using storytelling in K-12 climate education (Young, 2023); how storytelling can change perceptions about the climate crisis in post-secondary students (Otto, 2017); and how digital storytelling can act as a tool to encourage climate action (Smith et al 2021). The existing literature demonstrates that personal storytelling impacts our emotions around climate change (Bouman et al, 2020; Gustafson, 2020; Smith et al, 2021; Pileggi, 2017; van der Leeuw, 2020). However, the research also shows that most adults put down the newspaper (or device), leave the theatre, museum, or exhibition

voting, consumer, or household habits (Morris et al 2019; Whitmarsh et al 2013). In fact, Morris et al note “there is little research about how narrative structure influences pro-environmental behavior in the context of climate change” (Morris et al, 2019, p.20).

With a theoretical framing in Jean Lave’s *Learning and Everyday Life*, this paper argues that communities need opportunities to apply learning about climate to their own experiences, to share stories from their perspective, and have spaces to imagine a better climate future, otherwise environmental priorities will continue to be lost in the hustle of everyday life. This paper explores a case study of two “Imagine the Future Festivals” in Kingston, Ontario as they make spaces for community members to create stories and art to express their vision for a hopeful climate future demonstrating how informal, public education can help catalyze climate action in everyday life.

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Latina/o/x Empowerment: theoretical and methodological considerations from US grassroots organizations

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Empowerment, Latina/o/x, Categories, Intersectionality, Grassroots Organizations

Abstract/Description

In democratic societies, empowerment and power exist on a constantly shifting relational continuum. This paper examines how mid-sized grassroots organizations in the United States conceptualize and enact empowerment for Latina/o/x community members amid systemic inequalities. Drawing on Ellis Monk's (2022) Infracategorical Model of Inequality (ICMI), I explore how empowerment relates to cues of categories, subcategories, and perceived typicality, revealing the nuanced ways grassroots actors engage with state-created classifications like "Latino."

Empowerment efforts often collide with categorical inequalities institutionalized through formal mechanisms (e.g., citizenship) or informally internalized identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, and gender). While state-defined categories can facilitate funding and policy visibility, they may reinforce exclusion, otherness, and dependency relationships. This paper interrogates these contradictions by focusing on empowerment as an individual and collective experience mediated by relational contexts, institutional power, and cultural dynamics.

This study uses focus groups, in-depth interviews, and photovoice to highlight how grassroots organizations navigate these tensions to challenge systemic disparities while uplifting the agency of the Latina/o/x communities they serve. The findings suggest that empowerment is not a monolithic process but a fluid and contested practice shaped by intersecting identities, social status, perceived typicality, and variations in organizational approaches to empowerment and power.

By integrating Monk's ICMI with critical scholarship on inequality and categorization (Brubaker, 2015; Menjívar, 2023), this work contributes to policy and grassroots research by offering a more nuanced understanding of empowerment. It underscores the importance of moving beyond broad categories to capture the complex realities of marginalized groups. The insights generated with this work aim to inform empowerment and inequality literature and the practical strategies of grassroots organizations working toward genuine social transformation.

The Economic and Social Development of Identity Communities of Highly Stigmatized Human Service Populations.

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

identity community and economy, mutualistic community wealth building, Lived experience of mental illness, exclusion and stigma, prefiguration

Abstract/Description

Human services most often focus on adapting service users to the conditions and institutions in which they live. Less common are community organization approaches, including through social movements, where the objective is to exercise some control over and change in those existing conditions and their institutions. More unusual are services that aim to create new and prefigurative conditions and institutions that meet the needs of service users. This paper examines examples from the author's research involving individuals with lived experience of 'serious mental illnesses' – a population facing profound exclusion and persistent stigma, highlighting the need for alternative approaches to community and supports.

People with serious mental illnesses (P-SMI) are most often viewed as dysfunctional members of the broad community, where the objective of services is to return them to some functional status in that community. The research of this paper views P-SMI as members of their own non-place-based "identity community." Viewing P-SMI as a discrete community allows utilizing community economic and social development techniques to build community economy, mutualist markets, infrastructure, and institutions based to meet their needs and circumstances as they envision them. This paper will review *proof-of-concept* replicable and scalable CBPR-based models of such community development, and existing international examples of economic development of identity economies. Seen as a variation on social and solidarity economies (SSEs), community economies (CE, e.g., Gibson-Graham), and ethnic/ethnic enclave economies (EECs), identity economic development addresses a critical issue in the viability of SSEs, CEs, and EECs: how to encourage loyalty and stem defection of customers-supporters of those

also uses concepts from non-capitalist markets and non-hierarchical organizational forms, such as social, worker, producer, and consumer cooperatives and identity community-owned social enterprise businesses.

This conceptual overview of identity community and economic development will include research on the following CBPR-based proof-of-concept models and existing examples of identity communities:

Discussion of the examples will be in the context of the failure of the three normative economic and institutional sectors – market, government, and voluntary – to meet the needs of highly stigmatized and excluded populations. Also discussed will be the relationship of the independent economic power of identity communities and economies in reducing otherwise intractable stigma.

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Ensemble Interventions: Public interest scenario work as field-bridging projects

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

Futures, Networks, Public deliberation, Transnational diffusion, Fields

Abstract/Description

In recent decades, a toolkit of “foresight” methods has emerged transnationally in response to heightened uncertainties and interconnected global problems. Our paper investigates the transnational diffusion of one such technique – *public interest scenario projects*, which moved from military and corporate venues into the civic sphere in the 1990s. Scenario exercises convene heterogeneous (and sometimes adversarial) groups of stakeholders and participants – including researchers, government and corporate leaders, civil society organizations, and local residents or citizens – in participatory dialogues on entrenched public problems. As a cultural technology for considering *multiple plausible future pathways*, scenario methods have been used to facilitate conversations on issues ranging from the future of democracy and transitions from armed conflict to urbanization, energy use, migration, food security, and adaptation to climate change.

Scores of public interest scenario projects have been conducted worldwide, supported by transnational coalitions of researchers, consultants, and donors. While sharing commonalities in rationale and technique, they vary in their inclusivity, their aggressiveness in pursuing diverse and contending viewpoints, and their proximity to elites and powerholders. We ask: why have these methodologies diffused transnationally since the 1990s? What are the relational mechanisms by which they have spread across regions and problem areas? *How has this diffusion contributed to the emergence of a global field of foresight interventions? And finally, what effects are these methods having on democratic deliberation and intervention at local and global levels?*

Scenario-based foresight work focuses on the multiplicity of futures (rather than singular, probable, or desired futures), and on the complex intertwining of systems. Scenario approaches distinguish themselves from predictive forecasting (what will happen) and normative visioning (what should happen). Instead, they use narrative, visual, and performative techniques to create multiple storylines for what could happen, with attention to complexity, contingency, and multi-linear causality. Practitioners claim that these methods are especially well-suited for reframing future possibilities in conditions of turbulence, uncertainty, novelty, or ambiguity. Yet there has been little scholarly discussion of the global spread of these techniques, or their effects on democratic participation and governance.

Scenario work represents itself as intrinsically *relational* and *communicative*; it proposes to harness divergent views to help collectivities move beyond blindspots and impasse, and toward alignment and consensus on desirable paths forward – particularly in which such pathways are not clear or self-evident. This depends on having many different kinds of people "in the room," generating collective learning from the clash and synergy between multiple perspectives. Moreover, scenario exercises present themselves as spaces in which new relations (i.e., forms of social capital) are built – through challenge, bridge-building, re-alignment, and consensus formation. As such, these projects promise a dual relational outcome: they claim to help people build relations with others by means of futures, while simultaneously building futures by means of relations.

At the micro-level, these relations function through partnerships and co-participation in particular future-building projects. But at the meso- and macro-levels, these partnerships have a field-building effect. They connect actors at different sites and scales (including between the global and local, and between North and South). Because scenario projects set out quite self-consciously to build relations – as a means of cognitive insight, social capital, and political leverage – they provide a view of field dynamics as generated by ambitious and self-conscious "relational interventions."

We trace the historical emergence and global diffusion of public interest scenario work through a transnational network mapping of these projects, examining flows of techniques, resources, and cultural themes via links between initiators, partners, funders, and facilitators. We draw from an original database of 240+ scenario projects carried out across multiple world regions from 1990-2017. We use dual-mode network analysis (of scenario projects by sectors and organizations) to trace the emergence of different coalitions of donors, consultancies, research organizations, government and business leaders, multilateral organizations, and local civil society groups. We consider how coalitions coalesce around certain problem areas, mapping their engagement in seven distinct *genres* of scenario work (conflict impasse, community resilience, reformist critique, expert-stakeholder, sectoral planning, elite scoping, and *public platform*). We connect these networks with future imaginaries through a computational text analysis of themes and proposals emerging in the scenario workshops via stories about multiple possible futures.

Through this analysis, we unpack the relational and cultural complexity of these networks, involving varying

imaginaries between North and South. We argue that this complex relational positioning in a global field contributes to the ambivalence about capitalism and democracy that we see emerging at the heart of transnational foresight work.

Roundtable: Worker Solidarity Across the Americas: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

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A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

Starting in the 1970s, financial and industrial capitalism reinvents itself in such a way as to attack labor legislations and workers' rights and working conditions across the hemisphere. Using historical perspectives to reflect upon current theoretical debates, this roundtable proposes to discuss the scope and limits of labor solidarity as a strategy of resistance to global capitalism. Scholars will discuss these questions alternately using the lens of debtors solidarity, cross-union solidarity, interracial worker solidarity, and anti-colonial labor solidarity. The aim of the roundtable is ultimately to bring scholars from different fields to discuss and reflect upon movements that approach capitalist struggles in different ways. As a strategy of resistance across the Americas, workers have built multinational collaborations, re-evaluated stakeholders for bargaining campaigns, joined forces with broader communities at the local level, and organized both locally and transnationally to resist to, and negotiate with, extractive corporations. These different movements share common concerns, yet they fight and articulate demands tapping into a highly diverse repertoire of labor and popular resistance. What can be learned by thinking together about these movements' interactions and complementary approaches both to solidarity and to the repression of workers and the labor movement? How can we imagine and conceive of solidarity through movements that, while sharing common interests and objectives, are necessarily configured and structured around local issues or demands that involve the nation-state? The roundtable also wants to address the relationship that each participant has developed over the years between field research and solidarity activism in their own creative practice. These themes will also orient the discussions that the participants will be holding on the question of worker solidarity across the Americas.

1514

Irreconcilable Priorities? Social Service Middle Managers under New Public Management

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

new public management, labour process, nonprofit organizations, social service workers, moral economy

Abstract/Description

Public employment service (PES) programming features prominently in the labour force policies of industrialized countries. The PES system in Ontario, Canada – called Employment Ontario (EO) – operates under a performance management regime typical of the New Public Management (NPM) approach to public administration. In this system, the performance of service providers – mostly contracted nonprofit social service (NPSS) organizations – is premised on the successful “activation” of jobless individuals into the labour force (Grundy 2019). Recent policy changes, collectively known as the Employment Services Transformation (EST), have expanded privatization of PES in the province. In addition to impacting the experiences of service users, recent civil society reports claim that these changes have degraded conditions of service delivery workers, including through increased administrative burdens, less opportunity for meaningful client interaction, and stress related to increased outcome targets (Shah et al. 2024; White and DiBellonia 2024).

These observations align with scholarly research which has demonstrated the negative impact of NPM on labour processes of NPSS workers (Shields 2014; Baines 2010; Cunningham, Baines, and Shields 2017). However, the experiences of middle managers in this context are under-examined; this is a critical gap in the literature, due to the unique role they play between frontline workers and senior managers in organizational hierarchies. I pose three questions to address this gap: How do middle managers in the EO system navigate their dual responsibilities to frontline workers and senior management? How has the EST changed their positioning in this respect, and what strategies have they employed to maintain conflicting priorities? When compromise is untenable, how – and to what degree – do they resist management dictums?

The labour processes of PES middle managers will be examined through ethnographic observation of service delivery settings in Toronto, Ontario. Labour process theory (e.g. Braverman 1998; Burawoy 2012) will be utilized to analyze the varying priorities and complex institutional identities of middle managers in NPSS environments. Scholarship on moral economy (e.g. Dyck and Weber 2006; Bolton and Laaser 2013; Sayer 2000) will also be consulted to interpret the strategies available to middle managers struggling to reconcile NPM dictums with their responsibilities to service users and frontline colleagues.

Given its scope and recency, Ontario's EST is an ideal test case for the impact of neoliberal policies on NPSS organizations. This research will make contributions to established disciplines such as labour studies, organizational studies, and political economy, in addition to more fledgeling fields such as critical nonprofit studies. The research makes two important contributions to the labour process literature in particular: 1) extending its application to middle managers as a distinct role-type in organizational hierarchies, and 2) combining labour process analysis with the moral economy perspective.

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The Right to Organize for Tenants: Varieties of tenant organizing and legal protections in the United States, Germany, and Sweden

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

right to organize, tenant union, tenant movement, housing policy, rental policy

Abstract/Description

The housing crisis has become one of the most prominent and constitutive political economic challenges in cities around the world, at least since the onset of the 2007 Global Financial Crisis. In the years thereafter, new tenant organizations emerged to challenge home foreclosures, build solidarity among renters, and protect homeless encampments against violent policing and displacement. This paper explores forms of inclusive solidarity in the housing sector, with particular emphasis on those who do not hold ownership rights over or control their homes: renters. Tenant struggles – and in some cases full blown social movements – have emerged over the past years in the United States as a major source of collective renter power to challenge entrenched political institutions and landlord interest groups. For example, a new network of unions called the Tenant United Federation emerged in 2024 and launched rent strikes across five cities. In this paper, we systematically examine the dominant organizational form of tenant mobilizations – the tenant union – and track down key laws that exist across the country to protect their mobilizations. The rights of tenants to organize and be protected against retaliation by their landlords vary substantially across nation states and subnational jurisdictions, especially within the United States. We begin from the United States and compare tenant organizations and legal regimes with Germany and Sweden. This paper raises two questions. What variation exists in tenants' organizational forms and rights to collectively organize? What factors drive those differences?

The paper is structured as follows. First, we begin by tracing the distinct types of tenant collective organizations across the United States, Germany, and Sweden, with special emphasis on the tenant union. Despite overlap in labels, tenant unions employ a range of activities: from 'outside' approaches, such as base-building, community organizing, direct action, and public agitation, as

well as 'inside' approaches, like lobbying, policy passage, legal aid, and rent price negotiation. Second, we identify different typologies of legal regimes around the 'right to organize' governing tenant collective action across the United States, Germany, and Sweden. The cases yield three typologies: (a) affirmative rights and spaces to organize, (b) protections against retaliation for joining unions or engaging in union activities, and (c) the absence of any protections for organizing or from retaliation. Third, we trace the historical contexts within which different types of tenant organizing practices and legal protections were created to identify the political and economic factors that shape the creation of these divergent legal regimes.

Methodologically we draw on legal documents, interviews, organizational records, and demographic data to situate tenant organizations and legal protections in an evolving political economy. The cross-jurisdictional and international comparison provide insight for identifying the key repertoires of contention of tenant mobilizations and *policy tools* employed within the variety of legal regimes in tenant collective mobilization. We argue that variation of tenant organizations, repertoires, and rights to organize are driven by historical contingencies around organizational isomorphism, economic inequality, strength of allied unions, presence of opposition, and the legal-aid landscape. Our hope is that the findings will illuminate why certain legal protections exist or don't around tenants' rights to organize across various jurisdictions. Academics, advocates, and government officials may find the findings generative to strengthen the rights for ordinary people practicing inclusive solidarity.

1545

"To Pay for The Obvious Thing to Address": Building Tax Coalitions in the Knowledge Economy

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

knowledge economy, taxation, superstar cities, economic inequality, coalitions

Abstract/Description

The US economy has been marked by dramatic tax cuts on capital and corporations since the 1980s. At the same time, the knowledge economy (KE) has given rise to "superstar cities," marked by extreme concentrations of corporate power, high-paying jobs, and durable inequality. Regional inequality and income inequality have both risen across American states, and especially in states like Washington, home to the Seattle metropolitan area and the "silicon forest" featuring companies like Microsoft and Amazon. As economic transformations exacerbate inequality and the affordability crisis in superstar cities like Seattle, urban coalitions have emerged, pressuring the local governments to step up redistribution strategies. In this paper, I address how transformations in the knowledge economy influence the politics of redistribution by examining cross-class coalitions for progressive tax reform in Seattle. Drawing on archival analysis and key informant interviews, I analyze how Seattle passed a progressive business tax in 2020 after several years of unsuccessful attempts to reform the local tax system. In doing so, I focus on the relationships between local policymakers and various urban groups—such as labor organizations, advocacy groups, urbanist and grassroots movements—in the design and passage of the policy. The findings illustrate how political economic shifts and specifically the housing crisis in knowledge economy hubs shape new urban tax coalitions. I show how concentrations of corporate power, highly educated workers, and new forms of inequality in knowledge economy hubs transform the city's role in addressing economic inequality. I argue that the localized forms of economic inequality in the knowledge economy, the pre-existing social ties between civil society and elected officials at the local level, and divestment from urban policy at the federal level work together to re-center the city as a guarantor of equality. The findings demonstrate how cross-class constituencies at knowledge economy hubs build policy

understanding the politics of redistribution and coalition building in the knowledge economy, expanding conceptualizations of city power within the evolving structures of federalism. I show how local forms of economic inequality facilitated cross-sector, cross-class coalitions to emerge, coalesced by shared spending commitments. Thereby, the findings challenge monolithic interpretations of business and labor interests, showing how policy structures and coalition-building processes mediate their roles. Ultimately, the findings illustrate processes of subnational state formation. My analysis highlights how earmarking strategies, frame bridging, radical alternatives and inclusive leadership work to build the local tax state. For future research on the American welfare state, the findings underscore the utility of analyzing taxation and spending plans together. By employing a fiscal sociological lens to redistribution, encompassing both taxation and social spending-scholars could shed further light on the additional aspects for new coalitions in the knowledge economy and the role of local governments in shaping the American welfare state.

Measuring the quality of online discourse on TikTok, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube across 2,288 political parties and 208 countries

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Keywords

social media, polarization, conflict, platforms, natural language processing

Abstract/Description

While a long-standing debate has focused the impact of social media on democratic discourse, recent studies have suggested the need to away from treating social media as a monolith – and instead seeking to examine how specific platforms impact specific social and political contexts. This suggests moving from single-case studies, to cross-country and cross-platform comparative research. This paper draws on a unique database of online conversations associated to the posts from all political parties in the world, on all the social media platforms on which they are active. The database cover 2,288 parties in 209 countries, across TikTok, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, combined with detailed comparative datasets like V-Dem and the Chapel Hill Expert Survey. The paper draws on Google’s recently released framework for analyzing the quality of online discourse, to carry out an in-depth examination of how party and country level factors interact with the affordances of different social media platforms. The paper shows substantial differences in the quality of online discourse across platforms and across political contexts, and opens for a novel approach to studying the impact of social media on democracy.

1750

The shift by corporations from directly employing workers to outsourcing labor

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

The shift by corporations from directly employing workers to outsourcing labor represents a major societal change in the employment relationship. As employers increasingly turn to staffing firms, vendors, and subcontractors for outsourced labor, there is growing interest in developing high-road models for labor market intermediation and subcontracting that provide job quality and worker protections. In 2022 California passed legislation calling for the study of one such idea, a proposed "Association of Cooperative Labor Contractors," a nonprofit association of worker-owned staffing organizations. The legislation was passed in part as a result of organizing by SEIU-UHW, one of the few U.S. labor unions that have invested in developing unionized-cooperative models. Might an ACLC support a high-road democratic employment model for outsourced labor, providing an alternative to predominant low-road staffing and labor-contracting arrangements? This paper, submitted as part of the report, critically analyzes the opportunities and challenges associated with the possible creation of such an association in California. It places its assessment in the context of rapid workplace "fissuring," recent change in California employment law, concerns about joint employment liability, developments in the labor movement, and research evidence. (Find the report "AB2849 Study Report" here: <https://www.labor.ca.gov/promote-ownership-by-workers-for-economic-recovery-act-panel/>. See Chapter 8 beginning on page 283, "Analysis of the Association of Cooperative Labor Contractors (ACLC)".)

Staffing Co-ops and Umbrella Groups

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Theme Track

A: Community, Democracy, and Organizations

Abstract/Description

This paper explores a key set of policy ideas presented in final report to the state, an “Association of Cooperatives” that might enable help improve job quality, firm performance, and equitable economic development through worker ownership – including in historically low-wage sectors with a high proportion of staffing and labor contracting. This article presents original research on goals, models, and growth among staffing co-ops and “umbrella groups,” a variety of nonprofits, secondary co-ops, and other organizations that provide multiple co-ops with shared services and pooled resources. We present in-depth profiles describing goals, models, and growth for three staffing co-ops (Turning Basin Labs, Opolis, and Loconomics) and three umbrella groups (Up & Go, Arizmendi, and Elevate), all based in the U.S., launched within the past six years, each with fewer than 500 members. For perspective on growth, we also reviewed examples founded decades ago in other countries with 3,000–300,000 members. Each profile is based on data we collected through in-depth interviews and email correspondence, as well as review of internal and public documents, which included worker perspectives and quotes. (Find the report “AB2849 Study Report” here: <https://www.labor.ca.gov/promote-ownership-by-workers-for-economic-recovery-act-panel/>. See Chapter 7 beginning on page 247.)

Final category: B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

3

Déclassement à l'embauche et disparité des classes sociales au Tchad

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Declassement, Embauche, Inégalité, Décomposition multivariée, Tchad

Abstract/Description

Suite au choc pétrolier de 2014, le gouvernement a mis en œuvre en fin 2015 un plan d'austérité budgétaire conduisant au gel de recrutement à la Fonction Publique qui reste quasiment le principal pourvoyeur d'emploi au Tchad. L'objectif de cet article est d'analyser les sources d'écart de déclassement à l'embauche des jeunes au Tchad en 2017, soit une année et demie après l'application de la politique de stabilisation. Les résultats des analyses menées indiquent un creusement des inégalités au niveau national, avec un taux de 20% d'inadéquation formation-emploi et de 14% de déclassement lié aux caractéristiques observées sur la période. La décomposition multivariée en sous-groupes effectuée montre que les pauvres sont les plus exposés tant sur le plan d'inadéquation formation-emploi que du déclassement à l'embauche. En outre, les résultats du modèle de décomposition multivariée suggèrent qu'une augmentation du niveau d'étude contribue au déclassement mais exacerberait les inégalités de classes sociales. En outre, la détention d'un baccalauréat scientifique exposerait moins de 5,33 points au déclassement et de 9,95 points d'inadéquation formation-emploi. Par contre, la détention d'un baccalauréat littéraire exposerait 10,75 fois plus à l'inadéquation formation-emploi. Cette augmentation s'expliquerait par l'importance de la taille des détenteurs de ce type de baccalauréat (Bac A4). Ces résultats confirment la nécessité de mener des politiques d'égalité et d'équité de classe sociale au Tchad.

Together We'll Win: Can the Old Barcelona Process Vision Serve as a Platform for a Contemporary Regional Alliance?

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

regional cooperation, trade, globalization, axes, EU

Abstract/Description

The war following the October 7th, 2024, Hamas attack on Israel is imposing a significant economic burden on the Mediterranean nations involved. In the aftermath of what may develop into a global crisis, these economies will require substantial rehabilitation.

Economic stability in the Middle East is crucial for fostering peace. Regional cooperation, which can strengthen solidarity among neighboring countries, may best achieve this.

The European Union (EU) can play a vital role in this process, potentially drawing inspiration from its integration model. Additionally, the conflict may revitalize the Barcelona Process vision, initially conceived in 1995 and further developed since.

Considering existing regional initiatives that emerged before the war, such as the Abraham Accords concluded in 2020, there is an opportunity to capitalize on the weakening influence of groups like Hamas and Hizballah. The EU and its Mediterranean partners could formulate a constructive plan by leveraging the gradually established security coalition and utilizing the network of regional association agreements.

Such a scheme can profit from globalization processes and enhance them further.

This plan would empower regional stakeholders to rebuild the area with a contemporary framework that leverages each partner's comparative advantages and addresses mutual interests—such as advancing modern technologies, promoting clean energy, combating

desertification and climate change, improving infrastructure, and strengthening the regional resilience of moderate nations.

The article will describe the Israeli and regional current economic challenges, due to the ongoing war and the global instability. It will then explore the feasibility of such an initiative from Israeli and regional perspectives. It will further address the questions and concerns that may arise during the process, including the following issues:

- The strengths and weaknesses of the original Barcelona Process and the ways to improve it, to make it more effective.
- Which states will participate? The article will examine the prospects for the participation of the original Barcelona Process partners, including the UK and Turkey, the Abraham Accords' countries, and other moderate Muslim countries.
- What will be the contribution and value added by each participant?
- How to enhance political trust among the participating states?
- How to address the public sentiment in the participating states, to ensure a bottom-up, not only a top-down, process?
- How to ensure that national leaders will prioritize regional cooperation over national interests?
- What will be the EU's role? How can the EU optimally balance between its desire to be recognized as a global player and a "normative power", on the one hand, and the other participants' desire to have a say in the alliance's decision-making processes?
- How to ensure security and safety despite the globally deteriorating stability?
- How to avoid counter-pressures by geopolitical players associated with the "axis of evil" in a world divided into two axes?
 - How to involve civil society and gain broad public support for the process?

An Offer They Can't Refuse? Business Power and the EU Global Gateway Strategy

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Business power, State-business relations, Global Gateway, Infrastructure, Development policy

Abstract/Description

The EU Global Gateway represents a significant shift in European development policy, marking the EU's adaptation to an increasingly geoeconomic world order where development assistance has become an arena of strategic competition. This paper examines how business power shapes and is shaped by this transformation, arguing that the Global Gateway reflects not just a repackaging of existing initiatives but a fundamental reconfiguration of state-business relations in development policy.

While existing literature often frames the Global Gateway primarily as the EU's response to China's Belt and Road Initiative or as part of a broader "Wall Street Consensus" focused on de-risking private investment, we argue that understanding its full implications requires examining the complex interplay between business actors, state institutions, and development objectives. Drawing on Susan Strange's concepts of structural power and "new diplomacy" as well as the governed interdependence and extended infrastructural power approach of Linda Weiss, we analyze how European firms operate as key agents within the Global Gateway framework, not merely as passive investment vehicles but as strategic actors whose operational capabilities and relationships fundamentally shape project outcomes.

The paper makes three main contributions. First, it develops a theoretical framework that integrates Strange's insights on business power with Albert Hirschman's understanding of development projects as "special investments" requiring distinct capabilities and commitments. This framework helps explain why the success of Global Gateway initiatives depends not just on de-risking mechanisms but on firms' ability to operate in complex environments while balancing commercial and development objectives.

Second, through detailed case studies of flagship projects including the Lobito Corridor (Angola), LuMIC project (Malaysia), and Nachtigal dam (Cameroon), we demonstrate how business power manifests in four dimensions: instrumental (direct influence through project implementation), structural (ability to shape development outcomes through market positions and technical expertise), discursive (framing of business roles in development) and project (ability to design and implement projects under conditions of uncertainty). This analysis reveals how firms' strategic choices and operational capabilities can either enable or constrain the EU's broader geoeconomic and development objectives.

Third, we argue that the Global Gateway exemplifies a new model of "competitive development" where traditional development paradigms centered on donor coordination and shared standards are giving way to what the European Commission terms a "global battle of offers." However, rather than viewing this solely through the lens of state

competition, we highlight how business actors introduce additional complexity and unpredictability into this dynamic. European firms' decisions about project participation and implementation can either reinforce or undermine the EU's strategic positioning vis-à-vis competing initiatives like China's Belt and Road Initiative.

The paper concludes that business power plays a more nuanced and pivotal role in the Global Gateway than current literature acknowledges. While the initiative reflects the EU's adaptation to geoeconomic competition, its success depends on complex state-business relationships that cannot be reduced to either pure market logic or state direction. This has important implications for understanding both the potential and limitations of the Global Gateway as a tool of EU external action. It also suggests the need for a broader reconceptualization of how business power operates in an emerging global development landscape increasingly characterized by strategic competition rather than coordination.

Gendering structural change and green transition in Africa: Implications of transformative policies

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Engendering Policy, Structural change, Gender inequality, Green transition, Africa

Abstract/Description

This paper investigates the gender-based employment implications of structural transformation in Africa, exploring how policies tailored to gender considerations can foster gender employment balance on the continent. First, we consider structural transformation through the lens of economy-wide shifts in sectoral structures. Employing a panel econometrics method, we examine how gender-based employment gaps are affected by these broad shifts in sectoral structures and the role of policy options that could attenuate the observed effect. Second, we explore structural transformation through the lens of green energy systems and transition technologies (GETT). Through a comprehensive literature review, we found that while GETT presents numerous opportunities for achieving gender-balanced employment, entrenched gendered social inequalities pose a significant challenge. We further examined the alignment of existing GETT-related policies in tackling this challenge, with Ghana and South Africa serving as case studies. We found that GETT-related policies in these countries simply follow the status quo, lacking the ability to generate the much-desired outcome. Accordingly, we propose a Gendered-Transformative (G-TRIP) framework to guide policy shifts necessary for achieving gender-inclusive structural transformation amid the evolving industrial landscape.

"Time is Running Out": High-Tech Investments, Skill Demands, and State Responses in Costa Rica

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Dependency, Globalization, Knowledge based economy, Labor markets, Latin America

Abstract/Description

Some 'developing' countries are seeking to change their position in the international division of labor by attracting multinational companies in the high-tech sector, aiming to create better job opportunities for their citizens rather than engaging in a race to the bottom. To attract these companies, they offer a mix of legal and economic incentives, usually in the form of free trade zones, and importantly, provide a relatively low-cost pool of skilled labor. However, efforts by the state to develop this sector frequently result in claims of skills shortages, leading to pressures to bring in foreign skilled workers. Why do the goals of the state backfire so quickly? I aim to answer this empirical puzzle by revisiting theories of state autonomy and examining immigration law within the framework of the capitalist state, particularly with respect to the new challenges posed by globalization and the knowledge economy. This article examines the paradigmatic case of Costa Rica through data gathered from interviews, documentary research, and event observations. By closely examining the case of Costa Rica, especially the state's responses to skills shortages, I seek to elucidate the multiple roles of the state and the limits of its ability to implement policies that are in disjunction with furthering transnational interests. The broader aim is to analyze the state's solutions to skills shortages in the knowledge economy as a lens to provide insights into evolving forms of state autonomy in globalization, especially for small latecomer countries.

The case of Costa Rica supports the argument that globalization does not necessarily hinder a state's roles. The Costa Rican government has engaged in a variety of functions to support a high-tech mode of accumulation driven by foreign direct investment. This includes making social investments necessary for a knowledge-based economy, providing legal and material infrastructure, proactively mediating with multinational corporations, and actively addressing the roots and consequences of uneven development. However, the state's policy-making capabilities in the area of skills sourcing are influenced and constrained by international forces (its connections to transnational capital, international organizations, and recent changes in the governance of global value chains). Findings indicate that transnational firms exert pressure on these countries by demanding a skilled workforce capable of adapting to rapidly changing production processes. If these demands are not met through training initiatives in a timely manner, firms may request to attract foreign skilled labor or relocate their operations elsewhere. As a result, states face a dilemma: they must decide between fostering a reliable and productive workforce to sustain the advancement of capitalism and dealing with the internal conflicts arising from the creation of this labor supply. In this context, I argue that immigration law emerges as a resolution to the fundamentally irresolvable conflict of promoting accumulation for a small state while being limited by its capacity to address internal inequality and external pressures.

The role of international organizations in achieving stability and social development in Yemen.

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

international organizations , stability and development , social development , King Salman Center for relief and humanitarian works , Saudi program for the development and reconstruction of Yemen.

Abstract/Description

This study deals with the role of international organizations in achieving stability and social development in Yemen, and highlights the problem of stability and development in the country and, how international organizations can contribute to achieving this aspect, a number of economic, cultural, political aspects, the subsequent variety of activities and programs in the field of development in Yemen. The letter will discuss the projects evaluated and supervised by the King Salman Humanitarian Aid and relief centers and the Saudi program for the development and reconstruction of Yemen during the period from 2018 to 2024.

These research organizations are interested in working to achieve stability, social development and a number of other aspects. The research will address these organizations in terms of the following themes

- Roles of international and regional organizations in achieving stability and social development.
- Introducing the International and regional organizations and their importance and our focus on the King Salman Center for relief and humanitarian works and the Saudi program for the development and reconstruction of Yemen.
- Organization management, funding and objectives: through the study of

the administrative structure and partnership within the international organizations subject to research. - Activities, interests and programs: by studying the tasks, activities and programs carried out by the international organizations under study.

Do grand narratives reach their audience? Examining (mis)knowledge of the Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park through a large-scale survey

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Infrastructure development, Industrial parks, Public perception , China, Indonesia

Abstract/Description

The Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park is one of Southeast Asia's largest recent industrial developments facilitated by China's Belt and Road Initiative. The Chinese and Indonesian governments touted it as the perfect collaboration model between Chinese and Indonesian companies. Yet, the park has often been the subject of undesirable headlines in national and local media. Through a large nationwide survey, this study examines if and how these large-scale projects reach the wider public. Our results show that few people know of the project, and their knowledge is limited. This implies that even if large-scale developments might be significant for China and host countries' narratives, and have substantial coverage in the media, they still might not enter much of the public's attention or memory.

We conducted a large, nearly nationally representative survey of Indonesian respondents in January 2024 (10-17 January). Only 271 out of 1220 respondents (22%) indicated that they had heard of the Morowali Industrial Park. Moreover, of those who specified being aware of the project, only 69 out of 271 (about 25%) expressed at least a relatively high degree of familiarity (i.e. 5 or higher on a 7-point scale). Being from the province of Sulawesi, the one where the park is located, is by far the strongest predictor of being aware of IMIP. In addition, wealthier, more highly educated, and older respondents were also more likely to be aware of the project, but the magnitude of these effects is much smaller than that of being from Sulawesi.

Those who indicated familiarity struggled to answer factual questions about the Morowali Industrial Park accurately. For example, of those who made a guess, only 45 out of 201 respondents (22%) claimed that the project employs 10,000 or more Indonesian workers (the actual figure is around 30,000). In contrast, 33% of respondents claimed the project employs over 10,000 Chinese workers, even though the actual figure is closer to 3,000. In other words, respondents familiar with IMIP tended to underestimate Indonesian employment and overestimate Chinese employment. Those who reported that they had heard of IMIP tended to view the project significantly more favorably. They were significantly more likely, for example, to agree that it was a good decision for the Indonesian government to seek collaboration with Chinese partners for the development of mineral resources. They were also significantly more likely to support the potential expansion of IMIP.

However, respondents indicating familiarity were no more likely to feel that the industrial park project reflects China's intention to entrap Indonesia to secure China's own strategic benefits, such as getting hold of mineral resources. They were somewhat more likely than unfamiliar respondents to be concerned about Indonesia's economy becoming overly reliant on Chinese companies and Chinese financing. These results perhaps suggest that preexisting familiarity may affect views toward specific activities but not necessarily larger narratives about China's economic presence in Indonesia.

Overall, our results help unpack the complex puzzle of large-scale projects under the Belt and Road Initiative, how people perceive them vis-à-vis their reality, and if and how they influence the overall perception of China's influence in the country.

China and the global expansion of green energy technologies: EVs, batteries and lithium investments in Latin America.

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

China, Foreign Direct Investments, Lithium, Electric vehicles, sustainable development

Abstract/Description

China has become a global leader in ion-lithium batteries and has used these capabilities to develop an important innovation ecosystem in electric vehicles, which are now expanding to the world. The key driver to China's successful promotion of electric vehicles has been industrial policy. Green technologies can be seen as the new frontier for the global expansion of Chinese firms due to their innovation and technological capabilities and Latin America is one of the main destinations for FDI in EVs, lithium and batteries. The present article examines the landscape and trends of FDI conducted by Chinese firms in the region, aiming to analyze the possibility for Latin-American countries to integrate Chinese-led value chain in green energy as part of their developmental processes and industrial policies.

The key findings are preliminary, but we infer that there is a new phase of Chinese engagement in Latin America post-Covid, with a change in the profile of FDI: 1) relevant investments are now conducted not only through state owned enterprises, but increasingly made by private firms, especially when seeing outside of legacy sectors; 2) sectors of destination are slowly changing from oil, gas and agriculture towards renewable energy sources, electric vehicles and mining of strategic minerals such as lithium and rare earth minerals; 3) the flows of investments are smaller in the total quantity, but there is a higher number of projects in the region overall; 4) the FDI projects are increasingly directed in knowledge/technologically intensive sectors, instead of capital intensive ones, as was the case in traditional (legacy) sectors (such as electricity generation and oil) of the pre 2019 phase, which was the year of transition with the first EV projects being rolled out and the post-Covid period being the consolidation of this new phase, which is also seeing a gradual increase of greenfield investments as a mode of entry, vis-a-vis a predominance of mergers and acquisitions in the early to mid-2010's.

Latin American countries must develop their own plans, industrial policies and strategies for technological upgrading, innovation and production of higher value-added goods. Chinese capital can be seen as a positive factor for the region's development processes, as long as the respective countries take control of their own macroeconomic and institutional environments. Trends indicate that there is a window of possibilities and opportunities open in this regard, especially in sectors linked to decarbonization, renewable energy, electromobility and green technologies.

However, the countries in the region must focus on developing their industrial policies and innovation strategies, as well as maybe requiring technology transfer agreements linked to some of these FDI projects. In addition to that, investments in education and integration of local labor into these initiatives could potentialize spillover effects for upgrading. Conversely, the risk remains that Latin America could go down on a path of dependency and continuing to export natural resources and commodities, in exchange for industrial goods, a historical pattern that has deleterious effects for local societies in terms of sustainable development.

Community-Driven Development in a Globalized World: Sreejanshil Nepal's Model for Sustainable Socio-Economic Resilience

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

community-driven development, globalization, sustainable development, social entrepreneurship, climate resilience

Abstract/Description

Title: Community-Driven Development in a Globalized World: Sreejanshil Nepal's Model for Sustainable Socio-Economic Resilience

Abstract:

Sreejanshil Nepal, established on July 24, 2016, amidst the breathtaking landscapes and rich cultural heritage of Nepal, stands as a beacon of hope and resilience in addressing the pressing socio-economic and environmental challenges of the modern world. Founded with a mission to drive sustainable development, the organization has emerged as a transformative force, tackling the existential threats posed by climate change, socio-economic inequalities, and the profound impacts of globalization on local communities.

Drawing inspiration from Nepal's diverse ecological heritage and cultural identity, Sreejanshil Nepal promotes an innovative development model rooted in community-based governance and participatory action. The organization champions decentralized cooperation, empowering marginalized groups—including women, youth, and indigenous populations—to regain control over their resources, leadership, and development processes.

Fundamentally, Sreejanshil Nepal is an effort to question the domination, commodification and rationality of conventional state and market systems. This organization aligns its practices with values and serves the purpose of empowering the local people to address issues like climate change vulnerability, economic inequity and the impact of globalization disrupting the local economies. The foundation of Sreejanshil Nepal enables capacity building and equitable development for a sustainable future, thus ensuring the protection of the present as well as future generations.

Key Programs and Governance Practices

Sreejanshil Nepal's initiatives address interconnected global and local challenges:

1. Participatory Disaster Risk Reduction: The organization works in partnership with the

communities to develop warning systems, risk evaluation and the development of structures that will reduce impacts of disasters. These are meaningful projects based on participatory governance, which means that people of the region will have a say in the decisions.

2. Climate Adaptation and Mitigation: Sreejanshil Nepal is an organization that tries to combine traditional knowledge with the advanced technology in order to increase climate change awareness. The organization builds renewable energy projects and tree planting activities with an aim of promoting sustainable development for the communities and also ensuring mutual gains.

3. Water and Sanitation: Combating the global water problem, Sreejanshil Nepal promotes sustainable water supply and sanitation with the involvement of disadvantaged groups in their proper management.

4. Biodiversity Conservation: The organization also promotes the sustainable utilization of resources since the conservation of biodiversities can be effective through community participation to increase conservation measures of the ecosystems of Nepal.

5. Economic Empowerment: Sreejanshil Nepal promotes cooperative models, community land trusts, and social enterprises, challenging profit-driven development and fostering solidarity economies that prioritize social welfare over individual gain.

Looking ahead, Sreejanshil Nepal aims to further expand its impact. The organization plans to scale its tree plantation programs, targeting the planting of 50,000 trees in the coming year to strengthen climate resilience and ecological restoration. Additionally, it seeks to establish 10 new disaster shelters in vulnerable regions, enhancing community preparedness. To promote a transition to sustainable energy, Sreejanshil Nepal is developing partnerships for large-scale renewable energy projects and exploring urban sustainability initiatives, such as green infrastructure in major municipalities. Nationwide biodiversity conservation awareness campaigns are being launched and will be continued to amplify its mission of preserving Nepal's natural heritage.

Fostering Democratic Values and Inclusion


The success of Sreejanshil Nepal lies in its commitment to democratic values in governance. The organization guarantees the inclusion of the voice of the most vulnerable groups such as women and indigenous people in the decision-making processes as well as providing the communities with the power to drive change. Sreejanshil Nepal works on capacity building for participation in governance, skill development and social mobilization for the excluded communities.


Global Recognition and Influence


Sreejanshil Nepal's achievements have earned international acclaim, highlighting its growing influence in addressing global challenges. The organization has been invited to participate in prestigious global forums, including:

 International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank Group Annual Meetings 2024

(Washington, D.C., USA): Engaging in discussions on sustainable development financing, climate resilience, and socio-economic growth.

 World Water Congress and Exhibition 2024 (Toronto, Canada): Exploring global water challenges and sharing expertise on sustainable water conservation strategies.

 Urban Economy Forum 6 (Toronto, Canada): Contributing to dialogues on sustainable urban economies, including affordable housing, urban resilience, and inclusive growth.

 World Food Forum 2024 (Rome, Italy): Addressing global food security challenges and advocating for innovative solutions to promote sustainable food systems.

Broader Implications for Global Socio-Economic Development

Sreejanshil Nepal shows how values-based development can help change the global understanding of what it means to be economically successful. In this way, the organization offers the vision of a different civilization path that do not rely on the market and profit as main values. The work of the organisation impacts on global movements as it demonstrates how participatory governance and sustainable practices can counter the negative impact of neoliberal globalization.

In this manner, Sreejanshil Nepal extends the influence of Nepali social movements beyond Nepal, providing methodologies and reflections for similar movements in other global regions that strive to infuse sustainability and democratic governance into the economy.

Conclusion

Globalization and Socio-Economic Development goals are achieved in the approach of Sreejanshil Nepal which also shows the way for finding local solutions for global problems initiated by the communities of that country. The activity of the organization is based on the combination of indigenous knowledge and modern systems of governance on the principles of sustainable development, social justice, and resilience of the communities. In this presentation, I will also explain how Sreejanshil Nepal's interventions are useful in grounding socio-economic development anew in the context of globalization and offer suggestions on how a new socio-organizational economy can be defined.

Keywords: community-driven development, globalization, sustainable development, social entrepreneurship, climate resilience, participatory governance, economic empowerment, inclusive growth

Using Psychometrics to Promote Islamic Participatory Modes of Financing for SMEs: The Case Study of IFIs in The Gambia.

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Psychometrics, SMEs, Islamic-Participatory-modes

Abstract/Description

Currently, global SMEs provide about 70% of the formal labor force (World Bank, 2022), and the World Bank projects that by 2030, the global workforce will require about 600 million jobs, and four out of every five of these shall be provided by SMEs (World Bank, 2022). They account for more than 50% of the global GDP (World Bank, 2020), constitute about 90% of global formal business establishments (World Bank, 2022), and facilitate and enhance entrepreneurship (Bernard & Barbosa, 2016), while providing a fertile avenue for innovation (Asad et al, 2018; Yan, 2022). However, access to finance has been one of the most highlighted constraints of global SMEs (De Pijcker et al, 2019). The annual SME financing gap is over USD 5.2 trillion (World Bank, 2022), and a potential additional demand of USD 2.9 trillion Bruhn et al, (2017). Meanwhile Over 70% of SMEs lack access to finance and over 15% has limited access World Bank (2018). Thus, the presence of financial constraints threatens the birth, growth and development of SMEs (Chandra et al, 2020).

Traditional financial institutions generally shun SMEs due to their perceived riskiness. Meanwhile, the Islamic participatory modes of financing are most appealing and appropriate for young and growth-oriented SMEs. (Zafar & Nor, 2019) concludes that lack of trust limits the use of Islamic participatory modes. (Islam & Ahmad, 2020), argued that the entrepreneurial skills of SMEs have a direct and positive correlation with the use of Islamic participatory modes. While, (Folajinmi & Peter, 2020), concluded that the financial management skills of SMEs facilitate the use of Islamic participatory modes by IFIs.

Psychometrics is a branch of psychology that design assessment tools to measure personality traits, skills, knowledge, abilities, attitudes etc. (Rust & Golombok, 2014). The overriding aim of this research is to determine the potential role of psychometric in promoting the use of Islamic participatory modes of financing for SMEs. The specific objectives include;

Thus, this research seeks to use a quantitative research methodology mainly using regression analysis and a questionnaire to collect the data for analysis. The anticipated results of the research are that a psychometric measurement of some of the identified impeding factors i.e., trust, entrepreneurship skills and financial management skills of SME operators shall increase the willingness of IFIs to use the Islamic participatory modes of financing for SMEs.

Roundtable: Sustainable Innovation: The Role of AI in Shaping Tomorrow's Business

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Role

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

Dive into the transformative power of Artificial Intelligence in reshaping the business sustainability landscape worldwide. Business Sustainability and ESG Sustainability are taking centre-stage in the global competitive business environment and academia. Business sustainability has advanced from branding and greenwashing to strategic imperative with its integration into corporate culture, business models, corporate governance, and managerial decisions in recent years. Business sustainability focuses on financial activities that generate long-term economic sustainability performance (ESP) to create shareholder value as well as non-financial activities that result in the achievement of environmental, social, and governance (ESG) sustainability performance to protect interests of all stakeholders. This panel explores the transformative role of artificial intelligence (AI) in advancing business sustainability and explains how technology and the use of AI-powered tools, including generative AI and Large Language Models (LLMs), can foster and promote sustainability initiatives as well as measure, report and analyze key performance indicators (KPIs) of financial ESP and nonfinancial ESG sustainability performance.

This panel offers a strategic roadmap for integrating AI to foster responsible, long-term sustainable business practices to unpack the sometimes complex theoretical and practical concepts and procedures. As businesses increasingly recognize the importance of sustainability, the challenge lies in effectively integrating sustainable practices with advanced technologies. The panel addresses this challenge by offering practical insights, frameworks, and case studies that illustrate the successful implementation of AI-driven platforms in various business contexts. It highlights the potential of AI to optimize resource use, reduce environmental impact, and improve corporate governance while maintaining competitive advantage, how AI can be used in shaping future of business sustainability. This panel enables you to make more informed decisions, optimize their operations, and promote sustainable practices, ultimately contributing to a more sustainable future by providing practical insights for leaders, managers, policymakers, and academics

Particularly the panel examines transformative role of artificial intelligence (AI) in advancing business sustainability including:

1. Predictive Analytics
2. Resource Optimization and Management
3. Robust Product Design
4. Supply Chain Process Efficiency
5. Predictive Maintenance

- 1. Environmental Issues
- 2. Stakeholder Engagement

Institutional economics to understand networks and social exclusion in the face of deprivation: Evidence from Costa Rica

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Deprivation, Institutional economics, Networks, Exclusion, Capabilities approach

Abstract/Description

People in deprivation cope with extreme conditions while lacking resources and options to transform them into quality of life, as they are excluded from formal institutions. Yet, they devise organizational strategies to articulate collective action and enhance their well-being. This paper aims to understand how these people collaborate and coordinate collective actions to enhance their capabilities and create provisioning mechanisms through networks; and to analyze how these support networks and institutions relate to the exclusion dynamics that develop in society. To achieve this, a definition of institutions as co-evolving frames that enable development configurations is used to analyze urban poverty in Costa Rica. Identifying networks and informal institutions that enable collective action and economic transactions, devised as survival mechanisms to cope with harsh conditions. At the same time, these “survival institutions” and networks tend to increase even further the exclusion faced by these groups. Because some behaviors useful to cope with adversity are not a perfect fit with “regular institutions” and behaviors, increasing the sense and perception of ostracism (from these groups and from the rest). Leading to interesting findings, but more than anything putting forward new lines of research and questions to address.

Towards a Post-neoliberal Stabilization Paradigm

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

inflation, post-neoliberalism, stabilization policy, geopolitics, development

Abstract/Description

Neoliberalism became hegemonic through stabilization policy. Post-neoliberalism will require an alternative stabilization paradigm. In this paper we revisit the classic reasoning for buffer stocks by Keynes, Kaldor, Graham, and others as a starting point for this paradigmatic shift. At the core of the neoliberal stabilization paradigm are the assumptions that competitive markets are efficient and that relative price changes ought to be separated from macro-outcomes. In contrast, buffer stock reasoning starts from the inherent instability and inefficiency of commodity markets. Price volatility in essential commodities can lead to sellers' inflation because of the interaction with administered prices in the industrial sector and can hamper growth and development prospects.

To assess the prospects for a revival of the buffer stock stabilization paradigm in the transition to post-neoliberalism we revisit two prior historical junctures when stabilization paradigms were redefined and buffer stocks considered at the international stage: First, the immediate post-war era informed by the interwar experience and culminating in the Bretton Woods negotiations, and second, the end of Bretton Woods culminating in the failed agenda for a New International Economic Order and the rise of neoliberalism.

We argue that during these moments four key elements aligned to open a window of opportunity for proposing a cooperative stabilization paradigm centered around a multilateral system of buffer stocks aimed at supporting international development and peace. These elements were: First, a crisis of the prevailing stabilization paradigm triggered by major commodity price price swings; second, a change of the foreign policy stance in hegemonic countries; third, political coordination among commodity dependent countries (importers or exporters); and fourth, a crisis of supranational governance structures that brings an opportunity for reform. We discuss how these elements played out in the post-war moment and in the 1970s and thereby trace how historic developments informed and were informed by economic theory.

In the final section, we apply the insights gained from the historical to assess the emergence of a new stabilization paradigm and the return of buffer stocks at the current post-neoliberal moment. The current historic conjuncture bears striking resemblance to earlier moments when negotiations about multilateral commodity price stabilization became possible. For the first time since the 1970s powerful countries have an interest in commodity price stabilization again. The 2022 price spike has demonstrated that developed countries too can be affected by cost-push inflation. Furthermore, secure access to essential commodities at stable prices is critical to safeguard the export competitiveness of national industry. And with more geopolitical tensions, food sovereignty and access to critical raw materials are once again regarded to be of existential importance. Food importing developing countries are cooperating to demand more policy space within existing multilateral trade institutions. There are some discussions by commodity producing countries to form cartels. And raw material import-dependent countries are discussing forming buyers' clubs.

We conclude with an outlook about what a post-neoliberal stabilization paradigm might look like and in whose interests it might operate.

Billionaire Responses to the Recently Increased Appetite to Tax their Wealth

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

super rich, wealth taxation, tax avoidance, global financial crisis

Abstract/Description

In recent decades, while the wealth of the **super-rich** kept rising, wealth-based taxation declined and super-rich tax **avoidance** flourished. Since the **global financial crisis**, taxing the super-rich has gained salience in political debates, and international tax cooperation, information exchange and data leaks have compromised tax avoidance. But little is yet known on how the super-rich are responding to the increased appetite to **tax** their **wealth**.

The global financial crisis triggered multilateral adherence to the Common Reporting Standard from 2014. The crisis in tandem with spectacular data leaks on offshore entities also caused public opinion to shift towards favouring more redistributive taxation policies (Limberg 2020; Ait Bihi Ouali, 2020). As a result, some governments have recently perceived and used more room for maneuver to tax personal wealth and fight tax avoidance by the super-rich (Christensen and Hearson 2019; Hakelberg and Rixen 2021; Ahrens et al. 2022).

But how have the super-rich themselves responded? Studies of behavioral responses to wealth taxation in general disagree on the extent to which it triggers avoidance (Scheuer and Slemrod, 2021; Londoño-Vélez, J., & Avila-Mahecha, 2024; Leenders et al. 2022). These studies do not consider other forms of tax resistance, and do not focus specifically on the super-rich. It is important to know more about the wealth tax responses of the super-rich, and more specifically of billionaires. Though small in number, their behaviour affects the tax base directly because of their enormous wealth. They can also have indirect effects, affecting regulation through lobbying and lawsuits, and affecting the tax morale of other citizens.

This paper presents a new dataset on the wealth tax responses of the hundred richest billionaires in democracies. It considers their material, legal and discursive responses to wealth taxation in the past decade, and compares it to their previous behaviour. Specifically, it will make visible (i) billionaire shifts away from the use of tax havens to other transnational or domestic forms of avoidance, or to greater compliance; (ii) change in the frequency of lawsuits between billionaires and tax authorities; (iii) shifts in the extent and nature of billionaire speech about wealth taxation.

The dataset focuses on those forms of taxation ('wealth-based taxes', for short) that most directly affect the super-rich: wealth tax, dividend and interest tax, capital gains tax, and inheritance and estate tax. It uses open sources including business journalism, data on political donations and offshore leaks and information that flows from reporting requirements, and translates this into a systematic format for social science analysis.

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That Circle is Poison! Chemical Colonialism through Transnational Pesticide Policy in EU, Brazil and India

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

pesticides , precautionary, politics , colonialism, regulation

Abstract/Description

That Circle is Poison! Chemical Colonialism through Transnational Pesticide Policy in EU, Brazil and India

Brazil and India produce much of the world's food using agro-chemicals (pesticides and fertilizers) that are currently banned in the European Union. Despite the ban on use *within* the EU, European mega-firms produce these banned/hazardous substances and export them to Brazil and India where they are used extensively. Food products are then shipped back to Europe, replete with pesticide residues. While firms claim that these "plant protection products" are "safe use," a growing chorus of transnational environmental advocates reject claims that agrotoxins can be considered "safe" under any circumstances and instead need to be banned or regulated under the precautionary principle. This paper uses comparative political economy and "pollution is colonialism" theories to analyze the transnational circle of poison between Brazil, India and the EU. I argue that current liberal "light touch" regulation and trade rules create conditions for further exploitation and extraction, spreading chemical colonialism and pollution throughout Brazil, India, Europe and beyond.

Data are drawn from a new dataset, **Global Pesticide Use and Trade (GloPUT)** database, which has been shown to provide a more accurate reflection of social science findings on agrochemical supply restructuring, agrarian development, and use in low-and middle-income countries. Additional materials include government documents, public reports, market studies and secondary literature. This research contributes to literature on global markets and developing countries at the intersection of environmental politics and justice.

Exploring Seasonal Hospitality Work in Greek political economy context: Workforce Dynamics, Mobilities, and Precarities

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

political economy, Greece, precarity, mobility, workforce characteristics

Abstract/Description

Drawing on a qualitative study of Greek seasonal workers, this paper explores seasonal hospitality work and the characteristics of the seasonal workforce in a deregulated/neoliberal context such as that of Greece. It interrogates both the prevailing working conditions and, more broadly, the living conditions, identifying both variations and commonalities with respect to workers' orientations and relationships with hospitality. This research is important because it examines mobilities in hospitality work from the micro-level of workforce attitudes, behaviours, and characteristics, while at the same time discussing the implications at the meso level in terms of jobs, workplaces, and work environments (Baum 2015). The paper also assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the current model of development adopted in Greece by references to the political economy of Greek tourism (Lioudakis, 223). The paper responds to the network call by considering the ways that different sections of the labouring classes have been affected by the current development model, especially in relation to patterns of mobility and life trajectories.

The empirical basis for this paper is qualitative methods research conducted by the two authors in Greece during 2019 composed of interviews with hospitality workers. After Covid, and since the question of seasonal hospitality work became an issue in the public sphere, a review of Greek print and on-line press covering the period 2022-2024 was conducted and articles/reports were selected and included in the data set to complement the interviews. These were primarily narrations from hospitality workers and statements from sectoral actors such as employers and trade unions.

We found that the crisis and post-crisis economic conditions imposed certain regularities to seasonal workers (driving mobility) but it also posed certain constraints (accumulation

of bad experiences and exodus). Many workers experienced seasonality and mobility in an immutable manner mainly because various features of the spatial and temporal dimensions of work left little space for meaningful interactions and personal reflection. This resembled a 'prison-like environment' with few options (just opting to change employer) and a realization of the futility of their choice.

This case study provides new insights into the ways that the political economy of tourism growth dictates patterns of labour market and workforce demographics in the industry which are related with specific patterns of mobility-immobility. It is argued that the agency of workers has been mainly exercised through immobile agentic actions which reflect a political understanding of the losers and winners of hospitality growth based on their lived experiences. The paper contends to say that labour shortages in the tourism industry currently affect more negatively the existing workforce (more work and hours) and less the employers who continue to abstain from introducing better wages and conditions to attract workers.

Baum, T. (2015). Human resources in tourism: Still waiting for change?—A 2015 reprise. *Tourism Management*, 50, 204-212.

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Pride and Prejudice: Chinese Investment and Negotiated Development in Colombia

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Development, Dependency Theory, China, Colombia, Labor Relations

Abstract/Description

Economies of the Global North have long extended their production chains to the Global South, benefiting from the latter's cheap primary resources and surplus labor. These dynamics have hindered their target countries' development and reinforced their dependence on the Global North. While economic and political elites in these countries have partially benefited from collaborations with foreign multinational corporations (MNCs), such partnerships have deepened economic and social inequalities among the broader populations. Building on and modifying Evans' (1979) framework of "dependent development", this study examines whether the increasing investment activities and MNCs from East Asia - China in particular - introduce potential dynamics of "post-dependent" development in the Global South, challenging traditional notions of dependency.

Leading literature on development in the 21st century conceptualises the sending states of these new competitors as new "core" countries that merely reinforce traditional patterns of dependency, and neglects their potential particularities. In contrast, by comparing Chinese and U.S.-based MNCs and Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in the case of Colombia, this study shows that Chinese MNCs - based on China's own national interests, its stage of development, and its unique state-firm relations - differ substantively from their Global North counterparts.

In particular, the study demonstrates that on the one hand, U.S. MNCs in Colombia have long solely focused on profit maximization. Despite their presence in Colombia for over a century, they have therefore demonstrated limited improvement or learning in terms of labor rights and working conditions for their Colombian employees. The study argues that these dynamics were facilitated by the historically close ties between U.S. firms and Colombian political and economic elites, who have collectively engaged in repressing workers' demands and protests to enhance their own benefits. Conversely, Chinese MNCs, which began entering Colombia in the late 2000s, pursue broader objectives beyond mere profit generation, including representing the "voice" of their sending country abroad. At the same time, they are subject to strong suspicion and facing a high liability of foreignness. Hence, although Chinese MNCs are not immune to exploiting legal loopholes when entering new countries and markets, they do demonstrate greater flexibility, steeper learning curves, and, under specific conditions, a greater willingness to adapt to the demands of the target country's government and workforce. This includes reducing reliance on expatriate labor from China, replacing it with local employees, improving safety standards and remuneration, and aligning with local cultural norms.

Methodologically, Colombia serves as a crucial case due to its 200 years of diplomatic relationship with the United States that have resulted in dependent development. This relationship has been increasingly disrupted by the growing presence of Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) and MNCs since 2015. Guided by a qualitative approach and elements of grounded theory, the research combines documentary research and 64 expert and participant interviews, including Colombian and Chinese workers, CEOs, unionists, and members of governmental institutions, with ethnographic observations from over two years of online and in-person fieldwork in Colombia.

The Demographic Dividend and the Re-Economization of Population

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

population , development, demographic dividend, expertise, policy frames

Abstract/Description

In the past two decades, a new concept has risen to prominence in the population and development policy arena: “the demographic dividend.” Originally put forward by American economists in the 1990s, the central idea is that as fertility rates begin to decline, a working-age bulge forms, yielding a potential economic boost (see Bloom, Canning, & Sevilla, 2003). The demographic dividend has since become central to development policy, particularly in Africa, where the African Union has committed to “harnessing” the demographic dividend and national governments have designed “demographic dividend roadmaps.” In other words, the concept has moved from academia to policy, and from the United States to the global stage.

As the demographic dividend has gained momentum in the policy sphere, there is an emerging critique from scholars about the demographic dividend’s implications for reproductive health (see Foley, 2022). These scholars argue that the demographic dividend’s economic rationale threatens a rights-based approach to reproductive health, increasing the likelihood of coercion and control. In other words, there appear to be two competing frameworks around population, one that primarily foregrounds national development and the economy and another that foregrounds individual choice and well-being. But, how exactly these two hegemonic yet potentially contradictory frames have been reconciled by population and development actors remains unclear.

By drawing on the sociology of science to conceptualize population as a contested field of expertise, this paper examines this question. It does so through a content analysis of annual reports published by two population and development institutions: the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and Kenya’s National Council for Population and Development (NCPD). These reports are titled, respectively, the State of the World Population Report and the State of Kenya Population Report. Through a longitudinal analysis of these reports, I examine when the demographic dividend emerged as a dominant frame and how its use has been reconciled with other population policy frames. The selection of these two institutions allows for a comparison of this discursive process at the global and national level as well as the potential interplay between the two.

Preliminary results suggest that rather than gradually rising to dominance, the demographic dividend sits alongside reproductive rights and women’s empowerment as a central population policy frame. UNFPA and NCPD appear not to be replacing these other frames with the demographic dividend, but rather *alternating* between the different frames to highlight the relevance of their institutions in multiple ways. Additionally, the demographic dividend frame means that population and development institutions are now not only implicated in fertility—their traditional domain—but have new responsibilities, most strikingly in the realm of the economy, particularly around employment. These new areas of intervention have resulted in an expansion of the client categories of population and development. While women have long constituted a focus of the field, the demographic dividend’s emphasis on human capital investment has rendered youth a new key target group.

Selected citations (to remain within word count):

Consequences of Population Change. RAND, Santa Monica, USA.

Foley, E. E. (2022). In pursuit of the demographic dividend: the return of economic justifications for family planning in Africa. *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters*, 30(1), 216-230.

Roundtable: The New Heterodox Approaches to Economic Development

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

Heterodox Approaches to Economic Development is a mixed media initiative initiated in 2021 to commemorate the 10th death anniversary of Alice Amsden, former Barton L. Weller Professor of Political Economy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), US. The series produced 23 podcasts and one written piece whose purpose was to re-introduce heterodox economics to a younger cohort of global academics and policymakers; the podcast successfully reached over 15,000 listeners globally.

Over 2024, the series was re-conceptualized to present some core themes of globalization, industrial policy, employment, inequality, latecomer development, and trade into a monograph that re-visits core heterodox themes. These were then condensed into twelve thought pieces that will form a monograph that is in production. The podcasts and thought pieces were developed in conjunction with and launched on the MIT webpage for Professor Amsden and will also be housed on the webpage for the SASE Alice Amsden Best Book Award to select an outstanding scholarly book that breaks new ground in the study of economic behavior and/or its policy implications concerning societal institutional, historical, philosophical, psychological, and ethical factors.

The core issues taken up by network B: (1) To test the ambiguous effects of globalization on local socio-economic development and (2) To compare dominant and alternative models of country development and to assess the strengths and weaknesses of development policies for developed, developing, and transition countries are complementary to the core issues reviewed in the monograph. Below is a listing of the authors and topics.

1. Remembering Alice Amsden, By Dr. Leela Lebowski
2. Globalization by Professor Rolph Van Der Hoeven
3. The Rise, Fall, and Exit from Neoliberalism, By Dr. Andres Solimano
4. The Commons and the Blue Sea, By Professor Guy Standing

5. A History of Heterodox Industrial Policy, by Professor Duncan Kennedy
6. Heterodox Approaches to Women's Work in India, By Professor Madhura Swaminathan
7. Economic Policy, Demonetization, By Professor Ramakumar
8. Heterodox Approaches to Industrial Policy and Employment, India, By Professor Jayan Jose Thomas
9. Industrial Policy and Techno Nationalism, By Dr. Alisa Di Caprio
10. Compressed Development: The New Heterodox Development, By Professor Antonio Andreoni
11. Heterodox Development Thought: Anti-Colonialism and Economic Nationalism, By Professor Jason Jackson
12. A History of Heterodox Thinking at MIT, By Professor Bishwapriya Sanyal

Ten authors are available to participate in the virtual round table discussion, and this proposal will be amended following feedback from the review committee. Complete author bios are available upon request.

Self-Critical Capitalism. How to understand the stability of global capitalism in spite of the lack of its socio-cultural legitimation.

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Capitalism, Sustainability, Critical Theory, Sociology of Justification, Globalization

Abstract/Description

In this paper, a conceptual framework is developed that tries to tackle a major socio-cultural ambivalence of global capitalism from a sociological point of view. It is marked by a contradiction between the high institutional stability of capitalist markets and all empirical data showing that the social legitimacy of capitalist principles, institutions and markets is *not* very high - in most countries of the Global North as well as in the Global South. If socio-economic literature (e.g. Boltanski & Chiapello, Thrift, Streeck) is right in criticizing Marx and Weber for assuming that violence, force and capitalism's ability to build an iron cage of economic rationality is enough to provide capitalist institutions with enough stability and the necessary motivations to bring people to engage ever more intensely in the creation of creative, singularized and innovative goods and services, then the question arises why the high degree of criticism, delegitimation and mistrust in principles of free markets does not lead to more sand in capitalism's gearbox.

The solution for the puzzle provided here is based on the assumption that capitalism is not only a set of economic and political institutions and entrepreneurial activity fostering profit and growth. Instead, today's capitalism is also endowed with a highly reflexive discourse in which critical perspectives on the contemporary modes of production and consumption build an important source of innovation and renewed profit opportunities. There is a rivalry between public and political discourses criticizing capitalism from the perspective of moral economy, and markets and firms *themselves* reacting to this criticism with new processes, organizational forms, labor chains and products.

We will then present different empirical examples how the criticism of capitalism becomes a motor for capitalism and discuss the restraints these forms of critique put on the opportunities for deeper or more fundamental political or institutional reforms.

For example, empirical data suggests that the dynamic growth of the still relatively small sector of

the sustainable economy is not the first step in a transformation of global capitalism as a whole in terms of ecological and social sustainability, but rather the formation of a trans-national high-quality segment of ethical consumption, which is and remains linked to the high purchasing power of some groups of consumers and the high productivity of certain groups of employees. For those groups paths into "critical consumption" are opened that help to further loyalty to their part of global capitalism among the politically important middle classes of the Global North as well as the elites of the Global South. For consumers and workers in those critical segments of global capitalism it is not necessary to "believe" in the ethics of neoliberalism, in fact they remain in opposition to that through their segment of consumption and work. For capturing this conceptually the question of visibility of interdependence between sustainable and non-sustainable segments of labor and product markets is crucial for studying the potential formation of cross-class and trans-national reform discourses for global capitalism. This framework will be further developed against the background of some social-theoretical considerations of the sociology of critique and justification.

Beyond the Social Contract: Rising Spatial Inequality in the Global South and Citizenship as Reciprocity

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

inequality, citizenship, reciprocity, social contract, public service provision

Abstract/Description

This paper investigates how rising spatial inequalities in the Global South are driving dramatically different experiences of public service delivery and the divergent exercise of citizenship. This forthcoming book contends that scholars need to move beyond the “social contract”, which is theoretically and empirically limited. Based on a Carnegie-funded project on the politics of electricity access in Ghana, this paper draws on original qualitative interviews, focus group discussions, and survey data. The paper highlights how state officials and ordinary people have operated with different conceptualizations of citizenship over time. For example, where state politicians and civil servants began in the post-independent period with a notion of the social contract with the newly enfranchised citizens, Ghanaian citizens have shared a more radical understanding of citizenship as reciprocity with other regions, communities, and groups in the nation. But, as Ghanaians have experienced unequal public service provision, depending on where they lived, they have become less likely to see themselves as part of the same national community. I argue that the increasing concreteness and visibility of inequality across the country is weakening the reciprocity between neighborhoods and across regions in the nation. This pattern holds true for many countries around the world in the Global South and the Global North. The paper is based on a forthcoming book that reveals how growing spatial inequalities are putting the understanding of citizenship as reciprocity under strain and contributing to the backsliding of democracy.

Trump's West Balkan policy and its implications

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Trump policy, Western Balkans, nationalism, neoliberalism, EU-US relations

Abstract/Description

The West Balkans, as a geopolitical concept, pertains to the remaining non-EU Balkan nations and the associated region. Among them, the five countries, namely Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Albania, are all EU aspirants. Kosovo, however, remains a highly contentious region and a politically sensitive matter. For all the Western Balkan countries, EU accession is the foremost objective, yet their path to the EU has been protracted, arduous, and fraught with uncertainties. There are two primary reasons for the region's stalled EU admission. Firstly, the West Balkans are comparatively underdeveloped and economically disadvantaged. Secondly, the specter of nationalism lingers, and unresolved conflicts such as Kosovo's disputed independent status, the fragmented state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and its dysfunctional system founded on the Dayton Agreement continue to plague the area. The EU endeavors to construct an inclusive society within this diverse region while adhering to the principle of territorial integrity. In contrast, with Trump's ascendancy to power, the US has adopted a more pragmatic and flexible stance towards the land swap plan. Trump's potential return as US President could reignite speculations regarding the redrawing of national and ethnic boundaries. This would also have implications for the EU integration process of the Western Balkans and even EU-US relations. The Economic Normalization Agreement inked by Serbia and Kosovo in the White House in 2020 reflects Trump's inclination to invest in infrastructure, thereby squeezing out Russia in the energy sector and China in terms of 5G equipment and information sharing. This, in turn, could precipitate economic competition between the EU and the US in the West Balkans.

This article dissects Trump's policy towards the West Balkans during his initial tenure as US President and prognosticates his approach in a potential second term. Based on this, further deliberations will be undertaken to decipher the ramifications of Trump's West Balkan policy. It aims to address several key inquiries: 1) What significance did the West Balkans hold for the US in the 1990s and how did this change during Trump's administration? 2) What are the EU's principal apprehensions regarding the West Balkans, and what is Trump's stance on the West Balkan issues, especially the Kosovo conundrum? 3) How can the Western Balkan countries adapt to the new circumstances? Will they, Serbia in particular, continue to prioritize EU integration or deviate to some extent? 4) What effect will Trump's application of the "America First" strategy in the West Balkans have on US-EU and China-EU relations? By exploring these questions, the author endeavors to scrutinize the dynamics of the political order as manifested in the West Balkan region, the compatibility between nationalism and neoliberalism therein, and the symbolic import of Trump's policy towards the West Balkans in an era of globalization and polycrisis. Trump's handling of the West Balkans, especially his stance on the Kosovo issue, is not only a manifestation of his personal style, but also indicates that the US no longer possesses the power and the pursuit of credibility it had in the 1990s.

Social Rights and Migration Routes: A Study of Migration Strategies and Welfare Policies

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Welfare Migration, Welfare Magnet, Migration Policy, Social Rights

Abstract/Description

Abstract

Economic instincts suggest that countries offering more generous or accessible welfare benefits are likely to be perceived as more attractive destinations by migrants. While the literature on the welfare magnet hypothesis predominantly focuses on the level of welfare generosity, what is equally important for immigrants, besides the amount of welfare spending, is their effective access to these benefits. The role of accessibility of welfare provision to immigrants remains understudied in the existing literature. Duman, Kahanec, and Kureková (2022) demonstrate that the inclusiveness of social welfare benefits for immigrants significantly influences their labour market integration.

Building on the explorative work of Kahanec and Guzi (2022), this research aims to explore the link between immigrant access to social welfare policies and migration strategies. Our analysis relies on aggregate data concerning migration flows and the Immigrant Exclusion from Social Programmes Index (IESPI) to gauge immigrants' access to social rights relative to natives. In addition to the composite index, the IESPI provides measures of immigrants' social inclusion across seven social policy areas, encompassing active labour market policies, housing, healthcare, pensions, tax benefits, social assistance, and unemployment benefits.

This systematic analysis spans EU countries and other advanced economies over the period 1990-2020, shedding light on how and to what extent social programs influence global migration journeys of immigrants, including considerations of gender. As an alternative measure of migration, we use changes in migration stock to assess fluctuations in net migration, and exploring whether migrants choose to stay, move onward, or return home. Our study adds to existing literature by enhancing our comprehension of how institutions play a crucial role in influencing migration motivations and migration outcomes.

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Book Salon: From Click to Boom: The Political Economy of E-Commerce in China by Lizhi Liu (Princeton University Press, 2024)

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

How do states build vital institutions for market development? Too often, governments confront technical or political barriers to providing the rule of law, contract enforcement, and loan access. In *From Click to Boom*, Lizhi Liu examines a digital solution: governments strategically outsourcing tasks of institutional development and enforcement to digital platforms—a process she calls “institutional outsourcing.”

China’s e-commerce boom showcases this digital path to development. In merely two decades, China built from scratch a two-trillion-dollar e-commerce market, with 800 million users, seventy million jobs, and nearly fifty percent of global online retail sales. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Liu argues, this market boom occurred because of weak government institutions, not despite them. Gaps in government institutions compelled e-commerce platforms to build powerful private institutions for contract enforcement, fraud detection, and dispute resolution. For a surprisingly long period, the authoritarian government acquiesced, endorsed, and even partnered with this private institutional building despite its disruptive nature. Drawing on a plethora of interviews, original surveys, proprietary data, and a field experiment, Liu shows that the resulting e-commerce boom had far-reaching effects on China.

Institutional outsourcing nonetheless harbors its own challenges. With inadequate regulation, platforms may abuse market power, while excessive regulation stifles institutional innovation. China’s

regulatory oscillations toward platforms—from laissez-faire to crackdown and back to support—underscore the struggle to strike the right balance.

The semiconductor sector - key focus of the European Union's (EU) renewed industrial-policy debate.

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

Since the early 2020s, the semiconductor sector has become a key focus of the European Union's (EU) renewed industrial-policy debate. This attention has been driven by a series of disruptive geoeconomic events: supply chain upheavals during the COVID-19 crisis, escalating geopolitical tensions over Taiwan, and intensifying competitive pressure from both the US and China.

In response to these challenges, EU policymakers and several member-state governments have launched ambitious new policy initiatives focused on domestic semiconductor industry. The EU-level policy debate has outlined a number of concrete objectives, including strengthening the bloc's overall value-chain resilience in electronics supply and increasing the region's share of global semiconductor manufacturing. In addition to more established instruments of horizontal industrial policy, the EU's recent efforts have been framed by two policies more directly aimed at reshaping the structure of the domestic semiconductor production base: the Important Projects of Common European Interest (IPCEI) and the European Chips Act (ECA).

The goal of the present paper is to examine how the new EU-level policy initiatives have interacted with country-level government interventions in Germany – a critical national player within Europe's semiconductor production landscape and market. Since the late 2010s, successive German governments have attempted to attract new investment and stimulate technological upgrading in the domestic semiconductor sector. More recently, these efforts have relied on generous state subsidies enabled by the EU-level regulatory adjustments. Nevertheless, despite ambitious goals and considerable financial commitments, the outcomes of the sectoral interventions by the German government have, thus far, evidently fallen short of expectations.

My analysis aims to explain the limitations of Germany's evolving semiconductor policy within the context of the EU's broader economic-policy framework and the ongoing structural shifts in the global electronics value chain. Drawing on an extensive dataset, including interviews with government actors, industry experts, and company representatives, as well as in-depth analyses of company data and media reports, this study evaluates the successes and failures of concrete sectoral policy interventions in Germany. The findings highlight various political-economic factors that have shaped the effectiveness of Germany's semiconductor strategy. These include both factors linked to the EU's institutional-regulatory environment and those related to the changing sector-specific power relations.

By providing in-depth and up-to-date insights into state-industry dynamics in the German semiconductor sector, this paper sheds light on the broader restructuring processes and industrial-policy competition in the global electronics production.

Malaysia, geopolitics, industrial policy, and the semiconductor industry global value chain

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

The semiconductor industry in Malaysia began fifty years ago with the offshoring of back-end factories to free trade zones. Multinational corporations were provided with significant incentives by the Malaysian government to locate their offshored factories in the country. Continuing incentives, mainly in the form of tax breaks and low-cost labor, the industry has remained and in recent has experienced a significant growth in investments. In this paper, we discuss how Malaysia's long-standing positioning as a stable China plus one production location in the global value chain, and its successful handling of the Covid-19 pandemics, have contributed to Malaysia becoming a secure location for growth in the midst of growing demand for semiconductor chips and trade tensions between the United States and China. The paper chronicles the role of the state, initially weak in steering the industry in the first fifty years of the industry, to a more proactive role through targeted industrial policies in recent years. The findings point to a complex relationships between multinational corporations, domestic suppliers and state strategies.

Leveraging Lithium: Development Strategies and Industrial Policy across the Lithium Triangle Countries

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Critical Raw Materials, Industrial Policy, Development Strategies, Global Value Chains, Lithium

Abstract/Description

The global energy transition has driven a surge in demand for lithium, a critical raw material essential for energy storage and electric vehicles (EVs). This demand, combined with intensifying geopolitical tensions, the revival of industrial policy in the EU and US (Barbieri Goes & Vieri, 2024), and shifting global value chains (Gereffi, 2014; Gereffi & Sturgeon, 2013), presents a significant opportunity for industrial development in the Lithium Triangle (Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile). For these countries, industrial development extends beyond raw material extraction and aspires—albeit to varying degrees—to achieve industrial upgrading, focusing on value addition along the EV battery value chain.

Two main strategies for resource-based economies, as outlined by Lebdioui et al. (2020), provide a framework for understanding the Lithium Triangle's approaches: Rent Maximization, which localizes benefits through resource rent incentives like royalties, and Resource-Based Development, which emphasizes value-addition-driven industrial policies. Each country's chosen pathway reflects its ambitions regarding integration into the EV battery value chain, its industrial policies (including FDI strategies), and regulatory frameworks for lithium extraction and processing.

To assess these strategies, this study analyzes the EV battery value chain, identifying where value addition occurs and exploring key challenges in investment, technology, and market dynamics. Success in advancing along this value chain requires addressing high capital requirements, navigating complex production processes to meet stringent lithium purity standards, and competing in a dynamic global market characterized by long-term demand growth but mid-term uncertainties in pricing and investment.

Drawing on document review, interviews, and participatory observation (2022–2024), the findings reveal a mix of rent maximization and value-addition strategies across the Lithium Triangle, with distinct variations. Argentina emphasizes battery-grade lithium processing (e.g., lithium carbonate) for export, relying heavily on FDI attraction and foreign expertise—aligning with the Rent Maximization model. Yet, provincial-level state ownership in key investment projects underscores its use of industrial policy. Chile balances resource rent incentives with active industrial policies aimed at enhancing domestic technological capabilities and moving toward battery component production, reflecting value-addition-driven industrial policies and its historical mixed industrial strategy. Both countries have achieved measurable progress in producing high-value lithium products and continue to expand production and export capacities.

Bolivia, in contrast, pursues an ambitious strategy to control the entire EV production value chain under tight state control. Despite efforts to leverage foreign expertise and capital, Bolivia's plans remain largely aspirational, as it has yet to achieve commercial-scale production of battery-grade lithium.

projects, the progress in Argentina and Chile highlights the importance of stable, transparent regulatory frameworks and mixed ownership models in fostering industrial development. These cases provide critical insights for leveraging resource endowments in a rapidly evolving global landscape.

The Origins of the U.S.-China "Chip War"

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

In recent years, the United States has sought to use export controls to limit China's access to advanced semiconductors and related tools. This article draws on theories of preventive war and the offense-defense balance to explain the origins of and motives behind the U.S.-China chip war. Specifically, we suggest U.S. officials' desire to seize a closing window of opportunity to forestall future adverse shifts in the U.S.-China power balance led them to impose semiconductor-related export controls on China. This decision was made easier, and war more likely, by a perceived offensive advantage rooted in the United States' position in hierarchical global semiconductor supply chains. While structural shifts – new information about real changes in China's capabilities and resolve – were fundamental in shaping decision-makers' beliefs, we highlight the role of learning, contestation, and consensus-building among policy entrepreneurs in industry, government, and think tanks in forging agreement around the need for preventive action.

TSMC's Near-Monopoly Position in Advanced Logic Chips and Comparing National Strategies of Economic Statecraft and Developmentalist Industrial Policy in Semiconductors

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

This paper leverages the structural fact of TSMC's near-monopoly position in logic chip manufacturing to differentiate how much semiconductor industrial policy is motivated by economic statecraft as opposed to the developmentalist goals normally associated with industrial policy. The comparative scope encompasses the major semiconductor producers that are de-risking from China: Germany, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and the US. In light of TSMC's dominance and growing geopolitical concerns about China, there are two main reasons to pursue industrial policy in chip manufacturing: the traditional developmentalist concerns to (re)build or maintain current advanced chipmaking capabilities and defensive economic statecraft protecting one's country via supply chain resilience from weaponization of interdependence by adversaries. TSMC's market dominance points to opportunities for developmentalist industrial policy to build rivals to seize some of the monopoly rents TSMC enjoys. Under these circumstances, one would expect states to view TSMC as more of a competitor than a solution to their developmentalist projects. In contrast, states pursuing defensive economic statecraft based on supply chain resilience would view TSMC investment as a solution. Exploring the mix of motivations across these five states, the paper will argue that economic statecraft motivations loom larger than traditional developmentalist considerations in the three chip manufacturing laggards (Germany, Japan and the US) and the opposite in the chipmaking powerhouses, Taiwan and South Korea. Nevertheless, even where developmentalist considerations loom large among the laggards, the dominance of TSMC has pushed states away from pursuing purely national champion-based, beggar-thy-neighbor policies. On the contrary, there are opportunities for spillover benefits from the developmentalist industrial policy success of one state to another country when such success limits the economic rents TSMC accrues. Moreover, supply chain resilience-focused defensive economic statecraft has the potential to generate the activities that will supplant Taiwan-based TSMC's advanced chipmaking with the equivalent activities in these other states, the very goal of developmentalist industrial policy.

Fellow teachers as a *primary financial group* shaping household finance in the age of financial globalization

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Professional Ties, Household Finance, Financial Globalization, Financialization

Abstract/Description

Globalization has exposed households to the financial market to manage their financial needs. Although households have come to depend on the financial market, existing studies on finance have tended to focus more on the effects of financialization at an individual level. Through the recent turn towards the financial oikonomization approach, there has been an effort at understanding how a household is shaped by factors and collectives located outside the household such as government policy and corporate interventions. In this vein, a handful of studies have examined the influence of commercial financial advisors in shaping household finance. However, few studies have considered how the professional ties of household members shape household finances. This paper highlights the significance of professional ties for household members in navigating their financial life as a collective, familial unit. This paper addresses the gap through an ethnographic case of 80 government school teachers and 76 households in rural India. The paper is based on an ongoing ethnography started in 2021, covering 12 government primary schools in the Galteshwar *taluka* (rural administrative block) in Gujarat state.

This paper investigates how the household finances of teachers are managed through direct and indirect interventions by their fellow teachers in the school. Each primary school has a small number of teachers (8 teachers on average), leading to proximate and daily interaction between them. The paper argues that the body of teachers, marked by a culture of reciprocity, functions as a *primary financial group* for the teacher's household. The paper reports three main findings with regard to the varied roles of this group within

household finances. First, together the *primary financial group* of teachers serves as an informal yet highly influential financial advisory collective for the household of the individual teacher. Here, the group members collectively make sense of unfamiliar global financial services for each other such as credit options, investment plans, insurance products, mutual funds and equity market. The group helps households navigate these new financial services and entities that constitute the increasingly complex modern financial system in India. Second, the *primary financial group* assists households in managing their creditworthiness with their credit cooperative societies. The group also helps households in managing their credit score which is increasingly becoming a key global financial instrument for households to establish their creditworthiness with modern financial institutions. Further, the group serves as a ready pool of potential financial guarantors and proxy borrowers to help their fellow teachers access credit from these institutions. Finally, the *primary financial group* takes on an active, and often interventionist, role in relational accounting within the household based on the lifecycle of the household members and expectations from an ideal teacher in this rural province.

How 25 years of solidarity resulted in the adoption of the UN Resolution 77/281

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Social Solidarity Economy (SSE), Social Inclusion, Decent Work, Sustainable Development, Economic Democracy

Abstract/Description

In the paper *The adoption on 18 April 2023 of resolution A/RES/77/281, "The promotion of the social and solidarity economy for sustainable development" - The RIPESS contribution A detailed account*, published December 2024, the following summary provides a brief presentation of the paper.

The hypothesis to explain the adoption of resolution A/RES/77/281 is that this came about because of an SSE ecosystem that has been in construction over the last quarter of a century. Gradually, since 1997 a movement has been built with at its core the concept of solidarity economy, inclusive of large sectors of the social economy (cooperatives, mutuels and non-profits) as an alternative to our corporate led economy. The Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of Social Solidarity (RIPESS), formally created in 2002 has been at the core of this movement building. A very important step was made with the creation in 2013 of the United Nations Inter-Agency Taskforce on Social and Solidarity Economy (UNTFSSSE). Together with SSE observers, including RIPESS since its foundation, the promotion of SSE for Sustainable Development became a priority. Even if it was not possible to have SSE included in the 2015-2030 SDG's, the strategic involvement of SSE stayed the main priority for all the movement. Starting in 2016, the idea of a UN Resolution made its way. After RIPESS introduced the idea, the UNTFSSSE adopted this as a priority. After a few years of effort, a group of countries formally decided in April 2022 to bring an SSE resolution to the United Nations General Assembly.

For decades, and even centuries, people have been left behind by the dominant capitalist economy. Countless initiatives emergent all over the world, just to survive. This is still the basis for current efforts to respond to the needs of people at the grassroots. Many political initiatives were also created in the last two centuries, including the so-called «communist» countries. The takeover of states by a political party with the purpose of changing society in a top down, authoritarian manner, showed its strong limits, and even failures.

On the other hand, social and solidarity economy, also called solidarity economy, and some of the social economy movement, but also community development in Asia, have build solidarity-based organisations at the grassroots, that organise in larger networks in their respective countries, that then organise at the continental level. These grassroots-based organisations also decided that they needed a global network for the promotion of an alternative socio-economic approach. After two decades of effort, RIPESS has been able to create a full-scale international network. We proudly affirm that we are the only global SSE network. There are other international networks such as the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), however, cooperatives are only part of SSE.

The solidarity approach has rendered possible the creation of an ecosystem which rendered possible UN Resolution

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Safeguarding National Autonomy in the Age of Global Production

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Global supply chain, National autonomy, China, Industrial policy, Semiconductors

Abstract/Description

Existing scholarship has highlighted the developmental opportunities created by the rise of global production but paid less attention to its implication for national autonomy. How do countries protect national autonomy in the age of global supply chains? In this paper, I study industry policy supporting indigenization of the supply chain as a way to enhance autonomy, focusing on China's efforts in semiconductors. Compared to niche creation in the global chip industry, the policy of indigenization reduces vulnerability to external disruptions, yet it faces the challenges of local buy-in and external friction. Prior to the US-China "tech war," China's indigenization efforts were handicapped by a lack of local firms' support in the absence of tangible threats to their existing supply chains. In addition, they created a negative-sum dynamic with the US and incurred pushback. Increasing US export controls, partly driven by China's indigenization efforts, unintendedly incentivized Chinese firms to support the local supply chain. These findings illuminate the tension between development and autonomy in the age of global production and the linkages between industrial policy and geopolitics.

Book Salon: Shaping Nations and Markets: Identity Capital, Trade, and the Populist Rage by Vinicius Guilherme Rodrigues Vieira (Routledge, 2024)

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

This book salon shall discuss the strengths and limitations of "Shaping Nations and Markets: Identity Capital, Trade, and the Populist Rage", which develops a theoretical framework to make sense of the rise of nationalist-populist movements in the 21st century. Instead of assuming that the current wave of populism stems from backlash against economic globalization, the book unpacks how material and symbolic factors interact with each other in advanced industrial democracies and emerging powers to generate the political movements that brought politicians like Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, Narendra Modi in India, and Donald Trump in the United States into power.

A crucial part of the argument is the concept of identity capital. In a nutshell, the book argues that ethnic, racial, and religious cleavages are what ground narratives of national identity. Hence, minorities (like the Brazilian Evangelicals crucial for Bolsonaro's victory in 2018) or vanishing majorities (like non-Hispanic whites in the US) have incentives to increase or at least keep their identity capital – that is, the form of power that stems from their recognition as members of the nation.

Identity capital matters for identifying those who hold more political power within a given sovereign state because a nation is more than just its economy, political institutions, and organized interests. It also has a symbolic face that defines the boundaries of the social field. Drawing on sociological theory, particularly the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu, field is defined in the book as a social space in which both individual and collective players are embedded and empowered according to different levels of capital.

Apart from applying the notion of identity capital to explaining populism in those three cases, "Shaping Nations and Markets" also unfold the long-duration process through which different conceptions of national identity have interacted with liberalizing and protectionist coalitions since the onset of the World Trade Organization's Doha Development Agenda (WTO's DDA) negotiations in 2001.

"Shaping Nations and Markets" is the first book to systematically compare the rise of populism in cases from both the Global North and the Global South. Apart from exploring the core cases of Brazil, India, and the United States, the

book scrutinizes Brexit and the Conservatives' subsequent lack of strength to mobilize a nationalist-populist political base in the UK; the absence of meaningful populist movements in Canada's party politics; and the rise of a left-wing populism in Mexico that praises the country's indigenous legacies over European ones.

Populism therefore should be understood as the process through which identity capital is mobilized and, hence, narratives of national identity are contested. So, more than discontent with the redistributive effects of economic globalization, the rise of Bolsonaro, Modi, and their populist counterparts in the Global North – particularly Trump in the United States – results from the mobilization of specific ethnic, racial, and religious segments with the aim of changing longstanding narratives of national identity. The transformation of what it means to be Brazilian, Indian, and American, in turn, empowers certain social groups and economic sectors over others.

Varieties of Messianism in Right-Wing Authoritarian Populism: a Comparative Study of Brazil, India, Turkey and US

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Populism, Far-Right, Imperial Legacies, Race, Religion

Abstract/Description

Right-wing populism in the 21st century seems to have two main traits: the defense of economic nationalism at different degrees and issue-areas and the search for greatness in a common past that all members of the nation supposedly share in civilizational terms. Yet, in certain cases populist leaders have not refrained from engaging with foreign economic actors, which suggests that the strategies for mobilizing people around messianic discourses may vary. What explains those differences? Departing from Mudde's ideational approach to populism, I develop a theoretical framework to identify in which cases right-wing leaders adopt the combination of economic nationalism and chauvinist rhetoric or simply deploy a narrative of restrictive national identity to sustain liberalizing economic practices that shall bring greatness to the nation and deliver it from the fate imposed by either domestic or foreign enemies.

Right-wing leaders of states that reclaim affiliation to the Western civilization and its Christian-Judeo roots tend to lean towards economic nationalism while seeking purity in either ethnic/racial or religious terms. Such a strategy serves a messianic purpose to assemble the nation to fight together minorities that become the domestic enemies and the Non-Western powers that have ascended economically thanks to economic globalization. In turn, whenever populism gains ground in states that reclaim affiliation to civilizations that have been reshaped instead of built by European colonialism, market openness becomes a means of announcing the gospel of greatness.

With the purposes of theory-building (George and Bennett 2005), I then make paired-comparisons for developing my argument. Brazil under Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2023) and the US under Donald Trump (2017-2021) exemplify the first pattern, notwithstanding the fact the both states were previously European colonies. By contrast, Narendra Modi's Hindutva-centered discourse in India and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Neo-Ottoman, Islamic-based rhetoric have not ruled out trade openness and embrace of economic cooperation even with the West. The US and India, however, unquestionably reclaim Western and Non-Western international identities respectively. This prompts their populist leaders to

historically been at the intersection of the West and the Non-Western worlds. Such an intersection creates incentives for their populist leaders to play with internal and external “enemies” alike as they build new narratives of nationhood.

I compare those four leaders in key situations in which they echoed a messianic rhetoric with the aim of delivering the nation from a supposed evil. In Brazil, Bolsonaro and his supporters often portray their opponents as the nation’s enemies who embrace communist ideas. Modi’s India places Hindutva at the centerstage of the struggle to shield the country from Non-Hindu influences. The prime minister recently outlined such messianism at the launch of a temple in Ayodhya, which is already under construction at the place where Rama was born according to the Hindu tradition. In the same vein, Erdogan portrayed his triumphant view of modern Turkey as a Neo-Ottoman state by reconverting Hagia Sophia into a Mosque, a non-return point against secularism in that country. Trump, in turn, aimed to reconvene his coalition as his first reelection campaign gained momentum in September 2020 by attacking the so-called 1619 Project, which reclaims that year as America’s foundational moment thanks to the beginning of the arrival of enslaved Africans instead of the Constitution established in 1787.

Saved by the Communists or God? Trade, social-conservatism, and the preference for right-wing candidates in local elections in Brazil

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Far-Right, Globalization, Trade, Religion, Elections

Abstract/Description

The right-wing populist wave is often associated with backlash against globalization in either economic (e.g. Rodrik 2021) or cultural (e.g. Norris and Inglehart 2017). Yet, studies on the topic often focus on the advanced industrial democracies, thus leaving aside cases of populism in the emerging markets (e.g., Kumral 2021). Comparisons between developing and developed nations suggest that right-of-center populist leaders contest well-established notions of national identity to favor specific economic sectors that are not necessarily supportive of trade protection (e.g., Rodrigues Vieira 2024). However, only a few works (e.g., Rickard 2021) explore the interplay between international and domestic factors in shaping 21st century domestic politics at the subnational level.

In this vein, a gap still exists about the effects of international economic flows and domestic political trends in countries that on average winners of globalisation. This paper seeks to fill that gap by scrutinizing through linear and probit/logit regression models patterns of voting in municipal elections in Brazil in 2020 and 2024, the two electoral cycles after the rise of Jair Bolsonaro as the main right-wing leader of the country. He assumed such a position by taking stances in favor of economic liberalism and social conservatism that no nationally-relevant politician wanted to embrace after the end of the Military Dictatorship in 1985. Notwithstanding the fact that primary sector entrepreneurs who export to China are amongst his main supporters, Bolsonaro displayed a belligerent rhetoric against Beijing during the Covid-19 pandemic while he was president (2019-2023).

The findings suggest that more than an externally-driven process, the rebirth of the right in Brazil more than 30 years after the end of military rule stems from a demand-driven process in which voters supportive of conservative positions were looking for parties and leaders to represent them in the fight against the 1988 Constitution that enshrined a social-democratic order as democracy was consolidated in the transition between the 20th to the 21st Century.

The only local election in which exports to China from a given municipality correlates with the share of results attributed to either right parties alone or right-of-the center ones in the 2020 disputes. In such a context, municipalities with private actors that sell goods to the Chinese market declined to grant the majority to right wing parties. The most plausible interpretation for such results is to understand them as a reaction of voters in localities that trade with Beijing and, hence, feared its retaliation against then-president Bolsonaro for his xenophobic attitudes vis-à-vis the Chinese people and state in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic that had started a year earlier. "Communists" in China may therefore hindered the reach of right-wing parties in Brazilian municipalities and eventually at the national level.

Capital accumulation and uneven development through the contrasting historical processes of Peru and the "Global North". Theoretical implications for understanding global socio-economic inequalities.

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

"capital accumulation", financialization, "uneven development", "class analysis"

Abstract/Description

The changes in the capitalist "accumulation regime" brought by neoliberalization have comprised the abandonment of Welfare State policies in order to give primacy to financial capital (over profit-producing capital) as means of accumulation, allowing money-capital to circulate globally without regulation. Multilateral financial agencies (IMF, World Bank, etc.), have promoted the constant techno-scientific revolution in production and the flexibilization in workfare, as well as the subordination of social policy to global competitiveness. A highly productive mass consumption economy was left behind, as was a State that sought to ensure full employment, instituted universal rights and fostered collective consumption; all of which allowed for the inclusion of population into the economy and society. In its place, an economy dominated by capital and financial services emerged, promoted by a State that minimizes its political intervention; which can be seen in the drastic reduction in public spending on goods and services for collective use (Jessop, 2019; 2018; Harvey, 2006; Beaud, 2000).

In this new accumulation regime, the valorization of capital is more free from the restrictions of living labour, as financial capital makes profits from (reasonable or speculative) expectations about future labour and productivity. Moreover, the constant techno-scientific revolution allows profit-producing capital accumulation to increasingly dispense with living labour, which reflects on raising unemployment, the "precarization" of wage labour (low wages, irregular employment, etc.), the weakening of unions, and the tendency to employ few highly skilled workers and professionals. Finally, by not requiring the State to expand the provision of goods and services for collective use, this new accumulation regime strengthens private interest (Jessop, 2019). Hence, in North America and Europe, analysts find growing shares of populations characterized by the loss of rights to exercise full citizenship. Concepts such as "exclusion" (ILO, 1998), "dispossession" (Harvey, 2006), "precariat" (Standing, 2010; 2016), and "expulsions" (Sassen, 2014), point to the fact that current capitalist accumulation leaves growing shares populations outside the economy and society itself.

For Peru, the adoption of neoliberal policies to connect with global capitalism meant the arrival of massive amounts of foreign direct investment aimed at the purchase of public companies and the extraction of natural resources (gas, oil and minerals), which have prompted a cycle of unprecedented economic growth since the 1990s, accelerating in the 21st Century. And unlike others, the current cycle has occurred in almost the entire national territory, with regions growing more than Lima (the capital city that tended to concentrate economic activity). Moreover, it has been accompanied by the growth of rural economy (after a century of stagnation) and of urban self-employment (referred to as "informal economy").

Thus, although Peruvian economy and State depend on capital invested on extractive industries, there is no evidence of a national or local "resource curse"; nor it is possible to posit that Peru's connection with the current financialized accumulation regime has meant the exclusion, dispossession, expulsions or precarization of large shares of

populations. Instead, we contend that both the rural economy and urban self-employment are fluidly linked to the (formal) capitalist economy through the private consumption of "socioeconomic strata" of middle and high income, which are fully engaged with global financialized capitalism.

Building upon these contrasting historical processes, we show that global capital accumulation structures socio-economic inequalities both in Peru and the "Global North", and identify the mechanisms that explain the different concrete consequences for people's livelihoods. Theoretical implications are drawn both for the study of uneven development and inequality.

Implementation and challenges of the new industrial policy in Brazil (Nova Indústria Brasil)

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

industrial policy, middle-income trap, development as a mission, intersectoral policies, Brazil

Abstract/Description

Brazilian economy has been stagnated for many decades. Economic growth has been very low, much inferior than other countries with similar per capita income. Both labor and total factor productivity have been stagnated, growing at very low rates. This performance is related to a model of capitalism centered on sectors of low complexity, intensive in natural resources and unskilled labor and distant from the frontiers of knowledge. Comparative advantages are mainly based on natural resources, marketing and distribution networks and sectors with high regulation. This model is marked by traps which hinder development. One of the most important is the lack of business collective action to strengthen education, training and innovation, once comparative advantages do not depend on them.

As many authors have shown, the defeat of the middle income trap requires investments in labor force skills and innovation, which need to be promoted by the political elite and the state. This requires the building of alliances and the adoption of policies able to circumvent the institutional obstacles. The capacity to advance in this direction may strengthen knowledge intensive sectors and create the political basis able to sustain a dynamic and innovative development model.

After a decade of neoliberalism in the 1990s, industrial policy returned to the agenda in the 2000s. Despite its prioritisation by the Labour Party (PT) governments, it failed to produce more consistent results. The main reasons include the lack of an appropriate coordination structure; the incapacity to focus upon clear productivity and competitiveness targets; the excessive number of sectors contemplated; the lack of any consistent evaluation and the inability to achieve an encompassing negotiation with business representatives. These deficiencies weakened the possibility of addressing the serious shortcomings inherent to industry and other connected niches.

The third Lula government, inaugurated in 2023, adopted the *Nova Indústria Brasil*, an industrial policy which adopted an intersectoral approach centered on "development based on missions." The policy makers have demonstrated

awareness of the previous obstacles, proposing new directions to obtain coordination and achieve the objectives. Despite the very interesting approach, "strategies of economic development based on missions" are recent and have not yet been evaluated. So, the objective of the article is to follow the first steps of the *Nova Indústria Brasil*, emphasizing the main measures, the attempts to achieve coordination and also the challenges which have arisen in the first two years. It intends to do that through the consultation to government documents and press articles, interviews with policy makers and state technicians and research of similar programs around the world.

Asymmetric Polarization and the Politics of Multiple Identities: The Role of Cognitive Biases and Demographics

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Asymmetric polarization, cognitive biases, demographic analysis, agent-based models, identity entrepreneurs

Abstract/Description

Asymmetric Polarization and the Politics of Multiple Identities: The Role of Cognitive Biases and Demographics

Recent decades have witnessed increasing political polarization across many democracies, driven by a confluence of gradual but transformative societal changes. The expansion of civil rights for minorities and women, accelerating globalization of production and trade, technological change, and shifting immigration patterns have collectively reshaped economic opportunities and social status hierarchies. While existing research has examined various factors contributing to polarization, we lack an integrated theoretical framework that explains both the asymmetric evolution of attitudes toward these transformative forces and the role of multiple, overlapping identities in this process.

This paper develops a novel theoretical model that explains three interconnected phenomena: (1) why individuals' views toward factors like globalization, immigration, and civil rights expansion become increasingly polarized in an asymmetric fashion, with those experiencing losses developing progressively more negative attitudes toward these forces than gainers develop positive attitudes; (2) how demographic characteristics correlate with patterns of economic and status changes across multiple domains (race/ethnicity, gender, religion, education, and class); and (3) how these patterns enable identity entrepreneurs to construct grievance-based coalitions through the "othering" of both the presumed architects of change and its beneficiaries.

Our theoretical framework combines insights from cognitive psychology with demographic analysis to explain resulting political patterns. First, we demonstrate how universal cognitive biases—particularly loss aversion and attribution bias—create asymmetric responses to gains and losses across both economic and status dimensions. Second, we show how social cognitive biases (social comparison, uncertainty avoidance, and ingroup bias) make individuals more receptive to identity entrepreneurs who frame losses across multiple identity dimensions as causally connected.

A key insight of our model is how identity entrepreneurs strategically construct grievance-based coalitions. They unite the aggrieved ("Us") by identifying common targets of blame ("Them")—casting both the institutional actors presumed to be behind transformative changes (political establishments, international organizations, cultural

elites) and the groups who benefited from these changes (minorities, immigrants, educated urbanites) as a coherent opposition responsible for the losses. This process of "othering" serves to solidify group identity among the aggrieved while providing a comprehensive explanation for their diverse losses, whether economic, cultural, or status-related. In response, a more heterogeneous coalition typically emerges, united primarily by opposition to the grievance-based coalition rather than by shared identity or common narrative about gains.

To test these theoretical predictions, we conduct extensive agent-based simulations using combinations of four dichotomous demographic variables (religion, race/ethnicity, gender, and education/class) under varying conditions of economic change and outcome uncertainty. The simulations demonstrate how different demographic profiles and patterns of economic change can produce either this pattern of asymmetric polarization or fragmentation into multiple groups, depending on the alignment of losses across identity dimensions and the strategies of identity entrepreneurs.

Using the United States as a case study, we show how our model explains the emergence of a coalition centered on White Christian identity, which unites individuals who experienced losses in different domains through a common narrative about the sources of their losses. Identity entrepreneurs in this context have successfully linked economic losses among working-class whites to status losses among higher-income whites by attributing both to the same combination of institutional actors and beneficiary groups. The other major political camp, in contrast, comprises a diverse collection of groups—including both beneficiaries of change and those opposed to the grievance narrative—lacking a comparably strong unifying identity or shared narrative about gains.

This research contributes to our understanding of political polarization by providing a unified theoretical framework that connects gradual societal changes, individual cognitive biases, demographic patterns, and the strategic construction of political coalitions. It generates testable predictions about the conditions under which societies are likely to experience asymmetric polarization versus fragmentation. Furthermore, by identifying the mechanisms through which identity entrepreneurs successfully construct and mobilize grievance-based coalitions through "othering," it suggests potential interventions to mitigate extreme polarization and promote more constructive political discourse.

Shaping the Deep Sea Resource Frontier: Mapping Corporate Discourses in the Deep-Sea Mining Venture and its Ramifications for Pacific Island Countries

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Deep-Sea Mining, Pacific Island Countries, Corporate Discourse, Resource Making

Abstract/Description

The world's very first deep-sea mining (DSM) venture is looming, with a Canadian corporation vowing to start mining the Pacific's sea floor by 2026. Over the past decades, a complex assemblage of governmental, corporate, technocratic, legal, institutional and non-governmental actors has been employing a plethora of discursive practices to promote and contest the venture. Building on insights from critical research around extractive industries in the fields of geography, political economy and anthropology, we argue that these changing discourses speak to different ontological understandings of extraction but more specifically, to the complex political processes of 'making a resource'. The analysis follows the discursive patterns adopted by the three most significant DSM corporations having led the DSM-push over the past two decades – Nautilus, Deepgreen and The Metals Company. We ask what reality has been constructed, for what political purpose, to what degree of success and crucially, for what implications for the Pacific Island Countries and their communities – the latter are now in the geographical center of DSM activities. This is important because these discursive patterns are now also shaping how solidarity movements across the Pacific and beyond are mobilising against the imminent venture. After all, the long legacy of (land) mining shows that inadequate – often foreign – led large-scale mining activities leave developing countries vulnerable to exploitive extractivism. And as a world first, DSM could magnify socio-economic and ecological vulnerabilities across the Pacific Island Countries.

Roundtable: Rethinking the Institutions of Development: Quality Infrastructure and Firm Upgrading in the Global South

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

It is increasingly apparent that economic development, especially as it involves the strengthening of local firms, requires Quality Infrastructure (QI) - the ecosystem of public and private institutions that generate and diffuse the experiential, applied knowledge that helps domestic SMEs transform their capabilities to meet international process and product standards in an economically sustainable manner. We lack, however, a systematic understanding of what effective QI looks like, how and why these institutions are created, and how they interact in a consistent way with industrial and innovation policies. This roundtable draws on ongoing research that is reframing how we understand industrial policy, firm learning, incorporating sustainability standards, and public-private institutions.

This Roundtable brings together scholars analyzing a variety of regions and industries to address the following four key analytical areas.

Firm Needs: How can QI promote incremental, as well as radical innovation in both processes and products. For instance, to meet basic quality standards and to take advantage of FDI, firms in LMICs often need experiential, applied knowledge to convert their existing production systems into more sophisticated capabilities. Specifying such firm needs can help in the design of QI institutions.

The Nature of QI Institutions: Assuming that QI agencies must "fit" the particular kinds of innovations attempted by firms, what specific characteristics and strengths might we see in agencies responsible for standards, quality assurance, conformity assessments, as well as technical-vocational training? What specific mechanisms, for example, might a testing center adopt to work with a firm attempting to increase automation in its production process? Do we find cross-national variation in sequences of QI agencies?

Governance: QI operates within a broader institutional context involving, for example, ministries, universities, and associations. This raises questions such as: How important is inter-ministerial coordination? Should QI come under the purview of one ministry? What are the impacts of cabinet shifts and coalitional instability? What are useful ways of

incorporating the private sector, such as business associations?

Political Origins: Despite extensive awareness of QIs benefits, the effectiveness of QI varies across countries and sectors. Explaining this variation requires an understanding of socio-political factors that affect the willingness and capacity of political leaders to support QI. For example, do key QI "consumers," such as local SMEs, have political voice? What have been the roles of foreign development organizations, foreign MSTQ agencies (e.g. PTB)? Finally, under what political contexts do we find QI operating as a source of rents for officials and political leaders as opposed to upgrading mechanisms for domestic firms?

Expert Influence and Risk-Based Due Diligence in mining of minerals for the green transition: Balancing Transparency and Stakeholder Engagement

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

risk base due diligence, institutional theory. , non-state actors, Institutional design, experts

Abstract/Description

This paper specifically aims to examine how the environmental, economic, and social externalities of mining for renewable energy are articulated, contested, and resolved among various stakeholders, focusing particularly on the role of experts in risk-based due diligence. In defining externalities, the role of experts is both crucial and complex. Their ability to craft science-based narratives can lead to a variety of interpretations, while potentially limiting policy choices, thus amplifying their influence but also risking the marginalization of broader democratic participation. By examining the strategies employed by various stakeholders to influence the definition, nature, and perceived impacts of mining externalities, this study aims to uncover why certain approaches are favored while others are overlooked. Furthermore, we will investigate how risk-based due diligence can be strategically designed to minimize hazards, enhancing the transparency and democratic nature of the externality evaluation process. Our research strives to foster a more transparent and inclusive approach to renewable energy transitions, advocating for a just transition that integrates the economic, ecological, and ethical dimensions of investment decisions.

The global shift towards renewable energy underscores the urgent need to develop sustainable mining practices that support this transition. However, the mining sector, critical for supplying materials essential to renewable energy technologies, faces significant challenges in implementing effective risk-based due diligence processes. This is particularly crucial as the industry navigates complex environmental, social, and governance (ESG) expectations amidst increasing scrutiny from both regulators and the public.

Despite the critical role of due diligence in ensuring corporate accountability and environmental stewardship (Bateman

& Bonanni, 2019; Buhmann et al., 2019; OECD, 2016), there are notable knowledge gaps in how these practices are applied within the mining of minerals for the green transition sector. Current frameworks often fall short in addressing the unique risks associated with mining operations, from biodiversity loss to human rights violations (Sarfaty and Deberdt, 2024). These gaps not only compromise the sustainability of the energy transition but also the credibility of the mining practices underpinning it.

This paper aims to critically examine the existing frameworks of risk-based due diligence within the mining sector, identifying significant gaps in their implementation and the perceptions of diverse stakeholders. Central to our inquiry is the role of experts: how their expertise impacts the operational efficacy and transparency of due diligence processes, and how their interactions with other stakeholders influence the outcomes of these practices.

2- Selective Literature Review

The transition towards decarbonizing the economy through renewable energy represents a significant socio-economic shift. This process requires a radical transformation of institutions, regulatory frameworks, and business models to achieve carbon neutrality. While this transition aims to mitigate the negative externalities of conventional energy sources, it also presents complex challenges inherent to renewable sources. Risk-based due diligence has emerged as a critical managerial tool within this transition, focusing on internal corporate transformation and self-governance. This regime aims to integrate environmental and human rights considerations into corporate risk management systems, facilitating compliance with evolving standards (Bateman & Bonanni, 2019). However, critics like Rajavik (2010) argue that while this approach bolsters internal corporate procedures, it does so at the cost of diminishing transparent and active public-corporate interactions, often relegating the public to a passive role. Ooms (2022) criticizes the effectiveness of risk-based due diligence, particularly in its reporting and auditing aspects, arguing that these practices serve primarily as tools for corporations to control their internal processes rather than to genuinely inform or engage external stakeholders. There is a significant gap in understanding how risk-based due diligence is perceived and implemented in the Global South, highlighting the disconnect between original intentions and practical applications (Sarfaty & Deberdt, 2024).

In public policy debates, the pronounced influence of experts is well-documented (Seabrooke & Tsingou, 2021). Research has shown that epistemic communities (Haas, 1992) and private sector actors (Sell, 2003) significantly influence institutional design within specific domains by building consensus around their preferred institutional or policy choices. Technical experts, in particular, play a crucial role in shaping private sector regulatory standards (Büthe & Mattli, 2011). Experts hold significant influence over the interpretation of legal norms and the practical management of supply chain governance (Sarfaty, 2021; Rocha, 2024; Littoz-Monnet, 2020). This capacity to regulate which environmental, economic, and social impacts are factored into investment decisions can significantly influence the developmental trajectory of the energy sector.

The paper will critically analyze how these roles influence the transparency of the process and stakeholder engagement. We aim to uncover how the deployment of expert knowledge affects the articulation, contestation, and resolution of environmental, economic, and social externalities in mining projects. Our investigation seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics between expert influence and stakeholder engagement in defining and managing externalities. By examining diverse stakeholder strategies within the mining sector, this research contributes to more transparent and inclusive investment decisions, advocating for a balanced approach that harmonizes economic, ecological, and ethical considerations. This will inform the development of innovative solutions to better manage the externalities associated with mining, offering potential models for other regions facing similar challenges.

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Grassroots communities resistance against megaprojects: a perceptual legitimacy lens

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

grassroots communities, megaprojects, resistance, legitimacy , social fabric

Abstract/Description

Throughout history, multinational enterprises and grassroots communities have been embroiled in prolonged conflicts over natural resources, land rooted extractive capitalism, and violent large-scale resource-led development. There are more than 3000 ongoing conflicts documented in the extractive industries, where local groups have organized resistance movements, mostly in developing countries. In several Latin American countries, there has been a widespread popular resistance against foreign mining companies that has lasted for decades including in Ecuador, Chile, Colombia, and Peru. Similar logics are observed against mega dams, and extractive projects anchored in land. Such grassroots opposition can have tremendous impacts at the local and national levels and can reshape the relationship between communities, MNEs, national governments, and even foreign governments. These conflicts typically originate from misconduct and predatory practices in infrastructure, extractive and energy projects, which are often compounded by legitimacy concerns surrounding the foreign MNEs that run them. For instance, extractive operations frequently result in important environmental and social problems, including the destruction of biodiversity, land grabbing, pollution of water and land resources, and dislocation of communities but also increased violence, militarization, and extra-judicial killings in extreme cases. An interesting puzzle surrounding these megaprojects is why there are not more conflicts. Hidden behind the conflict statistics are numerous other megaprojects that have widely documented evidence of adverse social, economic, and environmental impacts for local populations, yet have not encountered explicit and sustained grassroots resistance. This observation has prompted scholars to examine what actions companies may have taken to bolster the legitimacy and improve the megaproject's *social acceptance*, despite adverse impacts. In these studies, legitimacy is generally conceptualized as a property that the they must obtain or maintain to be able to execute a project properly. This literature has played an important supporting role in the development of guiding principles and best practices that MNEs should follow to prevent MNE-community conflict and pursue their projects. Other scholars have nonetheless criticized this MNE-centric scholarship arguing that it too readily interprets the absence of grassroots resistance as an indication of *social acceptance*, and these insights are overly instrumental and short-term, and treat communities as passive. In this paper, we address these criticisms by constructing a conceptual framework that explicitly treats grassroots communities and their members as agentic actors in MNE-community conflicts, with the ability to act autonomously, make decisions, and influence their environment. We use our community-centered framework to explore two questions. First, *how do grassroots communities develop a collective social judgment about a megaproject and the MNE that conduct it?* Using a legitimacy-as-perception view, we show that this judgement is deeply influenced by community members' embeddedness in the social structure of the community and their interrelated views of the MNE conducting the megaproject, its country of origin, and the host

that the social fabric of the community, their *diagnosis* regarding the project and *prognosis* on how to act towards it can vary, influencing their ability and willingness to resist the project.

The Philippine Developmental Migration State and the Fiction of Financialised Solidarity

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

developmental migration state, remittances, financial subordination

Abstract/Description

Orthodox developmental state literature typically consider the Philippines as an outlier in the East Asian canon, an emblematic case of a flawed developmental state. Given the conventional focus on industrial policy, this is to be expected; however, such an emphasis can also be problematic given the different realities of many economies in the Global South today. It has long been observed that remittances are now the main and most stable flow of income for many developing countries, overtaking loans and foreign direct investment. In the case of the Philippines and its heavy reliance on labour export, Adamson and Tsourapas' concept of the developmental migration state better captures the nuances of the country's migration-driven developmental strategy.

In 2023, remittances from Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) posted a record high of US\$37.2 billion. The Philippines has been lauded for its strong bureaucratic apparatus and recent (albeit mixed) accomplishments in improving the safety and welfare of OFWs. In relation to the developmental state and the role of state-society embeddedness, the government has also succeeded in maintaining broad support for its migration policies. This is reflected in its effective strategies for managing transnational citizenship and building a deeply ingrained discourse on OFWs as the nation's "new heroes" (*bagong bayani*).

The foundations of the Philippine developmental migration state have been built over decades of government policy. Blanket mandatory remittances (as first done during the Marcos, Sr. administration) are no longer the case but sea-based OFWs are still required to remit 80% of their salary to a designated beneficiary. Moreover, the newly-established Department of Migrant Workers and the *Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas* (the Philippine central bank), together with commercial government banks, are becoming more assertive in their promotion of remittance-backed government financial instruments and the use of fintech as a platform for remittance services. The government-led financialization of remittances offers a new area for study as the Philippine developmental migration state expands its policy toolbox.

This paper aims to investigate the implications of the financialization of remittances on the Philippine developmental migration state's constructed notions of government-migrant solidarity to serve the goals of national development. It

Moral Imperatives and Causal Assumptions: Mapping Policy Preferences for Troubled Sovereign International Debt

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

sovereign debt, global finance, global South, norms, global governance

Abstract/Description

Troubled sovereign international debt is a global governance challenge, requiring solutions balancing the interests of the global economy, creditors, and debtor nations and their citizens. Unspoken ethical and/or logical assumptions exert subtle influences on sovereign debt debates and negotiations. The paper explores the origins of the major contemporary norm, identified as Sanctity of Contract, which advocates fealty to the written debt contract, irrespective of mistaken assumptions, unanticipated shifts in conditions of the contracting parties or the larger environment, or any other change. It assumes the fault for breaching a contract lies solely with the debtor, and is founded in both the hoary moral logic suggesting that failure to repay a debt indicates a fundamental character flaw AND the contemporary causal economic logic positing that any leniency toward troubled debtors incurs the "moral hazard" of encouraging opportunistic claims of insolvency.

The paper subsequently locates three emerging mental models, each of which implicitly challenges the dominant norm, allowing for alternative priorities, decision rules, and ideal allocations of losses to resolve debt crises. The paper designates these reformist rationales Shared Risk, Comparable Treatment, and Human Solidarity, and provides brief examples of actual policy reform suggestions that illustrate the thinking found in each set of challenger ideas. The "Shared Risk" mental model observes that creditors also experience "moral hazard" and thus temptations to cheat. Consequently, a rigid contract-enforcement stance constitutes an unjustifiable bias towards private creditors with deleterious systemic effects. The mental model "Comparable Treatment" advocates for similar treatment of equivalent classes of persons or situations, providing a strong moral justification with long historic roots in Western liberal jurisprudence. The final mental model, "Humanitarian Solidarity," also primarily relies on moral reasoning, and is most potent for a wide, non-expert audience of moral leaders, elected policymakers, and citizens. Each norm or mental model includes a set of related ideas that are attractive to certain groups or actors and which call for different types of solutions for troubled sovereign debt situations. Although each norm and mental model is analytically distinct from the others, their associated policy recommendations may partially overlap.

Methods: The paper is theoretical and qualitative. We identify each norm and mental model, and illustrate it with empirical examples from policy, journalistic, and academic discussions, but do not attempt to investigate how important each contending norm or assumption has been in any specific policy reform negotiations.

Development in a Digital Age: Platform Capitalism and Developing Countries

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Digitalization, developing countries, state capacity, taxation, innovation ecosystem

Abstract/Description

International capitalism has entered a new round of accumulation led by large, quasimonopolistic technology firms, mostly from the Global North. The crisis of neoliberalism signaled by the 2008-2009 crash has been followed by more than a decade of shallow growth, with accumulation led by the concentration of wealth, and increasingly political influence, in the hands of firms that can control the process of digitalization. Digitalization is the generation of value through the commodification of information, in which a select few companies have the capacity to generate, collect, store, analyze, and commodify data. While digitalization has renewed accumulation, it has not generated sufficient growth to improve living standards, especially for developing countries, as the fruits of growth have become increasingly concentrated. In this context, what are the options available to developing countries, all of which depend on accessing new technologies, but few have the capacity to participate in value chains organized by digitalization?

This project explores the nature of state capacity to promote development in a digital age. It consists of two sections. The first section explores state capacity to govern the behavior of big tech firms. For many developing countries, existing regulatory and taxation tools were always inadequate and were hollowed out by decades of neoliberal policies. In this context, their ability to regulate the behavior of foreign technology firms has varied, and regulatory and tax capacity has to be remade to be adequate to patterns of accumulation and production led by technology platform firms.

A second section of the paper explores the scope of digital industrial policy - the regulatory, fiscal, and infrastructural policies available to promote digital innovation in developing countries. Some countries have demonstrated capacity to compete in the digital sector, capturing some of the rents available from the rapidly changing global economy. Most developing countries lack the capacity and the political economic leverage to carve space for domestic actors in the international digital economy.

Finally, the project examines the meaning of these changes for international development. As capital and technology become more important requirements of catch-up, and their distribution becomes more concentrated internationally, what are the necessary changes to international regimes governing capital and information technology to allow developing countries to benefit? What changes to international regimes of tax could allow developing country states to capture some of the new wealth in the international economy? What international digital public infrastructures could make new technologies more accessible to developing countries and redistribute the benefits? Finally, what are the actions and collective actions developing countries could take to gain leverage within the new political economy? The project will be informed by case examples from Latin America and South Asia, as well as international examples of emerging regime changes from below.

Competitiveness and development of ports logistics in the Colombian Caribbean facing a global economy challenges

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

ports logistics, port infrastructure, Competitiveness, global economy, operational efficiency

Abstract/Description

The purpose of this research is to analyze the efficiency of ports logistics working in the Colombian Regional Port Societies. Describing the infrastructure and competitiveness of ports, its operativity and the strategic lines formulation to strengthen the global competitiveness. The main ports in the Caribbean Colombian are compared and evaluated in terms of their capabilities to get adapted into an always developing and complex commercial environment.

This research has a mixed methodological approach; descriptive and explanatory, and addresses the current infrastructure and analyzes logistical efficiency and competitiveness in a global market. Key performance indicators such as business competitiveness, job creation, revenue generation and cost management are evaluated. Additionally, a comparative analysis is done with the main ports in the region, identifying strengths, weaknesses and improvement opportunities. Secondary data sources are used to get the required information; reports and government repositories, as well as interviews with experts to obtain a better insight of the internal sustainability perspectives.

A Data Envelopment Analysis (DEA) were conducted to compare the performance of the ports involved in the study. All the statistical issues are carried out in the statistical programming language R. Prior results suggest that Colombian port societies have experienced a significant growth in recent years, driven by investments in infrastructure and the adoption of new technologies. Cartagena and Barranquilla's ports demonstrate higher efficiency due to improvement in technology and infrastructure. Moreover, in 2022, the Caribbean region transported over 114.5 million tons, which represented around 85% of national figures. The first quarter of 2023, the region handled 85.1 million tons, highlighting the superior operational efficiency of these ports and their significant contribution to the country's economic development.

There are still challenges involved; port congestion, lack of integration with the logistic chain and the need to improve

operational efficiency. It is necessary to keep investing into ports field in order to maintain the long-term competitiveness. It is also necessary the collaboration among logistic chain stakeholders in terms of optimizing the processes, reducing costs and adopting sustainable practices and implementation of public policies that promote the trade with foreign territories, which is vital for Colombia.

Findings have important implications for the formulation of public policies, decisions in companies and businesses, long-term development of strategies and identifying areas for improvement in port operation management.

The Wage-Productivity Equation in Large Companies in Argentina

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

wages, productivity, large companies, segmentation, profit

Abstract/Description

In the past decade, real wages in Argentina have followed a declining trend, with periods of significant reductions and no subsequent recovered. In this context, the 2018/19 economic crisis and the year 2020—marked by the strongest socioeconomic impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic—stand out as moments of major setbacks in purchasing power of labor incomes. General productivity—approximated by output per worker—has also declined during this period, undermining the foundations for wage recovery. However, this has not been a determining factor, as the share of wages in GDP has simultaneously deteriorated.

This study aims to analyze the differential evolution of the wage-productivity equation in large companies compared to the economy as a whole. Specifically, it examines the trajectory of real wages in Argentina's largest firms in relation to their productivity, comparing this with the relationship between wage trends and productivity at the national level. The hypothesis to be tested is that large companies have benefited in terms of profitability from the general downward trend in real wages and have seen their labor costs increase at a slower pace than their productivity.

The analysis draws on data from various sources such as the National Accounts, the Survey on Large companies, data drawn from the Social Security System and information provided by household surveys. The lack of homogeneous and continuous datasets required efforts to reconstruct comparable information.

Preliminary findings indicate that, between 1990 and 2022, wages in large companies do not appear to align with their own productivity dynamics. Instead, they reflect the same

variations experienced by formal workers' wages in the private sector as a whole. Thus, there seems to be no segmentation in the labor market between large companies and the broader economy, at least with regard to formal employment. Moreover, private registered wages at the national level correlate with the evolution of output per worker across the economy, although this relationship is not linear. Over the long period analyzed, the share of wages in GDP has undergone significant changes. It can be inferred, however, that Argentina's decade-long decline in productivity has placed a limit on sustained wage recovery.

From the perspective of the 500 largest companies -with influence both in economic dynamic and policy decisions- operating in a country like Argentina has historically provided opportunities to earn extraordinary profits from productivity gains during certain periods. This is because the wages they have paid were constrained by broader economic and labor conditions (e.g., productivity trends, labor supply surpluses, real exchange rates) beyond the specific circumstances of this group of firms, especially after processes of devaluation of the domestic currency.

Brazilian New Fiscal Framework, public debt dynamics and impacts on development: an analysis using the Supermultiplier-SFC model

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Debt, Stock Flow Consistent-Supermultiplier model, Demand-led growth

Abstract/Description

In 2023, Brazil reformed its fiscal regulations, which led to the repeal of the "Spending Cap" established by Constitutional Amendment n. 95/2016. The New Fiscal Framework, now in effect, introduces alternative mechanisms for regulating public spending, significantly affecting debt levels and the debt-to-GDP ratio. The analysis also considers the interest rate, highlighting the critical role of aligning monetary and fiscal policies. While analyses of the macroeconomic effects of Supplementary Law 200/2023 remain preliminary in Brazil, this study examines public debt dynamics under the new fiscal rules using the Stock-Flow Consistent-Supermultiplier model. The Brochier and Macedo e Silva (2019) model (BMS) is adapted to incorporate the New Fiscal Framework, in which spending limits are defined by the primary surplus target. The model's theoretical foundation highlights the role of government expenditure in driving demand-led growth and its subsequent effects on GDP. The expected results are compared to the BMS model and indicate a modest increase in output growth but reveal a potentially unsustainable trajectory for public debt.

Aging Society and Global Finance : Structural Divisions and the Hope for Integration

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Aging society, Labor reproduction funds, Global capital flows, Labor migrations, Sustainable Finance

Abstract/Description

Modern capitalism faces profound structural challenges: demographic decline, labor migration, and the globalization of finance. While these processes deepen social and economic divisions, they also highlight pathways for integration through innovative governance and sustainable financial mechanisms. This paper critically examines these interconnected forces, focusing on the following themes:

Wage Suppression, Demographic Decline, and Social Divisions

Systematic wage suppression in advanced economies, such as Japan and Germany, discourages population growth, leading to entrenched domestic labor shortages. To compensate, these societies increasingly rely on foreign labor, which introduces both economic solutions and societal challenges. Migrant workers alleviate immediate labor demands but generate cultural friction, economic inequalities, and political polarization. The tension between economic necessity and societal resistance exemplifies how demographic dynamics contribute to fragmentation.

Global Capital Flows and the North-South Divide

The retreat of welfare states—driven by aging populations, declining birth rates, and neoliberal policies—diverts surplus capital (e.g., pension and insurance funds) into global financial markets. While this fosters greater economic integration, it exacerbates systemic issues, including environmental degradation, the North-South economic divide, and human rights violations. Financial systems prioritize short-term returns, often at the expense of sustainable and equitable development, amplifying global inequalities and deepening societal divisions.

Sustainable Finance: Bridging Divisions and Promoting Integration

The European Union (EU) demonstrates a promising approach to overcoming these divisions through sustainable finance. Policies such as disclosure regulations and supply chain monitoring aim to align capital flows with climate protection and human rights. These mechanisms not only promote internal EU integration but also offer tools to disseminate sustainability principles globally. By embedding social and environmental accountability into financial systems, sustainable finance emerges as a pathway for inclusive development and a hopeful framework for bridging global divisions.

This paper uses Japan and the EU as comparative case studies to explore how demographic decline, labor migration, and international financial flows interact to shape socio-economic outcomes. While Japan struggles with entrenched wage suppression, demographic decline, and external capital dependence, the EU combines regional integration with sustainability policies, demonstrating how governance innovation can transform fragmentation into integration.

Ultimately, this study argues that addressing the intertwined crises of modern capitalism requires reorienting financial systems to balance economic resilience, social equity, and environmental sustainability. By leveraging sustainable finance as a tool for integration, societies can bridge emerging divisions and foster inclusive, solidaristic pathways for

global development.

Rent, Rent-seeking, and Resource Curse: Lessons from Southeast Asia

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Resource Curse, Rent-seeking, Resource Rent, Southeast Asia

Abstract/Description

The “resource curse” theory, pioneered by Sachs and others, has broadened its scope over the past 30 years. It is said that the high share of primary commodities in economic activity causes negative effects ranging from economic aspects, such as the negative impact on the rate of economic growth and the poverty eradication, to political aspects, such as the rise of authoritarianism and the frequency of civil wars. While there are many previous studies on the causal mechanisms, some studies have focused on the political aspect of the causal mechanism of the resource curse, focusing on rent-seeking induced by resource rents. They often simply highlight that rent-seeking causes unfavorable impact in many ways, discarding the power relations among the actors involved. In this paper, we would like to present a hypothesis on the relationship between the rent-seeking and the resource curse, referring to the case of Southeast Asia, which has achieved a certain level of economic growth without falling prey to the resource curse while containing massive rent-seeking. Paying particular attention to the (power) relationship between the bureaucracy and the state-owned enterprise, we would pose a starting point for exploring the theoretical contribution from the political perspective.

From statism to cooperation for export-oriented production? The case of agricultural finance in Greece

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

Bank-firm and inter-firm cooperation can improve access to finance and facilitate economic upgrading in places with many small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) but is notoriously difficult to create from scratch. Indicatively, the types of cooperation that underpin economic success in Coordinated Market Economies (CMEs) are considered highly improbable to emerge in Liberal Market Economies (LMEs), as they require a degree of common knowledge among economic actors that is absent when market relations are dominant. CME-style cooperation is even harder to create in countries where established patterns of strategic interaction do exist but follow a different rationale, such as the rent-seeking logic that is characteristic of clientelistic systems. This paper traces and explains the puzzling transformation of Greece's agricultural finance from an arrangement long based on statist and clientelistic practices to a system that privileges bank-firm and inter-firm cooperation for export-oriented production. The external pressure to reform Greece's banking sector in the context of the Eurozone crisis, which led to the collapse of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, was a necessary condition for the disruption of the old, clientelistic system of agricultural finance, but it cannot explain why cooperation followed in its wake: an arrangement based purely on arm's-length market exchange was a more likely aftermath. The paper attributes the emergence of cooperation to leadership by a small group of boundary-spanning domestic actors in the banking and agri-food sectors. These actors had already adopted a logic of cooperation for export-oriented production at the time when clientelism dominated most interactions among economic stakeholders in Greece. Once the clientelistic system reached its limits, these once deviant forms of behaviour proved to be a useful resource for institutional change at the national level. The paper develops this argument based on 26 semi-structured interviews with representatives of the banking sector, policymakers at the domestic and EU levels, as well as farmers and agri-food firms in two case study regions of Greece. The paper also utilises quantitative data on the participation of farmers and agri-food firms in a cooperation-based lending programme to examine the trade-offs associated with cooperation arising based on the personal networks of a small number of leading actors. Overall, the paper strengthens our theorization of clientelism within a Varieties of Capitalism framework and contributes to our understanding of institutional change towards CME-style cooperation – a type of institutional change that is highly relevant to economic development worldwide but remains surprisingly understudied.

Redefining Canada's community of tech: How identities and industries co-evolve

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

Recent literature on regional and comparative political economy has argued that collective identities can foster the emergence of new industries by inspiring entrepreneurs, facilitating collective action, and attracting external resources (Storper et al. 2015; Walshok and Shragge 2014; Ornston 2021). But the collective identities themselves in this work are often static, a curious omission given the literature's attention to institutional and economic change. Focusing on the rise of high-technology entrepreneurship in Canada, this paper illustrates how collective identities need to co-evolve as industries scale in ways that challenge entrepreneurs and their political allies. Analysis is based on a historical study of the tech sector in Kitchener-Waterloo, an entrepreneurial hub roughly 100 kilometers west of Toronto. At very early stages of development, the entrepreneurial community was small enough to resolve collective action problems using personal connections established by face-to-face contact. Investment in more sophisticated public goods, however, required a deeper and broader pattern of collective action, which was achieved by crafting and diffusing a narrative about the region's Mennonite heritage and its tradition of collective problem solving (Spigel and Bathelt 2019). This mythologized commitment to "barn raising" not only legitimized participation in a local industry association, Communitech, but also won over traditional, manufacturing interests, who served as valuable allies in regional development initiatives. But Waterloo's "community of tech" did not speak to, and in some ways alienated, other regional tech ecosystems within Canada. The domestic tech sector did not achieve national-level collective action until a different organization, the Council of Canadian Innovators (CCI), used mercantilist rhetoric to highlight their shared vulnerability to large, foreign (mainly US) technology firms. This nationalist framing has proven highly effective both in unifying the tech sector within a single organization and in tackling the provincial and national barriers to scaling new, high-technology enterprises. While more influential than Communitech and other regional organizations, however, CCI's nationalist rhetoric has narrowed innovation policy discourse in potentially problematic ways, prioritizing the "nationalization" of procurement, tax credits, and grants over inter-provincial trade liberalization, anti-trust, and other measures that might stimulate competition among domestic firms.

Embedded multinationals: When MNCs choose voice over exit

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

Multinational corporations operating in developing contexts have been broadly characterized as mobile investors that benefit from “passive” structural power; so why might they engage in resource-intensive efforts at everyday politicking? To address this mostly unnoticed phenomenon, we trace the extensive efforts of MNC subsidiaries in two starkly different industrial sectors in Mexico – electronics manufacturing and berry production – to participate in politics through domestic trade associations. We develop a causal model to explain why these and other multinational foreign investors would invest in the use of their “voice” rather than “exit” from the economy as expected (Hirschman 1970). Specifically, locational inflexibility of operation makes disinvestment unappealing, creating incentive to foster social embeddedness, which provides resources for MNCs to employ instrumental political power fruitfully. The implications speak to a range of political scholarship: from development and middle-income trap, to state-society relations, to issues around foreign direct investment.

Dependent development in digital capitalism: The politics of startup policies in the expanding periphery

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

In 2023, United Nations Trade and Development (UNCTAD) joined the chorus calling for startups to lead economic development in peripheral regions (UNCTAD 2023). UNCTAD's initiative, "The Square for Global Goals," views startups as "agents of change" that can foster "grassroots innovation and competitiveness." It is common to view startups – "innovative new firms with high-growth potential" often focused on digital technology (Klingler-Vidra and Pacheco Pardo 2024, 1) – as drivers in improving peripheral economies, where production remains stuck in low value-added activities (Marini 2022). Avlijas et al. (2023, 2), for instance, suggest that startups and small-and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) "from peripheral economies have been boosting their productivity and innovation capacities," thereby reducing peripheral economies' dependence on the core. To support this vision, peripheral governments have passed industrial policies over the past decade to support startups (Audretsch et al. 2020). Analyzing the politics of startup policies, this article identifies important limits on startups' ability to lead peripheral economies out of dependence on the core. Despite hopes that digital technology would lower barriers to entry for entrepreneurs and thereby put capitalist development on a more egalitarian path, the opposite seems to have occurred. Peripheral regions face significant economic limits to sustainable development due to technological dependence on a handful of giant US-based firms known as Big Tech, which includes Alphabet (Google), Amazon, Apple, Meta (Facebook), and Microsoft. In 2024, these firms controlled 64% of the global cloud market, with Amazon alone accounting for 31% (Statista 2024a). Entrepreneurs are especially dependent on Big Tech, since they rely on platforms like Apple's App Store or Amazon Marketplace in order to reach customers, and depend on Big Tech for cloud services (Cutolo and Kenney 2021). Opportunities for growth exist, but "these opportunities are shaped and controlled" by Big Tech (Andreoni and Roberts 2022, 1433). Nonetheless, Avlijas et al. (2023, 6) suggest that startups may have "more agency in the periphery than is typically recognized" because they can deploy creative strategies, such as drawing on resources across national borders. As scholars continue to debate the economic limits that peripheral regions face in digital capitalism, what has received less attention are the political limits. Tracing the passage of startup laws in Brazil and Spain between 2014 – 2022, I find that startups advocated for these policies by building upgrading coalitions that relied on financial and organizational resources from the giant US-based technology firms known as "Big Tech." Identifying a patron-client relationship between Big Tech and startups, this article makes two contributions to our understanding of economic development in the periphery and semi-periphery. First, it revives political analysis of dependency, exploring the political conditions for economic development. Second,

observing dynamics of dependence in Spain as well as Brazil suggests an expanding periphery, as dependence on Big Tech affects countries beyond the Global South.

Inequality and Capital Flows: New Evidence on the Role of the Public vs. Private Sector in Developing Economies

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Income Inequality, Private Capital Flows, Public Capital Flows, Financial Openness, Panel Data Models

Abstract/Description

Net capital flows, total inflows, and outflows provide valuable aggregate insights into a country's macroeconomy, yet they may overlook critical relationships between the external sector and income inequality. This issue is particularly relevant for EMDEs, where inequality dynamics are highly heterogeneous. Disaggregating capital flows into public and private sectors allows us to uncover patterns that aggregate measures might obscure.

This paper examines whether income inequality influences the behavior of public and private sectors regarding capital inflows and outflows. Our main finding is that higher inequality is associated with increased inflows and outflows in both sectors. While these results are robust to financial openness measures (de jure or de facto), the public and private sectors respond differently. The public sector is more active in inflows and outflows in highly unequal countries, while the private sector shows greater sensitivity to inequality, reacting more strongly in both directions. Private inflows, in particular, drive the overall impact on total inflows and exhibit the strongest correlation with inequality.

For net capital flows, our results reveal a positive and statistically significant relationship with inequality. Rising inequality leads to a proportionally larger increase in outflows relative to inflows. This underscores the importance of financial openness, which determines the regulatory environment and costs faced by public and private agents when interacting with international markets.

Including an interaction term between inequality and financial openness amplifies the coefficients' magnitude and

significance, especially for private flows. Private outflows are more sensitive to financial openness than inflows, possibly reflecting stricter regulation of outflows in EMDEs. Governments may prioritize inflows, which help finance current accounts and reserve accumulation, while outflows are often restricted due to their destabilizing effects.

We also suggest that wealthier sectors in developing countries engage in greater international portfolio diversification. High-income groups benefit from economies of scale, enabling them to absorb the fixed costs of accessing international markets and diversifying assets and liabilities.

These findings have significant policy implications. Policymakers should address not only the political and social instability stemming from rising inequality but also its macroeconomic effects, such as increased private capital outflows and external liabilities. Inequality could exacerbate financial vulnerabilities through substantial private external asset accumulation (outflows) and rising public and private liabilities (inflows). Macroprudential regulation must consider these dynamics to mitigate potential instability.

Further research is needed to fully understand the mechanisms linking inequality and capital flows. Nonetheless, our results indicate that inequality plays a key role in determining capital flow dynamics, particularly in EMDEs.

Finally, our study offers valuable insights for theoretical scholars. Incorporating the differential effects of inequality on public and private agents' behavior regarding inflows and outflows can enhance the ability of economic models to disaggregate net capital flows. This approach departs from traditional aggregate analyses, improving the understanding of external assets and liabilities' accumulation dynamics.

In sum, addressing rising inequality is not only a social and political necessity but also crucial for maintaining macroeconomic stability in the face of evolving capital flow patterns.

Bridging economic methodology and public policy: the evolution and causes of the polycrisis

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Keywords

Polycrisis, Methodological Instrumentalism, Third Way, Paradigm Shift, Fourth Way

Abstract/Description

We are living in times of polycrisis. From the traditional policy standpoint supported by the dominant economic theory, increasing inequalities, the inherent social crisis, increasing economic and financial instabilities and the climate emergency all seem to have emerged independently. However, since their cumulated effects cannot be reduced to a single factor, explanations and potential policy responses become complicated.

From a more pluralist and heterodox perspective, an argument is made that these crises are not independent events that happen to materialise simultaneously while exacerbating individual outcomes. Instead, we argue here that all these crises can be traced back to the single underlying structure that is current capitalism, ruled by neoclassical instrumentalism and the accompanying neoliberal policies. In such a light it becomes clear that the prominent economic methodology and the resulting policy implications laid the groundwork for such crises to emerge long ago.

In this paper we show the deep interlinkages and connections between those two, to date, separate fields of research by looking at the unrealistic economic methodology that led to inadequate policy responses over time leading to a continuation and deepening of crisis episodes eventually termed polycrisis. This novel approach to understanding crises from a broader perspective by connecting methodological and policy debates advances existing discussions on the role of economic methodologies in terms of policy innovation in the backdrop of the polycrisis. We conclude by calling for a shift in the paradigm for both, economic methodology and policy research to address not one, but the plethora of crises of our time.

can Innovation Upgrade Sustainability in Fish Global Value Chains in the Amazon?

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

This paper investigates the potential innovations that can enhance the sustainability of aquaculture Global Value Chains (GVCs), with a specific focus on the Pirarucu (*Arapaima Gigas*) value chain in the Brazilian Amazon. Recognizing the role of aquaculture and fisheries in the global economy and the unique challenges posed by severe dry seasons and climate change in the Amazon, the study addresses a significant research gap by emphasizing South American contexts, particularly Brazilian fisheries. Utilizing a comprehensive preliminary and an automated Systematic Literature Review, the research categorizes innovations from incremental technological transfers to systemic governance-driven measures and evaluates their applicability to the Pirarucu GVC using a Global Value Chain analysis framework. The findings indicate that while incremental innovations such as improved feeds, resource management tools and low-cost processing technologies are prevalent and beneficial, more complex systemic transformations remain underexplored. By applying these insights, this paper demonstrates that locally adapted, incremental innovations can enhance both ecological resilience and economic viability without compromising cultural integrity. Additionally, the integration of certifications, niche marketing and selective governance frameworks can bolster competitiveness and environmental performance, facilitating sustainable export opportunities. The study contributes to closing regional research gaps and provides actionable recommendations for policymakers, NGOs and local stakeholders, offering a strategic roadmap for developing more sustainable and resilient aquaculture value chains in the Brazilian Amazon and similar ecosystems globally.

Governance and Sustainability in the Brazilian Beef Value Chain: Integrating Global Value Chain and Social-Ecological Systems Frameworks

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

challenge to global environmental sustainability, threatening biodiversity, carbon sequestration, and local livelihoods while underscoring the need for effective governance mechanisms to mitigate these impacts. This study develops an integrated Global Value Chain (GVC) and Social-Ecological Systems (SES) framework to analyze the intersection of governance, power dynamics, and ecological outcomes within the Brazilian beef value chain in the Amazon. By combining GVC insights on governance and power asymmetries with SES principles of feedback loops and ecological interdependencies, the framework provides a holistic approach to understanding sustainability challenges in resource-intensive sectors. Using primary and secondary data, including 32 semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, the study applies the framework to the Brazilian beef GVC. Results highlight how external drivers—such as land valuation, market dynamics, and policy incentives—interact with governance mechanisms, influencing land-use decisions and ecological outcomes. Public governance tools, like Brazil's Forest Code and Rural Environmental Registry (CAR), alongside hybrid mechanisms such as zero-deforestation agreements and Terms of Adjustment of Conduct (TACs), play a crucial role in mitigating deforestation. However, enforcement gaps and limited traceability of indirect suppliers reduce their overall effectiveness. Findings reveal that pasture expansion, driven by speculative land grabbing and rising land values, creates reinforcing feedback loops that perpetuate deforestation and pasture degradation. Sustainable intensification practices, such as integrated crop-livestock-forestry systems (ILPF), offer potential balancing feedback loops but face barriers, including high costs and limited access to credit for smaller ranchers. The study emphasizes aligning governance structures, scaling financial incentives, and enhancing traceability systems to disrupt these cycles and promote sustainability. The GVC-SES framework bridges gaps in both literatures, embedding ecological feedbacks into GVC governance and addressing power dynamics in SES studies. This integrated

approach offers actionable insights for advancing sustainability in the Brazilian beef sector and beyond, demonstrating its applicability to other resource-intensive global value chains.

Nature of the disputes and the resources used by vested interests in shaping the multiple policies dealing with energy transition

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

The paper addresses nature of the disputes and the resources used by vested interests in shaping the multiple policies dealing with energy transition, with a focus on the 'Fuel for the Future Law,' the 'Energy Transition Acceleration Program' (PATEN) and the 'Low Carbon Hydrogen Development Program' (PHBC), which complements the country's legal framework for low-carbon hydrogen (H2BEC) of August 2, 2024, by allowing the National Policy on Low-Carbon Hydrogen to come into force with all the instruments that had been originally provided. Although, most Brazilians support transition away from fossil fuels, the emergent energy transition policies as well as the NOC Petrobras latest business plan increases investments in O&G. By 2030, investments will reach US\$ 182 billion, and Brazil aims to move from the 10th rank to become the fifth largest producer.

The "Fuel of the Future" law enacted by the Lula government last October is expected to unlock R\$250bn in Investments. For example, according to an Airbus/MIT study, Brazil has the potential to become the world's largest Sustainable Aviation Fuel (SAF) producer.

The Paten benefits natural gas (natural gas programs that aim to replace energy sources with higher greenhouse gas emissions, the distribution of the fuel or the production of vehicles powered by it), coal, nuclear energy, and agribusiness. Its main mechanism is the so-called Green Fund, which, according to the proposal, will be managed by the National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES). It also contemplates energy transition projects in "coal regions", which are areas of mineral coal exploration, meeting a demand from this sector. Further, It also allows projects aimed at agricultural, road, rail, and waterway vehicles powered by natural gas to receive funds from the National Fund on Climate Change – a point that has generated resistance among environmentalists. Finally, projects focused on nuclear energy will benefit from the program, as well as nitrogen fertilizers and SAF (Least Impact Aviation Fuel) projects, synthetic fuels, biogas, and technical training programs.

Following the enactment of the H2BEC, Senate approved a bill with subsidies of R\$ 18.3 billion for green hydrogen. Based on tax credits to be granted from 2028 to 2032 to stimulate the production of green hydrogen and decarbonize the Brazilian energy matrix, through the Special Incentive Regime to Produce Low Carbon Emission Hydrogen (Rehidro). Hydroelectric plants and producers of biofuels, such as ethanol, will also be able to participate in Rehidro, in addition to biomass, biogas, biomethane, and wind and solar energy. In the state of Ceará alone, there are thirty-six memorandums of understanding at the Port of Pecém, with six companies—Fortescue, Casa dos Ventos, Qair, Voltaia, FRV, and AES Brasil—estimating investments totaling \$30 billion.

It looks, first, into the underlying formation of epistemic communities forming different views and approaches, particularly around green hydrogen, and the international actors' agendas and strategies to influence them. Next, it traces the formation of the two laws and maps and analyzes the territorial, corporate and sectoral economic interests

The transition from carbon-intensive models of growth to economic activities that are low-impact on the environment

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B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

The transition from carbon-intensive models of growth to economic activities that are low-impact on the environment, inclusive, and just is one of the most pressing challenges of our time. Delivering on the commitment to decarbonize economies by 2050, as required by the Paris Agreement to mitigate the worst effects of climate change, will necessitate a fundamental transformation of society. This challenge is particularly significant—and complex—for emerging economies like Malaysia. In this paper (an early version of an introductory chapter to an edited collection on sustainable transitions in Malaysia), we present some of the main challenges in implementing a sustainable development agenda, particularly within the context of middle-income nations. We emphasize that the transition should not be understood as a linear process—a gradual reduction in carbon emissions per unit of economic activity—but rather as the outcome of three deeply interconnected processes occurring simultaneously, each with its own reinforcing feedback loops, operating at the physical, economic, and social level. We argue that Malaysia, along with other maturing sectors and nations, is on the verge of entering green virtuous cycles or "green spirals." This stands in stark contrast to the conventional frameworks of the energy trilemma (WEC, 2019) and carbon lock-in (Unruh, 2002), which have largely shaped discussions on energy transition in emerging economies. We believe that reframing the tasks involved in the transition offers significant policy and business opportunities. The decarbonization challenge can broadly be classified into three key tasks (Rystad, 2024): 1) cleaning up and growing the power sector; 2) electrifying everything else possible; and 3) addressing residual emissions. These tasks have been significantly facilitated by recent technological advances and emerging legal frameworks, such as carbon trading. While the transition entails costs—such as building the necessary transmission capacity and retraining workers—it also has the potential to unlock numerous business opportunities across various green sectors, from novel methods of manufacturing traditional products (e.g., hydrogen-based green steel) to protecting fisheries, forests, and biodiversity through high-quality nature-based solutions. To illustrate how different forces interact to shape a 'green spiral', we provide evidence from Malaysia, an upper-middle-income economy committed to achieving net-zero targets. While Malaysia still lags in renewable energy generation and electric vehicle (EV) penetration, its policymakers have increasingly adopted a green development agenda, followed by significant action from some of the nation's leading companies. We highlight the challenges that nations like Malaysia face, such as institutional capacity gaps and aligning domestic

legislation with its proclaimed green aspirations. At the same time, we emphasize the opportunities that arise from fostering international cooperation to attract investment and facilitate knowledge transfer. This paper lays the groundwork for a deeper exploration of Malaysia's trajectory within the global context of achieving net-zero goals and underscores the vital role played by academia, policymakers, and practitioners in this journey.

The problems to scale up to green finance

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

The paper explores the problems to scale up the green finance to step up the transition to sustainable development in emerging countries. The financing of green transition is strongly intertwined with the development of these countries. Not only because the climate impacts endanger the economy and the social well-being of populations but also due to the windows of opportunity stemming from green transition such as infrastructure, green industrialization, more rational use of natural resources, and sustainable food production. Albeit not always linear and contingent, there is a relation between higher per capita income and less pollution, particularly from countries escaping the middle-income trap, as shown by research on the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC). The market mechanism alone is not able to solve the problem of green financing for developing countries. On the contrary, investors and insurers are more likely to seek out safer locations with lower climate risks, which increases macroeconomic and financial instability and risks. Currently, there is a debate within the G-20 on the distributive and macroeconomic impacts of Climate Change. Transition Policies are currently negotiated by representatives of the G20 economies plus the European Union and the African Union, with suggestions for mechanisms to protect the most vulnerable economies. The issue is the asymmetric impacts of climate change, for the most intense impacts are on some groups, and countries are not in a position to deal with these impacts. Climate finance must use the global financial system, but the current system limits global access. One clear example concerns the significant exchange rate volatility from local currencies and the government debts in foreign currencies. In May 2024, the OECD data reveals a \$100 billion annual goal for climate finance (albeit behind schedule). However, climate finance needs will increase many times over. There is a clear-cut shortage of finance flowing to support countries' transition and adaptation needs, especially for developing countries. The global financial system has been not only starkly asymmetrical but also very limited in giving voice to the global south in its institutional reforms and when setting the rules of the game. The current financialization curbs the green finance in emerging countries because its short-termism can clash with the long-term featuring several green projects and longer payback periods demand a more patient capital. In addition, the green financial bonds are sometimes prone to bubbles leading to misallocation of the funding and greenwashing. Financing climate mitigation and adaptation faces huge challenges of stable long-term finance. While there is a growing array of financial tools, they are disproportionately concentrated in the northern hemisphere. This imbalance is evident in the substantial investment projects funded by private banks and institutional investors, and climate funds

that primarily cater to the renewable energy needs of developed countries. The IEA estimates that the financial need for cleaner energy systems in developing countries to meet global climate goals exceeds two trillion dollars (IEA, 2024).

The reduction of dependence on fossil fuels

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

In recent years, the complex legislative political agenda for national energy transition advanced in the adoption of policies for renewable sources and for the reduction of dependence on fossil fuels, with significant impacts on industrial sectors. Programs such as the Acceleration of Energy Transition (PATEN) and incentives to substitute polluting energy matrices funded by the National Fund on Climate Change (FNMC), among other, aim to build a path to a lower carbon emissions economy. Although these initiatives are crucial for a sustainable future, the scenario creates significant challenges for industrial production chains, such as the case of the steel industry in the State of Espírito Santo, analyzed in this paper. The state of Espírito Santo is one of the largest steel producers in Brazil, occupying in 2022, the third post in the ranking, with a production of 7.3 million tons of crude steel, 21.5% of the national production. Further, the steel industry and connected sectors generate thousands of direct and indirect jobs, contributing significantly to tax collection and boosting the development of civil construction, the metalworking industry, and the service sector. However, the steel industry is also one of the main emitters of CO₂, one of the main targets of decarbonization measures. This paper investigates the challenges national energy transition policy faces at the regional level. Its main impact on industrial production chains is, first, in the need to search for alternatives to fossil fuels, constraining the steel industry to adopt cleaner energy sources. Next, the electrification of industrial processes, such as heating and transportation, strongly drives the demand for electricity, requiring the adaptation of electricity grids and production systems. Third, the energy transition promotes the development of new technologies and materials which the concomitant expansion of digitalization and automation of industrial processes requires further investments in software, sensors and artificial intelligence. Finally, the search for renewable energy sources and the need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in transport favor the regionalization of production, as the energy transition has among its premises: (1) the use of dispersed renewable sources such as solar, wind, biomass and hydro, which are often available in locations far from large urban centers and (2) the employment of microgeneration and self-consumption, with distributed generation, with solar panels on rooftops, which for example allows companies and homes to produce their own energy and for each other. These shifts may lead to the creation of shorter, more localized supply chains, boosting regional economies and reducing reliance on long logistics chains. In this framework, this paper aims to contribute to the development of an analytic comparative model with similar regions in the country.

Understanding Resurgent Neomercantilism

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Theme Track

B: Globalization and Socio-Economic Development

Abstract/Description

After decades of neglect, neomercantilism is receiving more attention as a set of strategies among late developers to change their destinies in a more fragmented trading order. What inspires these trade, investment and industrial policies?

Following the end of the Cold War, late developers were expected to follow neoliberal strategies for development: joining the WTO, decreasing tariffs and quotas, slashing government spending and otherwise creating “enabling environments” for foreign investment. These policies were presented as best practices, and were thus not subject to significant political contestation. Governments concentrated on welfare and patronage spending to compensate for disruptions on behalf of core constituencies. Since the 2008 financial crisis, the euphoria around export-oriented industrialization has collapsed. Western markets proved unreliable as destinations for goods, and the fragmentation of production inherent in global value chains has led many late developers to be stuck in the middle-income trap.

In this paper, I discuss neomercantilism as a set of externally oriented strategies for managing the disappointments of fidelity to the neoliberal trading order, and the domestic political requisites for establishing and sustaining these strategies. Whereas Ruggie’s embedded liberalism required a global hegemon and commitments to the international order that enabled late developers to pursue relatively autonomous industrialization strategies, neoliberalism allows no such autonomy. In the early 21st century, however, when global trade and investment regimes have started fragmenting due to financial crises and Trump, certain late developers have recognized the need to force the system to provide greater autonomy through establishing dependent relationships with peripheral countries.

Final category: C: Gender, Work and Family

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From Paradise to Paradox: Examining Family Policy in Quebec's Welfare State

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Welfare State, Family Policy, Textual Analysis, Legislative Discourse, Québec

Abstract/Description

Quebec is distinct within the Canadian federation for its unique welfare state, particularly concerning family policy. From the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, provincial governments implemented significant reforms aimed at better supporting families. These reforms included modifying social tax expenditures, such as tax credits, establishing a network of subsidized child care services including *Centres de la petite enfance* (CPE), and introducing a more generous parental insurance system compared to the rest of Canada. Consequently, Quebec has emerged as a model for child care nationwide.

Scholars have described Quebec as a “paradise” for families, with research emphasizing the pivotal role of universal child care. However, family policies continue to evolve, and the child care network remains unfinished, resulting in a system that can be difficult to navigate, and can lead to high costs and low-quality care for many families. Furthermore, while scholars have explored family policy in Quebec, the existing literature remains incomplete. For instance, researchers have analyzed budgetary data to assess spending on family policies over time, noting slight increases. Others have conducted document analyses to explain policy expansion and retrenchment in child care. However, existing studies often fail to explain the interactions between policy instruments and their implications for the overall policy framework, leaving a critical gap in our understanding of the Quebec model of family policy.

To fill this gap, this article aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of family policy in Quebec by contextualizing policy changes from 1998 to 2024 and examining the discourse of elected officials on the issue throughout this period. It argues that understanding these changes and their context within parliamentary discourse is crucial for a thorough comprehension of family policy during this time. To achieve this, the article uses data from legislative proceedings and party manifestos to explore the framing of family policy.

The article begins by tracing the evolution of family policies in Quebec, examining the role of social tax expenditures in the family model and how fiscal policy interacts with available services. It presents statistics illustrating the gap between the supply of quality subsidized child care and growing demand, as well as discussing the increasing generosity and

uptake rates of parental insurance. This leads to the central question: how have these policy changes been framed and debated by elected officials and stakeholders during this period? To address this, the article employs textual analysis of parliamentary and commission debates from 1997 to 2024 to extend existing empirical research. It first analyzes issue salience using dictionary methods to determine the frequency of child care discussions in parliament. Next, Latent Dirichlet Allocation is applied to a subset of the corpus, including commission debates on proposed legislative changes to child care policies, to identify dominant themes. These themes are then compared with party manifestos to assess their alignment with the narratives presented therein. Finally, the article contextualizes the drivers behind these themes, relating them to policy changes and discussing their implications for the generosity and universality of Quebec's welfare state.

Domesticating the Salaryman: Marriage Promotion, Hybrid Masculinity, and the Resignification of Reproduction in Japan

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

work-life balance, second shift, hybrid masculinity, Japan, gender inequality

Abstract/Description

Over the recent decades, the Japanese government has introduced a number of policies promoting gender equality and family formation. Initiatives including promotion of work-life balance, flexibilization of work, generous childcare leave policies, and public relations campaigns championing involved fatherhood have been designed in part to address a diminishing economic performance resulting from population decline and the rapid shrinking and aging of the labor force. In a context long dominated by the male breadwinner-female homemaker family model, the Japanese state also increasingly recognizes that men's involvement at home is necessary to enable women's work outside. At the same time, women in Japan spend more than five times the amount of time on housework than men (Statistics Bureau of Japan 2022).

This paper uncovers how the changing conceptions and practices of manhood in Japan are recruited in an effort to encourage men's participation in reproductive labor, or "activities of provisioning, caregiving and interaction that produce and maintain social bonds" (Fraser 2016: 101) and enable economic productivity. I focus on political discourse surrounding marriage as it provides a useful vista into how Japanese masculinities are tethered to the family's social reproductive function amid economic changes. Moreover, marriage also remains the sole socially sanctioned context for childbirth (less than two percent of children in Japan are born to unwed mothers) and marriage promotion has become a hallmark of Japanese social policy intended to combat the adverse consequences of economic and demographic decline.

By analyzing Tokyo Metropolitan Government's marriage promotion campaign, I trace how official discourse champions a model of a "domesticated salaryman," who works for pay—typically remaining the main provider—while contributing to and deriving satisfaction from housework, childrearing, and recreation pursued jointly with his wife. This emotionally attuned version of masculinity marks a significant departure from the white-collar salaryman of the high economic growth period defined by total devotion to work and absenteeism from home. Yet, just like its predecessor, this class-specific vision of masculinity, both as an ideal and practice, engenders its own forms of social alienation.

By simultaneously tracing how everyday Japanese relate to the figure of the domesticated salaryman on the ground, through in-depth interviews, I demonstrate how marital masculinity helps to reconfigure the relationships between work and family, production and reproduction, in ways that are compatible with the demands of the national economy, yet fail to redress entrenched inequalities around gender.

Extending theories of hybrid masculinities, my analysis reveals how an inclusion of hybrid masculinity within the family signifies not simply expanding possibilities for men's self-expression, but also reflects an ongoing reconfiguration of the productive and reproductive realms, and their respective gendering as masculine and feminine, in light of ongoing economic restructuring. It demonstrates how attempts to redefine the family and gender roles are central to social policies addressing structural change.

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'Keeping the base' and 'making a living' with online deliveries: domestic problems and working in an online delivery company.

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C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Gendered Labor, Work-Life Integration, Household Economy, Informal Work Practices, Anthropology of Money

Abstract/Description

This paper explores the entangled relationship between home and work in a family-run online delivery business in Brazil, with a focus on how economic precarity, gendered labor, and relational money practices shape the daily experiences of workers. Drawing on ethnographic research, the study centers on Manuela, a young female motorcycle courier, and her husband Lúcio, as they navigate the complexities of informal labor within the context of a home-based delivery service. By examining their lived realities, this paper situates their economic practices within broader socio-cultural dynamics, offering insights into the ways families manage and negotiate the intersection of work and domestic life in the post-pandemic global South.

The research is framed by the anthropological and sociological insights of Viviana Zelizer, particularly her concept of "relational work" in the context of money. Zelizer (1998; 2011) argues that money is not merely a universal, abstract medium of exchange, but is deeply embedded in social relationships and moral economies. In this study, household money is understood as a relational tool, with different meanings and uses assigned depending on the social ties and contexts within which it circulates. Through participant observation and in-depth interviews, the paper examines how Manuela and Lúcio earmark household income for specific purposes, such as paying bills, financing vehicle maintenance, and managing familial obligations. This relational approach to money reveals how economic decisions are shaped by gendered expectations and moral calculations about responsibility, reciprocity, and care within the family.

The paper further explores how the economic survival strategies of Manuela and Lúcio are not only driven by financial necessity but also by cultural and moral imperatives surrounding family and gender roles. The couple's financial practices—shaped by uncertainty, gendered labor divisions, and ongoing negotiations around work and care—offer valuable insights into how contemporary families in the informal economy navigate and adapt to precarious work conditions. This research contributes to discussions on work-life articulation, care regimes, and the moral economy of informal work, drawing attention to the relational aspects of economic decision-making in the family unit.

Ultimately, by incorporating Zelizer's framework, this paper highlights the complex ways in which domestic economies and work-life balance are maintained through moral and relational practices. It offers empirical evidence on how money, as a relational object, shapes and is shaped by the intersection of gender, work, and family, and contributes to a deeper understanding of how families in precarious work situations sustain their livelihoods in contexts marked by uncertainty and economic strain.

American State Governments and Mechanisms of Inequality, 1998-2017

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

labor supply, work-family policies, income distribution, political parties

Abstract/Description

States have become central to redistributive politics in the US as partisan polarization caused legislative gridlock in the federal government. Research finds that, since the 1990s, liberal states have begun to slow the growth of income inequality. Previous studies have not demonstrated how states accomplish this, however, because they draw from theory about wage inequality while focusing empirically on household income inequality. They have used Power Resources Theory (PRT) to attribute states' effects on household inequality to labor market interventions that compress the distribution of workers' wages. I argue this is unlikely for two reasons. First, due to changing patterns of family formation and labor supply, household income inequality has increasingly diverged from the level of wage inequality. Labor market interventions may therefore not have substantial effects on inequality among households. Second, the power of working-class actors, namely trade unions, that PRT posits will motivate labor market interventions has atrophied.

I argue that liberal states instead reduce household inequality through the mechanism of labor supply. College-educated individuals, who often live in dual-income households, have become a central part of the Democratic party's base. The challenges these households face in balancing work and career obligations make their economic interests distinct from those of more traditional families. Accordingly, the Democratic party has likely come to prioritize policies that ease these challenges. Such policies benefit high-earning households while also making it easier for members of low-income households to enter the labor force in the first place. This would raise poor households' incomes and reduce inequality among households independently of the distribution of workers' wages. In particular, liberal states may achieve inequality-reducing labor supply effects through work-family policies that primarily affect women's labor force participation.

I support this position by using dynamic time-series models to analyze a data set that includes new measures of state-level wage inequality covering the years 1998 to 2017. I find that household inequality has become decoupled from wage inequality, so that wage compression does not account for declines of household inequality in liberal states. Increases in labor force participation, especially among women, account for much of these reductions instead. Work-family policies, furthermore, appear to play an important role in this process. The labor force participation of women with young children responds most strongly to changes in government control, and paid parental leave policies, which liberal states have begun implementing, have positive effects on mothers' labor force participation.

Broadly, this study indicates the importance of examining wage and household income distributions together in political economic research. Wage inequality affects stratification among households only through gendered channels of labor force participation. Women's patterns of family formation, in turn, depends on their economic prospects. It is important for further research to disentangle the interconnected consequences of employment opportunities, family formation, and work-family policies for household inequality.

Care issues: Women and the intersection of Gender-Based Violence and Disability in the Family setting

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Gender, Care, Disability, Family, Violence

Abstract/Description

The patriarchal system, which has historically prevailed in most societies, has imposed a structure of power and subordination that places women at a disadvantage compared to men. This system is not only reflected in gender discrimination and violence, but also conditions social expectations regarding the role that women should play, especially within the nuclear family. One of the most evident aspects of this subordination is the normalization of women as the main caregivers. This phenomenon is not a cultural accident, but a systematic construction that perpetuates unequal gender roles and reinforces structural inequality.

From a historical perspective, women have been designated as the “natural” caregivers due to their biological capacity to give birth and their traditional role as “mothers of the family.” However, this narrative is deeply problematic because it pigeonholes women into roles that limit their autonomy and their personal and professional development. The exercise of these roles, far from being a free choice, is often imposed by a combination of cultural expectations, economic pressures and lack of institutional support that perpetuates this inequality. In many cases, these disproportionate responsibilities generate an emotional, physical and economic overload that directly affects women's quality of life, thus reinforcing the dynamics of oppression they already face.

Gender-based violence and family violence are extreme manifestations of these inequalities. When women are forced to assume caregiving as an extension of their gender identity, it creates an environment conducive to various forms of abuse and mistreatment. This phenomenon is exacerbated in contexts where women are not only responsible for the care of children or elderly relatives, but also when there are family

members with disabilities. In these circumstances, women are usually the first to assume, most of the time alone, the burden of caring for these people, or to be forced by other members of their family to carry out caregiving tasks. This added responsibility not only reinforces their subordination within the family nucleus, but also exposes them to greater levels of stress, exhaustion and, in many cases, emotional, economic or physical violence.

The discrimination faced by women who assume the care of persons with disabilities is especially worrisome. In many cases, these women are invisibilized by public policies and unprotected by social support systems. Their work, although essential to the well-being of the family and society, is neither recognized nor valued economically, which perpetuates their social and economic exclusion. Moreover, they face an additional stigma: on the one hand, they are expected to fulfill their “duty” of care without question, and on the other, they are held responsible for not being able to attend to other areas of their lives, such as paid employment or their own physical and mental health.

It is crucial to analyze these dynamics from an intersectional perspective. The violence and discrimination faced by women not only stem from their gender but are also intensified when they intersect with other factors, such as social class, educational level, ethnicity and, in this case, their status as caregivers of people with disabilities. This analysis makes visible the multiple levels of oppression faced by women and underscores the need for a comprehensive approach to address these issues.

To combat this structural inequality, it is essential to implement public and social policies that recognize and redistribute care responsibilities. This includes the development of accessible and quality care systems, the promotion of co-responsibility between men and women in the domestic and family sphere, and the protection of the labor rights of those who assume caregiving tasks. In addition, specific strategies should be designed to support women caregivers of people with disabilities, guaranteeing their access to economic resources, emotional support and community care networks.

Ultimately, the transformation of these patterns requires not only structural changes, but also a profound cultural reflection. Only through the deconstruction of the patriarchal system and the promotion of true gender equality will it be possible to ensure that women can fully exercise their rights and free themselves from the chains imposed by oppressive gender roles. This is a commitment that requires the active participation of all sectors of society and a constant focus on achieving equality and social justice.

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Challenges for informal carers of older people in Europe: balancing work, care and life

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Long-term care, Older people, Work-life balance, Informal care

Abstract/Description

The paper discusses the role of civil society in the provision of long-term care (LTC) for older people in European countries. Informal care not only makes it possible for older people to stay at home according to their preferences but contributes significantly to national economies also as such care helps to control public spending on long-term care. While demand for long-term care services for older people is increasing as European societies are aging rapidly, the shrinking working age population means decreasing supply of informal carers.

There are significant differences in current LTC arrangements across Europe. Several clusters of countries in relation to their arrangements in long-term care for older people provision can be distinguished. There are countries with developed public LTC schemes (mostly in Northern Europe and the Netherlands) and countries with medium or low formal LTC availability and reliance on informal care (mostly Southern and Eastern European countries). Together with the increasing demand for LTC services there is a noticeable trend in countries with developed formal care arrangements to de-institutionalize the services. This LTC policy trend creates additional tensions between the intended de-institutionalization and the possibility to improve work and life balance for informal carers. Increasing expectations among European populations that the older people will receive more LTC services at home might mean an additional burden on their family members if no further support for the carers is introduced.

Taking care of older people might be very challenging for working age informal carers. There is an increasing volume of evidence that long-term care of older people affects significantly work-life balance of informal carers along several dimensions: possibilities to participate in labour market, advance professionally, engage in social activities or even might have negative impact on their health condition in general. Women are more likely to be affected by care responsibilities than men as majority of informal carers in most of the countries are women. Carers' labour market participation possibilities might be affected in such a way that they are more likely not to join labour market if have intensive care obligations, reduce their working hours or withdraw completely from the labour market and have less career and promotion opportunities.

Challenges for carers to balance care, work obligations and life are likely to be affected by accessibility and affordability of formal care in a country, both for the person in care and carer. Among the main barriers to accessing formal care services Europeans indicate affordability, unavailability of services (especially in some regions), long waiting lists, too high an administrative burden, unsatisfactory quality of the services, rejection to use the services by care recipient or non-eligibility of the care receiver (EIGE, 2023). Work and informal care conflict for many informal carers might be resolved or improved if formal care services are used.

The article will discuss challenges in measuring the prevalence of informal care, will analyze existing evidence on work-life challenges for those who take care informally of their relatives at older age and existing support programs for informal carers. The analysis will be based on available data from a variety of international organizations as well as

The Social Reproductive Labour of Working Students Seeking Loveable Jobs

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

love, work, social reproduction, working students

Abstract/Description

While paid work often intrudes domains home and family, this article explores an opposite trend – the expectation of the infusion of affect typically associated with family relationships – namely love, into jobs. Many career and self-help resources, particularly those directed towards young people, focus on the need to find jobs and careers which people can “love.” Yet, there remains a discrepancy between the contemporary labour market characterized by depressed wages, hyper competition, limited opportunities and poor working conditions, and the ideological messaging to young people that they should discover their passion and find paid work that they love. This paper traces the search for “loveable work” through a study of working university students in Ontario. Analyzing the experiences of undergraduate university students at a large Canadian university who were engaged in significant hours of term-time paid work alongside their studies, I trace the ways in which they engage in social reproductive labour through which they develop a strong compulsion to find loveable work, evoke learning discourses when engaging with family members and employers, and respond to un-loveable work by developing feelings of failure alongside some activist orientations.

Theoretically, the paper is based on feminist debates on social reproduction. Broadly, social reproduction refers not only to childbearing and rearing, but also to the ideological reproduction of people with identities as workers, subsistence, education and training, and the provision of care both within and outside of the formal economy. Social reproductive labour also involves the work of dealing with hostile and poor working conditions in ways which allow for continual engagement with the labour market.

Data collection for this study involved focus groups, interviews, life maps and audio diaries with fifty-one university students at a large university in Canada. Students participated in the study over a two-year period in 2019 and 2020. Students engaged in an average of 12 hours per week of term time work alongside their full-time studies, mostly doing retail, service or care work. Our sample included 42 female and 9 male students, and the majority were racialized, in line with the demographics of the student body as a whole. Most students reported seeking paid work to gain experience and to pay for expenses related to their education. Our sample included students from a wide range of class backgrounds.

In terms of findings, I examine the confluence of love and work for working students. I note that young people face a continuous and multi-faceted ideological messaging within families, educational institutions and employers promoting the need to work hard and love work. They conceptualize love in an individualized manner, and express worry and frustration when they are unable to convert their job experiences into signals of their resilience. Yet, even when confronted with difficult-to-love jobs within which they face harassment or extreme time crunch given family, education and work responsibilities, working students do social reproductive labour to underscore the importance of loving work.

Men's Parental Leave Uptake, Not Women's, Drives Increases in Female Managers: Evidence from Listed Companies in Japan

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Men's uptake, Parental leave, Female managers, Statistical discrimination, Undoing gender

Abstract/Description

Background:

Paid parental leave is a common policy in industrialized countries. While such policies often encourage labor force participation among mothers with young children, they do not always translate into career advancements for women, such as improved training opportunities, promotions, or representation in managerial positions. Three key reasons are highlighted in the literature: (1) Parental leave usage can widen the gap in workplace attachment between men and women, limiting women's human capital accumulation compared to men. (2) This disparity fosters statistical discrimination against women. (3) Parental leave policies primarily used by women tend to reinforce traditional gender roles. While most studies on men's parental leave focus on its impact on their participation in childcare and housework, this research explores its effects on women's career advancement within the same company. Our findings indicate that increasing men's uptake of parental leave can help mitigate the negative effects on women's career advancement, though these benefits may take several years to become evident.

Methods:

We examined panel data from listed companies in Japan to test two hypotheses: (1) Higher rates of men taking parental leave lead to an increased proportion of female managers. (2) This effect becomes evident after several years. To test these hypotheses, we applied pooled Ordinary Least Squares (OLS), Random Effects (RE), and Fixed Effects (FE) models, some of which included lagged variables for men's parental leave uptake rates. To address sample selection bias, we used Inverse Mills Ratios (IMR) or Inverse Probability Weights (IPW). We also tested endogeneity in men's uptake rates, applying instrumental variables (IV) when necessary.

Results:

Our findings reveal that men's parental leave uptake positively influences the proportion of female managers, with the strongest effects appearing four years later. Models without lagged variables reveal that a 1-percentage-point increase in men's parental leave uptake—calculated as the number of male parental-leave users divided by male employees under 40—is associated with a 0.326 to 0.430 percentage-point rise in the proportion of female managers in pooled OLS models and a 0.264 to 0.365 percentage-point rise in RE or FE models. FE models with lagged variables indicate that the largest impact occurs four years later, with a cumulative effect over five years reaching 0.679 percentage points.

Conclusions:

The results suggest that higher rates of men taking parental leave can help close gender gaps in career advancement. Although the immediate impact on women's promotions is modest, it grows significantly over time. This delay is understandable in large Japanese companies, where seniority-based promotion systems are prevalent. Three primary mechanisms may explain these findings: (1) Increased male parental leave uptake reduces gender gaps in work experience and human capital. (2) It mitigates statistical discrimination. (3) Challenging gender norms—such as men taking parental leave and companies encouraging them to do so—helps dismantle traditional gender roles. According to the "undoing gender" theory, this shift can reduce power imbalances and workplace inequalities associated with gender.

Shanghainese Youth Negotiating Work-life Balance: What Work and What Life?

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

work-life balance, Chinese youth, unemployment, gender, lying flat

Abstract/Description

Youth across the globe are facing challenges in finding their place in society. Given the economic slowdown, ageing of the population, as well as new purposes attached to life in post-modern society, Chinese youth are re-negotiating their future orientations. Extended lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic, known as the „zero COVID strategy“ (清零政策 qīnglíng zhèngcè), the trade war with the United States and well as the mismatch between the needs of the changing economy and majors offered by Chinese universities are all among the causes of high unemployment. Youth unemployment reached a record high of 21,3% in June 2023, and the Chinese National Bureau of Statistics ceased to publish this data and reviewed its methodology for six months thereafter. Even though under the current methodology, the number of jobless youth sank to 17,1% as of October 2024 (National Bureau of Statistics of China), there are still concerns that this share of the population is higher. Many young people are tired of endless competing in the sphere of both education and work, mostly referred to as „involution“ (内卷 nèijuǎn) (Goldenweiser 1936, Geertz 1963). Because everybody is putting in extra effort, the returns are insignificant and severe competitiveness is omnipresent. Moreover, the youth is becoming bitterly aware of the fact that the growth and opportunities experienced by the older generation in China will not be as easily or at all available to them.

Chinese youth are dealing with unemployment in several ways. Some find jobs in the platform economy, hoping to only work temporarily as delivery drivers, streamers or in other interim occupations. Others opt out of the labour market and „lie flat“ (躺平 tǎngpíng) by doing nothing or at least increasing their competitiveness by getting additional qualifications. For some of the youth, pursuing the next step of education becomes a strategy to avoid the labour market just yet and leads them to the decision to pursue a master's or doctoral degree instead of finding a job. Yet another part of the youth, mostly offsprings of welfare secured just retired or about-to-retire parents, simply take the role of „full-time children“ (全职子女 quánzhí zǐnǚ) to assist their ageing parents in their households by doing chores, shopping and receiving a little pocket money.

This study aims to explore the changing attitudes towards work-life balance and various working arrangements among the youth in Shanghai. Based on 30 in-depth interviews conducted in autumn 2024 with young people with at least a bachelor's degree aged 23-35 years old and employed in a variety of industries, this research looks into strategies the youth adopts not only to get a job but also to achieve a desired work-life balance. It delves into the likelihood of young people adopting alternative working models or temporarily withdrawing from the labour market. Further emphasis is put on the role of gender while using various forms of lying flat as a counterstrategy to high pressures experienced in the sphere of work and family.

Trends in work arrangements, gender, and work contexts in the United States, 1965-2022

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Work arrangements, Remote work , Gender, Time use , Part-time work

Abstract/Description

In this study, I document how trends in work arrangements—fully onsite, hybrid, and fully remote—vary by gender. I also examine how these gender differences in work arrangements relate to gendered work contexts, including part-time work, occupational sex composition, and other occupational characteristics. Using multiple datasets, including the American Heritage Time Use Survey (1965-2018) and the American Time Use Survey (2003-2022), I found that while hybrid arrangements remained relatively stable, fully onsite arrangements declined and fully remote arrangements increased for both male and female workers from 1965 to 2022. The findings also reveal that female workers tend to have greater access to fully remote arrangements and less access to hybrid arrangements compared to male workers. The gender difference in access to hybrid arrangements is largely explained by gendered work contexts, particularly job autonomy.

How do Fathers View their Paternal Commitment and their Relationship with Early Childhood Professionals?

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

fatherhood, health professionals, parental involvement, ideal-types

Abstract/Description

It is now well documented that fathers are more involved than before in the care and education of their children, even if these involvements are not monolithic and depend on many contextual and internal family factors. In addition, the relationships that develop between fathers and childcare professionals are still a matter of debate.

This proposal aims to understand fathers' conceptions and representations of their role based on a qualitative survey conducted in French-speaking Belgium. The objective was to learn how they perceive their involvement as fathers and their relationships with medical and social support professionals. A survey of 21 fathers of young children was conducted through semi-structured interviews. The analysis was based on comprehensive narratives and portraits whose convergences and divergences were identified to reconstitute ideal types.

We outline four ideal types of paternal involvement, while highlighting the associated expectations of professional intervention. Confronted with the increasing involvement of fathers and the various forms it takes, it is essential for early childhood professionals to question fathers' representations of their role and the relationship they wish to maintain with them.

Wealth sharing within couples who live together: a journey

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Abstract/Description

Wealth is widely treated as a household characteristic, yet the sharing of assets within the household remains poorly understood (Bennett, 2013; Deere and Doss, 2006; Lersch et al., 2022). In this paper, I attempt to close this empirical gap with reference to 35 qualitative interviews, with individuals who currently live with their partner or spouse, are aged between 25-50 and are resident in the UK, to consider how couples share or allocate their assets and debts.

The evidence I put forward reveals the complex and dynamic nature of wealth sharing within couples who live together, bound by both circumstance and principle. Simply put, many respondents report organising different assets in different ways; even assets of the same type may be owned differently pending the mode and timing of their acquisition. Many participants do not share their assets in the early stages of their cohabiting relationship. In some instances, this changes as the relationship progresses, and particularly in response to major life events, such as buying a house, getting married or having children. In other cases, early individualised approaches become entrenched, and inequalities prevail. Notably, both can result in differential and gendered effects.

In support of these claims, I offer detailed evidence from three participants, 'Isla', 'Ed' and 'Philippa'. In many ways, these participants are each unique in the specifics of their situations, yet the wider issues they raise apply to many. To demonstrate this, I locate these case studies in the broader findings of the study. I follow these observations with a discussion of the key findings, and their contribution to the extant literature.

The evidence I put forward offers new insights into the household economy, demonstrating income sharing typologies offer only a limited perspective into the organisation of economic resources. These insights further challenge common assumptions of equal sharing of assets and debts within the household. Furthermore, they have significant and wide-ranging implications for researchers and policy makers; from the measurement of wealth inequality and the gender wealth gap to the design of asset means tests and wealth taxes.

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Acknowledgements

Everyday Asset Struggles: The Inequality of Indebted Households

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Household debt, Everyday asset management, Intra-household inequality, Feminist Political Economy, Compound Inequality

Abstract/Description

Sustained asset price inflation coupled with a stagnant economy has produced a new regime of social reproduction in which household's everyday asset management has become central to daily life and social stratification. This paper thus addresses the socio-economic impact of asset price inflation and its corresponding need for household debt. I develop the concept of everyday asset struggles to capture how households navigate, manage, benefit and/or lose from such an asset economy across the wealth spectrum, from the asset haves and the asset have nots. I argue that everyday asset struggles help explain how access to, and management of, assets has led to compound inequality at the household level. I conceptualise this as a 'struggle' because the path to managing assets and debt securities is neither straight forward, nor equally easy for households, depending on pre-existing asset and debt endowments. Asset struggles happen across the wealth and income spectrum. Increasingly, the 1% is searching for novel ways to accumulate more debt to leverage their household resources, the middle classes become increasingly creative when housing assets become out of reach, while low income groups pay most for their debts and acquire fewest assets.

The paper foregrounds the hidden work and problems of households that use debt-based investments into assets that have become necessary for everyday life. This requires households to embrace the unpaid and hidden labour of calculative and embodied practices that care for leverage to access assets and maintain their value. Empirically, I document the interconnections of household-level asset ownership and debt in the UK to show that households are key institutions of the contemporary asset economy and that inequality manifests in form of everyday asset struggles. The ways in which households navigate their debt/asset relations to form leverage intensifies inequality in ways that the labour market does not, and that wage inequality cannot account for. From these findings, I reflect on a new form of politics that supports everyday asset struggles in a way that distributes the power to leverage away from the top 1% towards a more collective form of leverage that helps alleviate the inequalities of asset struggles.

Preparing one's retirement, with or without the family?

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Retirement, Pension planning, Comparison, Family, Heritage

Abstract/Description

The aim of this paper is to present the initial results of a comparative research carried out in France and Quebec on preparing for retirement. Retirement is a polysemous term, covering both the period of leaving the workforce and the pension on which individuals can rely once they have left employment. With the reforms undertaken since the 90s and the transformation of career and marital paths, retirement has become an uncertain social support, both in terms of horizon (at what age to retire and under what conditions) and standard of living (with what amount and structure of income).

How do individuals project themselves into retirement, and possibly prepare for their exit from working life? The research challenge of this presentation is to understand how individuals perceive the contemporary pension system and its recent transformations, and to report on the practices they may put in place, during their working lives and in their various spheres of activity, to prepare for their retirement. A comparison between France and Quebec highlights the differences between these countries in terms of the initial design of their pension systems: Quebec's system is mainly liberal, juxtaposing a minimalist universalist base with private responsibility, whereas France's system is corporatist, combining a common protection base with a variety of protection schemes, mainly based on the individual's professional anchorage. Family rights, whether in the context of retirement, separation or inheritance, also differ, highlighting the ways in which the family can be taken into consideration when it comes to protecting against the risk of old age.

After a brief presentation of the two retirement systems, we propose to present the initial results of some fifty interviews conducted in France in 2024 and in Quebec in 2025 with people aged between 40 and 50. Our focus will be on the family dimension of retirement preparation: how is the family mobilized - or not - in preparation for retirement? We will first look at how couples see - or don't see - retirement as a common cause around which they are mobilizing or planning to mobilize. Then we will look at the tensions created by the need to take care of children - both materially and financially - as they prepare for retirement. The final section looks at the differences observed between France and Quebec, and also between men and women who are differently positioned in the social space, with regard to inheritance and the unequal involvement of lineage in preparing for retirement.

Work and Gender in Later Life: Employment Patterns Among South Korea's Elderly

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Gender Difference, Elderly, Gerontology, Employment

Abstract/Description

South Korea is aging faster than ever, which makes it more important for older adults to stay active in the economy. When elderly people work, they not only help fill gaps in the labor market but also improve their own financial situations and reduce inequality across generations. Unfortunately, South Korea has the highest elderly poverty rate among OECD countries, and older women are especially affected. To understand why this happens, we need to look beyond individual choices and think about how cultural expectations, like traditional gender roles and caregiving responsibilities, shape work decisions later in life.

Even though this issue is important, many studies look at older adults as one group and ignore the differences between men and women. They also fail to consider family factors, like the number of children, which still play a big role in Korean families. This study focuses on how gender and family structure affect work patterns among elderly Koreans. Specifically, it asks: do traditional roles for men and women still influence work in old age?

To answer this, we used data from the 5th to 9th waves (2014–2022) of the Korean Longitudinal Study of Ageing (KLoSA). We applied statistical models to people aged 65 and older, looking at three types of work: wage jobs, self-employment, and unpaid family work. We also considered gender, number of children, family size, health, education, and income.

The results were clear. Older women are much less likely to work compared to men, and their work choices are very different. For men, having more children makes it more likely they will work in wage jobs or run their own businesses. For women, on the other hand, having more children pushes them toward self-employment or unpaid family work, with little impact on wage jobs. This shows that even in old age, women often choose flexible work so they can still take care of their families. Meanwhile, men seem to see work as a financial duty they must fulfill.

These findings make one thing clear: traditional gender roles and family expectations still shape work opportunities for older Koreans. Women are often expected to focus on unpaid caregiving, even when they could work for pay. Men, on the other hand, continue to feel pressure to be the breadwinners. To solve this, we need policies that take these realities into account. Fairer and more practical job opportunities can help both men and women achieve financial stability as they grow older.

In Sisterhood We Stand? Employee Satisfaction with Female and Male Supervisors Across Gender-Segregated Occupations

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Theme Track

C: Gender, Work and Family

Keywords

Leadership, Gender, Occupational gender segregation, Employee satisfaction, Workplace organization

Abstract/Description

In recent years, research on leadership styles of female and male leaders, as well as on phenomena such as the glass ceiling and the leaky pipeline, has flourished. However, employee perspectives, particularly regarding satisfaction with male versus female supervisors and the influence of occupational contexts—male- or female-dominated occupations—remain underexplored. Analyzing these dynamics is essential to uncover potential workplace conflicts between male and female subordinates and their supervisors, which may hinder the advancement of women into leadership positions. Moreover, examining gendered occupational contexts provides critical sociological insights into whether the well-documented gender disparities in leadership opportunities differ across male- and female-dominated occupations.

This study analyzes data from over 15,500 employees in Germany from the 2024 BIBB/BAuA Employment Survey to investigate how employee satisfaction varies by supervisor gender and how gender congruence between employees and supervisors interacts with occupational gender segregation.

The analysis is grounded in theoretical frameworks such as Social Role Theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2000), Role Congruity Theory (Eagly and Karau, 2002), Lack-of-Fit-Model (Heilman, 1983; 1995; 2001), and Similarity Attraction Theory (Abbasi et al., 2024; Schieman and McMullen, 2008), which offer insights into the role of gender stereotypes in shaping leadership evaluations and effectiveness. Leveraging the rich dataset on employees and workplaces, we control for key confounders in our logistic regression analyses—factors that are rarely considered together in this area of research. These include workplace autonomy, job tasks, job requirement levels, and socio-demographic characteristics.

Our findings indicate that female supervisors are rated more positively than male supervisors, particularly because they are more likely to demonstrate leadership qualities such as providing support, recognizing good work, and resolving workplace conflicts. Additionally, occupational gender composition plays a significant role: female employees report higher satisfaction with female supervisors in male-dominated and gender-balanced occupations, whereas male employees show no difference in satisfaction based on occupational gender composition. These results suggest that women, especially in contexts where they are the numerical minority, derive greater satisfaction from female supervisors compared to male supervisors.

The evidence presented in this study challenges the concept of the “Queen Bee Syndrome” (Staines et al., 1973), which posits that female leaders treat female subordinates worse than their male counterparts. Instead, our results point to a form of “sisterhood” in which female supervisors support female subordinates in male-dominated or gender-balanced occupations. Notably, this “sisterhood” effect persists even after controlling for the superior leadership qualities often