



## Max Weber Programme Conference

### “Globalization and Inequalities: Reflections on the Development of a Divided World”

**San Domenico di Fiesole,  
Villa la Fonte, 11-13 June 2008**

Across time and geographical context, inequalities of income, status (gender, race, culture, religion) and capabilities have manifested themselves by means of different institutional arrangements that have governed human interactions. In an era of globalization, market mechanisms are generating new structures of inequalities both between as well as within countries and regions. Historians, political scientists, economists and legal theorists are all grappling with the issue of understanding, defining and evaluating the formation of inequalities and equalities. Grappling with this issue has acquired pressing urgency given the tensions experienced in forging social, economic, political and cultural interaction in a very pluralistic world.

This conference seeks to bring together leading scholars from diverse disciplines to explore both historical and contemporary evocations of the different dimensions of inequalities. The hope is that a multidisciplinary examination can deepen the understanding of the phenomena and positively inform explorations of policy measures to fulfil the aspiration to a just world order.

## Conference Programme

Wednesday 11 June

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*Opening of the Conference - Keynote Lecture (followed by cocktail)*

**Chair: Umut Aydin**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

17.00 *Welcome and Opening*, **Ramon Marimon**, Director MWP, EUI

17.15 *On Global Ambivalence: Dark Reflections on Recognition*  
**Homi K. Bhabha**, Anne F. Rothenberg Professor of the Humanities and Language Director,  
Harvard Humanities Center Harvard University

18.00 *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Rinku Lamba**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

Thursday 12 June

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### Session 1. Globalization and Economic Inequalities?

"Fears that low-wage competition is driving down U.S. wages have a real basis in both theory and fact. When we import labor-intensive manufactured goods from the third world instead of making them here, the result is reduced demand for less-educated American workers, which leads in turn to lower wages for these workers. And no, cheap consumer goods at Wal-Mart aren't adequate compensation. (...) In the mid-1990s a number of economists, myself included, crunched the numbers and concluded that the depressing effects of imports on the wages of less-educated Americans were modest, not more than a few percent. But that may have changed. We're buying a lot more from third-world countries today than we did a dozen years ago, and the largest increases have come in imports from Mexico, where wages are only about 11 percent of the U.S. level, and China, where wages are only 3 percent of the U.S. level." (Krugman New York Times, May 2007).

This panel will discuss the mechanisms through which the expansion of international trade in goods and services, and more generally, economic integration, can have an uneven effect on wages, jobs, and incomes, on different individuals and social groups within a country.

**Chair: Lars Börner**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

9.15 *Inequality and Economic Integration: Policy and Finance*  
**Giuseppe Bertola**, University of Turin

9.45 *Trade and War: How Globalization Changes the Regional Balance of Power*  
**Mathias Thoenig**, University of Geneva

### 10.15 - 10.45 Coffee Break

10.45 *Globalization and Health: Impact Pathways and Recent Evidence*  
**Andrea Cornia**, Università di Firenze

11.15 *International Inequality and Polarization in Living Standards, 1870-2000: Evidence from the Western World*  
**Leondro Prados de la Escosura**, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

11.45            *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Giammario Impullitti**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute  
**Ramon Marimon**, Director MWP

## 12.30 - 14.00 Lunch Break

### Session 2. Redistribution and Recognition

Globalization confronts contemporary states with the challenge of accommodating new claims for redistribution and recognition. Economic openness and competition creates new demands for redistribution and protection against the risks of the markets. Concomitantly, the increasing demographic mobility of populations leads to a situation where the liberal state is confronted with justice-based claims for the political accommodation of religious and cultural minorities.

This panel will address different questions that are posed by the dual challenges of redistribution and recognition. These questions include the following:

To what extent have states been able to address the inequalities created or reinforced by the globalization of markets? How well do public policies work to remedy income and gender inequalities? How can contemporary liberal-democratic states accommodate non-liberal minorities on a basis of equality? What forms of democratic engagement between the state and non-hegemonic groups must liberal-democrats aspire to in their bid to counter race- and sex-based hierarchies?

**Chair: Antonio Stopani**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

14.00            *Feminism for a post-maternalist era: The gender equality project in a globalizing world*  
**Ann Shola Orloff**, Northwestern University, Chicago

14.30            *Social Justice and the Varieties of Capitalism*  
**Margarita Estevez-Abe**, Harvard University

15.00            *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Sven Steinmo**, Social and Political Science Department, European University Institute  
**Giovanni Federico**, Department of History and Civilization, European University Institute

## 15.40-16.00 Coffee Break

**Chair: Rinku Lamba**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

16.00            *Defining the Good Citizen and Society in the Context of 'Diversity'*  
**Yasemin Soysal**, University of Essex

16.30            *Recognition and accommodation of minorities: what can be learnt from the French experience?*  
**Patrick Weil**, Université Paris I

17.00            *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Jaap Dronkers**, Social and Political Science Department, European University Institute

## 17.30 -18.00 Coffee Break

**Chair: Heather Jones**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

18.00            *Immigration and inequality: Between human rights and civil rights*  
**Jay Winter**, Yale University

19.00            *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Frank Trentmann**, European University Institute

**19.30 Conference Barbecue Dinner, Villa La Fonte**

**Friday 13 June**

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### **Session 3. Inequality and the Law**

Many constitutions in Western democracies, but also in developing countries, protect “equality”, guarantee citizens “equality before the law”, or forbid “discrimination” of all sorts. Consequently, courts and judges have faced the problem of defining what “equality” means for legal and constitutional purpose. Given that lawmaking and policy-making both presuppose line-drawing and that every law necessarily involves some difference of treatment between legal categories (e.g. between people above and below voting age, or between people subject to taxation and people not subject to taxation), the question is: When does a mere difference in treatment become unequal treatment? Or, alternatively, when does treating two persons alike become unequal treatment? While it seems that different courts and different judges have arrived at different answers, it also appears that, in many places, “equality” and the “rhetoric” of inequality have played a central role in judicial argumentation.

**Chair: Arthur Deyvre**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

9.30            *Equality and Liberty*  
**Luc Wintgens**, Université Bruxelles

10.00            *Equality changes competencies. Can competencies modify the limitations to inequality?*  
**Otto Pfersmann**, Université Paris I Pantheon Sorbonne

10.30            *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Gianluigi Palombella**, Parma University

**11.10-11.40 Coffee Break**

### **Session 4. Inequality During Wartime – Redefining Social Hierarchies**

Wartime societies experience profoundly different structural inequalities to peacetime societies. Social groupings are realigned to take account of new conflict valuesystems and the need to distribute scarce resources in a manner that will sustain the war effort. Historians have described the inequalities that this realignment creates as the ‘moral economy of wartime.’ This moral economy has far-reaching implications for particular social groups – refugees, children in institutions, the elderly - who risk marginalization within a new wartime code of values which creates new social hierarchies, where the combatant soldier privileged above all other groups. In the two total wars of the twentieth century, between 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, wartime social structures shifted further than ever before as industrial mobilization became as important as military organization and the most classical wartime social distinction, between combatant and non-combatant, became increasingly blurred. This panel will explore how the process of total mobilization created new forms of inequality at the heart of wartime social rationalization.

**Chair: Jay Winter**, Yale University

11.40            *Militarizing the Disabled: 'Total War' and the Economy of the Body in WWI Germany*  
**Heather Perry**, University of North Carolina

12.10            *Refugees and the First World War*  
**Pierre Purseigle**, Birmingham University

12.40            *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Claudia Siebrecht**, National University of Ireland  
**Heather Jones**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

**13.20 – 15.00 Lunch Break**

### **Session 5. Labor and Globalization**

The year of 1989 has been associated with the collapse of the “Wall” and it was indeed celebrated by many as the end of the division between “East” and “West”, which belonged to different social and political systems after the end of the Second World War. It was widely believed that the disintegration of the state socialist regimes would pave the way for political and social processes, which would enhance the universal human emancipation. The ex-socialist countries, having failed in the Communist modernisation project, placed a renewed hope to catch up with the advanced capitalist countries in their “transition” to capitalism. Neoliberalism, the panacea, which was so widely recommended, proved to be very costly in both social and human terms in East Central Europe, leading to massive unemployment, increasing social inequalities and the impoverishment of large groups of people. In spite of these negative experiences, there was no substantial working-class protest against the privatization and the neoliberal programme.

The panel seeks to address the issue of labour and globalization in Western and Eastern Europe. It brings together scholars of different disciplines in order to understand the response (or the lack of response) of European labour to the global challenge, and to discuss what kind of strategies can emerge in the new context. Since most of the socialist countries are new Member States of the European Union, it is important to find a common framework in which one can understand the formation of the political and social attitudes of the new working class.

**Chair: Eszter Bartha**, Max Weber Fellow, European University Institute

15.00            *Globalisation, neo-liberal restructuring and rising inequality: the response of European labour*  
**Andreas Bieler**, University of Nottingham

15.30            *Globalization, the dual crisis, class and populism east and west*  
**Don Kalb**, Central European University, Budapest

**16.00 – 16.30 Coffee Break**

16.30            *System change, the sources of inequalities and workers' responses in the light of the Hungarian (and Eastern European) experiences*  
**Tamás Krausz**, Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest

17.00            *Comments - followed by general discussion*  
**Sebastian Conrad**, Department of History and Civilization, European University Institute

**18.00            Closing of the Conference**