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Modernization in Times of Globalization II

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Contents

New Theoretical Approaches

Religion, International Relations and Transdisciplinarity 7
Roland Robertson

Modernization, Rationalization and Globalization 21
Raymond Boudon

Modernity Confronts Capitalism: From a Moral Framework to a Countercultural Critique to a Human-Centered Political Economy 37
Ino Rossi

Three Dimensions of Subjective Globalization..... 53
Manfred B. Steger and Paul James

Transnational Diasporas: A New Era or a New Myth? 71
Eliezer Ben-Rafael

The Discursive Politics of Modernization:
Catachresis and Materialization 104
Terrell Carver

The Problem of Social Order in a Disordered Time

From Order to Violence: Modernization Reconfigured..... 121
David E. Apter

Institutional Transfer and Varieties of Capitalism in Transnational Societies 151
Carlos H. Waisman

Media Distortion – A Phenomenological Inquiry Into the Relation between News and Public Opinion..... 167
Louis Kontos

Labor Migration in Israel: The Creation of a Non-free Workforce 177
Rebeca Raijman and Adriana Kemp

On Contemporary Philosophy

Deference and the Use Theory..... 196
Michael Devitt

Constitution and Composition: Three Approaches to their Relation 212
Simon J. Evnine

Contributors 236

Impressum 238

On ProtoSociology..... 239

Published Volumes 240

Digital Volumes available 244

Bookpublications of the Project..... 245

Cooperations – Announcements 251

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Religion, International Relations and Transdisciplinarity

Roland Robertson

Abstract

Recently there has been an upsurge in interest concerning the relationship between religion and international relations. Much of this has been expressed as if the relationship between these was entirely new. In contrast, this paper involves the argument that it is not so much a question of religion returning but rather why it is that students of international relations have neglected the connection since the Peace of Westphalia. This neglect has largely occurred because of the primacy given to changes and events in the West, particularly since the formal separation of church and state and its imposition on or emulation by Eastern societies. The recent concern with globalization has provided the opportunity to undertake historical discussion in new perspectives which overcome the Western "normality" of the absence of religion in the Realpolitik perspective. Moreover, it is argued that much of the neglect of religion in work on world affairs has largely been the product of the inaccurate and ideologically motivated perception of ongoing secularization. The overall discussion is framed by some objections to the limiting consequences of disciplinarity, particularly the way in which both IR and sociology were rhetorically constituted .

Introduction

While this paper is primarily concerned with the conditions that are giving rise to the conspicuousness of religion in contemporary international politics, it should be said at the outset that the recent controversy surrounding the alleged evils of religion—notably in the UK and the USA—is less than marginal to this focus. This is because much of the polemical hysteria that has issued from the anti-religious, or anti-God, camps has undoubtedly been much influenced by the overlapping presence of religion in intranational, transnational, and international politics. At the same time the militancy of, for example, Richard Dawkins (2006) and Christopher Hitchens (2007) and have certainly contributed significantly to the presence of religion in the minds of contemporary politicians, journalists and academics. Another big controversy has also played a part in subduing the significance of religion in international affairs—namely, the prominence of religion in the American policy toward Israel. It has become very clear in recent years that this is a subject that many avoid, for fear of

Modernization, Rationalization and Globalization

Raymond Boudon

Abstract

Is moral evolution a mere illusion, as postmodern thinkers state or a more or less permanent feature of history though it can be thwarted by unfavorable conjunctures, as Weber or Durkheim thought? The question is tentatively answered by a reanalysis of data drawn from the World Values Survey conducted under the lead of the University of Michigan. The data on seven Western countries show, when comparing the answers of younger to older respondents and of more to less educated respondents, that definite trends characterize the frequencies. On the questions regarding issues related notably to work, authority, morals, religion, politics and attitudes towards other people, the younger and the more educated appear as giving answers less inspired by tradition. On the whole, the data illustrate Weber's notion of rationalization. The same trends can be observed in countries outside the Western world as India, Russia and Turkey. Such trends may plausibly be reinforced by globalization.

Two Views on Modernization

Sociology offers two contrasted theses on moral change in modern societies. *Postmodern thinkers* develop the thesis that moral change would have led in contemporary societies to a unique motto: *chacun pour soi.* Thus, to Z. Baumann, we would live in individualistic societies dominated by *Gier*. Values would have become *liquid*. *Classical theorists* as Weber and Durkheim developed by contrast a well-tempered variant of evolutionism. It takes a clear distance with the optimistic evolutionism of the two first thirds of the 19th century. But it states that a process of rationalization guides moral change in modern societies.

To Durkheim (1960 [1893], p.146) "individualism, free-thinking did not appear in our days, nor in 1789, nor in the Reformation time, nor with scholastics, nor with the decline of Greek and Roman polytheism or of oriental theocracies. This phenomenon begins nowhere, but develops continuously through the course of history". In other words, men have had since ever a sense of their dignity and vital interests and a critical sense making them able to judge whether institutions serve them. Thanks to this rationalization, innovations were produced and selected in the long run. Thus, criminal sentences have

Modernity Confronts Capitalism: From a Moral Framework to a Countercultural Critique to a Human-Centered Political Economy

Ino Rossi

Abstract

The term "modernity" is used to refer to the cultural component of modernization, which encompasses also the political component (state formation) and economic component (capitalism). Historical analysis shows that in the phases of merchant and Dutch capitalism the dominant culture provided a religious justification and stimulus to capitalism, the Scottish philosophers provided an ethical framework based on human sentiments, especially empathy. With the secularization and turbulence of the 19th century a series of cultural critiques of the capitalist system emerged in the form of "modernism", "postmodernism" and finally "global civil society". Presently, we experience a hiatus between certain counter-cultural movements and the capitalist system as well as an ideological divide and a political impasse between social policy concerns and capitalist priorities. A human-centered cultural framework is proposed to serve as a tool for "civil society" to formulate societally agreed guidelines of political economy.

Praemittendum: these are preliminary research notes on an ongoing undertaking,—an interpretation of "modernist" and "postmodernist" critiques of capitalism and their relationship to "globalization theory". This exploration has opened up the issue of the role of culture during the early stages of capitalism. These research notes reflect some results of this background (historical) analysis.

The title of this essay is a tall order not only because of the comprehensiveness of the topic, but also because of the numerous controversies on the origins, time period, and the very definition of the term "modernity" and "capitalism", not to mention the conceptualization of their relationship. Actually, some scholars would deny the legitimacy of the title "modernity confronts capitalism" because in their view there was no "modernity" but just capitalism (Woods 1997). To make matters even more confusing, revisionist scholars find the notions of either modernity or capitalism to be Eurocentric in nature, since many traits identified as "modern" or "capitalist" (have been documented to

Three Dimensions of Subjective Globalization

Manfred B. Steger and Paul James

Abstract:

Arguing that today's burgeoning globalization literature still neglects the investigation of powerful subjective dynamics of growing social interconnectivity, this article explores how various ideological articulations of globalization have shaped its material designs and instantiations. The thickening of global consciousness can be conceptualized along the three interrelated dimensions or layers of ideology, imaginary, and ontology. Each of these three layers of subjective globalization is constituted in practice at an ever-greater generality, durability, and depth. Normative contestations continue, but they tend to have a common global point of reference—albeit not to the exclusion of the national.

Introduction

Debates on globalization frequently revolve around "objective" dynamics linked to economics and technology. While these material aspects are certainly important, it is crucial to bear in mind that globalization also involves "subjective" processes, particularly the thickening of our consciousness of the world as an interconnected whole. As Roland Robertson recently noted, it remains a major puzzle of how the investigation of consciousness has been so consistently overlooked or marginalized in global studies.[1] More specifically, largely missing in the burgeoning globalization literature is the recognition of how various ideological articulations of the phenomenon have shaped its material designs and instantiations. After all, today's sprawling digital networks and global markets have grown largely in the manner and directions described and prescribed by influential ideological codifiers. In short, material connectivity is guided by a consciousness of interdependence just as much as the interlinking world "out there" produces "in here" a changing consciousness of those interconnected phenomena.

Ideologies of globalization now pervade social life almost everywhere across the globe. Although this observation reflects but common sense at the end of

1 R. Robertson, "Differentiational reductionism and the Missing Link in Albert's Approach to Globalization Theory," *International Political Sociology* 3.1 March 2009: 121.

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Transnational Diasporas: A New Era or a New Myth?

Eliezer Ben-Rafael

Abstract

The numberless unprecedented situations attached today to the concept of transnational diaspora arise the debate of whether or not this phenomenon signals a new era. Our own contention is that it does represent a factor of new kinds of heterogenization of both the societal reality and of the diasporas themselves, as worldwide entities. It is in this dialectic perspective that we describe transnational diasporas as causes of discontinuity in our world and point out to the qualitative change in the social fabrics that they represent. Among other aspects, dual or threefold homeness that is bound to the transnational condition signifies for diasporans a slipping away from the totalistic character of the commitment and view of the nation that the nation-state requires of its citizens. When viewed in its multiplicity, the cohabitation under the same societal roof of a priori alien socio-cultural entities yields a configuration that is not uniform in every setting, but which still responds in its essentials to the new reality experienced by many a contemporary society. To illustrate this approach, this paper compares four well-known contemporary transnational diasporas—namely, the Muslim, African, Hispanic and Chinese.

A New Field

The literature of the social sciences is currently charged with the notions of globalization, transnational diaspora and multiculturalism. The practical significance of these notions is instantly visible while walking along the streets of metropolitan cities and contemplating their linguistic landscape. In Brussels (see M. Ben-Rafael and E. Ben-Rafael 2009), for instance, ubiquitous public and commercial signs proclaim the divide between French and Flemish (Belgian Dutch) speaking inhabitants. This city is indeed an island of official French-Flemish bilingualism, in a country where French-speaking Walloons and Flemish-speaking people impose their tongue as the only official language in each one's territory. Yet, even in Brussels, French and Flemish compete for preeminence and tend to eclipse each other in neighborhoods where they predominate in the population. Further confusing the landscape is the dominance of English—sometimes as a first and mostly, as a second language. English, the lingua franca of a globalizing world—and Brussels, we should recall, is the capital of the European Union—then appears as a kind of

The Discursive Politics of Modernization: Catachresis and Materialization

Terrell Carver

Abstract

Modernization represents a political project of power and domination, marginalization and exclusion. The concepts that make up modernization-theory are deeply complicit with this and are implicated in legitimation strategies for the regimes and peoples who benefit. As with other power/knowledge projects, tropes of literality that reference materiality generate the discourses of certainty through which political persuasion takes place. These discourses are bounded by a constitutive "outside" of metaphor, and thus devalue other subjects of knowledge and knowing subjects. Said's Orientalism presents a remarkable catachresis through which an alternative understanding of knowledge-production becomes visible. This work challenges Euro-Americano-centric social science and intellectual life, because it undermines the binaries through which ideas themselves are understood as certain or not. Butler's theory of materialization in turn conceptualizes materiality and certainty in a complementary way.

This article sets out a general approach to language and the world of political action, and in particular, political change. It examines modernization in this light, drawing attention to the relation between agency, resistance, social technologies and meaning. Overall my argument is that the traditional binaries through which social scientists understand the contemporary political world—ideas/matter, change/tradition, individual/collective—are not only inadequate in capturing this process but also complicit with the very mechanisms of power through which legitimation of modernizing regimes and politico-economic processes takes place. That is, these very binaries that are the "bedrock" of scientific knowledge as conventionally conceived are themselves important tools in political projects that legitimate current configurations of domination and marginalization (Foucault 1988).

My approach here draws on philosophy and methodology that is post-"linguistic turn," in particular the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein (2003 [1961]; 2009 [1958]) and Judith Butler (1999 [1990]; 1993). I develop the latter's views on materialization as a social process through which change—in meaningful activities and environmental surroundings—is effected. My purpose in succeeding sections where modernization-theory and modernization-processes are considered directly will be to suggest that the modernization/under-de-

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From Order to Violence: Modernization Reconfigured

David E. Apter

Abstract

Almost a half century has passed since the appearance of The Politics of Modernization, (Apter, 1965) an analysis purporting to treat political development in terms of structural-functional theory. Since that time the world has virtually turned upside down. Modernization theory itself has all but disappeared. In part this has been for good reasons. Its three frames, social change in general, industrialization, in particular, and modernization as an aspect of the first resulting from the consequences of the second, contained too many far from warranted assumptions, especially about the prospects of integrative order. Indeed, so much have the problematic questions changed that subsequent efforts to bring back at least of its principles have not had much success.[1] In some ways this is a great pity. I believe it had greater depth and theoretical power than its critics have given it credit for. Accordingly I want to suggest some of the ideas that were most germane to modernization theory as it was practiced in the sixties of the last century and comment briefly on a few of theoretical characteristics. I will do so in three parts. Part I will outline of the ingredients and concerns of modernization theorists sketching its intellectual pedigree. Part II will examine particular schools and approaches to modernization. Part III will address some questions about modernization today suggesting new ways to examine them.

Part I – Some Original Paradigms

"It is a necessary inference from the above considerations that a general theory of the processes of change of social systems is not possible in the present state of knowledge."
Talcott Parsons

I

Modernization theory was above all about systemic change. Societies, old and new, were the primary units of analysis. The central problem was how

1 The most important effort in this regard was an analysis of the work of Talcott Parsons by Jeffrey C. Alexander. See *The Modern Reconstruct ion of Classical Thought*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Institutional Transfer and Varieties of Capitalism in Transnational Societies

Carlos H. Waisman

Abstract

This paper discusses the varieties of capitalism in transitional societies in Latin America and Central / Eastern Europe. The intended purpose of these transitions from semi-closed import-substituting economies in the first case and state socialist ones in the second was to institutionalize open-market economies. Twenty or thirty years later, there is a variety of types of capitalism in these countries, which I classify into three: open-market, neo-mercantilist, and anemic.

The question for sociology is whether these quite different variants represent temporary stages or distortions in the same process of transition or whether, on the contrary, they may institutionalize as discrete forms of peripheral capitalism. Neither standard "legacy" arguments nor institutionalist theories offer satisfactory answers to this question. The multiple modernities approach, on the other hand, is more appropriate as a theoretical perspective, but it has not produced yet specific propositions applicable to this question.

My paper makes two claims. First, the successful transfer of institutions depends on the congruence between these institutions and the broader institutional framework of the recipient economies, a point not developed by institutionalist theories. I offer a hypothesis in this regard: Two critical nodes of congruence are the regulatory and extractive capacity of the state and the strength of civil society. Second, market capitalism (as liberal democracy as well) is a complex institution, and some of its components "travel" more easily across societies and institutional frameworks, and therefore are easier to institutionalize. This is the source of the hybrid variants.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the varieties of capitalist class that have emerged in the transitional economies of Latin America and Central-Eastern Europe as a consequence of the demise of relatively closed and etatized capitalist economies (what I call autarkic capitalism) in the first of these regions and of state socialism in the second.

In the two cases, the goal of the state elites that initiated the transitions was the establishment of open market capitalism, along the lines of the United States and Western European models. This program of social transformation entailed three "tasks", to use a classic Marxist formulation: the large-scale privatization of government-owned firms, substantial de-regulation, and the opening-up of the economy. [1] This process was more radical, of course, in the

1 Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman, eds, *Institutional Design in New Democracies: Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996)

Media Distortion – A Phenomenological Inquiry Into the Relation between News and Public Opinion

Louis Kontos

Abstract

How is a massive quantity of information and steady stream of images received in the cognitive form of a given reality? In Bergson's terms, its reception coincides with a "cosmic" perspective, and in that sense it appears outside of and prior to experience and its zones of immediate relevance. At the same time, inasmuch as there is what Schutz calls a "stock" of experiences the elements of which are not immediately relevant to one another, information might be understood to move the unorganized givens in the direction of unified structures of experience, detached from both those givens and experience as such. In that case, there is a coincidence of imposed relevances and what is yielded by communication. An event seems, suddenly, to make sense, offsetting the gap between experience and cultural representation. The erasure of this gap, in other words, leaves experience unguided and its subjects overwhelmed by a certainty for which they can neither account nor frame in such a way that accountability could be seen as a problem. Distortion is then not simply a matter of manipulation or error, but, what is more problematic, a matter of losing the sense of being able to re-imagine what is now imagined as certain. It will be examined below.

> *The crisis in the conceptualization of dimension becomes the crisis of the whole.*
>
> Paul Virilio

Introduction

Sociology identifies its imagined publics in a number of ways: including projecting a dimensional space onto a field and then taking whatever occurs between that space and its field as being the latter's self-presentation; through conceptualizing a putatively hidden aspect of a particular problem in a such a way as to reveal the problem as part of a code; or introducing precise measurements of tendencies unperceived by their subjects. It could also be said that sociological writing targets Schutz's "well informed citizen," and elicits factors against fact by means of appropriating the latter to the former. It is a trick of

Labor Migration in Israel: The Creation of a Non-free Workforce

Rebeca Raijman and Adriana Kemp

Abstract

This paper describes the ways by which state regulations created fertile soil on which legal labor migration in Israel developed into an unfree labor force. We show how state policies effectively subject foreign workers to a high degree of regulation, giving employers and manpower agencies mechanisms of control that they do not have over Israeli citizens. These mechanisms create a group of non-citizen workers that are more desirable as cheap, flexible, exploitable and expendable employees through enforcing atypical employment relations: fixed-term contracts, the binding system enforcing direct dependence of the migrants on manpower agencies and employers, and the threat of automatic deportation. These stringent state regulations have provided the context for the legal labor migrants to turn into a captive labor force, the system sometimes even degenerating into a human trafficking industry.

The social phenomenon of migration for work in low-waged labor markets has attracted attention in the sociological literature (see e.g. Castles and Miller, 1983; Sassen, 1988; Massey et al., 1998). Research tends to portray the various ways in which foreign workers have integrated into the global labor market as representing stages in the progression of labor relations from early capitalism to the present day: from the enslavement of native populations in the New World, through the construction of the system of slavery and various patterns of indentured labor in the colonial economies, up to more recent versions of temporary migration in the framework of guestworker programs (Miles 1987; Potts 1990).

However, the history of labor migration shows that the development of labor relations in capitalist society has not been linear. Alongside the formation of new patterns of labor that dissolved feudal relations of vassalage and created an enormous pool of a free and mobile, largely proletarian labor force, models of labor based on differential regulatory arrangements—aimed at maintaining a "non-free" workforce—have always existed (Miles 1987). In place since the beginning of capitalism, these arrangements should not be seen as a broad exception to capitalist norms of labor relations, or as an anachronistic remnant of pre-capitalist modes of production, but as inseparable from the logic of capitalism itself, sometimes even a condition for its success (Burawoy 1976; Potts 1990; Sassen 1999).

Deference and the Use Theory

Michael Devitt

Abstract

It is plausible to think that members of a linguistic community typically mean the same by their words. Yet "ignorance and error" arguments proposed by the revolution in the theory of reference seem to show that people can share a meaning and yet differ greatly in usage. Horwich responds to this problem for UTM by appealing to deference. I give five reasons for doubting that his brief remarks about deference can be developed into a satisfactory theory. But this appeal has an even deeper problem: the appeal is inconsistent with UTM. These problems are not minor ones of details: they strike at the very core of UTM.

1. Introduction

This paper is a criticism of Paul Horwich's *Reflections on Meaning* (2005) chapter 2, "A Use Theory of Meaning", which develops a theory, "UTM", presented in *Meaning* (1998b), and responds to some criticisms, including mine in "Meaning and Use" (2002).[1]

It is plausible to think that members of a linguistic community typically mean the same by their words. Yet "ignorance and error" arguments proposed by the revolution in the theory of reference started by Saul Kripke (1980) seem to show that people can share a meaning and yet differ greatly in usage. Horwich responded to this problem in *Meaning* by appealing to deference. I pointed out that the major problem with his appeal is the lack of details about deference. My first criticism of *Reflections* is that it does not provide the necessary details. My second criticism consists in five reasons for doubting that Horwich's brief remarks about deference can be developed into a satisfactory theory. My final criticism points to an even deeper problem : the appeal to deference is inconsistent with UTM. These problems are not minor ones of details: they strike at the very core of UTM.

1 Horwich's deflationary view of truth, presented in his influential book, Truth (1998a), is an important background to his view of meaning. On a deflationary view, crudely, truth isn't anything. I have attempted to give a non-crude characterization of what the deflationist should say about *truth* (2010: 155–81).

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Constitution and Composition: Three Approaches to their Relation

Simon J. Evnine

Abstract

Constitution is the relation between something and what it is made of. Composition is the relation between something and its parts. I examine three different approaches to the relation between constitution and composition. One approach, associated with neo-Aristotelians like Mark Johnston and Kathrin Koslicki, identifies constitution with composition. A second, popular with those sympathetic to classical mereology such as Judith Thomson, defines constitution in terms of parthood. A third, advocated strongly by Lynne Baker, takes constitution to be somehow inconsistent with relations of parthood. All of these approaches, I argue, face serious problems. I conclude, tentatively, that constitution and composition have nothing to do with each other.

Call the relation between something and what it is made of 'constitution.' Call the relation between something and its parts 'composition.' What is the relation between constitution and composition? Broadly speaking, three approaches have been apparent in the literature to the relation between constitution and composition, assuming that there is some significant relation between them. First, one might simply identify (or come close to identifying) the relations. This approach has been characteristic of neo-Aristotelian metaphysicians in the vein of Kit Fine (1982, 1999), Mark Johnston (2005, 2006) and Kathrin Koslicki (2008). Secondly, one might think that even though the relations are distinct, one can be defined in terms of the other. In particular, several philosophers have argued that constitution should be defined in terms of composition. (I am not aware of any attempts to define composition in terms of constitution.) This is an approach favored by friends of classical mereology (or variants thereof) and has been pursued by Judith Thomson (1997) and Dean Zimmerman (1995).[1] Thirdly, one might think that the relations are somehow exclusive of each other. This approach has been forcefully taken by Lynne Baker (2000, 2007). These options may not exhaust the logical territory. Perhaps, for example, the relations are distinct but connected by some synthetic principle. But they cover

1 Zimmerman's version of such a theory is not offered *in propria persona*; nevertheless, I shall continue to refer to it as his theory.

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On ProtoSociology

Protosociology plays an important role among philosophy journals with connected contributions on important and breaking topics—such the nature and special features of collective cognitive states—that do not receive such generous attention in other journals. It isworth serious consideration for inclusion in a library's philosophy collection.

Margaret Gilbert, Storrs (USA)

The relatively young journal Protosociology has become an important forum for discussion in the philosophy of social science and of sociality and, more broadly, for theoretical discussion in social science. It is especially interesting and important that such new fields as social metaphysics and social epistemology as well as research related to collective intentionality and its applications have acquired a prominent place in the agenda of Protosociology.

Raimo Tuomela

Protosociology occupies an important position in the European intellectual scene, bridging philosophy, economics, sociology and related disciplines. Its volumes on rationality bring together concerns in all these topics, and present an important challenge to the cognitive sciences.

Donald Davidson, Berkeley (USA)

Protosociology publishes original papers of great interest that deal with fundamental issues in the human and social science. No academic library is complete without it.

Nicholas Rescher, Pittsburgh (USA)

Protosociology has been remarkably successful in publishing interesting work from different tradition and different disciplines and, as the title signals, in giving that work a new, eye-catching slant.

Philipp Pettit, Canberra, Australia

Protosociology is a truly premier interdisciplinary journal that publishes articles and reviews on timely topics written by and for a wide range of international scholars. The recent volumes on rationality are remarkable for their breadth and depth. Protosociology would be a great addition to any library.

Roger Gibson, St. Louis (USA

Forthcoming Volume

ProtoSociology

An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research

Volume 28, 2011

China's Modernization I

Edited by Georg Peter and Reuss Markus Krausse

Contents (tentative)

Chinese "model" or the idea of Chinese soft power
Shaun Breslin

Chinese nation building in era of globalization
Andrew Kipnis

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Richard Madsen

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Jan Nederveen Pieterse

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Mark Colyvan
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Andrew Arana
Logical and Semantic Puritiy

Wilhelm K. Essler
On Using Measuring Numbers according to Measuring Theories

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