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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS
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Microfinance as a ‘Counter-Movement’: The Grameen Bank in Turkey

Whilst the contemporary globalization proceeds, accelerating the volume and the intensity of commercial and financial transactions, and generating global economic growth and social turbulence, the worldwide poverty and underdevelopment continues to be the main problem areas that need to be urgently addressed by the global community, as the benefits of the growth are not “trickling down” and more and more people are suffering from the adverse results of the globalization, such as massive unemployment, widespread poverty, generalized malnutrition and persistent high levels of inequality.

Within the poverty alleviation policy alternatives, microcredit institutions, pioneered by the Grameen Bank (GB) founded in Bangladesh, are regarded as one of the effective tools, especially in rural areas. With its decentralized and non-hierarchical organizational structure, the GB offers an alternative theory of development based on popular participation and community-based decision making. In order to investigate the reasons of the success of microcredit institutions and to search for the possibility of replications, the World Bank has produced a vast literature on the GB in particular and on the microcredit institutions in general. That literature, however, offers an explanation form an orthodox economics perspective, undermining/ignoring the community-based characteristic of the GB. More particularly, according to the Bank, in fighting poverty there is also need for macroeconomic policies of trade liberalization, deregulation and privatization to ensure rapid growth.

A Polanyian perspective in analyzing the success of microcredit institutions can indeed be very helpful in understanding how economy is subordinated to the needs of people for poverty eradications. The aim of this paper is thus to review the history, structure and accomplishments of the GB with an aim to offer a different depiction of microfinance activities form a Polanyian perspective, as an alternative to the World Bank’s position and understanding that is based on ontological and methodological individualism. According to the Polanyi’s thesis of double movement, as is well-known, the bitter extension of market mechanism over all kinds of human activities is reacted by societies in the form of a counter-movement, seeking to reembed the economy in social relations. Microcredit institutions can therefore be envisaged as an instance of those societal counter-movements, aiming to “reembed” the economy within the networks of reciprocity through the restoration of communitarian bonds and the encouragement of cooperative interactions. In order to underpin this claim, we will provide empirical evidence from the Grameen Bank experience in Diyarbakir, Turkey, pointing out to its potential to transform the economic structure in the region form the one enmeshed by endemic unemployment and deep-seated poverty to an alternative one based on communal collaboration and self-employment activity.
Peasant Migration from a Post-communist Society to Capitalist Europe: From an Ethnic Enclave to Social Exclusion

This paper will describe the situation of a Rumanian ethnic Hungarian peasant group (Csango) and the phenomena of temporary migration to specific European countries. I will concentrate on a particular Csango village (Ustina) located in Moldavia (Rumania). I will describe the history of migration of young men and women crossing illegally the border to Hungary at the beginnings of communist regime fall, and further on to other European countries through legal regulated temporary contracts. During their stay in the host countries, these workers performed the lowest working class chores (agriculture, construction and services) spending for their livelihood a minimum of their earnings to save and consume when back in their places of origin.

I propose to describe this migration phenomenon as a process of geographical displacement of human populations from one ecological niche to another. Three stages may be distinguished in this process: a) imbalance which refers to the process of temporary or permanent saturation of an ecological niche, thus imperiling the survival or the physical safety of some human group; b) transfer stage composed by all factors related to migration proper that determine the rate, human composition, and other features of migration (distance, transport, age, family status, etc); c) stabilization involving a return to a state of ecological balance or adaptation of the migrant group to its new ecological niche. This stage may be further subdivided as follows: 1) settlement referring to the incorporation of migrants into a new ecological niche of an ecosystem; 2) interaction meaning changes produced by the migration process in the new ecological niche; and 3) feedback or effects of the emigration process on the original ecological niche.
Recommendations and results from five UN world Conferences on Women from 1975 to 2000 advocated statistical desegregation between women and men with the support and expertise of the entire UN system of Agencies and Organizations. This systematic approach produced a remarkable global profile of women in all areas of life. The results could not have been achieved without the persistent struggle of women worldwide through protests and solidarity networks through a variety of local, national and international organizations. In 2000, the UN General Assembly reviewed and reassessed the 12 areas of concern of the Platform for Action adopted in Beijing in 1995. This global review outlined the achievements by women of their struggles in several countries reflecting progress made at the policy, legal and practical level. At the same time, updated information provided by governments at the beginning of the millennium indicated that gender equality is a long journey and that there have been series of roadblocks on the way to its achievement in many countries. These roadblocks included long standing traditions, inability of governments to reduce or eliminate poverty traps and generally the lack of political will of national authorities. Translating these emerging issues into development indicators provides a global view of the world in which women continue to work, live and struggle to maintain and sustain their human rights. How does recent history perceive these political gains and economic achievements?
Self-Emerging Resistance to the Self-Help Policy

The fundamental difficulty of capitalism, as Polanyi argues, is to create a market society so that the market economy can exist. This task is particularly challenging in societies where the state played a fundamental and an active role in economic domain for a long period of time. In societies where hierarchical command corporate culture rather than entrepreneurial market culture is prevalent, the justification and spread of market values and norms are as important as the adjustments in legal framework and bureaucratic apparatus. For this task, the government should interfere to all sections of the society but especially to poor people so that they leave their “dependency” and “passivity” and become self-reliant, autonomous and entrepreneurial individuals. In recent years, micro-credit, became a dominant instrument for the governments of developing countries and for international finance organizations to set up chains of enrolment, “responsibilization” and “empowerment” to sectors and agencies distant from the centre, yet tied to it through a complex of alignments and translations.

The proposed study seeks to examine the way in which micro-credit programs function to achieve their objectives, i.e. saving the poor people from their inertia and to make them capable individuals so that they can take care of themselves. The instruments and methods of micro-credit which are used to assist individuals so that they develop their own capacities and aptitudes and arrive to a stage of self-governance are explored. With reference to evaluation reports of implemented micro-credit programs, the study seeks to explore the unexpected outcomes of these programs which have not fulfilled the anticipation about the acquiescence of market values by poor people. In poor communities where economic behavior is still interwoven with social, political and religious life, some individuals do not use the credit that they have borrowed to increase their economic welfare. The study aims to look at the motives and moral context which inhibits the spread of the entrepreneurial culture among poor people through micro-credit programs.
Balochistan: a case study of neoliberalism and state repression

For over six months now, the Pakistan army has been engaged in suppressing a tribal nationalist insurgency in the southwestern province of Balochistan, which is the biggest source of natural gas in the country. The militants have repeatedly attacked major gas installations and foreign personnel to push their demands for greater royalties for gas and to protest against establishment of military garrisons and development of a port city in the province. The history of the Baloch struggle against the central government over political autonomy and the latter’s encroachment on local natural resources goes as far back as the immediate post-independence period. It escalated into a full-scale guerrilla war in the 1970s which had to be suppressed by a four-year long military operation, and the recent military crackdown is only the second phase of the same process. This paper aims to place the current insurgency in its historical context and highlight the continuities and discontinuities between the two most militant phases of the overall struggle. As a continuous trend, the Baloch case demonstrates the resilience of local forms of resistance against the inability and unwillingness of the Pakistani government to establish and sustain a stable formula for power and resource-sharing with the provinces and a continual resort to coercion-intensive means. By pointing to the discontinuities, we emphasize specific aspects of the current struggle that are a direct response to the aggressive pursuit of neo-liberal policies on part of the central government -particularly those related to foreign direct investment and increased pressure on extraction of natural resources-and the unprecedented increase in repressive powers of the state that have accompanied this process.
The Globalisation of Addiction

In *The Great Transformation*, Polanyi showed that forcing land, labour, and money into self-regulating markets inevitably produced “dislocation” of people, along with fragmentation of society and destruction of the natural environment. He used the term “dislocation” broadly, to indicate that people were being displaced not only geographically, but also socially and psychologically. Today, sixty years after the publication of *The Great Transformation*, psychological evidence of greatly increased dislocation is found among both rich and poor people in all societies based on neoliberal economics.

Polanyi’s mid-20th century contemporary, psychoanalyst and anthropologist Erik Erikson (1946, 1959), saw dislocation (which he called “identity diffusion”) as a precursor of addiction in the most general sense, including not only alcohol and drug habits, but also a great variety of “neurotic fixations” and “compulsions” that did not involve drugs. Erikson showed that people adapt to sustained dislocation by using addiction to create a “negative identity”. In this way an addiction provides a negative substitute for the healthy identity that is unattainable by severely dislocated people (Erikson, 1959, pp. 129-133).

Taken together, the work of these two celebrated mid-20th century scholars provides a compelling explanation for the galloping spread of addictions of all sorts in the 21st century world (see Alexander, 2001; 2004), an explanation that is invisible to the dominant neoliberal mentality of the current era. In our presentation, we will demonstrate correlations between marketization of various societies and the spread of both dislocation and addiction; develop the psychological reasons that dislocation serves as a necessary precursor of addiction; and offer evidence of addiction dynamics in the spreading madness that appears to be overtaking the 21st century. We will argue that the problem of addiction cannot be solved by anything less than a “great transformation” of the sort that Polanyi (1944, chapter 21) optimistically believed had been achieved, or at least well begun, by the end of World War II.


Argitis, G.

*Finance, Laissez-Faire and Unemployment: Polanyi Challenges the 21st Century*

In this paper we argue that a laissez faire transformation of policy-making in contemporary capitalism, implemented by governments, central banks and international institutions in developed and developing countries, might have contributed to the creation of a sort of "rentier-led stagnation and instability" regime in which financial and rentiers’ interests set limits to employment, growth, workers’ well being and social cohesion.

The neo-liberal policy structure has affected institutions, economic and social structures and the macroeconomic systems. Independent and inflation targeting central banks destabilise industrial profits and crucially transform the policy-making in favour of financial interests. Flexibility of labour markets reduces workers anticipation with detrimental effects on wage income and full employment.

Polanyi’s ideas about the commodification of labour and money reveals that rentiers’ interests and an absolute faith to laissez-faire policies are failures, which increase economic and social instability in a market economy, while they make full employment and social cohesion unattainable. A reformulation of the policy-making in the coming decades requires a new read of the Great Transformation, if we wish modern societies to develop institutions to promote a faire income distribution, employment and economic and social stability.
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**Turkey’s Islamists: Reshaping The State**

This paper examines Islamist politics in Turkey within the context of the changing balance of domestic and international forces in the world economy. It theorizes the role of Islamist politics in forging a distinctive form of political economy in the Turkish state. The paper also demonstrates that various factions within the newly emerging Islamist capitalist groups use Islam as a strategic resource in different ways to enhance their class position in the national and global circuits of the economy. Some Islamists focus on the protection of small-medium size commercial groups, industrialists, and labour from the negative effects of global economic forces. However, others are perfectly comfortable with participating in the global economy and supporting those political changes that facilitate it. Each group has its own approach to the ideological connections between local cultural arrangements and the global economy. There is a need, therefore, to investigate the place of Islam within a framework of shifting domestic contexts and global conditions.

The paper explores the historically variable articulation of Islam in Turkey in relation to the exercise of state power. By exposing the powerful forces confronting the state, a framework is developed for interpreting the dynamics of Islam within contemporary Turkey. The paper views “Islam” as a multidimensional construct in which politics, ideology, and the economy form an interrelated whole. A broad historical model is used to articulate these dimensions at the global, regional and local levels, thereby allowing us to interpret the national dynamics of the political economy and culture of the Turkish state and Islam. The analysis is organized around three themes: 1- global relations of power, including development strategies, and political and military relations that govern the organization of the global economy; 2- domestic political-cultural responses to these relations; and 3- opportunities and constraints presented to citizens within these larger mechanisms of change. The paper draws these themes from the double movement argument of Karl Polanyi (1944). It suggests that various forms of multi-class populist alliances in the state structure mediate the link between global power relations and domestic responses to them. This is a dynamic political process that incorporates daily life experience into the negotiations and compromises that take place within a specific conjuncture of global events.
The Impact of the February 2001 Economic Crisis on the Family: Findings from the Work and Family Life Under Siege Study

This paper uses newly collected data on the impact of the Turkish economic crisis on urban families. The paper begins with an examination of the societal distribution of economic hardship to determine which social groups are the most affected. Drawing on previous research on the effects of poverty, adverse economic events, and economic strain, we assess their impact on individual and family distress as measured by stress, psychological and physical health, and marital problems. The results show that while economic strain was widely shared, lower socioeconomic status groups were harder hit. Crisis-related economic strain had a strong negative effect on perceived stress levels, physical and mental health, as well as marital relations and mediates much of negative effects of low socioeconomic status and unemployment. Renters were particularly hard hit by the crisis and report more strain and personal distress than non-renters.
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The Knowledge Economy

Since more of twenty years in the USA and since the birth of MTO in 1994, the knowledge transformation of property rights and in particular, the genotype’s property rights, constitute an anthropological breaking in human societies, in so far as life and its reproduction are no more considered as aim but as means and instruments for profit. As said Marschall Sahlins, market creates scarcity where there was still abundance and free goods. Knowledge and genotype are fictitious commodities, in the sense given by Karl Polanyi: in the one hand, they belong to common property of humanity and on the other hand, transformations of property rights make possible genotype appropriation and transform them in economic commodities. European Union is going in the same direction since the adoption of the Directive 94/44/CE, which authorize patents rights not only for inventions but also for « discoveries ».

According to Karl Polanyi, in the market society, work, land and money are involved in the market as production instruments. Actually, all the social life is going to be transformed in production and knowledge is not only a way to improve production instruments but it’s both a production instrument and the result of capitalist production. This is the sense of “The knowledge economy”.

In particular, the genotype private property transforms the capacity of life reproduction in instruments for profit and in commodities. In the market society, the big market transforms not only use values in exchange values, its stretches to life conditions. It doesn’t mean only use values appropriation but replacement conditions of this use values appropriation. The genotype represents one of the last frontiers for total submission to market order and market totalitarism. Genetic engineering is the result of an economic relationship with world and Nature, analysed by Karl Polanyi. The replacement of the ecological process by a technological process is going to abolish frontiers between the production sphere and the reproduction sphere. The living becomes the field of unlimited expansion of biotechnologies.

Analysing privatization of genotype commands to understand, beyond economics logics, its principle of legitimating: a human “nature” with unlimited needs, unlimited accumulation of wealth. The universe is seen as a resources stock to capture and the task of humanity consists in creation of a second nature as wrote Fukuyama which makes the original one superfluous as said Hannah Arendt.
Fortunately, ecological crisis reminds us of particularities of the link between Nature and human persons: the abolition of Nature should abolish in the same time humanity. So knowledge and genotype are fictitious commodities, in the sense of Karl Polanyi.
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Institutional Change and Patterns of Labour Market Continuity in Australia and New Zealand

This paper seeks to analyses changes to labour market institutions in Australia and New Zealand in reference to Polanyi’s conception of labour as a fictitious commodity, and embedded institutions. In so doing, the paper attempts to broaden traditional assumptions the field of industrial relations makes about institutions. Industrial relations researchers have been interested in institutional regulation since the Webbs and Commons examined the development of unions, minimum standards and collective bargaining in the United Kingdom and the United States. This tradition provides a narrow conception of institutions as structures rather than processes, norms, rituals or habits. A contemporary manifestation of this narrow conception is the preoccupation of industrial relations research with changing institutional structures, such as declining levels of trade union density and the decentralization of bargaining structures. Often overlooked in such analyses are important questions about the functions institutions perform, and how these functions endure in times of institutional change. Using the notion of permanent embeddedness, this paper outlines changes to the Australian and New Zealand systems of industrial relations from the 1990s, and examines how the systems’ traditional regulatory functions continue to be performed following the introduction of new institutions and bargaining structures.
Suppressing the Double Movement to Secure the Dictatorship of Finance

Both Polanyi and Marx rooted their political analysis in the realisation that the logic of capitalism is fatally flawed. Both understood that its almost unimaginable power to transform societies in the name of accumulation and profit will not only develop the forces of production to create the possibility of 'material plenty' but that will ultimately threaten the very existence of the people and societies that entrust their futures to it.

Both writers focused on the process by which people and societies might find ways of responding to this challenge, through a Marxian proletarian revolution, or through Polanyi's "double movement". The paper will argue that the simultaneous push for flexible labour markets, for open international financial flows, for the empowerment of 'civil society' threatens to block both of these potential political responses, leaving us to confront the challenge of identifying and supporting an alternative set of political responses if we are to avoid a truly barbaric and desolate future.
Borghi, M.

*The Artificial Creation of Scarcity*

As an outcome of human intellectual labour, knowledge seems today to have reached an outstanding and central position among the so-called ‘fictitious commodities’. Our present world is commonly referred to as a ‘knowledge society’, i.e. a society where knowledge is getting more and more valuable as a factor of production and thus as an exchangeable scarce asset. In this perspective, the rise of intellectual property (the unbroken expansion of their boundaries and the strengthening of its legal protection) seems to be the natural consequence of this state of the world. However, following Polanyi’s fundamental insight in the commodification of factors of production, a different way of dealing with these issues can be put forward. Knowledge does not become a commodity because we live in a ‘knowledge society’ but, on the contrary, we are in a ‘knowledge society’ precisely because knowledge is become a commodity. In my paper, I argue that this substantial transformation took place in Europe between the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, when the ‘intellectual property system’ supplanted the previous system of rules in the marketplace of ‘immaterial products’. Such a transformation can be formally understood as an unprecedented way of giving a ‘value in exchange’ to items that don’t actually have such a value (or that only have a ‘utility value’). It is thus an extra-economic act of artificial creation of scarcity. The paper analyzes in the first place the framework of the ancient forms of exchange of immaterial goods under the aspect of its juridical institutions (book-privileges, patents, monopoly rights) and practices. These institutions and practices constitute an efficient method for establishing the exchangeability of the immaterial good as a function of the market in which this good is exchanged. As a result, the good’s exchange value, which is created through an institutional act (such as a privilege or a patent), is determined and defined not just within tempo-spatial borders, but also within specific economic boundaries. On the contrary, the paper shows how in the 19th-century intellectual property-system the foundations are laid for a more and more boundless creation of scarcity.
Cette communication s’inscrit dans le cadre d’un programme de recherche qui se veut contributaire à la connaissance théorique et empirique des filières d’approvisionnement de proximité dans le secteur agroalimentaire, et plus spécifiquement du développement de la filière des produits du terroir au Québec, dans un contexte où 1) avec la mondialisation, les pratiques alimentaires se modifient de manière accélérée; les aliments voyagent sur des milliers de kilomètres et nos assiettes contiennent de plus en plus souvent des mets prêts à manger sous la forme de « fast food » ou de repas surgelés ; 2) l’avènement de zoonoses telles l’ESB (maladie de la vache folle) ou la grippe aviaire, de même que les débats autour du recours aux OGM dans l’agriculture et aux antibiotiques et hormones de croissance dans le secteur de l’élevage ont ébranlé la confiance des consommatrices et des consommateurs envers les systèmes industriels d’approvisionnement et 3) plusieurs mouvements sociaux (dont le Slow Movement) sont à la recherche d’alternatives à une marchandisation accrue des aliments et des processus alimentaires, des alternatives qui font la promotion d’aliments moins transformés et plus près de la nature. La notion de filières d’approvisionnement de proximité réfère à des réseaux de production, de distribution et de mise en marché organisés de manière à réduire la distance physique ou symbolique entre les producteurs et les consommateurs. Elle s’applique aussi bien au commerce équitable, par le biais duquel les consommateurs démontrent un intérêt pour les conditions de vie des producteurs et s’en rapprochent donc sur le plan symbolique, qu’à l’agriculture soutenue par la communauté, qui permet d’approvisionner des consommateurs urbains de légumes biologiques provenant directement d’un producteur régional.

Nous présenterons ici les premiers résultats de notre recherche, qui concernent la multiplication accélérée, depuis quelques années, de petites fromageries fortement identifiées aux terroirs québécois et dont le développement est encouragé par l’État, qui en mis en place des programmes destinés à la promotion des terroirs. Les données sont analysées à partir des notions de marchandisation et de dé-marchandisation des espaces naturels et culturels de production et de consommation.
From its emergence in the 17th century as the last remaining monopoly, to its metamorphose into 'property' in the 20th century, intellectual property - patents, copyright and trademark being its most prominent forms - has replaced land and factory ownership as the primary vehicle of wealth accumulation in today's world. In the form of software, biotechnology and entertainment, it is in fact the last export left for the world's remaining superpower. Imposed on the rest of the world through multilateral TRIPS (nominally in exchange for abandonment of agricultural subsidies and acceptance of textiles imports), bilateral SUPERTRIPS, and prominent, though widely unreported, in the baggage of the US invasion of Iraq, intellectual property law has been seen as unstoppable as 'the last enclosures' of human creativity.

Over the last few years, however, dissenting voices are increasingly being heard. From countries as far flung as Brazil and Argentina, with their demand for recognition of the right to development, to courts of Thailand in their rejection of IP overreach at the expense of the wellbeing of its citizens, official voices are demanding a roll back of laws delivered in exchange for unfulfilled promises. Joined by groups as diverse as hardware industries, NGOs, consumers, farmers, senior citizens, legal scholars, technology buffs and public health officials worldwide, momentum is building not only to halt the spread of IP law, but to push it back to the days when, in theory at least, it was designed to encourage creative thought for the betterment of humanity rather than line the increasingly deep pockets of transnational corporations, at the expense of the spread of technology and culture.

My paper will outline the recent developments in the turning of the tide on intellectual property law. It will explore the gains of the growing number of voices in a widening list of sectors opposed to tsunami of increasingly criminalizing legislation. I will also examine the increasingly hard-line taken by those who wish to maintain and push forward what they see as the final privatization of mental goods.
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*The Disembedded Economy: Political Project or Sociological Reality?*
Cultural “Double Movement”: An Analysis of the Slow Food Movement from a Polanyian Perspective

The ideal of citizenship in the traditional Marshallian sense has been seriously challenged in the last three decades by the processes of neo-liberal globalisation. The extension of market logic to ever wider spheres of human activity has been reducing more and more varieties of social actions to the status of market exchange. The widely acceptance of the individualistic ethics by the world societies has led to corrosion of communitarian ties. In the absence of such solidaristic ties, what will ensure the reproduction of communities and collective identities emerges as the challenging question for social scientists. Contributing to the construction of an underlying framework, on which a meaningful answer to this question can be provided, will be the driving motive of this paper.

After reviewing the challenges of the contemporary globalisation against collective identities, I will envisage its prospects for the creation of new forms of commitments by introducing a Polanyian approach into the globalisation discussion, which help us have a better understanding of the nature of the contemporary market society. It will be argued that the rearticulation of the crisis of the collective identities—caused by the detachment of the global economy from its social and cultural origins—by the Polanyian language makes the devastating effects of the neo-liberal globalisation more explicit. This Polanyian framework also provides us with intellectual tools to discern the counter-movement that arises from within the society, reclaiming solidaristic ties and communal values. The Slow Food movement will be evaluated from that point of view, illustrating how it responses to the four-step disembedding processes of global hegemonic culture: [1] commodification, [2] convergence in production techniques, [3] standardisation of consumption styles and [4] concomitant uprootedness of the individual from his/her cultural values and collective identity. It will be asserted that Slow Food movement exemplifies culturally-embedded civil society initiatives which can be conceptualised as the emerging site of cultural counter-movement that may contribute to the revival of social identities.

I will end the paper by discussing spaces of hope for the reconstruction of communal ties through effective participation of active citizens in protection and reproduction of their culture and society.
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The Polanyian theoretical legacy has been vastly increased in the latest decade (cf. Among other titles: Silver and Arrighi, 2003; Blyth, 2002; Adaman and Devine eds 2002; Block, 2003, 2001, Krippner, 2001; Rodrik, 1998; Crouch, and Streeck, eds.:1997;Boyer, and Drache, eds: 1996; Evans 1995, Bryant, and Mokrzycki, eds: 1994), and very recently an important symposium explicitly focused on embeddedness has appeared in Socio-Economic Review (cf. Kripner et alii in no 2, 2004:pp 109-135). In all those accounts it is usual to recall (besides Polanyi’s own contribution to the theme) the Weberian legacy as the other source of the concept (In fact, it becomes clear in the “symposium on embeddedness” that the main source of Granovetter himself in his 1985 essay was Weber, not Polanyi).

Interestingly enough, none of those contributions takes into account – or mentions – Schumpeter’s perspective on economic sociology and institutions, or explores his contributions to the “embeddedness approach”. This is the theme is of present paper. As is well known by now (After Swedberg’s masterful biography, cf. Swedberg: 1991), Schumpeter had, early on in his career, the desire to “found” a Social Economic discipline which would consist of three distinct – but interrelated – perspectives: economic theory, economic sociology and history.

For him, money, credit and the “tax state” where institutions whose workings interacted dynamically wit markets and competition in order to generate structural change. The paper will suggest that Schumpeter also developed his own version of the “embeddedness approach” (cf. Schumpeter: 1918, 1928, 1942 chapters 8-14) which is substantially convergent wit Polanyi’s; that it should be taken as a third road to the thinking on embeddedness and, therefore, as a – major – addition to the Polanyian theoretical legacy.

As Fred Block has shown, if Polanyi’s concept of embeddedness is seen dynamically it becomes an insightful take on institutional change: the double movement alternating “embedding” and “disimbedding” which enables us to apply an “economic sociology perspective” to the relationship among states, markets and regulation(cf. Block: 2003).

Summing up, our effort in this paper will be to show a) how Schumpeter’s distinction between the capitalist system (its economic mechanisms and especially competition by means of innovation) and the capitalist order (its institutional framework) works, b) on how the intertwining between them generates both regularities and tensions that unfolds into a “destabilizing stability” pattern and into a propensity towards the development of “institutional contradictions within capitalism” (a perspective that is, by the way, at odds wit the Williamson-based neo-institutional economics), and c) on why it can – and should – be used, analytically, as a
complement to the Polanyian formulation. A few remarks on the relevance of Schumpeter’s contribution to the discussion on “comparative capitalism” will close the paper.

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The Institutional Paradigm and the Need for Information

The prevailing neoclassical tendency of economic science toward a Schumpeterian “economic analysis” has been paralleled by an attempt to recover the “institutional” concern for “political economics” as a science of (public) control of the economic system. It is in this sense that Karl Polanyi refers to the need for organizing “human life in a machine society”; in *The Great Transformation*, he sets that need in its historical background.

The paper deals with a few institutional economists – from T. Veblen and J. M. Clark to A. Löwe and K. W. Kapp – among those who have considered the market-capitalist system as inherently unable to process, and even to provide, indispensable information for adapting the economic system to its human and natural environment, and addressing it to social utility. The nature and scope of economic science have correspondingly been narrowed by mainstream economics. The institutional outlook allows us instead to take into account, for instance, “social costs” (Kapp), and, generally speaking, to go beyond a formal “theory of choice”. Institutional thinking typically looks at data of choice, ends included, as a problem, and analyses “their occurrence, structural order and evolutionary tendency” (Löwe). This way, the want of information can be faced, as well as – through appropriate political institutions – the disorganization, the entropy it implies.
Microcredit and market society: challenges to social inclusion

Since neoliberalism has had decisive impacts on labor and financial markets, new forms of credit access conditions have been considered by multilateral institutions to reorganize social interactions. Reinforcing market properties, microcredit incentives entrepreneurial behaviour because of its supposed ability to mitigate unemployment and poverty.

This paper states that the fragility of microcredit solutions reveals tensions inherent to market society where private benefits prevail. Financial liberalization has lead to a “financial trap” in which banks became key actors and labour the key adjustment variable. In a context of growing business efficiency and fiscal adjustments, the responsibility of employability is transferred to the citizens, transformed in entrepreneurs of the underground economy. While speculative and short-term portfolio decisions predominate in banking system, microcredit is part of segmentation strategies to achieve banking inclusion. The dynamic and intersections of formal and underground circuits of spending and income turn out to reinforce social exclusion.

Section I analyses microcredit under the multilateral institutions perspective. Section 2 presents an overview of microcredit practices in Brazil. Section 3 discusses the dynamic and intersections of formal and underground circuits of spending and income and the social consequences of macroeconomic adjustment and banking strategies on microcredit efforts. Finally we discuss policy implications.

This presentation examines the unconditional basic income guarantee and national income shares schemes respectively of Van Parijs (1995) and Zucker (2001). It discusses implications of each on social welfare policy and on notions of and reform efforts for distributive justice. Basically, neither Van Parijs nor Zucker come to terms adequately with meeting basic needs or poverty reduction when addressing issues of income inequality. Reducing income inequality, a worthy goal for a variety of reasons (e.g., equalizing access to political power, creating greater social harmony), may reduce relative poverty while nonetheless ignoring absolute poverty. Following Bowles and Gintis (1998/1999), Braybrooke (1987), and Sheahen (1983), poverty reduction or equality-in-meeting-basic-needs should remain the central focus of theoretical and practical initiatives justifying income redistribution. The presentation concludes with a social welfare policy scheme that retains aspects of a guaranteed income while meeting basic need.

References
Fictitious Commodities or the Economy Fiction? The Case of Chile and the Mapuche of La Araucanía

The concepts of fictitious commodities and the “disembedded” economy represent powerful entry-points for the critique of capitalist society. Yet while Polanyi recognized the political nature of the capitalist market and the fallacy of the reduction of economy to market phenomena, he was not able to extricate himself fully from the very foundational myths of the capitalism that he rejected. Ironically, in arguing that the capitalist market, as a system of economic production and circulation, becomes disembedded from the wider society, Polanyi falls prey to the very neoclassical confusion of market and economy that he was critiquing. This paper will argue, on the contrary, that the capitalist economy does not become disembedded from society, and that land, labour, and money are fictitious commodities because the capitalist economy is itself a fiction. In a capitalist society the economy remains tightly interwoven with other facets of social life because, because, much as throughout history, exchange markets are not exclusively economic institutions. Rather, capitalist markets are social institutions that regulate a gamut of social functions including political relations and discourse, identity formation, sexuality, knowledge and information, leisure and entertainment, etcetera. What makes capitalist society unique is that the market mechanism becomes the principal means through which social power is exercised and human societies and ecological systems are reproduced.

This paper will be divided into three parts. The first section will critique the conflation of capitalist market and economy that prevails within the contemporary social sciences and provide preliminary reflections upon alternative means through which we can conceptualise the nature and constitution of capitalist markets, as social institutions whose dominant agents manipulate the political and economic foundations of power to privatise and commodify an ever-expanding number of social and ecological relationships. The second section will employ the aforementioned reflections to provide a reinterpretation of the nature of capitalist power in Chile and the consolidation of capitalist hegemony since 1973. The third and final section will examine the progressive intervention of capitalist markets within the rural Mapuche communities of La Araucanía, in order to analyse, on the one hand, how capitalist markets have decomposed the material and symbolic foundations of rural indigenous community and incorporated its human and ecological components into the networks of capitalist exchange and, on the other hand, how the Mapuche have sought – overtly and covertly – to challenge the expanding influence of capitalist markets and reconstitute the political, economic, and cultural bases of rural Mapuche society.
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Polanyi, the German Historical School and Guild Socialism
Changing family economy among Zimbabwe’s mineworkers: production and reproduction of labour

It is well known that mining in Southern Africa contributed to the development of a migrant labour system based on a complex relationship between labour production and the reproduction of labour. Mineworkers became urbanised wage earners, yet it was thought that because they were semi-proletarianized, they remained dependent on the subsistence economy in the communal areas through the reproductive activities of their families, especially their spouse. This system was intrinsically linked to colonial labour practices and provided the structures that shaped the region’s political economy and class formation. Most significantly, it provided a subsidy to mining companies.

What is less well known is the perpetuation and transformation of this pattern since legal and political changes were introduced with independence and the claim by mining companies that they are introducing more modern mining methods and some new technology. Evidence collected from extensive fieldwork in 2000 and 2001 demonstrates that workers remain dependent on communal areas in spite of their full proletarianization, and changes in the organisation of production. Workers continue to rely on activities undertaken by their spouse which have also become more commoditised, replacing purely subsistence activities with the sale of products and involvement in trade whether at the mine site or the communal areas.

The proposed paper will demonstrate the changing nature of Zimbabwe’s family economy and the expansion of commoditisation it represents. It will demonstrate that in spite of state and workers’ attempts to move away from it, mining multinationals have been able to maintain the link between production and reproduction and the subsidy this system generates.
Polanyi’s Contribution to Critical Political Theory

In defining the effects of unmitigated markets on man and society, Karl Polanyi integrated a century of critiques by political ideologues on both the left and the right. His book, The Great Transformation, stands at the end of a long tradition of criticizing capitalism and its deleterious effects. It defined the causes and the consequences of the market for those concerned about the destruction of authority, while it simultaneously addressed the concerns of those worrying about the demise of community. He bridged two long traditions of thinkers concerned about mass society and mass culture in producing a model about which they all had foreboding.

Because the work is analytical rather than polemical, it provided the first clear picture of markets and how those markets create fictitious commodities. Dissatisfaction and dislike of the market, clearly defined, was the one point of common concern to socialists and reactionaries alike.

The work, however, did not survive the onslaught of liberal thinkers in America, who studiously bifurcated the integrative work of Polanyi. A host of liberal critics took up the "debate over mass society" and summarily dismissed or ignored Polanyi’s insight.

One author built on the insights of Polanyi, and developed a renewed critique of "market man" and "market society": C. B. Macpherson. In his work on The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, Macpherson asks the important question of necessity and consequence, i.e., in a market society in which everything becomes a commodity, what type of person is needed to support the 'economic engine' and what type of society results?

In retrospect, one of Polanyi’s greatest contributions may have been to the field of political theory, and to renewing and revitalizing criticisms of capitalism in an age when the "new left" and the "old right" seem to have atrophied.
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*The 1970s and After: The Crisis of Social Democracy: The Political Economy of Inflation*
Moments of Power and In/security in the Making of a Liberal World Order

The neoliberal ‘art of government’ is said to have as its target the population in all its splendor and multiplicity. In targeting this polymorphous subject it is said to have biopolitical objectives: the protection, amplification, health and ultimately the security of the population. Its chief aim is a pacifist world order of profitable investment climates where individuals are united, normalized, and disciplined by contracts, commerce and capitalism. Yet this art of government has coincided with greater human in/security and the militarization of liberal world order. For this reason, it may be worthwhile to interpret neoliberal governance as intimately connected to another art the West, and particularly the United States, seeks to perfect: the art of war.

In this paper I seek to probe the interface between the neoliberal art of government and that of war in the making of a more commodified, in/secure and liberalized world order. I argue that this interface can be understood by examining the discourse of militant liberalism and how its tropes promise greater security while its practice generates the opposite of its so-called intentions: the enhancement of human life. It does so through at least two mechanisms or techniques intimately related to capitalism and its reproduction: the fictionalization of non-commodities on the one hand, and their fetishism on the other.
A Polanyian Analysis of the Catholic Church's Critique of Laissez-Faire Capitalism

This paper analyses from a Polanyian perspective Social Catholicism's critique of liberal capitalism. The paper argues that the Catholic social justice tradition embodies and articulates a deep suspicion and a focused critique of laissez-faire capitalism. The suspicion and critique are embodied in a number of official texts, beginning with the 1891 papal letter Rerum Novarum, and in the work of a wide range of church organisations and agencies. The paper advances a two-fold thesis: despite differences in emphasis and strategy, the Catholic social justice tradition rejects the kind of laissez-faire capitalism at the heart of much contemporary public policy and public philosophy in English-speaking countries such as Australia. Secondly, despite a number of insufficiencies and lacunae, Social Catholicism constitutes a substantial resource for informing or framing the development of alternatives to neoliberal public policy and philosophy. As such, Social Catholicism, particularly when informed by Polanyian perspectives on political economy, and together with cognate traditions such as Social Christianity and Republicanism, can make a serious contribution to the protection of society and nature from the neoliberal project.
Tanzanite: Commodity Fiction or Commodity Nightmare?

Karl Polanyi’s discussion of the commodification of land, labour, and money has been remarkably useful in analysis not only of nineteenth century markets but also twenty-first century social and economic developments. This paper discusses the commodification of a gemstone, tanzanite, a fairly new commodity which has received close scrutiny since the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and even more publicity since the attacks of September 11, 2001. Tanzanite was discovered in the 1960s, has been actively mined since the 1980s, and, along with diamonds from West Africa, has reportedly been bought by members of al Qaeda for use in funding its networks and activities. The paper explores policy issues raised not only by the Tanzanian state but also by gemstone buyers and dealers, as well as health and safety issues at the mines. Children and teenagers are often the miners in the Mererani district, the only area where tanzanite is found. Death and disease is caused not only by unsafe mine conditions but also the HIV/AIDS rate is rising in the district, among these young school-leavers. Maasai middle men are brokers and buyers of tanzanite, buying and selling cattle in order to raise money for tanzanite purchases. This web of commoditized products is analyzed not only for its impact on the Tanzanian economy, but also in light of the sales of tanzanite to American buyers, reportedly the largest market for tanzanite in the world.

The paper is based on field interviews with buyers and sellers, in Tanzania and in the United States, as well as analysis of media reports, in order to argue that this particular commodity is a fiction with serious policy, social, health, and economic implications.
Multipolarity: an alternative to the "single model" of development

The way of insertion of Brazilian economy in the world economy shaped some specific features of the country economic and social formation that developed into structural problems characteristic of underdevelopment. The Brazilian economic school of thought of the 1950s represented by the economist Celso Furtado (1920 - 2004) pointed out those specificities and insisted on the need to envisage an autonomous path for the country. Nonetheless, the industrialized nations model kept standing as the “single ideal” to be followed.

Brazilian industrialization, strongly state-guided, has not accomplished however a homogeneous social development in the country. Notwithstanding the economic growth, social inequality and wealth concentration remained to as fundamental features of Brazilian society. This condition worsened with the intensification of the transnationalization of Brazilian economy, which contributed to limit the action radius of the national state. The situation of deep social inequity made plain the “single ideal of development” meaninglessness. The verification that market logic – efficiency and competitiveness-bound – may lead whole nations to become unnecessary makes urgent to reconsider the role national states and civil society should play and to devise development strategies that incorporate social policy.

Departing from the statement that development brings with it anthropological and philosophical questions, Celso Furtado deemed essential an ethical-axiological outlook to envision a kind of development that leads to the fulfilling of basic human needs. He understood development as an endogenous process that makes room to the affirmation of diverse cultural potentialities. He regarded invention capacity and creativity as essential factors to achieve a kind of development meant to discover latent potentialities in daily situations. Pursuing this kind of development requires a permanent disposition for being surprised and to take the risk of decolonizing future of today’s ephemeral certainties that are presented as perennial by power structures. To say it briefly, his ideas still urge us about the need to reclaim the faculty of making possible tomorrow what seems impossible today.
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In focusing so sharply on the legal process of integration of price-setting markets for almost all use-values, including labour power, that was so marked a feature of the turn from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Century Karl Polanyi was famously led to emphasize social discontinuities. Much later scholarship on the commercial aspects of so-called "proto-industrialization" (Kriedte, Medick at al.) would have us think he was guilty indeed of exaggeration. In the case of social history (Thompson vs. Joyce) the jury is arguably still out. But if we consider more closely than Polanyi did the material-technical aspects of production over the period in question another, even sharper discontinuity stands out: the sudden shift to substituting the latent heat in fossil fuels for muscle power that coincided with all the institutional change. Historians of so-called "technology" (Landes) have long made much of this sea-change in their own corner of the academic enterprise, but by the idealist not to say hermetic standards of Twentieth Century intellectual history (Schumpeter, Roll) it became dogma to see political economy as a single rich tradition, at least prior to Marx's deliberately disruptive interventions late in the Nineteenth. The work of Ricardo was said to be squarely built on that of Smith, but if we use a newly available kind of ecological light to re-examine their now-ignored dispute about farming, we can clearly see a watershed between their ways of conceiving reality, and not just metaphysically but also practically. Smith was certain living nature was a reliable human ally. Ricardo apparently simply disdained the category. Smith clearly expected free trade to be grafted onto strong local economies allied with natural processes, but Ricardo advocated technical shortcuts based in gross distinctions of comparative advantage which ever cheaper transportation made into the uncontrollable agents of ecological as well as social disruption they currently are. It seems that Polanyi understated the disjuncture between 1776 and 1817.
Whereas Polanyi developed his concept of the Great Transformation as a turning point in the longue durée of capitalism, this paper aims to focus on the immediate social contexts connected with this change in the mode of regulation in the wake of the Great Depression and World War II. We argue that the economic and social disruption of the thirties has to be understood as a product of the re/construction of a liberal world order during the twenties and its inherent economic and social contradictions. The hegemonic discourse of a re/construction effort initiated by private market forces led to a global restructuring of the production system that favoured foreign private investments. Insulated from political pressure by charters granting them independence, central banks remained disconnected from the financial needs inherent to reconstruction; public budgets were disciplined in order to guarantee credibility and gain the confidence of international investors; tax systems restructuring initiated a shift from direct to consumption taxes, and the global deflationary cycle severely restrained credit and investments. The privatization of the reconstruction effort thus generated macroeconomic pressures upon the production system as well as growing social insecurity. Whereas the profitability and disciplinary power of capital was effectively guaranteed by favourable monetary and budgetary policies until the collapse of Central Europe in 1931, unemployment and human in/security intensified. In part, this atmosphere of social dislocation served to legitimize the discourses of extremism, thus preparing for the emergence of fascism as an alternative to the traditional and discredited ruling elites.
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Paradox of Growth in the Land of Snows: Exclusionary growth as a cause of social conflict in contemporary Tibet

Using the example of the Tibetan areas in China, this paper looks at the relationships between economic growth and social exclusion as root causes of social conflict. The obsessive focus on growth as a panacea for the challenges of development tends to overlook cases of growth that exacerbate social conflict, mainly through their exclusionary or asymmetrical impacts across groups, communities and classes. For instance, the Tibetan areas of China have been experiencing rapid growth over the last decade, manifest at the macro level, along with increasing signs of social conflict among various ethnic groups, sustained refugee migrations to South Asia, and ongoing evolutions of Tibetan nationalism despite efforts by the Chinese state to suppress their widespread influence. The apparent paradox is in part explained by the exclusionary nature of growth, which will be analysed in the detail, drawing off the theoretical framework of social exclusion in combination with Polanyi’s double movement. This combined analysis in the context of Tibet sheds light on larger macro processes of ‘globalisation’ – defined as the intensified social, economic and political integration of peripheral regions into central regions – that produce exclusionary results within peripheral development, thereby accentuating the root factors of alienation and marginalisation within these peripheries. The Tibetan case is therefore pertinent to other developing areas – such as Latin America and Africa – where increased conflict and migration takes place within a setting of polarized and exclusionary growth.
In this paper, I shall discuss the external contingencies, inner dynamics, and collaborative work of a network that developed around Karl Polanyi in the United States from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. This group of students, colleagues, and collaborators of Polanyi began with his Interdisciplinary Project on the Institutional Aspects of Economic Growth (1948-’58) and an associated interdisciplinary seminar at Columbia University (1953-’55). Polanyi's collaborators in this intellectual venture involved at various times and in different ways such scholars as Conrad M. Arensberg, Rosemary Arnold, Francisco Benet, Paul Bohannan, Anne C. Chapman, George Dalton, M.I. Finley, Daniel B. Fusfeld, Terence K. Hopkins, Paul Medow, Walter C. Neale, A. L. Oppenheim, Harry W. Pearson, Murray C. Polakoff, Robert B. Revere, Abe Rotstein, Charles S. Silberman, and George Woodard. Its most notable product was the 1957 publication of the co-edited interdisciplinary volume entitled Trade and Market in the Early Empires.

Of particular interest to me is an inner circle that emerged out of this interdisciplinary work and continued it, albeit with interesting new points of focus, into the 1960s. This and earlier versions of the group typically met in an apartment that Polanyi maintained in New York, although he had actually been living in Pickering, Ontario since 1950. I shall pay particular attention to the dynamics of the relationships between and among Polanyi and Bohannan, Dalton, Medow, Neale, Pearson, and Rotstein, the main members of the group in its final incarnation, and to the themes on which they did their collaborative work in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The paper will conclude with a consideration of the shifting character and significance of this particular group, and its place among the various circles of influence in which Polanyi had been involved throughout his life.
The Commodification of Culture and UNESCO's Proposed Convention on Cultural Diversity: When Policy Meets Theory

In the 1940s, Karl Polanyi warned of the danger of leaving the self-regulating market to decide the faith of human beings, which would result in the destruction of society in the absence of "the protective covering of cultural institutions". Influenced by Polanyi's ideas, the postwar planners sought to combine an open liberal international economy with government efforts to provide security and stability for the citizens. However, the embedded liberal compromise has been greatly eroded over the years as the process of economic liberalization has extended the market logic to all aspects of social reality. Commodification refers to this process whereby more and more aspects of social reality are being drawn into the orbit of the market.

Within the past few years, the notion of cultural diversity has become the rallying cry of states and citizens who resist the homogenizing effects of globalization. Many thinkers and policy-makers have come to the view that the prevalence of the market logic has gone too far and that the international community should work to ensure a better balance between the logic of the market and considerations such as cultural identity. For Jacques Attali, states should keep sanctuaries, i.e., spheres to remain outside the leveling market logic, in order to preserve some meaning as reflection of their respective societies. The ongoing initiative within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is to secure an international convention, of a binding and effective character, with a view to safeguarding cultural diversity and, particularly, the ability of governments to pursue cultural policies.

This proposed paper seeks to analyze this ongoing international initiative in the light of the theories and reflections of Karl Polanyi. This is where policy meets theory as Polanyi's ideas acquire a particular salience as the commodification of culture is currently being fought through a major international effort.
This article offers a critical appraisal Polanyi’s method in studying economic life through a textual analysis of his programmatic writings and empirical work. Although Polanyi has been accepted as a central figure in economic anthropology and sociology, there are few studies looking into the specifics of his methodology. This paper attempts at filling that gap through a close and critical analysis of his method. The first part of the paper seeks to understand the elements of Polanyi’s method, how useful it has been and still is in guiding social scientific research about economic life. The second part of the paper looks at weaknesses in and consistency of Polanyi’s approach. I argue that Polanyi’s main appeal in economic sociology and anthropology has been his call to ground the analysis of economic life on institutions enmeshed in social life. While that call still keeps its urgency, a closer analysis of the way Polanyi conceptualized “institutions” shows several limitations of Polanyi’s method; the main one being that the operationalization of “institution” is circular and occasionally uses functionalist imaginary. The paper concludes with a discussion of why Polanyi’s approach is a promising one for future work and how to address some of the problems in his method for studying economic life.
The Meaning of Work

Many authors recognize the unstable nature of national governments in the global economy. However, in the current form of global neo-liberalism, a privatized public is remarkably entrenched and unwavering in many nations around the world. Widespread concern for “the contraction of the public sector or ‘rolling back’ of the state” (Prince, 2001, p. 7) has deflected attention from the more insidious “rolling out” of state power. Noted especially in the United States, Britain, and more recently in Canada, the retrenchment of the state has been accompanied by a government entrenchment of a different and consequential sort. Through the penetrating and pervasive public ethos of unquestioning faith in monetarism and the free-play of market forces, the whole of society is reduced to the labour market, and social problems – managed through policy responses comprised exclusively of market mechanisms – dissolve into private troubles. This is the fused market-state social field, and its increasingly popular manifestation is the commodification of welfare rights and citizenship entitlements through welfare residualism. Participation in this social field through the voluntary or mandatory receipt of the meager services and resources still offered by the state marks one as dispossessed, disentitled, as a ‘citizen’ is a self-sufficient consumer. In the market-state field, all values, desires, goals, needs, and even illusions are reduced to market commodities.

This paper examines the specific ways in which the meaning of work is diminished and defiled in the market-state social field for various ethno-religious communities of Low German-speaking migrant farm labourers in Ontario, Canada. These people, numbering approximately thirty-five to forty thousand in various regions of Ontario, are most commonly and erroneously referred to as Mexican Mennonites. A tenacious commitment to their distinct way of life – a culture that is intensely traditional, religious, agrarian and patriarchal – has resulted in a diasporic history that is over 400 years old, and has taken them from Northern Germany, to Russia, to Canada, and to Central and South America. Specifically gendered roles are central to the Mennonite faith tradition, and work on the land and in the home is considered sacred. In recent years, extreme economic hardship, due primarily to drought and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), has forced an uncontrolled migration. Inheriting a claim to Canadian citizenship, many are returning to Canada, the birthplace of their parents and grandparents. Caught in the desperate contest between physical and cultural/religious survival, migration has become a way of life for some, moving from Mexico and Bolivia, to various regions of Ontario and Alberta, and back south again.
Landed and Maritime Markets in Ancient Rome: The Polanyi Paradigm Reconsidered

There is a contradiction in Polanyi’s writing between the central insight developed in the Great Transformation, which is the pressure of commodification leads to a spontaneous resistance clustering around labour, land and the faith institutions of society and the argument developed in his writings on the Ancient Economy which argued that markets did not exist. This paper will argue that the market is not a historically bound phenomenon with its origins in 18th and 19th century Britain but the tensions between ‘improvement and habitation’ have existed since Athens and reached acute form in Rome from around 250 B.C.E.

It will be argued that there was a strict distinction between the territorial and maritime economies of Rome that laid the foundation for the development of globalization as the increasing restrictions on credit and regulation at work in the territorial economy led to development of an essentially capitalist maritime economy built around the emporia of Alexandria, Carthage, Ostia, Piraeus, Marseille and London. It will be argued that the Polanyi paradigm as developed in the Great Transformation is a much better explanatory framework for the dynamics of Roman imperial development than Polanyi’s historical work on the Ancient economies. The imperative of resisting market domination is asked in an acute form in every generation and can never be overcome. Polanyi, in this way can offer the possibility of explaining globalization and resistance.
This paper will examine inherent contradictions in the employment policies of the EU, one the one hand espousing the goal of ‘job quality’ and on the other seeking ‘flexibility’ and ‘competitiveness’. The 1990s have seen a rise in relatively insecure jobs in most EU countries, in particular for the lowest paid. The growth of outsourcing in the private sector, together with privatisation of the public sector, have encouraged these trends, as have measures to deregulate labour markets and to tighten the benefits regime for the unemployed. The paper will examine the thesis that increasing job insecurity is an inevitable consequence of pressures in product markets, including globalisation; and the extent to which EU policies help or hinder the quest of the poor for secure, reasonably paid work.
In the Countryside and Beyond: Challenging the Commodity Fiction in Bolivia

In 2002, for the first time in Bolivia, a rural social movement of peasant and indigenous peoples, engaged in a historic struggle for land and territory, achieved significant results in a presidential election. The continued strengthening of the “MAS-Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the People” (MAS-IPSP) as a national political force was evidenced most recently in the December 2004 municipal elections. This presents the very real possibility that coca producer and MAS leader Evo Morales will become Bolivia’s next President in 2007. Based on in-depth interviews undertaken with campesino and indigenous leaders, intellectuals and activists in Bolivia between May and July of 2004, this paper will address three questions: What key factors explain the emergence and consolidation of the MAS-IPSP as a viable political contender? What “alternative vision” does the MAS-IPSP propose for the neo-colonial, ecologically threatened yet resource endowed and culturally rich nation-state of Bolivia? And finally, what principal obstacles will be faced in the process of translating vision into reality?
Evolution of the Housing Loan Brokerage Service Industries in the U.S., the U.K, and in Japan: Implications for the Asian Housing Finance Industrial Organization

The Transformation of the housing finance system has developed in the form of identification of the services, integration of the markets, and the restructuring of the financial industries in the advanced countries. Among such changes, securitization of the market is the most important, which has been forming the main motives of above trends of the market, promoting the financial liberalization.

Despite that there have been definite differences of the backgrounds, direct motives, and the actual roles of the securitization, there seems to be some trends of convergence toward the United States type market.

At the same time, on the way to such convergence, an unique phenomenon has been observed. That phenomenon is the evolution of a housing loan brokers, which are called, “mortgage brokers” in the U.S., and “mortgage intermediaries” in the U.K., and the “housing loan advisers” in Japan.

Emergence of the new services itself produced the new industries, and it can be sometimes seen in the midst of the transformation of the market structures and the market systems. And the discussions, such as the backgrounds and the possibilities of their taking root in the markets, have been dealt with in the fields of the industrial organization theories.

So this paper traces the recent developments and the backgrounds of the mortgage brokerage services and the industries in the U.S., in the U.K., and in Japan, and then considers the implications for in industrial organization theories and for the Asian housing markets and housing loan markets in realities.
Commodification of Science and Scientific Knowledge in A Neoliberal World

Neoliberal policies in the last three decades have led universities in the USA and elsewhere to enter into new forms of relations with the industry. In exchange for substantial funds, universities offered private companies not only expert labor power, lab and equipment, but also prior or privileged access to scientific research, and shared or sole ownership of patents. While these relations have certainly benefitted the universities and gave impetus to scientific research, they also had consequences that are drastic and alarming: unprecedented conflicts of interests, scientists’ loss of control over their research, undermining of the ethos of science and the social utility of science. In this paper I describe the process that turned science into a “big business” and document its consequences. I then suggest some ways in which such threats can be addressed.
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Transnational Activism & The Commodification of Space

Karl Polanyi’s The Great Transformation, containing serious discussion on the enclosures movement, can be read as a treatise on space commodification and its harmful consequences to the powerless. I would like to explore this theme in relation to interventions aimed at removing social problems (e.g., child labour) in the developing world that often involve transnational organizational actors (e.g., international NGOs). In this paper, I would like to explain how the organizational characteristics of transnational actors, intervening on a social issue in a local site situated in the developing world, end up commodifying space to the detriment of the marginalized local groups that these actors would like to assist. The explanation would be derived from data gathered from a field-based research investigation (Dec. 2000-Oct. 2003) on the Sialkot Child Labour Project that phased out the involvement of children in Pakistan’s soccer ball industry. Over 120 individuals participated in the study through field interviews at the village level including the families of child labour soccer ball stitchers. The contribution will be to show that a reason why transnational activism hurts those it wishes to help may well be due to its structure that intensifies space commodification processes.
It has been noted that Karl Polanyi's intellectual legacy continues to be extremely relevant in the contemporary context of the neo-liberal international hegemony and institutional, social and ideological responses to it in the diverse regions of the world. However, Polanyi's theory of global political and economic integration has not been systematically examined. A convinced historicist, Polanyi avoided producing a comprehensive statement of his theoretical views. This article attempts to establish the most important conceptual contours of the Polanyian tradition in critical political economy. This is done in order to move closer to the articulation of the new forms of social resistance and struggle adequate to the new historical era. Polanyi's theory of the globalization of capitalism is compared with the corresponding theories of Karl Marx and Max Weber. Important commonalities as well as differences are identified and scrutinized. The implications are outlined and discussed. The article calls for a major effort at continuing the Polanyian project of opposing blatant liberal revisionist reconstruction of the history of global capitalism, an endeavor emboldened by the end of the Cold War.
Karl Polanyi and Human Livelihood: Timely Contributions to some very Contemporary Debates

The posthumous publication in 1977 of a book by Karl Polanyi entitled The Livelihood of Man, indicates his interest in a concept that has come to be widely used in debates on poverty. In the light of these debates, especially those on the meaning of poverty and of livelihood approaches towards combating it, this paper interrogates Polanyi’s understanding of livelihood. It begins by establishing that Polanyi’s detailed interest lay more in the threats to human livelihood from the unregulated market and in the means by which livelihoods could be protected, rather than in the substance of what constitutes human livelihood. Despite this, the paper argues that there are sufficient hints in his oeuvre to allow one draw out what Polanyi implicitly understood to constitute human livelihood and the nature of the damage caused to it by the unregulated market. It then outlines Polanyi’s understanding of the human person as a social being, of the cultural nature of poverty, and of the institutional mechanisms required to embed the economy in society. The paper goes on to distinguish some of the principal approaches towards understanding and combating poverty evident in contemporary development debates and compares and contrasts these understandings with those drawn from Polanyi. It also critically discusses livelihood approaches towards poverty reduction in the light of Polanyi’s insights. The paper concludes by identifying two emerging approaches in the poverty literature (poverty as vulnerability, and cultural approaches to well-being), arguing that these serve to vindicate the important and timely contribution that Polanyi has to make to these key debates about development.
Wealth and poverty in postindustrial societies. A pragmatistic approach to their empirical assessment.

The objective problems which endanger the measurement of wealth of actors as well as the interest of the rich not wanting to specify their wealth make the empirical measurement of poverty and affluence to an unsolved task up to now.

Despite all uncertainties concerning the empirical database, it seems obvious, that at least within the EU, the former COMECON - Countries, Japan and the USA, "the rich are constantly getting richer" in the last quarter of a century, while the middle class is considerably losing its economic coverage and the poor are continuously getting poorer. How can the most significant social facts constituting poverty and social exclusion accurately be measured in such a way, that valid historical and intercultural comparisons become possible? The poverty indicators for all these areas show hardly any negative changes while the number of individuals depending on social benefits in fact trebled between 1997 and 2001 for example in Vienna.

The critique on conventional methods of poverty research1 does not only refer to faults in usual reports on poverty, but first of all to a fundamental incorrectness of the debate on the socio-economic differences between individuals on the one hand and on the distribution of material resources on the other hand.

Poverty as a social fact always implies "asymmetric interaction". Sociocultural factors determine the specific possibilities of interaction, which finally determine the control of all kinds of resources. Reducing the poverty measurement to a pure monetary base is therefore in some way misleading. Take for example productive, but unpaid work. It can represent an enormous part of the economic performance of a society and it will possibly play an even more important part in the future of Western capitalistic societies again. A lack of informal helping networks can finally lead into a vicious circle of inescapable poverty. The accessibility to public goods and services, the private and unpaid work of persons and households as well as the possession of opportunities for private work such as gardens or skills of family members like sewing or accounting are essential forms and foundations of nonmonetary income. If they are absent, poverty is the consequence in large parts of the population.

Problems in calculating wealth and poverty also effect the empirical specification of the interrelation between the latter: Relying on the conventional indicators as basis, relative poverty can not be reliably measured. Even if everyone’s wealth increases these measures show no
development, since the threshold of measured poverty also increases. Destruction of capital during the speculation bubble of the 90’s on the other hand did not only cause huge direct losses for many rich private people and entrepreneurs, but it indirectly led also to a considerable reduction of purchasing power of the whole population and to severe cuts in the redistributitional system of most states. An increase of impoverishment is the net result, which we can now observe in most of the developed capitalistic societies.

The distribution of property in a society is constantly taken as subject of moral judgements. Yet not judgements about justice and injustice, but only thorough investigations of the effects that certain forms of social control and economic power have on the development of society and its economical subsystem can be helpful. Take for example the important question, whether or not certain types of 'destroyers of wealth' are active, when speculation bubbles burst. Is mismanagement responsible for the annihilation of wealth or were the balance sheets sugar-coated in the past?

If one looks at poverty in this empirical context, it seems, that the recent increase of mass poverty is the result of extremely short-ranged and risky profit-seeking by entrepreneurs and financial managers in the eighties and nineties of the last century.

At the same time, globalisation leads to a quick restructuring of some developing countries, yet it results also – in the rich western societies – in increasing inequality and unemployment, and in a growing inequality between the poor and the rich. The rich states have the choice between increasing unemployment on the one hand or increasing inequality on the other hand. In so far as welfare politics is willing to prevent the increase of inequality in this situation, it has to accept an increase of unemployment. In his extensive analysis of the effects of the modern information technology, Manuel Castells exposed the fact, that this third technological revolution produced until now only an extraordinary increase of productivity and wealth in its own industrial sector while no positive impacts are noticeable on the level of total economies. These general findings can be demonstrated on the basis of concrete data referring to the expenditures for communication. The data on changes of consumption in the time interval 1988 – 2003 in Austria for example describes a dramatic rise in private expenditures for communication – telephone, fax, emails, internet etc. - about 350% (in constant prices). In the same time range, the expenditure on education however remained unchanged. The same holds true for Germany, here the expenditures for education even diminished during these years.

Does the social capital increase by these “mobile-contacts” created by new forms of communication? If yes, it could compensate the economic loss we observed? Or will a cultural impoverishment come true, caused by the permanent integration into a system of social
interaction characterized by of “small talk”? The net result of this may be a clinical syndrome which now is called the "Attention Deficit Trait". This can be seen as a new form of cultural poverty, which is incorporated in the persons themselves.
The Re-embedding that Never Was: Contesting the Legacy of Karl Polanyi

In this paper, I will make two arguments. I will suggest, firstly, that the interpretation of Karl Polanyi as a herald and theorist of the welfare state and the international system of embedded liberalism is based on a one-sided – and misleading – reading of the Great Transformation. I will show that none of the hallmarks of the post-war system of 'regulated capitalism' met the criteria of decommodification of land, labour and money that Polanyi spelled out as the pillars of the society (with re-embedded economy) that he expected to emerge after the war. Secondly, I will argue that currently popular attempts to ‘apply Polanyi’ by projecting his argument about the ‘double-movement’ to the present conjuncture tend to generate supposedly ‘Polanyian’ accounts which are in great danger of becoming what the Great Transformation never was: ahistorical and mechanical. Ultimately, I will suggest that contemporary social science can learn much from Polanyi’s work – but only if we start to take him seriously as a social theorist by subjecting it to much greater scrutiny, historizing his argument and critically appraising its limits as a theory of the development of capitalist modernity.
One or two Polanyis? One or two notions of embeddedness?

A paper on the reception of Karl Polanyi’s work by the New Economic Sociology.

This paper aims at presenting and discussing the way NES advocates have received Karl Polanyi’s work.

Firstly, I would like to describe how Bernard Barber criticized the Polanyian disembeddedness thesis. Disembeddedness, said Barber, is impossible, as concrete economic relationships, even the most liberal, are always embedded in a set of political, cultural and structural elements. This argument greatly influenced leading scholars like Viviana Zelizer. But Barber’s critique was not justified. Polanyi never maintained that an economy could exist independently of social institutions. The disembedded economy he evokes in The great transformation is, like any economy, an instituted process. The “market economy” is built on legal institutions, on machines and, above all, on a cultural representation of the market, the utopia of the auto-regulated market.

Today, this aspect of Polanyi’s thought is well established within NES researchers. Mark Granovetter recognizes the work of what he calls “the analytical Polanyi” and Fred Block attributes to Polanyi the discovery of the “always embedded economy”. However, the rehabilitation is not complete. Granovetter still distances himself from “the polemical Polanyi” and Block explains that Polanyi has not drawn all the lessons from his discovery when he continues to describe the disembedding process of the liberal economy.

So, are there two Polanyis? I do not believe so. There are, in fact, two different but complementary embeddedness notions. The first one, which I call “embeddedness-support”, puts the stress on social conditions upon which economic transactions are carried out. This is the notion NES uses. In this sense, economy is always embedded: there are differences in the forms of embeddedness conditions, but no such things as level of embeddedness. The second one, which I call “embeddedness-insertion”, describes how much economy is differentiated (how far prices are defined by the pure confrontation of supply and demand, how far economic activities are guided by market prices and how far livelihood depends on market activities). In this sense, different economic systems (or different concrete markets) can be compared according to their respective levels of embeddedness. Polanyi and, before him, Max Weber use the two embeddedness notions simultaneously. “Market economy” and “rational capitalism”, like any
economic system, are embedded-supported, but also disembedded-disinserted – which is historically exceptional.

As long as we do not clearly distinguish between these two different embeddedness notions, the use of the term will be a source of confusion. This is particularly visible in Granovetter’s famous 1985 article. In the introduction, the embeddedness notion that Granovetter discusses is the (level of) embeddedness-insertion, but the main subject of his article is to stress the importance of the (form of) embeddedness-support in the functioning of concrete markets. Generally speaking, when NES advocates study concrete markets they describe the embedding-supporting conditions, but they do not really care about the level of embeddedness-insertion. This can be linked to the ambition of a social-constructivist methodology that avoids economic determinism. Unfortunately, this choice also leads them to disregard the influence of market forces. Market transactions are socially constructed but this construction is constrained by some economic obligations that may vary from one concrete market to another. In this respect, the reception of Polanyi’s work by the NES remains partial. This oversight of embeddedness-insertion is unjustified theoretically and, I believe, politically controversial.
Along Mexico’s northern and Canada’s southern Ontario borders thousands of workers make parts for cars, most of which will be driven by Americans. Economists and industry analysts typically describe the North American automobile industry as highly integrated. In practice this means that technologies, capital and materials flow from the US into Canada and Mexico, so that cars and their components can be made by labour that has cost the US nothing to reproduce. The reverse flow involves finished commodities - cars and component parts - crossing the border back into the US. A parallel flow carries skilled managerial and technical workers across national borders, for shorter or longer periods, to share or impose working knowledges on those less skilled and less mobile. All of this is facilitated by a free trade agreement that promises a “borderless world”: a reality for only a select few in all three countries. For most people passage is blocked by the physical barrier along much of the US-Mexico border, enhanced by constant surveillance, and in the post-9/11 context, increasingly at the US-Canada border as well. The supremacy of the US economy is acknowledged at its borders, implicitly recognizing disparities between nations and the lengths to which people will go to flee poverty. Inequalities are especially apparent at the border, and barriers – physical, legal and ideological - strive to keep them in place. Border barriers however obscure the tentacles of empire that bind countries – these and others - along complex axes of economics, politics and citizenship, to the US.

This paper examines work in auto parts on the borders of US empire and considers how those borders both police and facilitate flows of and barriers to people, knowledge, and commodities. The competition, “lean”ness, and pressure cultivated in Mexican and Canadian auto parts workplaces to make parts faster and cheaper, flow into workers’ households in the form of low incomes and little free time, while workers take back to work their anxieties about making ends meet and the physical impact of stress and strain. To allow mobility across the border of the commodities they have made, workers must be immobile. Border flows and barriers are a factor in the pressures experienced in the workplace and in the home, which are internalized and contribute to exclusion and the breakdown of social cohesion in border communities.

The migration of scientists and professional is a long standing historical phenomenon which can be traced far back in time due to intellectual groups having higher chances for mobility that allow them to turn to contexts where the economic power offers better opportunities of participation, acknowledgment and progress. Mobility of scientists go back to ancient times, thus pointing at one of the characteristic of science and technology, built on the circulation of people and ideas.

But it is in the world of second postwar that this phenomenon acquires massive proportions. It happens when the rich industrialized States exercise an active, high profile role attracting and regulating the brain drain. Receptive countries are very active creating policies and systems of vouchers, scholarships and cooperation programs to attract, select and retain professional and specialized workers.

Regarding those countries expelling their professionals the frame- considering regional and national differences- can be briefly described as follows: weak structures of industrial processes, industrial activity detached both from the science and technology, lack of incentives for scientific activity. In the last twenty five years the profound de-industrialization process suffered by Third World on account of the structural adjustment policies applied has increased brain drain to unprecedented levels. Contemporary investigation centers and universities of those expelling and indebted countries have been enduring a “thematic emigration”, their agenda of research and university programs being established by core countries’interests.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse during the 1970-2005 period:
a) The different characteristics and specialization of brain drain.
b) The role of international organizations, United Nations, IMF, World Banks, OECD,etc.
c) Attraction policies from key countries with their managed and selective migrations programs.
d) Linking policies devised by expelling countries,eg diaspora networks
e) The direct relationship between the discontinuation of Development programs for the Third World and their substitution by Aid Programs to fight poverty in the Third World and the subsequent increase of Brain Drain with the resulting weakening of the perspectives for sustainable development in those countries most affected by this emigration in LatinAmerica,Africa, East Europe and Asia.
f)The undermined perspective of construction of a viable society in countries increasingly deprived of their learned new generations.
Sustaining Comoditisation: the Case of Agbiotech

As ‘sustainability’ becomes a commonplace language for government policy, the term itself has become more contested. Whenever technological innovation generates controversy, this involves different views of sustainability and contending models of development. Each view seeks to sustain a different form of the environment, society and economy. These views can be analysed as discursive framings which link the present with desired futures or objective imperatives.

The prevalent view of sustainability has been a neoliberal framing which diagnoses problems as inefficiencies to be overcome by more efficient techno-fixes. In agriculture this generally means treating resources as natural capital to be discovered, rationed, exploited and commoditised. The phrase ‘value-added genetics’ complements the marketisation of human and natural resources across the agro-food chain. This commoditisation process can be more than merely fictitious, depending on whether social relations are successfully reorganised according to that image, especially given antagonistic views of sustainability. This tendency can be illustrated specially by the case of agricultural biotechnology.
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The Non-Commodity Character of Citizenship: How and why an unconditional basic income strengthens political communities

Even though technological progress offers more and more opportunities to replace human labor by “machines,” and despite such opportunities for regaining life time, modern nation-states still distribute income via paid work. They reinforce “workhouse-policies” by introducing welfare-to-work-programs (such as the recent German “Hartz-Gesetze”).

In criticizing such developments, it is crucial to keep in mind that the citizen is the key component of any modern nation-state’s political order, and that autonomy is the most important element of citizenship. Citizenship is not a role-position, it includes each individual in its totality, concerning all aspects of life.

The citizen is the basis of democratic political communities and any decision that affects the body politic can only be made with the underlying ideal of the citizen’s autonomy and self-reliance in mind. From this simple argument I deduce that a distribution of income which considers only the individual’s work achievement ignores that wealth is also a political community’s collective achievement.

In this way, the introduction of an unconditional basic income (UBI), sufficient for living a life without paid work, would radically alter our situation. For those no longer tied up by paid work, volunteer activities would lose their stigma of being ‘second choices,’ because no obligation of doing paid-work would be upheld. Citizenship as the basic constituent of a modern political community would be recognized as such.
As I write, precisely 60 years have past since the publication of two works that were pivotal to the development of post-war political thinking: Karl Polanyi’s The Great Transformation and Friedrich Hayek’s The Road to Serfdom. By itself, this coincidence of publication date might be brushed aside as nothing more than, well, a coincidence. Yet these is something about this two works, worlds apart in the messages they conveyed, that begs for them to be read and considered together.

Such is the task at hand. The guiding concern is as follows: how is it that these works, produced at the same time by theorists of similar backgrounds, drawing on similar historical understandings, present us with such divergent normative conclusions? I shall argue that at the root of the difference lies an inherent weakness in Hayek’s pro-market position. I shall argue further that this observation is relevant to us, 60 years later, for at least two reasons. The first is that much of what Hayek missed is still being missed today, and thus the contrast with Polanyi sheds light not just on Hayek, but also on contemporary pro-market arguments – arguments made in a world that is arguably more market obsessed than the post-depression, war-ravaged world of 1944. Second, and more speculatively, by paying close attention to the manner in which Polanyi and Hayek react to their mid-century world, we might see much that is familiar to our contemporary debates about the role and limits of normative theorizing in the concrete and sometimes uncooperative world of politics. I shall not contend that these works had a hand in setting the agenda for the political philosophy that was to follow them, but rather that the tension between them highlights all too well the reasons that that agenda has gone the way it has. These works, then, offer us a glimpse into the soul of contemporary political philosophy.
Bringing Society Back in: Theoretical and Empirical Challenges of the Second Great Transformation Thesis

There is a growing literature inspired by the work of Karl Polanyi promoting the view that contemporary social and politico-economic developments constitute a Second Great Transformation, namely the triumph and hegemony of market (neo)liberalism. The main purpose of this paper is to critically engage with this literature both in terms of its place in the historical institutionalist research programme and in terms of its conceptual and methodological proposals. The paper has three sections. The first section critically presents the main arguments of the second transformation thesis and examines theoretical propositions regarding institutional crystallisations and institutional change. The second section 'unpacks' the concept of embeddedness, its ambiguities/limitations and its uses/misuses in understanding institutional changes of the market-state nexus (e.g. 'embedded neoliberalism'). The third section puts forward a tentative proposal that offers a sociology of the market-state relationship. This addresses some of the limitations we identify with the uses of the term embeddedness especially in view of the 'decline of the state' thesis and perceived erosion of the position of established social actors (e.g. trade unions). Our proposal draws upon an expanded version of the concept of power, which in our view brings 'society back in' the discussion of the current and potential outlines of a contemporary 'second movement(s)' or counter-hegemonic project(s).
Pro-market Policies and Social Movements in Post-war Iran A View from Polanyi’s Double Movement

Just immediately after the Iraq – Iran war period (1980-1988) in which the Islamic left-oriented government mainly helped lower and middle classes to somehow or other cover their minimum living costs through subsidy and rationing system, the new pro-market government attempted to enforce the structure adjustment policies in Iran, very much similar to what happened in other developing countries during the 1980s and 1990s. In doing so, such market-oriented policies as exchange rate unification, foreign trade liberalization, establishing of free trade zones, privatizing of state-owned sectors, subsidies reduction programs, labor law modifications etc were put into effect in the First Economic, Social and Cultural Plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran (1989-1994). Eventually these policies partly ceased in 1995 because of strong social and political pressures. In the meanwhile, this period of time and later on has witnessed an interwoven series of such social dissatisfactions as poor people’s movement, teachers’ demonstrations, and working people’s scattered strikes with their economic situation. Although most of such events were ephemeral and took place within a short span of time, they were so noisy and emotional that gave rise to numerous political echoes in both different levels of authorities and public opinion, the more so as the protests rapidly became politicized. True, both economic and socio-political trends have been studied in isolation by some economic and socio-political scholars, there has been few writing in which both trends have been simultaneously considered in an integrated framework. Interest in this paper is not so much a detailed review of these two economic and socio-political trends as showing that what for many researchers are only two fragmented trends can be formulated with such parsimony and organization by Polanyi’s concept of the double movement that an integrated model emerges which offers a unified way of analyzing both pro-market project and socio-political movements in Iran during 1990s.
(Dis)embeddedness & Reflexive Modernity

It has been common for critics as well as supporters of Karl Polanyi to interpret his argument in The Great Transformation to be that 19th century free market liberalism brought about an actual separation of economy and society, through which economy was increasingly desocialized, and thus provoking a strong counter current—the double movement—towards the “reembedding” of economy into the social and cultural configuration. This has lead many to criticize Polanyi for having established a too wide—and thus unhistorical—division between modern and pre-modern markets, as well as cannibalize his thought on “disembedding”. In this paper, it is argued that these interpretations obscure not only the analytical merit of Polanyi’s thought on the relationship between economy and society, but also its contemporary relevance. First, it is here proposed that Polanyi’s argument on disembedding should better be understood as referring to the effects of a conceptual extraction of the language of economic rationalism from the body of other social languages, i.e. the establishment of an economistic primacy which in its turn precluded efficient social policy to soften the effects of exactly this conceptual separation, rather than referring to any actual actual disembedding of economy and society (Cf. Polanyi [1944] 2001: 60). Second, by taking this step back into the writings of Polanyi, this paper aims at a critical reexamination of the dichotomy between the economic and the social aspects of human provision in an attempt to assess the falsifiability of the economy and society dichotomy per se. The preliminary results of this falsifiability test shows that Polanyi’s concept of (dis)embeddedness should neither be understood as an absolute separation between embeddedness and disembeddedness, nor as an “oversocialized” and unfalsifiable hypothesis of human action, but rather as a nuanced concept germane to the theories on reflexive modernity recently developed by Beck, Giddens, Lash, Urry, and Touraine pointing up to the contemporary relevance of Polanyi’s thought in a world were conceptual boundaries and analytical categories are more and more difficult to maintain, and the challenges to critical social and economic science all the more demanding.
Policies to Combat Poverty in Southern Europe: Lessons for New EU Members and Candidate Countries

The marginal role of social assistance and the absence of minimum income programmes have long been thought to constitute defining characteristics of the south European model of welfare. Nonetheless, significant innovations in this field have taken place over the 1990s. The paper critically examines the experience of anti-poverty policies in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. It is argued that the “patchiness” of safety nets in southern Europe is due to a unique set of constraints, the most relevant of which are the role of families and the “softness” of state institutions. A review of national profiles reveals that new policies introduced in all four countries mark progress towards redressing some of the historical imbalances of south European model of welfare. However, the political momentum for the introduction of minimum income schemes seems to have been lost. In view of this, social safety nets in southern Europe remain frail in terms of institutional design, political support and legitimacy. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of the south European experience with policies to strengthen social safety nets for the new EU members and candidate countries.
Global Health Policy Trends: Health Policy, Poverty and Economics as Uneasy Bedfellows?

Global health policy trends have increasingly sought to address the shocking level of health inequities between rich and poor. Simultaneously, a capabilities approach to the definition of poverty is attracting increased recognition. This paper argues that the recent market-orientation in the structure of health care provision does not necessarily present a platform commensurable to addressing issues of poverty. Recent reform, and the economic rationale for this, acts to further commodify health and health care and encourage a contractarian mode of delivery. It also focuses on curative services, whereas there have been calls for the promotion of preventive activities in a more holistic approach to health. The paper contests that processes of commodification and contractualisation of health and health care are not necessarily pre-disposed to enhancing capabilities in that they represent a change in social relations in the provision of care. Drawing from Karl Polanyi’s ‘commodity fiction’ and Karl Marx’s ‘commodity fetishism’ the paper considers that the further commodification of health care, at best, engenders tensions with the World Health Organization’s aim that reasonable health, and hence non-frivolous health care, should be considered a human right. Indeed, there may be sound grounds for considering that current policy trajectory is inimical to the World Health Organization’s laudable advocacy.
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The Mystery Ending of Chapter 21: The Unlikelihood of ‘Resignation’
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For Sub-Theme VI.
Some thoughts on the career of Karl Polanyi, in relation to his summons (Ch.21) to “resignation” (not in the Index of TGT), the recognition of limits, human rights, and the ‘good life.’
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*The Co-Production of Public Policy: Re-Engaging the State in Socio-Economic Transformation. The Social Economy as a Template for Innovation in Public Policy*
Protecting Labour from the Commodity Fiction: Karl Polanyi’s ‘Permanent Embeddedness’ and the Evolution of Labour Standards in Italy 1979-2003

Through the last three decades, scholars concerned with the nature and forms of labour market regulation have been engaged in a vigorous debate focused on the place of mandated labour standards in societies that are open to global markets. Key issues associated with this debate include specification of the nature of the standards that should be preserved or strengthened, whether such standards extend or hamper the capacity of industries and nations to compete in the global economy, and which labour standards should be honored irrespective of economic imperatives. This debate has been greatly encouraged by the introduction of regulatory policies, in most developed and less developed countries, that have reformed the existing systems of employment protection in ways that seem to herald a new process of labour commodification. Paradoxically, the theoretical debate on labour market regulation has been accompanied only by few studies aiming to quantify the extent to which employment protection systems were modified in different national contexts over the last quarter of the century (OECD 1999; Block, Roberts and Clarke 2003). Most of these efforts have been characterised by a short-time horizon (5 years or less) or the quantitative methods adopted lacked scientific rigour (Block et Al. 2003). This paper’s contribution to the regulation debate has two distinct dimensions: first, by focussing on Italy, and through the use of a quantitative method recently devised by Block et Al. (2003), labour standards are quantified in Italy in 1979 and 2003. Second, the numerical results are explained through the notion of ‘permanent embeddedness’. The central tenet of this concept, which was introduced by Fred Block (2003) in an effort to clarify the precise meaning of ‘embedded’ and ‘disembedded’ economies, maintains that a self-adjusting/disembedded market represents a stark utopia because it cannot be sustained for any length of time ‘without annihilating the human and natural substance of society’ (Polanyi 1944:3; Fred Block 2003:294). As a consequence labour markets must be ‘permanently embedded’ in social and legal institutions because both employees and employers want the state to introduce regulations and create institutions that will curtail their bargaining partners’ ability to realise opportunities generated by the market (Fred Block 2003:296). This concept emphasises that the form and not the level of embeddedness is subject to change over time following swings in the power position of employers and workers as capital is as adamant as labour in demanding state protection so that societies can maintain ‘some threshold level of embeddedness’ (Fred Block 2003:295).
The numerical results show that 7 (overtime, paid time off, unemployment/employment insurance, workers’ compensation, equal employment opportunity/employment equity, occupational health and safety and large scale layoffs), out of 10 standards analysed, slightly increased during the period considered while the other indexes remained unaltered. In explaining these findings, we make two key observations: first, we argue that until 2002, as shown by the empirical data, labour was able to retain a certain level of employment protection in Italy. Second, while commenting on the limitations of the quantitative method, we argue that, following the election of the Berlusconi government in 2001, the employers’ capacity to use market mechanisms was greatly enhanced by the introduction of Law 30/2003. In line with Block/Polanyi’s notion of ‘permanent embededdness’, we contend that the regulatory reforms, introduced by law 30/2003, should be interpreted as a protectionist shift which aims at sheltering employers from the market and organisational power of labour through pervasive state intervention, rather than an attempt to increase reliance upon the market; a regulatory principle that neither capital, nor labour, are entirely prepared to endorse.
The Lisbon Agenda (2000) of the EU and the Open Method of Coordination (OMC)

That national or historical particularities helped shaping welfare states owning distinctive features – or that they are representing distinctive “welfare regimes”- is anymore contested, but accepted. The European social-democratic politicians who drafted in 2000 the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) at the Conference of Lisbon, now accept subsidiarity in welfare matters as belonging to the competence of national governments in the European Union (EU).

Each welfare system developed along its own trajectory and, given the current challenges, all these states now are facing, it must be expected that all welfare regimes will undergo considerable changes over the next decade. The direction in which they are likely to go under the pressure of the OMC is the market. Therefore a new relationship between society and individual will need new principles of public intervention.

Now that privatisation of state-owned firms and services is widely accepted, social-democratic policy makers want to create a genuine partnership between public and private sector, which is to intervene to enhance in the words of Tony Blair “individual economic opportunity and rebuild the economic base”.

POLANYI, SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND THE GREAT COUNTER-MOVEMENT

The concept of ‘social exclusion’ has now been extended from its EU social policy domain to describe and organise the diverse forms of class and non-class impacts of neo-liberal globalisation. This discourse is explicitly pitted against traditional Marxist and social-democratic conceptions of poverty and socio-economic exploitation. How can Polanyi’s conception of the self-regulating market becoming ‘disembedded’ assist us in conceptualising a regime of global social policy? How can the current policy of social inclusion or integration to counter exclusion be illuminated or critiqued by a consideration of Polanyi’s three ‘forms of integration’, namely exchange, redistribution and reciprocity? While economists debate the shift from the Washington Consensus to a possible post-Washington Consensus, the social policy interests need to focus on the ‘impulse’ to social protection Polanyi referred to that we can, arguably, see reflected in the UN family discourse on social inclusion and the need for ‘safety nets’ and other means to ameliorate the impact of the global self-regulating market.

The great social counter-movement reflects the double movement of market expansion and social protection. This collectivist reaction may well not take class forms and the economic is not always determinant. These Polanyian insights allow us to counter built in assumptions for example in World Bank debates that poverty breeds discontent in an of itself. The counter-movement of the ‘anti-globalisation’ movement takes very different forms that cannot be subsumed for example under the anti-capitalist label. Polanyi’s perspective allows us to discern the varied and opposing tendencies at play when re-embedding of the market is taken on as a priority social task. There is no necessarily ‘progressive’ connotation or direction being taken; traditional and oppressive modalities may also emerge. After all, communism and fascism were for Polanyi both reactions to the crisis of capitalism in the 1930’s. Are the various facets of the anti-globalisation movement reflecting the various forms of social and spatial social exclusion generated by contemporary global capitalism? Can Polanyi’s paradigm of reembedding and the various forms of integration provide insights into the most important global social movement of this era?
If commodification of money, labor and land fully takes place, it leads both to total disaster of human society and to miserable infertility of nature. Such was the prediction and warning of Karl Polanyi. In this paper I focus on the institutional and environmental issues on land at the age of the so-called globalization. Commodification of land can only be partial because land is an integral part of nature and seemingly purchases and sales of lands remain to be the market exchange of their ownerships, but not of lands themselves. A question then arises: Who own lands?

In the so-called modern societies, it is said that public and private sectors own lands. But any society has the third sector, i.e., common sector. In this paper I discuss three examples of lands managed by common sector. The first ones are the iriai lands in Japan owned and managed by such common sector, or more exactly, commoners of local areas. The second are the vast areas of forests and grasses preserved and managed by community-oriented organizations in Greater London and other places in England. The third are the hillside pastures jointly used by crofters in Highland of Scotland. In the second and third examples, the lands are mostly owned either by public or private sectors, but they are managed by common sector often in the manner for environmental conservation.

Lastly, I focus on the everyone’s access rights to public and private lands in some of the Scandinavian countries. In this case everyone’s rights to enjoy the fruits of nature can function as preventive measures against environmental degradation of lands.

Summarizing these four cases, I conclude that strengthening of common sector can limit the dangerous trend of fictitious commodification of land and serve for environmental conservation of lands, regardless of their ownership, public, private or common.


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Reembedding And Plural Economy

The paper deals with a theoretical and an empirical research question: The theoretical question is directly related to Polanyi’s concept of disembedding. We discuss how reform policy and social experiments can address disembedding in relation to regional sustainable development (Nature protection and green production). A concept of PLURAL ECONOMY from professor Rudolf zur Lippe (Germany) is used as inspiration for the theoretical discussion. The empirical question is: “how citizens participation in regional development can create a direction of sustainable development. We refer to an action research project in a regional part of Denmark. The action research project has in a successful way resulted in a plan for sustainable regional development. In the paper we discuss the action research methods and possible social actions or experiments to improve sustainable reembedding initiatives in a global economical context.
Transformers Notions of Responsibility, Risk and the Boundaries of Market: A Study of the Reformation of the Swedish Pension System

This is a study of political decision-making and policy shaping within the social sector in Sweden. Focusing on the terms “responsibility” and “risk” my aim is to study how ideas, policy and values within Swedish social politics are produced, negotiated, distributed and consumed. The project will shed light on how and why notions of both responsibility and risk between citizens and government, in various ways, have changed and shifted during the past decade and what possible new demands and expectations is put on individual citizens.

The study will try to answer questions such as: What new demands does society bring on individuals in terms of capability and knowledge? What basic values and norms are reflected in the contemporary political decision making and policy shaping of Swedish social politics? And what may this say about the role of Swedish citizens today?

As an example of current and ongoing transformation in Sweden the study focuses on the recent reformation of the Swedish pension system. The new pension system carries questions and challenges concerning both responsibilities and risks - that is, the question of what actors should take responsibility for in order to lessen the risks and create security in the lives of citizens. The study is thus intimately linked to a broader scope of questions concerning society and of relevance to the understanding of our modern society; such as the distribution of power, responsibility and risk on different levels, and of democracy and the changing role of citizens.

The reformation of Sweden’s public pension system can be viewed upon as a substantial societal transformation. The new pension system is, of course, of extensive economic importance and impact on both the national and individual levels, and it is, further, of interest from a social and humanistic perspective. I wish to study the Swedish pension system from a social anthropological perspective where the individuals, transformers on different levels, are in direct focus and where the pension system is viewed both as a model of and a model for society.

Focusing on the terms “responsibility” and “risk” the study aims to shed light on the links between elected politicians, government bureaucracy, and the public. The study aims to understand how and where ideas and ideology, policy and value are produced, distributed and consumed. The aim of the research is to investigate political decision making and policy shaping from an actors perspective and, thus, strive to understand and highlight where decision makers,
on different levels in Swedish social politics, themselves consider the possible limits of what can be bought and sold within a market society are positioned.

In light of the political, and economic, challenges actualized through the reformed pension system it seems relevant to focus on the pension systems role in creating social security for the individual citizen and to look at how people manage the new demands of knowledge and competence put on them by way of the reformed pension system.

Besides utilizing research on “responsibility” and “risk” and how the notions of such terms have shifted and changed over the past decades a theoretical main focus is to join a policy perspective about the role of a general politics of welfare in a competition focused market economy with a organizational anthropological perspective on the meaning of social policy. How do policy makers reason about the responsibility of the social security of citizens? Do groups lacking in new knowledge and competence fit within the framework of the new welfare society’s politic, or could it be that such groups challenges the Swedish welfare model’s general solutions? To what extent have higher demands on individual responsibility and risk-taking for one’s future pension and welfare affected the “social contract” in society?

The anthropological fieldwork, with an ethnography based on in depth semistructured interviews and participant observation, is being conducted between October 2004 and August 2005. The study will result in a Ph.D dissertation in December 2007.
Re-reading Karl Polanyi against Joseph Schumpeter and Fernand Braudel towards an Institutional Political Economy Perspective

In The Great Transformation, Karl Polanyi had almost no recourse to capitalism as either a conceptual category or a comprehensive unit of analysis. As such, he is one of a few authorities who chose to re-map the market independently of capitalism. Even so, he was well able to weld the “hidden abode of production” with the “noisy sphere of circulation”. The contention of this paper is twofold: Once the market and capitalism are differentiated; first, the true adversary of the market can be revealed to be capitalism rather than the state, and secondly, the market can be perceived as a “neutral” container that reproduces the dictations of the superstructure. Both of these propositions seem at first sight to defy the spirit of The Great Transformation. Yet we think otherwise. We will also seek to demonstrate that Polanyi was by no means an opponent of a “genuine” market system. To do so, we will interpret Polanyi in conjunction with Joseph Schumpeter’s conception of capitalism and Fernand Braudel’s extraordinary account of history. We believe that the resultant synthesis forms an original line of “institutional political economy” as a fertile ground on which to assess the “twenty-first century civilization” in the making. The relevance of our synthesis is all the more accentuated by the observation that a “new” liberalism nowadays attempts to convert the state into a market-like institution in the name of a global “governance” thesis, which is as self-defeating as the nineteenth century civilization.
In The Great Transformation Polanyi argues that the 19th century civilization is based on four institutions: self regulating market, the gold standard, the liberal state and the balance of power. Among these, Polanyi puts self-regulating market at the center of the system. Thus, other institutions were simply its extensions to political and economic spheres. He also argues that tension between the forces of the self-regulating market and society’s effort to build non-market institutions to counter balance these forces caused the collapse of that civilization.

In this paper, we try to extend Polanyi’s analysis to the later phases of the world capitalist system, namely to the period between 1945 and 1970s, or the “welfare capitalism” phase, and the period from 1980s to the present, or the “globalisation period”. We argue that in the first phase the world system was again based on four institutions: the “regulated market” and the Bretton Woods System within the economic sphere, with the “welfare state”, and the “Cold War” as an international “institution” to protect peace on a global scale. Loosing faith over the effectiveness of the self-regulated markets sets the tone of the non-market institutions and the system was structured on market intervention along the Keynesian lines. This system collapsed due to over-expansion of non-market institutions over market. The failure of these attempts surfaced in 1970s with the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system and stagflation phenomena.

In the second phase we again observe the extension of the self-regulating market over non-market institutions and this also cause contradictions and strains, which, in turn, may call for a new organization of the world system. In this globalization phase, the institutionalization of the world capitalist system is believed to be still in progress. In this new phase, which seems to be a “return” to the 19th century order at first sight, again the market and the liberal state emerge as the main domestic institutions, whereas the construction of the global financial system and the “new international order” seems more problematic. Therefore, the paper examines these tensions and potential conflicts and dangers, which give rise to a new form of the double movement, and argues that they may prove to be fatal for the entire market system in the future once again.
What Can Marxists Learn From Polanyi?

The starting point of this paper is Rhoda Halperin’s comment that “Polanyi enables us to read Marx differently and vice versa”. Yet, the focus of the present paper is how reading Polanyi would be important to understand Marx, rather than the “vice versa” part. With this aim, the paper identifies three important connections between Marx and Polanyi. In the first place, for Polanyi, just like Marx, human beings (the “species-being” in the “early” Marx of *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*) are essential moral beings, and, therefore, the market system basically represents a violation of human freedom and spontaneity. Even if Marx is also aware of this fact with his theory of alienation and fetishism, it is actually Polanyi who enthusiastically emphasizes this aspect of the human existence under the market system. The second connection is the theory of “social breakdown” as conceptualized in Polanyi’s notion of the “double-movement”, which again exists in Marx in a rudimentary way, but was not developed beyond the idea of class struggle. It is Polanyi again, who shows that the market society, through its posing a danger to annihilate the social fabric, and thus giving rise to the “self-protection” of the society, is bound to disintegrate. In this regard, the last, but not the least, connection between these two thinkers is the emphasis put by Polanyi on the importance of the self-protection of the society as a mechanism to check the expansion of the market by human beings through the formation of some associations or “communities” within which individuals affirm their “humanity”. Again, this aspect of Polanyi’s thought is not emphasized by Marx, even if it exists in an implicit way. The paper argues that Marx’s analysis of the market system can be extended and enriched by the use of Polanyi’s insights, insights that are inherently societal rather than being merely economic. Furthermore, it is also argued in the paper that this emphasis of Polanyi’s could also be useful in the formation of social policies designed to protect community from the extension of the market.
Karl Polanyi and the ‘Modernity-versus-Postmodernity’ Debate

The idea of progress gained unprecedented recognition after the Enlightenment but especially in the course of the nineteenth century. Under the impetus of the Industrial Revolution, progress was increasingly understood as ‘material’ progress. In this modified format, progress became synonymous with modernity. From the natural sciences to the social sciences, to the arts and humanities the idea of progress spread like a contagious disease, albeit at different rates. Furthermore, it evoked different responses from within different domains of inquiry. The more institutionalized the disciplinary domains became, the less likely the resistance to this overarching idea. Precisely because the least institutionalized of all were the arts, it was there that a high level of avant-garde activity flourished and the first counter-revolution in the name of primitivism was witnessed. However, counterparts of this reaction can also be identified within domain of the social sciences. Karl Polanyi’s work, posthumously situated within the context of Institutional Economics, is one such exception. To this day, it remains surprisingly disconnected from the intellectual movements and climate of his times. To play the devil’s advocate, one may well argue that Polanyi was very much a Pablo Picasso in this sense. Over the last few decades, postmodernist critiques of modernity have brought to the foreground problems inherent in the idea of progress as derivative of the grand narratives of social sciences. In this paper, first, the legacy of Polanyi on the controversial nature of progress will be disclosed. In this context it will be revealed that Polanyi was far more concerned with this idea than presupposed by social scientists approaching his work. Secondly, Polanyi’s thought with respect to the contemporary ‘modernity-versus-postmodernity’ debate will be mapped. Once again, the purpose here is to demonstrate that Polanyi’s approach entails a combination of the better aspects of the two conflicting paradigms without necessarily falling into the inherent trappings of either. As such, it may well offer us insights for avoiding the cul-de-sac that has become characteristic of the debate in question. In this sense, Polanyi’s work contains a message the meaning and importance of which extend well beyond the confines of his own times. Last but not least, a further step in the direction of nevertheless re-placing Polanyi’s thought finally within the intellectual context of his time, something that has not yet been done, will be attempted. After the previous point, this may look like retrogression at first sight, however, there exists a curious affinity between Polanyi’s thought and the ‘Critical Theory’ of the prominent members of the Frankfurt School. This affinity can best be understood within the common parameters of the historical context that they once shared.
The Re-Commodification of European Labour

The paper argues that the current consensus regarding the role of social policy and its interaction with employment policies is dominated by normative assumptions of a rather crude economism and productivism and by simplistic methodologies that fail to take into account the complexity of social protection systems and their interaction with labour markets. The dominance of concepts like the “generosity” of unemployment compensation benefits; their “disincentive” effects; the preoccupation with “activation”; the characterisation of employment protection legislation as a labour market “rigidity” that needs “reforming” and “deregulating” are normatively and empirically de-constructed in an attempt to elucidate the process that the new consensus serves; that is, the re-commodification of European labour or, to use Karl Polanyi’s phrase to institutionally crystallise the fiction that labour is a commodity.

The paper comprises two parts. The first part is a conceptual/methodological discussion of the challenges surrounding the comparative study of unemployment compensation (UC) and employment protection (EP) policies. The paper puts forward an alternative framework that conceptualises UC and EP policies as outcomes of socio-political struggles for or against the total commodification of labour. These are articulated in particular institutional contexts and aim to resist or expand the functioning of the market within capitalist regimes. The second part applies this methodology in the measurement and comparison of the degree of de-commodification both between European Union countries and across time (1992-2002). The empirical findings confirm that a process of re-commodification of European Labour is clearly under way while further analysis exposes its detrimental effects upon socio-economic security in European Union. On the basis of these findings the paper ends with a short discussion on the emerging politico-institutional expression of the new consensus; namely, the governance of labour recommodification in Europe via the European Employment Strategy and its contradictions.
Polanyi and Eurocentricity

Over the course of the last decade, a number of authors exemplified by Andre Gunder Frank, Janet Abu-Lughod, and more recently, John M. Hobson have made a long-overdue attempt to move away from an entirely western bias in the field of economic history. In their way, these authors been ground-breaking. Yet their approach to criticising eurocentricity involves a heavy intellectual and moral investment in the virtues of capitalism, inasmuch as a large part of the methodology of these works has been to show that features that are commonly associated with capitalism—such as technological inventions, industrialization, or business devices such as bookkeeping or credit have been common to any large, complex social formation. What is missing is any concern for the nature of social relations in such societies. Thus, in a backhanded way they end up as advocates of a disembedded market-dominated society—surely a European invention—using the European experience as the criteria against which all other development patterns should be judged.

It is the thesis of this paper that Polanyi’s concepts of the embeddedness of the economic and the un-natural character of market activities can help us evaluate whether such authors really are anti-eurocentric, and simultaneously points to the creation of a body of non-eurocentric writing that reflects the social aspects of non-capitalist societies. Such activity may provide renewed scope for Polanyi’s ideas.
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Social Capital Accumulation of Community Enterprise of One Tumbon One Product: A Case Study from Southern Thailand.

This study was undertaken to observe the social accumulation of community enterprise of One Tumbon (sub-district) One Product Project or OTOP which is a government policy to support the villagers to have to have the means of earning a supplementary income and creating a strong community by producing a local product. Types of OTOP were handicrafts, local herbs and food and ecotourism produced in five province of Southern Thailand. Eighty-eight samples of OTOP community enterprises were purposively selected from government sources to focus on group interviews with leaders, committees and members by questionnaire.

Most of them had been producing the product before setting up community enterprises. The process of production was a partial group process. Even though they started learning to make product from their parents or members of their community, they had gained additional training from outside people. Social capital at the community level was correlated with the community enterprise level. The social capital at community level was affected by the period of community settlement and extent of local wisdom (which they recalled). The affecting factors of social capital level were the origin of the knowledge to produce the OTOP, having outside supporter and keeping accounts by learning from an outside agent, while the social capital at each level did not correlate with the market value of their product.
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HIV/AIDS Crisis – Private Provision and the Commodification of Health and of Knowledge
Public policy, capabilities and the double movement

The aim of the paper is to discuss the role of a progressive public policy in the context of the double movement. More specifically it aims to assess whether Sen’s notion of capability may be a significant benchmark for such a policy.

Sen’s approach is not easy to grasp. On the one hand he seems to view capabilities as a mere basket of goods while on the other he refers to capabilities in terms of the freedom to choose how to conduct one’s life. The first approach does not provide much help to whoever wishes to contrast the commodification of labour. The second approach may provide some insights for public policy.

The paper does not aim to assess Sen’s true beliefs but to draw all the implications that arise out of the second view. It suggests that a way out of Sen’s theoretical indeterminacy lies in the understanding of capabilities in terms of individual and social preferences and values (Sen’s metapreferences). It argues that preferences and values are the outcome of an ongoing learning process and that public policy has a key role in fostering or contrasting such a process.
The Leit Motifs of Karl Polanyi

The paper will trace a number of continuities in the life-work of Karl Polanyi in normative, ontological, theoretical and substantive terms to demonstrate that such continuities do exist and could be considered the underpinning leit motifs of Polanyi’s scholarship. These include in particular his normative commitment to the identification and realization of purposeful society and his ontological commitment to oppositions, polarities and dialectical double movements (DDMs). The latter, I argue run far deeper and more pervasively in Polanyi’s work than we find if we restrict our attention to the valuable and well appreciated double movement of society’s necessary self-defence mechanism to the market. The paper uses published and unpublished material written by Karl Polanyi from the 1920s to the early 1960s to illustrate the propositions put forward. I am indebted and most grateful to the Polanyi Institute in Montreal for their permission and assistance during a far too brief period of research at the Polanyi archives during June 2003, gathering material which has made this and related papers possible.

Finally the paper will turn reflexively to the question of how the study of the ontology of an individual scholar contributes to the larger project of understanding and theorising ontology more generally.
This paper tries to analyse the existing labour market. The right to work, understood as the right to a paid job, creates a lot of phenomena of social exclusion. Thus this study analyses a new way of interpreting this right; more than a right to a job it means a right to social inclusion, to be a full member of society. To make possible this interpretation I will distinguish between two very close concepts: rights and guarantees. These last ones are the different ways to make real and effective the content of a right. In this sense, basic income as an unconditional income given to all citizens can be the best way to make effective the right to social inclusion.
**The Coming Crisis?: Declining State Capacity and the Protection of Society**

Globalisation means, among other things, that markets and market forces have come to have an increasing impact on the lives of individuals and societies. Simultaneously globalisation has undermined the position of the state and thereby reduced our ability to protect ourselves against the nefarious effects of the market. This paper investigates the respects in which state capacity has declined and makes a comparison between states in various parts of the world. The state always played quite different roles in various European countries, in North America and in East Asia, and not surprisingly the impact on the state of globalisation has been quite varied. Yet what really matters is not what the state can do to protect us, but rather what alternative forms of protective arrangements there are. Also this will vary quite considerably from one society to the next. The degree of human suffering in a globalised market — and the potential for a social crisis — will thus depend, first, on the viability of the state, and secondly on the availability of protective, non-state, solutions. In conclusion some speculations will be made regarding social protection in a world without states.
Globalization and the Re-embedding of Markets: Prospects for Social Democracy in the Global South

If social democracy constitutes one historical means of embedding markets in society in industrial countries, what are the prospects for social democracy in the late-developers? On the one hand, globalization – the closer integration of national economies in global markets – is generally regarded as obstructing equitable development strategies. Global competitiveness is seen as undermining expensive social programs through pressures to cut production costs, pressures that are magnified by growing capital mobility and freer trade. On the other hand, globalization and social democracy, even in late-developers, may be more mutually congenial than expected. Not only may social expenditures forge a well-educated and healthy work force, good infrastructure, and social cohesion, but also neoliberal strictures may divert social-democratic regimes from unsustainable populist temptations. The complex relationship between neoliberal globalization and third-world social democracy will be explored through a broadly
Historians have measured modern change in North America as a linear, uniform transition from "pioneer" subsistence towards urban industrial capitalism. Micro-historical community studies reveal instead that ordinary people focused on the imperatives of the household, and, even in North America, forms of capital had to adapt to this ancient economic form. In most of Canada until the last half century the penetration of capital was consequently very uneven. This paper explores the ways in which, notwithstanding their intermittent participation in global capitalist resource extraction, the members of one 'pioneer' community in coastal Canada used the rich local environment, existing indigenous knowledge, and the state's generous land-granting policies to create a society in which direct household access to resources frustrated capitalist growth.
Money as Social Process and Power

In this paper we argue that modern money can destroy, and has destroyed, institutions in third world countries, and has made it extremely difficult for members of these societies to manage their affairs as they see fit. While a money may have the power to integrate and keep social systems viable, it also has the power to do them great damage.

Using money to fulfill obligations has been a frequently used method of integrating social relationships and values, the use expressing people=s recognition of obligations, their willingness to fulfill these obligations, and signifying changes in relationships. But all societies have rules for the uses of money and, if not controlled by these rules of a society, a money can also exert great pressure for change, often for destructive change. While money has the power to keep social systems viable, it also has the power to do them great harm.
Asian Classics in A Western Collection Of Economic Thought

Schefold, B.

Nationalökonomie I published for the first time three outstanding texts which are not part of the canon. As chief editor of the series Klassiker der of Western economic thought. They are by the Arab Ibn Khaldun (around 1400), the Chinese Huan Kuan (around 80 B.C.) and the Japanese Miura Baien. The economic ideas of the latter two, strongly influenced by Confucianism, as opposed especially to Chinese legalism, will be discussed in this paper, not in isolation but as part of an East-Asian tradition of economic thought which is closely connected with traditions in philosophical, political and historical thought and shows striking continuities, especially if it is contrasted with continuities in Western economic thought. Incidentally, it will be shown that simple notions of a quantity theory of money, of an active employment policy, of the explanation of economic action as guided by self-interest can be traced back in China to the first centuries B.C.

Old Chinese economic thought provides an excellent example of how early commodity-producing societies restricted the sphere of the market and the influence of traders, using moral rules and the action of the state. The theme therefore fits in well with Polanyi's interest in the relationship between social and economic factors in ancient oriental empires.
Karl Polanyi and Ivan Illich  On the History of Scarcity

With Karl Polanyi, Ivan Illich sees modern market society as organized around the perception of scarcity as the basic human condition. And with Polanyi, Illich sees this fear of scarcity as ironically creating that very reality by destroying the cultural environment of those who are to be 'liberated' by modernity. Documentation of the systematic destruction of the organic customary (vernacular) organizations of kinship, neighborhood, profession and creed, establishes a different research program -the history of scarcity. Intentional destroying and chosen disconnecting from these organic social arrangements leads to loss of the relevance of local knowledge and institutional procedures and to the erosion of the self-limiting cultural restraints that are essential to secure both natural commons and social community. Emancipated from restraints upon desires and able to abandon traditional obligations the newly emancipated "individual" has the liberty to pursue their own tastes and "identity" transformations unencumbered by traditional practices. Ivan Illich's early theological focus was upon ecclesiology, or the study of what the Church has conceived as the ideal community since the fourth century. This normative frame is applied as an immanent ecclesiological critique of the Roman Catholic Church and its communities. But the critique is the ground for a series of studies that indicates the Church's role in promoting mechanisms that formed the pathologies of modernity. For example the church's pastoral care model weakened the autonomy of self-limiting vernacular domains-especially that of vernacular gender- and has been one of the forces supporting colonizing third world 'development'. Illich disagrees with Polanyi that Christianity is 'individualizing' and incapable of recognizing the reality of complex society. In the end the combined perspectives of Polanyi and Illich are a more powerful tool for critical social analysis.
Recombinant Knowledges: (Re)Engineered To Resist Commodification?

Knowledge is increasingly vulnerable to commodification. We are told that we are living in an “information society” in which the codification of knowledge, whether genetic or computer, is a fundamental organizing principle. In the information society, the logics of modern science and global capitalism converge to cement the conception of knowledge as a ready-made commodity. In the “technocratic ideology”, in a political economy preoccupied with “innovation”, technological advance is conflated with social progress. In this context, the intellectual property regime plays a pivotal role.

A commodity is an item produced for sale, an economic good, an article of commerce, a mass-produced unspecialized product subject to ready exchange or exploitation within a market. The human genome, the modified mouse genome, and the transgenic crop genome are susceptible to commodification and subject to university and private sector patents. They take the form of knowledge/information treated as a resource – to be guarded and defended as property, and made subject to ownership. Even the process and direction of ‘knowledge-building’ – the choices about focus, questions and research agendas are now driven by market logic.

Conventional understandings of knowledge in the information society accept that it is generated by experts. Expert discourses produce “truth” through the construction of systematic procedures for the generation, regulation and circulation of statements (Foucault 1973). But expert disciplines usually “function in such a way that they can be massively, almost totally appropriated” by institutions and used for precise ends (Fischer 2001). “Knowledge”, in the information society, is defined as “the acquisition of intellectual property through learning or research” (OECD 1989). Thus the legal construct of intellectual property rights perpetuates and reinforces the orthodox conception of knowledge and renders knowledge ready for commodification.

But alternative understandings of knowledge are beginning to emerge. In these more critical conceptions, ‘knowledges’ are understood in the plural sense according to the view that ‘what counts as knowledge’ must be expanded and inclusive. ‘Intermediate’ or ‘hybrid knowledges’ (Valverde 2003) are valued, as are a multiplicity of ‘situated’ or local knowledges (Haraway 1991). These forms of knowledge may be more resistant, more tolerant, to the pressures of commodification.

This paper will investigate the possibility that multiple, diverse, situated and local knowledges are resistant to commodification. The reconceptualization, or ‘re-engineering’, of
knowledge will be treated as a potential strategy to combat its commodification. In applying the same creativity and sense of abandon to combining knowledges that techno-scientists apply to combining genetic codes, one encounters the boundless possibilities for hybrids, the unlimited permutations and combinations that fuels the institutional optimism behind recombinant DNA technologies. This re-engineering of knowledge for resistance to commodification is an act of resistance: it rejects the view of knowledge that reduces it to a mere commodity to be exploited for profit, and seeks to foster diverse ways of knowing and understanding our world. Finally, this paper will aim to interrogate the role of law (including intellectual property) in expanding the notion of what counts as knowledge, and in affirming and recognizing alternative conceptions of knowledge more resistant to commodification.

SOURCES:
Social policy reform and the transformation of markets, states and communities in middle- and low-income countries

At the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first, middle- and low income countries have been the sites for a variety of apparently contradictory reforms of social policy, including welfare or social security policies. The “Chilean” model of privatising previously state-run (and subsidized) contributory pension systems has been extended, with strong support from the World Bank, to other parts of Latin America (including, between 1993 and 1997 alone, Peru, Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay, Bolivia and Mexico) and post-Communist Eastern Europe and central Asia (including Hungary, Poland and Kazakhstan). At the same time, in other parts of the South (including Brazil and Mexico; South Africa, Namibia and Botswana; India and Nepal; Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea) welfare provision has been extended to the poor, especially through state-run social assistance schemes or other moves in the direction of a guaranteed or ‘basic’ income. Similarly disparate reforms characterize the provision of education and health care, with privatization in some cases but an expansion of state activity in others.

This paper locates and explains these reforms within the broader context of transforming markets and communities as well as states. Globalisation, demographic change (including both population growth and changing patterns of morbidity and mortality), political change (notably the spreading third wave of representative democracy) and social change have transformed markets and communities across much of the south. This has led in turn to changes in the demands made by citizens on states as well as the capacity of states to meet these demands.

The paper concludes with some assessment of the extent of contemporary transformation in these countries and a comparison of this contemporary transformation with the earlier great transformation analysed by Polanyi in the countries of the ‘north’.
Global Cooperation or Global Corporation? Some critical reflections on democratic options.

The question, and the role, of corporations, and of corporativism, has been well explored, as has been the question of the corporate State. What I plan to do in this paper is to critically reflect on emerging global cooperation, in terms of power, not among state actors but among civil actors, and in terms of how civil cooperation is – I will suggest – all too often also tending towards global corporation and the hegemonic nature of corporativism – and not cooperativism. Essentially, what I want to do is to critically reflect on certain aspects of the democratic options that global cooperation, alliance, and networking seems to be offering us.

I want to privilege this question of ‘looking inside’ because it is, I believe, an essential part of securing a functioning democracy and of deepening democracy and democratic processes; and also because I want to celebrate civil cooperation and power as a complement and challenge – if not ‘alternative’ – to global inter-state cooperation. Simply because I think it gets too little attention.

Indeed, I would even suggest that if we do not ‘look inside’, reflecting on what we ourselves are doing, at least sometimes, we will not be able to critically contribute to building democracy, at local or global levels. And last but not least, I also choose to privilege this because we of course have two brilliant other speakers here who are much better qualified than I to speak on the other dimensions!

I will therefore do so to some extent looking at the politics and dialectics of emerging global movement, but in particular, to do so by looking at the World Social Forum, a major new phenomenon in world civil politics – and perhaps even, as some argue, in world politics more broadly.

In essence, there are three interweaving themes that I want to look at:

1. In an era of accelerated corporativism (indeed, nothing less than the threatening take-over of the world by global corporations), cooperation as an alternative, maybe as the alternative – not cooperation in the sense of ‘development cooperation’ but in its generic and radical sense, of solidarity and mutual aid; and through this, of power. I want to interrogate how we look at ‘power’.

2. But: An underlying current, where the dialectics of civil society – more accurately, of those sections of societies that call themselves ‘civil society’ – and of their hegemonic tendencies expressing themselves in the use of emerging global cooperation as a means of extending and deepening control and power over what I term ‘uncivil society’, locally and globally, thus profoundly negating and contradicting the democratisation of the world system. (I will explain and develop what I mean by this term ‘uncivil society’.)

3. The World Social Forum as an expression of this latter tendency, where we are seeing, I suggest, not only this but also processes taking place that are leading to the corporatisation of the idea and also to tendencies of it being perceived as (and of it behaving as) organised, corporatised religion.
At one and the same time therefore, emerging global cooperation among social and political actors is a crucial vehicle for transnational solidarity and therefore for the democratisation of world politics, but it is also, perhaps, too much tending to be an instrument for the consolidation and strengthening of existing social and political relations and of deeply entrenched interests – and is therefore profoundly anti-democratic, and anti-emancipatory, at the deepest level.

Put very bluntly, I believe – and suggest – that what is also happening today is that in the course of the exercise of cooperation and solidarity, and of the celebration of life that this seems to suggest, that there are also undercurrents at play – undercurrents that tend to deeply reinforce the status quo. Undercurrents where the power and influence of middle and upper sections of societies all over the world (class-wise, caste-wise, race-wise, and to some degree perhaps also gender-wise) over their respective societies is growing; undercurrents where the new transnational and global alliances that we are seeing growing before us (and in which some of us are taking part) are becoming vehicles for a growing power of a new transnational class that is emerging, with these sections linking up across the globe; and where many if not all these alliances are, both consciously and subconsciously, acting out the historical role of civil society to establish control and hegemony over society at large, and especially over what I term ‘uncivil society’.

As I understand it, this is not an accident or unfortunate tendency, but rather a part of what ‘civil society’ is historically meant to do, and has always done, so far more with local and national societies: Establish ‘civility’, subjugate and civilise the uncivilised, bring order into society. Civil society is not just the wonder story of social capital that we are often led to believe, in that space between the individual (or the family) and the state. It is that, yes, but it is also much more; the power relations of civility – of being civil, and of civil-isation – have also to be read.

I suggest that ‘civil society’ is not what the text books say it is, that almost neutral (and neutered) “space between the individual (or the family) and the state”, but rather just what the term says: Civil society. A society ruled by norms of ‘civility’; a society that has become ‘civilised’. In such societies, there is – by definition – no room for sections who do not follow the rules of being civilised, which are of course set by those who consider themselves to be civil and civilised; the civilised almost always feel threatened by the uncivil (and the ‘wild’, as they also term it), and by the very existence of an uncivil, and seek to subjugate it, convert it, and if necessary destroy it, exterminate it. In short, it is therefore the historical task of those who arrogate this term to themselves, to civilise society – which in social reality means to establish hegemony over all those who are (and all that is) uncivil.

This dynamics plays itself in terms of caste and race as well as of class – and, I will argue, at transnational and global levels as much as the local and national. In short, whereas we are given to understand that ‘global cooperation’ among social and political actors is an important indication of the emergence of what is called ‘global civil society’, and through this of the democratisation of global society, I suggest that these terms are in fact at the same time both far more accurate and revealing than we sometimes realise, and also deceptive insofar as that they mask the true nature of what is happening within such processes; because these processes are in fact still tending to be, perhaps sometimes subconsciously
and perhaps sometimes also consciously and strategically, processes for the spread of the control of civil society over the world – and therefore, if we agree that inclusion and emancipation are fundamental to democracy, profoundly anti-democratic in character.

My work with and on the World Social Forum suggests that these dynamics, as well as of corporatisation, are increasingly showing themselves – even while there are also intense efforts by some to struggle against these tendencies. I believe that this is happening in several ways: There are all too many things happening in the Forum that are tending to suggest that it is becoming corporatised; It is now also manifested in the degree to which the WSF has become commodified real estate, especially for those with political ambitions; The Forum is increasingly behaving like organised and increasingly orthodox religion; There are constant and increasing calls for the Forum to be reconstructed, as a world party; and notwithstanding the declared political intention of the World Social Forum and its Charter of Principles, the social reality of the Forum is that it remains largely led by whites and by middle and upper class and caste sections from around the world, and by males; and that those who are the greatest victims of capitalist globalisation, race, caste, communalism, and patriarchy – all the empires that the Forum has arraigned itself against – barely attend it.

I also suggest that the spirit of chaos, openness, and consensus that characterised the Forum in its early days is getting lost, and is being progressively replaced by a far more categorical, hierarchical structure. Clouds are being replaced by clocks. This is not an argument for clouds; it is an argument for struggling to understand what the genius of clouds are, and to join the struggle to design and articulate new forms that retain the open spirit of the Forum.

I propose to try to develop and explore this and related ground in my paper.
War and the Self-Protection of Society: Reading Polanyi’s The Great Transformation for the Twenty-First Century

Based on a close reading of The Great Transformation the paper (1) dissects Polanyi’s (implicit and explicit) theorization of the relationship between war and “the self-protection of society”, and (2) uses the reconstructed theory for an analysis of late 20th and early 21st century dynamics in comparative-historical perspective. Although not systematically developed, Polanyi repeatedly suggests that war (and militarism) has been one of the forms in which “the self-protection of society” manifests itself; and moreover, as is the case with other manifestations of the “counter-movement’, the outcome (in terms of actual security produced) is highly contradictory and uneven across time and space. Thus, paradoxically, popular mobilizations in support of war as well as anti-war mobilizations are cited by Polanyi as instances of the “self-protection of society”.

The paper analyzes the unfolding of this “Polanyi paradox” in the 60+ years since the publication of The Great Transformation, with a particular focus on the United States (as the world-hegemonic power), and on workers/trade unions (as a key force in the self-protection of society).

Three distinct phases are identified and analyzed: (1) The period from the Second World War through the Vietnam War, in which the consolidation of the welfare state (domestic and global New Deals) and the “warfare state” went hand-in-hand; (2) The period from the end of the Vietnam war to the 2001 Afghanistan War, during which the domestic and global New Deals were abandoned—the “magic of the market” celebrated—and new US military strategies that decreased reliance on mass popular mobilization were pursued (e.g., the elimination of the draft and the automation of war); (3) The period from late 2001 to the present, during which the contradictions between war/militarism and the self-protection of world society bear both similarities with the late-19th/early-20th century dynamics analyzed in The Great Transformation and fundamental differences. The paper concludes by evaluating the ongoing Iraq War through the prism of the “Polanyi paradox”, and drawing implications for the future from our analysis of the past.
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The essential argument that I will present in the workshop will be that in a world of more integrated, open economies labour markets and economies will be intrinsically more insecure, and 20th century systems of social security will be increasingly unable to provide reasonable social protection for the majority of people. In that context, we need to think how a new system could be constructed that would provide universal basic security and foster strong social solidarity. A basic income would be an important part of such a system, and would be financially feasible and economically equitable and efficient.
In The Great Transformation (1944), Karl Polanyi challenges traditional economic history. Polanyi purports that the "self-regulated" market represents an unnatural institution in human history. Further, he argues that the imposition of this self-regulated market had catastrophic effects within on social structures during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Polanyi's thesis locates the sources for nineteenth century social reform (i.e. the reform movement) in societal responses to the catastrophe of the self-regulated market. However, Polanyi's analysis may be overly simplistic.

Polanyi's theory ignores other institutions which may have also contributed to nineteenth and twentieth century social reform. Particularly, he ignores the role of revivalist evangelicalism in the nineteenth century. This paper focuses on those missing pieces of Polanyi's thesis.

In this inquiry we briefly outline the salient details of Polanyi's argument: emphasizing his argument as to the sources of social reform. We will show how the theological developments of nineteenth century evangelical revivalism at least contributed to, and may have created, the reform movement. We will also focus on concrete examples of the revivalist and evangelical commitment to social reform and evidence for the proliferation of evangelicalism, including a case study of William Booth, the Founder of the Salvation Army (SA). Finally, the paper will conclude by reexamining Polanyi's thesis in light of the additional evidence.
Corporate control of the media

In the current development of the media, the consequences of “self-regulating” and disembedded markets show up with particular clarity. Up to the first decades of the 20th century, media corporations tried to gain a profit by meeting the public’s need of information. With some plausibility, they could claim to demonstrate the blissful working of the economists’ invisible hand of the market that harmonizes the purely self-regarding interests of the individuals into products that are good for everyone. Today, media corporations are the living demonstration of the impotence of the harmonizing invisible hand. By pretending to meet the need for information, many of them succeed in transforming this need into a willingness to consume goods that produce illusions and satisfy the desire of feeling happy.

The problem I want to understand is: how is such a transformation possible? What social and individual conditions are necessary for people’s surrendering their needs to a transformation that frustrates them? And what conditions are necessary for people’s insisting on meeting their needs?
Information Dimension Effects on Today’s Globalised Economy

Globalisation, with its positive and negative aspects, is one of the most popular buzzwords in economic thought. The topic is still open to discussion. The author of this article suggests that we should pay attention to such a specific and integral part of the process as the information environment. First of all, we consider the part played by the expansion of the information possibilities in the process of the globalisation of the world economy. Then we shall emphasise the positive trends, shaped under the impact of the emerging information environment. Finally, we shall pay attention to the general problems in this sphere, as well as to those problems faced by Russia.
One of the participants in the Interdisciplinary Project at Columbia University in the early to mid 1950s was Walter C. Neale, a young Assistant Professor of Economics at Yale University, who took the train down from New Haven once or twice a month in order to participate. The most tangible outcome of the years of collaboration was Trade and Market in the Early Empires (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), believed by economic historians to be of all of Polanyi’s œuvre second in importance only to the Great Transformation. One participant who declined to contribute to TMEE was Moses Finley, who had already introduced Polanyi’s approach to ancient historians in his World of Odysseus (New York: Viking, 1954; 2d rev. ed. London: Penguin, 1978), had had his adventures earlier with the McCarran Committee in the U.S. Senate, and had already taken a teaching position at Cambridge, where his distinguished work in ancient history led to his being knighted in 1979. Walter Neale, who is the only scholar who contributed two chapters to TMEE, can be said to have brought Polanyi’s approach to the study of colonial and post-colonial South Asia (most prominently in his Economic Change in Rural India: Land Tenure and Reform in Uttar Pradesh, 1800-1955 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962)).

This paper will articulate Neale’s understanding and uses of Polanyi. Neale’s interests were broad and the spirit of Polanyi can be seen in the background of many of his careful studies. Neale found ways to become at home in many areas: South Asia, Classical Greece and the Ancient Near East, the history of money. Even the economics of professional sport received his attention.

This paper will offer assessments of both Polanyi’s influence on Neale and Neale’s effectiveness in promoting Polanyi’s standing in the fields of economics and economic anthropology.
Struggles over the Commons in the 19th and 20th Century

During the last decades of the 20th century, 'the place of the economy in society' has - once more - been radically redefined and refashioned. The waves of privatisation in the national economies of the world soon turned into a full-scale privatisation of entirely new areas of human and natural life (e.g. biotechnology). At the same time, these developments created new opposition movements, which questioned these practices by 'reclaiming the commons.' One aspect of the opposition concerned the upholding of the rights of landless peasants all over the world.

Similarly, an earlier wave of privatisation at the turn of the 20th century, in the Ottoman Empire and in other parts of Europe, led to the establishment of exclusionary, private rights on land, and to the criminalization of customary practices and the destruction of the commons.

In this proposed paper I will look into the nature of the privatisation of land rights and the erosion of the idea of the commons at the close of the 19th century; compare the two waves of privatisation, and see what the 19th century experience can tell us, in terms of its scope, nature and consequences.
The Polarity of Human Freedom and the Self Regulating Market: Reconsidering the theoretical framework of The Great Transformation

Since The Great Transformation has been published there are contrasting interpretations of the theoretical analysis on which the book is based. What is the relationship between Polanyi’s approach and neoclassical reasoning? What influence did Marx have on Polanyi’s thinking? Is it appropriate to read The Great Transformation in terms of an institutional approach? Or is it correct to say – as D.C. North states – that Polanyi’s “analysis, in contrast to his colourful description, is vague, imprecise, and at times simply nonexistent”? The recent publication of Polanyi’s writings between 1920 and 1945 (Chronik der großen Transformation, Vol. I-III, Editors M. Cangiani/K. Polanyi-Levitt/C. Thomasberger, Marburg 2002-5: Metropolis) allows for new insights in Polanyi’s theoretical reasoning. I will show that his writings in social philosophy, sociology, economic theory and socialism of that period do not only give us a clear understanding of Polanyi’s core idea – the polarity of human freedom and the self regulating market –, but that they also contain new insights which are essential in order to answer the questions mentioned above.
Labor Market Informalities and the Need for Protecting Livelihoods: A Critical Analysis of Labor Movements and ‘Factory Take-Overs’ in Argentina from a Polanyian Perspective

Argentina’s experience of neo-liberal restructuring during the 1990s attracted significant international attention. Much has been written especially on the macroeconomic and political origins, triggering factors and consequences of the crisis. However, this paper focuses on the post-crisis dynamics in the Argentine context and brings a critical analysis of the “new social movements.” For this purpose, we will critically examine the strategies and practices of labor, more specifically the struggle of factory workers in the wake of Argentina’s spectacular economic collapse in 2001, during which Latin America’s most prosperous middle class has found itself in a position of shut down factories and mass unemployment. Having inspired by the film called “The Take,” our aim is to examine the analytical implications of the social movements in Argentina as a strategy of counter-hegemony for the labor and new social movements today.

Therefore, the motivating question for us is to what extend the implementation of the neo-liberal policies and the Convertibility Plan (CP) in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and following spontaneous reaction of the factory workers in Argentina to the annihilating effects / consequences of the neo-liberal decade could be conceptualized as a “Double Movement” in Polanyian sense? Polanyi’s account of the societal response to the self-regulating market mechanism opens the floor for re-embedding the economy in the society. As a theorist of counter-hegemony, he rejects the treatment of labor as a commodity and opposes the mentality of approaching labor through the laws of supply and demand. Thus, the commodification process and the following social countermovement is a way of protecting labor from the annihilating effects of the self-regulating market. From a Polanyian stand point, arguing that the worker movement in Argentina has the capacity to reembed the economy into the society be a reasonable claim? In addition, if the task set by Polanyi is to “create more abundant freedom for all,” then how successful are the factory take overs in this sense?

We believe that analyzing the worker movements in Argentina through a Polanyian lense will be a fruitful exercise in terms of having a better understanding of the counter-hegemonic movements in the neo-liberal globalization era. Moreover, this paper will also provide some insights on the planned nature of neo-liberal policies and the above mentioned spontaneous countermovements by complementing Polanyian theoretical framework with Gramsci’s notion of passive revolution and his articulation of different dimensions of hegemony.
Toksabay, A.

*Episteme as a Fictitious Commodity: Reflexivity and Responsibility in Social Studies Scholarship*

Polanyi’s work is one of the earliest in giving clues about the constructedness of social phenomena, much popular among the critical flanks in social studies today. Similar to the manufacturing of global hegemony in the Gramscian sense and as one of its underlying premises, this study aims to analyse the construction of the academic commonsense and mainstream knowledges, which in turn are manifested in the maintenance of the socio-political system through its reification and legitimization, if not through direct contribution to its production and reproduction. To this end, the paper will analyse the epistemological, ontological and methodological gatekeeping in the academia, particularly within the field of global politics widely defined, question the end of ideologies thesis and the discourse surrounding globalization writ large. It will conclude with a humble invitation for reflexivity on behalf of academics, their recognition of the exercise of power and indeed authority through the production and dissemination of knowledge and the responsibility this entails.
Global Health and Policy Networks: The Role of Civil Society and International Organizations in the Fight against HIV/AIDS

Based on the distinction I make between neo-liberal globalism (an ideology and an agenda) and globalization (a world phenomenon) - this paper will look at global health in order to point to some alternatives to the current trends in social policymaking. It will be argued that more than imagining a single alternative world society or a paradigm shift, it is necessary to incorporate the reality of different existing societies into our understanding of globalization. It is by braking away from the constraining mentality of neo-liberal globalism, that national and local communities will be more capable of avoiding the dangers of new all-encompassing paradigms.

Real alternatives regarding the future of social policy are conceived to be those that are the result of a more democratic and inclusive process of policymaking. These alternatives must respond to the various realities of concrete societies and to the challenges imposed by globalization and the globalist agenda. As evidence of some emerging alternatives, this paper focuses on the contrast between more exclusive and technocratic market-reform policy networks and more inclusive HIV/AIDS and health policy networks, all of which are in place and functioning globally.
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Still On The Roads To Serfdom: Contemporary Questions on the Ethical Context of Knowledge

The application of the liberal and neo-liberal ideas and principles created a society that tends to subordinate life to the economical logic. The mercantilisation of knowledge is an immediate consequence of this process. The preeminence of techno-scientific knowledge for the contemporary globalized capitalist economy implied the emergence of a new fictitious commodity, associated to deep transformations in the organization of work and culture. In this paper we indicate how the so called Knowledge Management, as praised for Peter Drucker and other authors, accomplishes an update of the principles of Taylorism. Associated to such update, a revision of the ideologies of the progress is propagated, as it can be certified by the proposals of theoreticians such as Pierre Lévy. The text also points to the de-structuring power of techno-science in the contemporary knowledge economy, which can disqualify the traditional and tacit knowledge, imposing to them to serve only as subsidy to the elaboration of new syntheses. This process, that the contemporaries neo-liberal vindications identify as a releaser of society and people from guardianships and heteronomies, can, however, be disclosed as a supplier of the bases of a new way to serfdom: the uprootedness of the ethical context of the knowledge.
‘Agency’ and ‘adapted preferences’: Do women in poverty prefer to do ‘paid work’?

Within the capability framework, Amartya Sen’s distinction between agency and well-being freedom is important particularly in evaluating women’s well-being in both objective and subjective forms. There are often discrepancies between subjective perceptions of well-being and well-being measured by ‘objective’ indicators, and Sen tries to develop ways for finding objective measures of poverty to overcome these biases and prejudices which are inherent in all societies. The concept of ‘adapted preference’ is developed therefore in order to criticize the utilitarian approach for focusing only the satisfaction or happiness of individuals for the measurement of well-being. Nevertheless, the respect for reasoning and ‘actual choice’ is also crucial for the capability approach. Thus, within the limits of this paper, I will elaborate on this tension between the respect for agency and the concept of “adapted preference” by focusing on women’s preferences about ‘paid work’ in the context of poverty in Turkey. The expected relation that those who can work would have more options- larger capability sets- is in fact not true for the women who are experiencing poverty in Turkey. The ultimate aim of this paper is therefore to scrutinize and challenge the concept of ‘adapted preference’ that is repeatedly and exclusively used for the subaltern groups.
Conceptions of Empire: A Polanyian Perspective

In recent years the term ‘empire’ has been persistently evoked as a reflection of the contemporary developments in global geopolitics. This is far from surprising: The subject refuses to fade away because as historical reality, conceptual category, and analytical device, empires refuse to go away! Having been a specific kind of state, empires, no matter whether their contemporaries employed the term or the term itself has been attributed by social scientists retrospectively, have been perhaps the most influential and enduring political actors in world history since the third millennium B.C. As a concept, too, it has been used to understand and/or legitimize the past, present, and future for about two millennia. We thus believe that the current growing interest on empire is the latest wave of these continuous debates.

In this paper, our aim is to propose a different perspective to this ongoing debate by making a comparative study of pre-modern and modern empires. We believe that taking empires as the focal point of a comparative and long term perspective is helpful and useful in grasping both structural endurance and change over time and space. In this respect, studying empires over time and space not only contributes to the understanding of the variations among empires, but also of the ‘worlds’ that shape and are themselves shaped by the empires situated in them. By ‘world’, we mean a certain geographical part of the planet, which embraces a relatively autonomous and self-contained political, cultural and economic set of relations. This set of relations corresponds to a totality, a comprehensible social system in itself, in which its members have more relationships with one another than they do with outsiders. We, thus, maintain that empires can best be understood in terms of their relation to their own worlds and how they are perceived, described and conceptualized in terms of these worlds because empires themselves are essentially in the pursuit of being the head of their worlds.

In the paper we aim to demonstrate that Karl Polanyi’s utilization of the distinction between the existence of *markets in society* and the existence of a *market society* is an analytical tool in order to demonstrate patterns of change in conceptualizations of empires and their worlds. Polanyi, in *The Great Transformation*, aimed to present that the market had played a subordinate role before the rise of capitalism. For him, the capitalist society “was unique in the way that economic imperatives had become dominant in shaping human life. In earlier societies, the
economy … was embedded in social relation, subordinated to religion, politics, and other social arrangements.”\textsuperscript{1} Taking this distinction as the starting point, we argue that the concept of empire was political in nature before capitalism, that is, it was the power relations between competing political actors, and the political context in which these relations were taking place that determined the evolution of the concept. Yet, with the emergence of capitalism and of a capitalist class with the pursuit of ceaseless accumulation of capital as a powerful sphere, empires started to be perceived and conceptualized as economic, besides being political, entities.

Drawing on Polanyi’s comparative work on ancient and modern day societies, we compare the Ancient Mediterranean World and the ever-expanding capitalist world-economy in this study. Given that the very concept of empire first emerged in the Ancient Mediterranean and then has been widely used by intellectuals of European empires in the modern world, we argue that it is much easier to trace the changes in conceptions of empire over time. We believe that this particular choice, by enabling us to take into account the ‘capitalist’ and ‘territorialist’ logics of power in empire formation, provides a useful heuristic tool to point to the crucial similarities and differences in conceptualizing premodern and modern empires.

The Latin America Peasantry Responds to Neoliberal Globalization

Because of its declining numerical significance the peasantry in Latin America has been consigned to oblivion or the dustbins of history by many social, scientists concerned with an analysis of the dynamics of social change and modernization. This paper argues that to the contrary the peasantry in Latin America has mounted the most dynamics movements for social change and is leading the forces of resistance to globalization in its neoliberal reform. The theoretical and political significance of this 'development' are explored.
Taking as guarantee that no one new world or society can be built upon old concepts and ideas, this paper seeks to attack one of the main pilar of the capitalistic world-economy: the scientific economicism. To do that, and coming along with Polanyi’s ideas of fictitious commodity, we shall go further and reveal the logical inconsistencies and silents in the arguments of the economic science about the labor force as a commodity. These inconsistencies and silences can be found either in the Classical Political Economy or in the Marx’ critique. Once Marx’s influence on the anti-capitalist movements is outstanding, we need to show his contribution, through his economic thought, to the economistic fallacy. This contribution was inevitable since Marx had decided it was possible to explain the capitalistic society based upon the economic thought. As is well known, when proposed that the commodity sell by the worker was the “labor force” instead the labor as the classical economists used to say, Marx found a solution to the problem of the surplus value. It was the difference between the value created by the labor force and the value incorporated into the labor force. That’s is the reason because the paper is specially concern with the failures or weaknesses present in one of the huge Marx contribution to the economics thought: the concept of labor force.
The Vanishing Corporate Profits Tax

Corporate profit tax receipts of governments have deteriorated while the legislated tax rate on corporate profits has not changed. The typical tax rate on corporate profits across countries that make up the highly advanced economies of the North is around 33%. Tax receipts as a proportion of total taxes from corporate profits taxes, however, have dwindled to an average of about 8% in the EU (in 2000), a little over 5% in France and only about 4% in Germany. In the United States it was 7.5%. These are all down from what they were 20 years ago.

The erosion of the corporate profits tax base reduces government capacities for investment in social capital, initiates a wedge into social solidarity, invites “tax”revolts” as tax burdens are shifted onto individuals, and, finally, seeds the criticism of the social market economy.

This paper examines the historical trajectory of these developments, linking them to Polanyi’s pioneering work on the evolution of the market system, and proposes remedies for the vanishing corporate profits tax.
In his sweeping economic history, “The Great Transformation”, Karl Polanyi attempts to locate the epicenter of the violent political and financial tremors that led to two successive global wars and a debilitating worldwide economic collapse. His daring thesis claims that with the rise of factories and complex machinery, economic considerations required that all factors of production be transformed into commodities. However, in addition to mundane productive elements, the process of “commodification” also took hold of socially vital factors. Specifically, it transformed nature, man, and money into the “fictitious commodities” of land, labor, and capital, and left their control and regulation to purely market forces. Polanyi believed that if left unchecked, this arrangement would have demolished society, defiled nature, and left humanity open to the “ravages of the Satanic Mills”. Instead, society spontaneously moved to protect itself from the dangers inherent in projects of fictitious commodification.

Utilizing Polanyi’s theories, this paper asserts that current initiatives within neoliberal globalization are consolidating and expanding on the flawed free-market policies of the past. The pharmaceutical industry’s efforts to increase worldwide IP protection are the prism through which this paper analyzes the concept of fictitious commodification within contemporary international political economy. While conventions respecting the rights of inventors and creators to protect their work have existed for centuries, the scope and enforcement mechanisms of new intellectual property regimes are unprecedented. These developments are connected to changes in key, information-based industries, including that of pharmaceutical research and development.

Until the last few decades, pharmaceuticals were non-patentable in much of the world (particularly in developing countries). Today, however, multinational pharmaceutical producers have successfully pushed for a host of stronger IP regulations for medicines and other products in countries across the globe. Like the world economy as a whole, these corporations have become increasingly focused on the economic importance of knowledge. Their business models rely more and more on highly technical information and expertise, which requires substantial time and investment to develop, but which are relatively easy to copy or imitate. As a result, pharmaceutical and other knowledge-centric companies have pushed to transform humankind’s creative processes and stores of knowledge into the market-controlled euphemism of “information”. Their desire for increased commodification of knowledge (and the legal rights to
protect this commodification) mirror Polanyi’s analysis of earlier forms of “fictitious commodities” and the industrial capitalists who urged governments to undertake free market reforms. Drawing on these historical connections, this paper presents a chronological account of US pharmaceutical firms’ changing views on Intellectual Property, and their decisive efforts to use US trade policy as a tool for greater IP protection and enforcement. This process began in the late 1970s, and involved intensive lobbying efforts, well-organized publicity campaigns, and concerted collective action between myriad firms with similar IP goals. The WTO’s Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreement is the most important substantive outcome of these initiatives.

This paper also examines the concomitant societal responses to increased IP protection for pharmaceuticals. This reaction is taking the form of a coalition of international NGOs, grassroots political movements and third world governments, and has focused on how developing countries should interpret and implement the TRIPS agreement. In particular, battles have been fought over the effects that this legal convention will have on access to essential medicines in poverty-stricken areas. Several prominent groups such as Doctors Without Borders and Oxfam have weighed in on this debate and mobilized significant international pressure in support of access. The paper draws comparisons between these groups and the trade unions, socialist parties, and protectionist initiatives that formed the second half of Polanyi’s “double movement”. In particular, their timing, spontaneous nature, tactics, and goals show similarities to the movements that Polanyi studied. Such an analysis can help us understand the pro-access coalition’s potential for success. It may also help to add to the debate over the effectiveness of nascent global civil society between scholars like Ronnie D. Lipshutz and Mustapha Pasha.

In general, the paper’s aim is to use Polanyi’s insightful work to better understand recent changes in global Intellectual Property law, and the efforts to correct some of these changes most deleterious consequences.
De-commodification and Re-commodification – Thoughts on the Shifting Economics of Health Care

Some goods and services are so fundamental that to be denied access to them would imperil one’s very survival. As the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) articulates, these universal needs are shelter, food, water, and adequate clothing. The basics have also come to include health care and education, because mere subsistence or survival is not widely viewed as a good enough social goal/measure of citizenship, especially in the industrialized nations.

Over time, an ever wider range of essential human transactions have been transformed from a paid or unpaid service to a purchased commodity, available in unit quantities through the market rather than through establishing social relations. These commodities range from food preparation and fertility/reproduction domestic supports to the acquisition of new organs or the purchase of fertility or even, with gene modification, identity. Similarly, the steady growth and incursion of advertising and marketing has transformed wants into needs, and drowned the voice of collective concerns by the siren call of individual desire.

Historically, as commodification of these services expanded, there was a decline in the capacity of charitable intervention to fill the gaps in the real needs, the food, shelter and care that assure physical survival. Over the course of the twentieth century, governments were pressed to step in to greater or lesser degrees, to ensure that all citizens would be assured of access to these “utilities”; i.e. the basics of shelter, clean water, health, education, and indeed a growing array of what is considered basic.

Today the full range of health care goods and services are available on the market, but in most nations access to health care is rarely restricted to market exchange. They are also made available to through public, charitable and humanitarian provision, through individual and collective effort.

But with rising per capita incomes and a political climate that favours less government intervention, there is increasing pressure today to shift direction.

Health care represents a rising share of GDP in virtually every industrialized nation. Governments are generally reluctant to commit to expansionary trajectories in public expenditures, with many governments explicitly committed to containing or reducing the size of the state vis-a-vis the rest of the economy. Thus growing budgets for public health care imply reductions in other public provisions and/or rising taxation. In this risk-averse and unstable
economic climate, neither is a politically attractive option for those who seek election. As a result, there is a major policy rethink around the world, re-examining the role of the state in providing public health care.

This paper examines two questions pertinent to the changes taking place in Canadian health care services: In what ways has health care been de-commodified in Canada? In what ways is it being re-commodified?
Markets Need Grants: Tracking the Dynamics of Commodification

Polanyi’s analysis examined the impact on society of the modern economy, based on competitive, self-interest-maximizing behaviour expressed through market exchanges.

A parallel path to Polanyi elaborates how asymmetric exchanges impact on the development and evolution of the market economy. Taken together, these asymmetric exchanges (or gifts of time and money) are called the grants economy.

The grants economy provides an ongoing social order upon which market economies are predicated. The grants economy is also derivative, flowing from what the state does and does not do, and what the market does and does not do.

While the market economy is “known” through economic theory and rigorous systems of national accounts, the grants economy is not. There is neither a conceptual framework nor a formal knowledge base articulating its size, structure or dynamics. We describe a first initiative to map the composition of the grants economy in Canada.

Public policy is largely achieved through government “granting” – assistance to single parent low income families, education, industrial development for R&D. This presentation focuses on health care in Canada as exemplar of the functions and consequences of the grants economy: how systems can be based at once on symmetric and asymmetric exchanges, and how the relationship between the two types of economies can spur greater commodification or decommodification over time.
Aristotle and Polanyi: Economy or Political Economy

In this paper I want to compare interculturally and regardless of their specific contexts the writings and texts of Aristotle (interestingly, we can see reflections of some related ideas of Aristotle in Aviceanna Arabic treatise named "Politics") and Polanyi with regard to a common problem that is economy in itself as a episteme or in conception. Accordingly, I will select some common categories or concepts from their texts and then base my comparison on them. My selected concepts are: natural and unnatural life and good life limitness and unlimitness necessity and unnecessity
**Intensification as Protection Strategy: when the weak fight for more disembedded markets**

A Polanyian analysis of the contemporary political role of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) reveals a paradox. On the one hand, the production and exchange networks that SMEs operate within are deeply ‘embedded’ in society in many (informal) ways; these networks are often barely distinguishable from the networks of local community, personal friendship, and family. The labour markets that SMEs rely upon function in a way much more regulated by inter-personal ties than by a free market in labour. On the other hand, the political deliberation that SMEs exhibit encourages a ‘dis-embedding’ of the market from society; through their collective associations, SMEs act as enthusiastic supporters of neoliberal economic and social deregulation. Consequently, the reaction to neoliberalization amongst the SME community has been to intensify market discipline, and not the expected reaction of protection from, and regulation of, the market.

If relatively weak social entities such as SMEs fight for an intensification of neoliberalism as their protection strategy to cope with the economic challenges of our time, what does this mean for Polanyian analysis? While there are many examples of a protective countermovement in the world today, the ‘small business’ fraction of capital seeks to intensify neoliberalism instead of offering alternatives to it. Why is this? What does this mean for future political struggles to achieve ‘freedom in a complex society’?

This research draws from a series of formal semi-structured interviews carried out with representatives from several SME interest organizations politically deliberating at the European Union (EU) level. These interviews took place in Belgium (Brussels – EU lobbying headquarters), in Germany (Berlin), and in Hungary (Budapest), and involved a diversity of SME interest organizations: some were small advocacy groups with small, part-time staff, while others were large formal lobbying organizations with official EU social partner status.
Bringing Polanyi Back into The New Economic Sociology: The Embeddedness of Social Relations in Market Exchange

In the last two decades, economic action has been reclaimed as an arena in which sociological concepts make more sense than simplistic versions of neoclassical economic theory. But ironically, the “new” economic sociology (NES) reverses some of the insights of classical economic sociology and anthropology. A central claim of NES, initially put forward by Mark Granovetter, is that economic action is often embedded in social relations and social networks. This paper argues instead that NES overturns the original insight of Karl Polanyi about the nature of exchange and markets. In order to do this, I utilize ethnographic evidence on the operation of a transnational market between Turkey and the former Soviet Union (FSU), namely, the informal shuttle trade network.

NES argues that economic action is embedded in social relations, but at the same time, its claims harbor two kinds of conceptual indeterminacy. On the one hand, NES has an exclusively micro focus on personal relations and networks and therefore, it neglects the larger structures within which “embedded exchange” is embedded, namely, the national market and the capitalist world economy. On the other hand, there is an implicit conceptual separation between “markets” – constituted by as arms length ties between actors and hence devoid of social relations – and exchange that is immersed in personal ties.

I argue that Granovetter has used the term “embeddedness” in a manner that is contrary to what Karl Polanyi meant when he first introduced the notion. Polanyi emphasized several important points: first, that a market economy could never be self-regulating, rather, for modern markets to operate certain economic and social institutions were necessary. Second, and related to this, the development of a “free market” was masterminded by the state; it did not emerge on its own. Third, the underlying “integration” principle of premodern economies was not market exchange, but either reciprocity or redistribution. And fourth, in modern economies, social relations are embedded in the economic system rather than vice versa. Granovetter interprets Polanyi as having argued that only in premodern societies economies were embedded in social relations. Based on this reading, Granovetter’s claim is that in modern societies economies are also embedded in social relations of a certain type, namely, interpersonal relations and social networks. But here, the meaning of the “social” in the market is underspecified.
In this paper, I seek to suggest a way in which we can start to remedy these shortcomings of the NES. Interpersonal relations and social networks are indeed important in the facilitation of economic transactions. Yet, an investigation of social relations that underlie market exchange remains indeterminate unless we specify what the market constitutes. In the shuttle trade network that I studied, the market itself is a product of the transnational mobility of small informal traders, and the social relations that they form with each other. Hence, market exchange itself is social. In the shuttle trade market which is characterized by the weakness of formal legal regulation, there is interpenetration between very personal relations – even sexual intimacy and romance – and market exchange. Sometimes, business nurtures personal relationships; in other instances, “trusting,” friendly or intimate relationships may lead into business. Thus, extending Polanyi’s insights, market exchange produces particular social relations.
Is Google Evil? Knowledge Commodification, Community and Innovation

Many researchers cannot remember work before Google gave them fast and easy answers. In this paper, I examine how "fast" and "easy" sources of centralized information destroy knowledge. Centralization increases firms' market power, allows powerful interests to stifle alternative (religious, political, commercial or intellectual) views, and, via commodification, reduces the richness of real knowledge into small packages of nearly worthless components. Laws and technology which tie larger information markets together magnify this trend. The upshot of concentration is crisis for minority viewpoints, alternative outlets, and, most importantly, the end-consumers of information. If information is power, then this concentration of power is dangerous. After a brief review of the importance of knowledge to human progress and identity, I model the current trends of concentration and look at alternative scenarios which can address the weakening of local (and thus global) stores of knowledge. The key result is that "Think Globally, Act Locally," fails to address real knowledge needs and can be overcome with a decentralized campaign of "Think Locally, Act Globally" which empowers traditional, minority and heterodox views without the need for state intervention. Everything is vague to a degree you do not realize till you have tried to make it precise. Bertrand Russel