

Third International Conference on Cultural Political Economy

Cultural Political Economy Centre, Lancaster University

Conference abstracts

Amin, Husnul (International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan) China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and the Meaning-Making Struggle in Pakistani Politics

Theoretically informed by cultural political economy approaches as developed by recent scholarship, specifically the recent scholarship on CPE (Sum 2005), this presentation concerns a critical enquiry of an empirical example of the recent surveillance and exclusionary practices of an ensemble of "elite" (mostly based in a majority province) as well as the ensemble of minority elite that serves as informers. The stated ensemble is constituted of ministers, civil servants, experts, economists, planning experts, statisticians, economists, columnists, religious intellectuals, academicians, universities, think tanks and the media houses. The overlapping consensus developed over the CPEC as "game changer" for Pakistan. Only one narrative, that of the state/ruling party and the CPEC's main beneficiaries, is accepted, highlighted, propagated and allowed to prevail in society. All those voices not corresponding to the CPEC's explanation by the ruling elite are silenced and at minimum pushed to margins. The competing discourses mostly voiced by dissident scholars, intellectuals, politicians, and nationalist movements (mostly from the Pashtun and Baloch belts) are belittled, ridiculed, and in some cases silenced. This attempt to otherize dissident social-political voices has created an "illusory community" constructed as the *other* of the CPEC project. No argument whatsoever and how much rational that may be, is rejected and sidelined using the patriot/traitor binary. The CPEC project thus has become an ideological site and struggle for meaning-making. Lines have been drawn between those who support this project (in entirety, totality without questioning its viability, costs/benefits, social consequences and distributional issues); and those who are questioning the controversial aspects of the project specifically the regional imbalances and inequalities. The former ensemble is this constructed as patriots, sincere and forward-looking, while the latter are constructed as enemies, traitors, foreign agents etc.

In Pakistan's turbulent political history, this discussion is important for the reason of its history dealing with secessionist movements and tendencies based on long standing ethno-political grievances. My presentation concerns *how* the CPEC project is being deployed by the state authorities esp. political and intellectual elite of the larger province (and its informers in the smaller provinces) as an ideological site in the name of patriotism. Towards the end of my presentation, I will highlight the contours of those competing discourses and "imaginaries" developed as resistance voices to the hegemonic imaginary of CPEC. Lastly, despite the effective campaign of the managers, experts, media talk shows, economists, columnists etc. that have pushed

these voices to the margins, I will focus on some of my field observations related to these voices potentially dangerous grievances that are potent for (violent) ethno-political conflicts in Pakistan in the near future?

Atzmüller, Roland (Johannes Kepler University, Linz, Austria)
Reproduction through change – subjectified crisis management under activation and social investment

Under the domination of austerity focused strategies of crisis management the polarised fragmentation of European welfare systems between workfare/activation and emerging social investment strategies (or Neo-Ricardian vs. Neo-Schumpeterian strategies cf. Bob Jessop) is deepening within and between countries. Rather than constituting an alternative to workfare and activation social investment concepts, which are widely debated as a promising strategy to reconcile competitiveness with social demands, rather constitute search processes and struggles to establish new mechanisms to tackle the contradictions and crisis of capitalist social formations and to foster their transformation in and through crisis. These developments are linked to certain dimensions of hegemonic crisis construals which link labour market problems, unemployment, rising poverty levels and the growth of precarious jobs to the loss of low skilled employment opportunities in emerging so-called knowledge-based economies of the Global North.

Faced with these developments critical, materialist conceptualizations of social reproduction processes in particular of labour power in and through welfare cannot be conceptualised as processes in which the capitalist relations of production are reproduced as self-identical. Rather, reproduction through learning and adaptation becomes a crucial "function" of transformative social policies. By shifting the burden of coping with the contradictions and crisis of current capitalist social formations towards the individuals (and their family household), their ability and willingness to constantly adapt their labour power through learning under a human capital oriented mode of regulation and to mobilise and develop their subjective abilities in an encompassing form become a crucial mechanism to secure reproduction through change. Thus, the permanent recomposition of the capacity to work (Arbeitsvermögen) under the logics of activation and social investment constitutes a crucial mechanism of the reproduction of the relations of production in crisis. Thereby, the latter a transformed into a pedagogical relation through which the hegemony/dominance of capital over the former is secured.

Ayhan, Berkay (McMaster, Canada)
Cultural Political Economy of Financial Literacy in Turkey

Financial literacy is commonly defined as the knowledge, skills, and ability to navigate the increasingly complex financial markets, and is considered to empower consumers to make responsible financial decisions. Financial literacy is increasingly promoted as a crucial life skill in the aftermath of global financial crisis by numerous global initiatives and became part and parcel of national strategies of financial inclusion. This dissertation analyzes financial literacy education initiatives in Turkey with ethnographic research in 3 civil society associations (December 2014-January 2015),

64 semi-structured interviews with public, private, academic, and international organization stakeholders, and document analysis of financial literacy curricula. Cultural political economy perspective articulated in this dissertation underlines the importance of theorizing the financialized capital accumulation dynamics together with the reshaping of culture and the discursive constitution of financialized subjectivities. It is argued that financial literacy is a “technique of the self” seeking to govern the everyday conduct of subjects in line with the long-term interests of financial capital. Financial literacy curricula provide not only the basic knowledge of finance but also instruct subjects ways to conduct oneself on financial planning, budgeting, debt management, creditworthiness, saving and investment. Financial literacy agenda deepens neo-liberal governmentality with the promotion of entrepreneurial subjectivity and responsibilization of individuals for social risks such as unemployment, economic downturn, and pensions. By problematizing the constitution of financially literate subjectivity and providing a cultural perspective on financialization, this dissertation contributes to the emerging cultural political economy literature.

**de Azevedo, Mário Luiz Neves (Universidade Estadual de Maringá, Brazil)
Equality, equity and social justice: a conceptual analysis**

This paper aims to analyze the concepts of equality and equity and their connection to the ideal of social justice which, together, are fundamental human values that guide social policies (and social struggles). Equality and equity are essential principles and concepts for the formulation of public policy for promoting social justice. This is because, when classes, groups and individuals have their destinies delivered to the free market, the tendency is to grow social differences, possessive egoism and negative characteristics of capitalist society. Methodologically, the analysis draws from Critical Theory based on the work of Roger Dale, Susan Robertson, Bob Jessop, Karl Marx, István Mészáros, Richard G. Wilkinson, Kate Pickett and Pierre Bourdieu, as well as on Reinhart Koselleck's history of concepts and Pierre Rosanvallon's conceptual history of the political. Thus, I argue that Equality and equity are both “factor” and an “indicator” and, as principles of public policies, are fundamental for the promotion of social justice.

**Barkay, Tamar (The Academic College of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Israel)
On neoliberal subjectivity and the practice of rating: the case of the "sharing economy"**

The proposed paper seeks to explore the effects of rating practices on current modes of subjectivity construction and performance. “Rating” refers here to a whole range of evaluation practices, systems and mechanisms (including ranking instruments, performance metrics, likes, shares etc.). The paper stems from the observation that in recent years rating has become a fundamental practice of both collectivities and individuals in their performance of daily life. By focusing on the rise of “sharing economy” enterprises (e.g. Airbnb, Uber etc.) and their grave socio-political implications, the paper offers a close look at the inter-relations between neoliberal labor and subjectivity and the ways in which rating serves as a constitutive element of both. Based on an exploratory qualitative research focused on the discourse of “sharing economy” in general and of Airbnb hosts’ in particular, the paper argues that:

1) neoliberalization of labor markets and the rise of sharing economy urge people to leverage their resources and skills through as many as possible job platforms in which employer-employee relations are either non-existent or non-committed; 2) digital and non-digital job platforms entrap workers within an intricate web of rating systems that ever-intensifies job insecurity; 3) these processes are affected by and has implications on current subjectivity construction and performance. Overall, the paper suggests that while rating's (omni)presence in ever more social spheres and relations mirrors the augmentation of the "audit culture" and is reinforced by social media, it serves to further establish the hegemony of neoliberal epistemology within oneself.

Baskan, Burak (Sheffield, UK)

Muslims on the Target of the Secular Cultural Hegemony in the 28 February Process of Turkey: A Gramscian Approach

It is difficult to understand power relations and domination in Muslim majority countries like Turkey without taking into consideration the influence of Islam on social, political and economic life. This study is based on Gramsci's concept of *cultural hegemony* which points out the need for the dominant class to gain the consent of subordinate classes. The research aims to understand Islam as the site for the efforts of secular Kemalist bourgeoisie, as the historically dominant class in Turkey, to establish cultural hegemony on devout Muslim subordinate classes and to gain their consent for long term domination. Islam is at the centre of our analysis, since it is the most significant source of consent and organisation of Muslims in the sphere of civil society. The period between 28 February 1997 and 3 November 2002 is emphasised in the research, since that period is the last peak point of Kemalist secularisation and Westernisation process in Turkey.

Our data are composed of legal legislations regulating civil society and school textbooks of Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge lessons. Those data are analysed by the method of Critical Discourse Analysis. By means of the textbooks, we examine how the values, practices, and discourses of the secular Kemalist bourgeoisie on the terrain of Islam were produced and distributed within civil society. By means of legal legislations regulating the domain of civil society, we seek to understand how the rules affected the class position of Muslims and guaranteed the class dominance of the Kemalist bourgeoisie.

Belfrage, Claes (Liverpool, UK) and Earl Gammon (Sussex, UK)
Alienation and financialization: examples from Iceland

The 21st Century has witnessed the emergence of a variety of popular social movements in reaction to the dislocating effects of financial crisis, Austerity (e.g. Worth, 2013) and shifts in the international division of labour (e.g. Hudson, 2016; cf. Standing, 2016). The concept of alienation has been used to describe this dislocation, broadly speaking a negative affective state arising from a lack of meaning and listlessness characterising lived experience. In the popular press, the term has become commonplace (see e.g. New York Times, 2016; Reddit Ngram Viewer 2017), while the curiosity of scholarship has also awoken (Google Books Ngram Viewer 2017; e.g. Jaeggi 2014, 2016; TenHouten, 2016).

This follows a longer period of the concept's own marginalisation from public debate after structuralist and post-structuralist critiques from the 1970s onwards appeared to have placed it in the dustbin of history (Althusser, 1965/2000; Foucault, 1997; Skempton, 2011). They problematised the previously established understanding of alienation as an estrangement from, or loss of relation to, an authentic and whole self, a pre-social and pristine such (e.g. Rousseau, 1997; Hegel, 1977, 1991; Marx, 1848; Heidegger, 1962).

Rahel Jaeggi (2014, 2016) has here sought to revive the concept while remaining attentive to structuralist and post-structuralist critiques. She understands alienation, not as the absence of a relation, but rather as a deficient one. Her notion of alienation is not defined by the negation of perfectionist ideals of autonomy, authenticity and liberty, but is more fluid. This appears to be particularly relevant in the current era, in which we have seen so many efforts of diverging persuasions to overcome alienation. She also attributes significance to the opposing process, without which, she claims, alienation loses its meaning, of *appropriation*, that of constructing self-meaning through collective learning in a world not of one's own making (Jaeggi, 2014).

Jaeggi (2016) identifies capitalism as a significant source of alienation as well as constraint on appropriation. Yet, she remains on a high level of abstraction rendering her framework insufficient for alienation critique in institutionally and organisationally specific environments; she stops short of providing a thorough analysis of the social and institutional conditions within which alienation and appropriation occur today (Jaeggi, 2014: 220). Moreover, while she outlines useful cases as illustrations, these are imagined examples and hence she does not provide suggestions for how to operationalise her approach methodologically in concrete reality. To remedy this, we firstly insist that any alienation critique undertaken in contemporary capitalism must be based not merely on a critique of the particularities of contemporary capitalism in general, but also in relation to spatially and organisationally specific capitalist forms, taking historically specific processes of accumulation and institutional frameworks into account. To bridge the relative abstraction of Jaeggi's framework and the complexity of concrete life, we therefore employ a series of mid-range, historically specific concepts, building on Regulation Theory (Aglietta, 1979; Sum and Jessop, 2013; Bieling et al., 2016) in a case study.

We put the resulting framework to use in an exploration of alienation and appropriation in the context of the rise and fall of financialized capitalism in Iceland, the posterchild of this particular form of capitalism's rise and collapse, but also the peculiarities of Iceland's post-crisis recovery. Icelandic financialisation enjoyed a spectacular rise in the decade leading up to its "crash" in October 2008 (*Hrunid*) followed by the negotiation and implementation of a 'progressive' form of austerity institutionally designed to protect the less affluent strata of society from the effects of major cuts in public expenditure compared with more regressive forms of austerity elsewhere in Europe (Belfrage & Worth, 2017; Bergmann, 2015; Blyth, 2013). To be able to pursue alienation critique in this context, we first provide a brief critique of this particular capitalist form. This enables us to identify institutionally mediated crisis-tendencies at the level of everyday life and thus potential sources of alienation in Icelandic capitalism, as well as the institutions conducive to the pursuit of appropriation in their concrete historical specificity. This is necessary for establishing the particular qualities and dynamics of the tendential ethical shortcomings of financialised capitalism in general and in the Icelandic growth model in particular.

**Cartier, Carolyn (University of Technology Sydney, Australia)
Zone Analog: The State–Market Problematic and Territorial Economies in China**

The subject of economic zones has proliferated in scholarship on Asia and beyond as a relational approach to social and economic geographies linked to the world economy. Signifying co-locations and mobile capacities of labor and capital, ‘zone’ has circulated as a concept whose ‘exceptional’ conditions deterritorialize from national landscapes. This paper contends that ‘zone’ and the territorial processes it represents have receded from critical analysis, and develops a state–market problematic to examine how analog circulation of ‘zone’ and ‘zoning technologies’ reproduces notional space of neoliberal marketization even where state capitalism defines territorial economies. The fundamental aporia emerges in the People’s Republic of China where a ‘zone’ is one and every type of subnational territory: the party–state guides economic development by changing the system of administrative territory to produce multiple types of jurisdictional units with varied state-defined rationales including the emblematic Shenzhen ‘zone’. Zone analog, drawing on models from spatial science, paradoxically reveals ‘zoning technologies’ to be not a general argument for neoliberalism as incremental marketization but rather state territorialization of the economy in general.

**Caterina, Daniela (Hamburg, Germany)
Investigating hegemony struggles: a perspective on cultural political economy and its potential synergies**

Against the background of enduring crisis dynamics, an increasingly popular (neo-)Gramscian line of interpretation has the merit of shedding light on the ambivalences of the present political scenario as a series of ongoing struggles for hegemony. Yet how to *concretely conceive, structure and operationalize empirical investigations* interested in these struggles? And how to investigate especially *strategies* in this context? In this contribution, I plead for integrating cultural political economy (CPE), historical materialist policy analysis (HMPA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) of practical argumentation into a transdisciplinary research framework for empirical investigations of the making and challenging of hegemony with a specific interest in questions of strategy.

The first synergy between CPE and HMPA, I argue, can further enhance the analytical strength of CPE empirical analyses and their operationalization. The second synergy between CPE/HMPA and CDA of practical argumentation, in turn, can strengthen the first two in investigating strategies within the broader context of hegemony struggles. Both CPE and HMPA, in fact, *imply* a process of practical reasoning – i.e. the development of concrete practical arguments in favor or against a certain course of action in the face of political problems and conflictual situations – as a key element in their respective approaches to questions of strategy. This implicit concern, I suggest, should be made explicit and a CDA focusing on practical argumentation can be an ideal candidate to enhance CPE and HMPA in this respect.

Chamberlain, James (Sheffield, UK)

Extractive accumulation and hegemonic projects in Zambia

Research in the field of African Political Economy has long emphasised the highly extractive forms of accumulation that predominate across Sub-Saharan African economies, which have heavily shaped their historically subordinate and spatially uneven integration into the global political economy. Yet, the precise manner in which such processes of accumulation are sustained and reproduced through particular hegemonic projects within countries has received comparatively little attention. This paper will focus on the case of Zambia, and analyse the manner in which the Zambian government has sought to maintain social order and retain popular support whilst sustaining conditions for profitable accumulation for foreign investors in the country's copper mining sector, upon which the economy's fortunes almost entirely rest. Competing demands on the Zambian State have become particularly acute over the last decade as highly exclusive economic growth has rapidly proceeded simultaneously with the persistence of widespread poverty. The Patriotic Front (PF) Government has sought to negotiate the competing interests of resource nationalist social movements and multinational mining capital in the context of popular demands for domestic "development", volatile international commodity markets, and the need to appeal to geographically differentiated political constituencies in a competitive electoral arena. Three aspects of the PF's hegemonic project will be highlighted: firstly, its periodic strategic disalignment with multinational mining capital; secondly, the provision of material concessions through the expansion of food subsidies in the reproduction of extant rural and urban livelihoods; and thirdly, the use of communicative practices in state media which attempt to construct popular aesthetic understandings and expectations of what "development" means and entails in line with the limited capabilities of delivery possessed by the Zambian State. It will be argued that such governmental strategies are central to the manner in which the Zambian state actors seek to serially manage a series of contradictory interests and exigencies, and reconcile historically entrenched extractive processes of accumulation with the endurance of widespread poverty.

Chihadeh, Christiane (Liverpool, UK)

A Discussion of the Shift from Nationalisation to Privatisation in the British Energy Sector 1980-2000

My research is concerned with the changes that occurred in the British energy industry, namely British Gas, operating within the energy market in the period beginning in the 1980s and ending in the 2000s. This period was marked by radical political, institutional, societal, and organisational change both within and external to the energy industry, leading to the emergence (as well as disappearance) of new, privately owned energy firms, regulating bodies and political doctrines. The phenomenon of change within this sector encompasses a multitude of organisational, economic, political, institutional and social notions. To a great extent, my research is concerned with a state theoretical account of the changes that occurred within the British energy industry during this period. The state is a complex ensemble or assemblage of 'institutions, organizations, and interactions involved in the exercise of political leadership and the in the implementation of decisions that

are, in principle, collectively binding on its political subjects' (Jessop, 2016: 16). States can be perceived as polymorphous and by adopting a state theoretical account of the changes that occurred in the British energy industry during the 1980s-2000s, I limit the possibility of a functionalist account of the organisational, economic, political, institutional, and societal factors that influenced said change by discussing these elements in terms of state-civil society with a more critical realist, relational approach to enable a more in-depth discussion of complex change. What this then allows for is a move away from the rationally-minded models of change that exist within institutional literature (and to some extent political science and regulation literature), to the discussion of state-civil society relations and their formation within wider historical and societal developments (Jessop, 2016).

**Cristaldo, Rômulo C. (Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados-MS, Brazil)
The founding narratives of the myth of economic development and the
Brazilian neo-developmentism**

Capitalism is led by schematic narratives of reality that work to discipline choices, hopes, and behaviours of individuals, social groups, and institutions. Our thesis is that the all-pervasive discourse of development is one of those tales. In particular, the idea of economic development appears to be full of assumptions, concepts, and conclusions inhabiting the grey area between science and fable. Although it seems unachievable, development is often presented as the pot of gold at the end of the capitalist rainbow.

The purpose of this essay is to interpret the theories of economic development as contemporary mythological tales and, consequently, the Brazilian 2000's neo-developmentism agenda as a non-unique blend of them all. We use the semiotic interpretation of Barthes on the structure and role of myths to argue that theories of development are rather a structural narrative than science. We also drew a parallel between Campbell's hero's journey and five widely known narratives of development: Protectionist, Keynesian, Institutional, Entrepreneurial and Neoclassical.

In our opinion, Neo-developmentism is an economic myth as any other, as it simplifies a complex social process to justify policies sustained by no more than wishful thinking. It has the same mythical structure. (i) A hero, the national development strategy, which (allegedly) tries with bravery to push middle-income countries to the little club of the developed. (ii) An antagonist, the great villain of overvalued exchange rate. (iii) And, a magic weapon, a moral transformation: those societies (including Brazil) must unite around an unlikely internal consensus.

**Dey, Shantanu (Indian Institute of Management Calcutta, India)
Polysemy in Development: A Cultural Political Economy-Legal Discourse
Perspective**

The proposed paper will try to explore how a cultural political economy (CPE) perspective intersects with and impinges upon legal discourses; and conversely, how legal discourses can inflect, transform and inform CPE perspectives.

We will draw upon cultural perspectives on law (Sarat & Simon, 2001; Niemi-Kiesilainen, 2007; Gephart, 2010); and also, CPE perspectives on some aspects of law (Jessop 2016) to ask whether a CPE-Legal Discourse lens can explain varied constructions of 'development' and issues subsumed under it like inequality and discrimination. In particular, the paper will try to use a CPE lens to discuss discourses surrounding the 'Right to Development' (RtD) which includes 'cultural rights' within its ambit of human rights.

In the second part of the paper we will explore how such a CPE-Legal Discourse perspective plays out, empirically, by applying this lens on to the *Niyamgiri Hills* case (2013) in India where the Supreme Court protected the 'cultural and religious rights' of forest dwellers to pray at a sacred hill over the Government's right to acquire land for a MNC mining project. A CPE-RtD lens on *Niyamgiri* demonstrates that there may be differential spatial-cultural constructions of development – and articulations of rights surrounding development - at different scalar levels. We will engage with certain critical anthropological positions - viz. the 'elusive promise of indigenous development' (Engle 2010) and 'cooptation of indigenous rights as a new form of accumulation' (Goodale, 2016) - to argue that the *Niyamgiri* judgment, in effect, constructs a 'Right to Refuse Development'. Here, the Supreme Court showed how Constitutional discourses can normatively inform, and help resist certain culturally constituted framings of development with alternative ones.

Doheny, Shane and Jones, Ian Rees (Cardiff, Wales)

Critique, care and older people: Comparing options for the critique of care for older people

In recent years, we have seen significant advances in our understanding of care for older people. The feminist ethics of care advanced how we conceptualise care; research has highlighted the complex nature of care and its role and value for older people; while the system providing this care has become more complex and beset by crises. Together, these changes have led many to call for critical theoretical accounts of care for older people, that bring the relational and systemic dimensions of care together to stimulate developments that enable older people and their carers to flourish. This paper explores the potential of different strategies for critique of care. The usefulness of such critical theories rests on their capacity to integrate care concepts into narratives that motivate change beyond the particular. We start by reviewing the limitations to critique of critical orientations developed within the literature on ageing, and unpacking how the vocabulary of the feminist ethics of care enables context transcending critique, before comparing strategies that might enable more persuasive critique. We move on to compare strategies offered by third generation Frankfurt School critical theorists and Cultural Political Economy. These strategies share a great deal including an appreciation of the complexity of the lifeworld, and a focus on culture. But these frameworks also focus critical

orientations in different directions, raising questions about abstraction from context and the appropriateness of situating the critique of care for older people at the level of society or the economy.

Ellis, David (Liverpool, UK)

A Cultural Political Economy of Personal Debt in the UK: From Credit Rationing to 'Sound Fundamentals'?"

A key feature of the 2007/8 global financial crises was the implication of personal debt as both a cause and catalyst. Post-crisis debates emphasise unease about the continuing (and increasing) high-level of personal indebtedness in the UK and its potential impact upon future crises; although such concerns remain peripheral to existing government orthodoxy. This paper examines how personal debt has been historically framed in relation to broader imaginaries of the UK economy. It begins with an analysis of post-war restrictions on consumer credit that were implemented to allay fears of inflationary pressures and balance of payments crises. A review of the 1960s reveals an emerging consensus around the need for freely operating credit markets that would ultimately lead to legislative change. With the advent of financial liberalisation reforms, the sudden growth of indebtedness, particularly through the housing market, is then evaluated as a trigger for the 'boom and bust' of the 1980s and the subsequent 1990s recession. An assessment of the years preceding the financial crises then highlights how the New Labour governments assuaged concerns over high-levels of indebtedness with reference to the 'sound fundamentals' of low interest rates, low inflation and low unemployment. The paper will conclude by presenting contemporary and prospective discursive formations, or lack thereof, around personal indebtedness in the context of austerity and continuing economic uncertainty.

Erazo Monica Patricia Cadenas (University Adina Simon Bolivar, Ecuador)
Challenging Governmentality

My starting point for this proposal is the governmentality term. By means of it, I want to explore the transformations that until some decades ago were a faculty of the State-nation. I am referring to the transnationalism the aforementioned term has been acquiring in recent times. In this way, I am interested in two governmentality current aspects, namely: transnational governmentality and ecogovernmentality. Through them, I want to explore the action and mobilization of the subalternized groups in the Peruvian national space. For that, it could be useful to talk about two experiences, the Jewish immigration and the Ese eja ecologisation. It means to deal with the Jewish community at Lima and the Ese Eja native people from Tambopata, an Amazonian group in Madre de Dios –both of them inhabiting the Peruvian territory–. They are neither institutional actors nor State agents but they are able to keep in contact with their origin country as well as to act simultaneously in all the spaces (global or local; international or national) because of their internationalism or transnationalism. This is precisely and important component of these two groups' performativity each time they look for a distinction from the international and national

spheres in order to get a platform for political recognition or making demands and agreements. Does all this process imply an actual constitution of the political subject? Or instead is it only a new form of individual political subjection? Does it configure a homogenization or a differentiation political process?

Ertürk, Ismail (Manchester, UK)

Financialisation through the post-crisis prism of FinTech (revolution) and the melancholia of money regulators

This paper aims to revisit conceptualisation(s) of financialisation by focusing on two independent yet intersecting post-crisis phenomena- the recent rise of the narrative and practice of FinTech as socially desirable disruptive technology in financial intermediation and the central bank technocrats' cognitively charged experimental interventions through monetary policy and macro-prudential regulation in financial space to stabilise and resuscitate financialised capitalism. I will argue that these two phenomena of different orders –regulatory, technocratic and market- unite to feed the post-crisis conjunctural conditions of financialisation that inevitably create new socially harmful narrative-driven asset bubbles. This conceptualisation of financialisation differs from some literature that sees financialisation as a linear trajectory of finance as monetary quantity and instead emphasises, without ignoring its quantitative quality, financialisation as a phenomenon of successive conjunctural vortices that are driven by temporally specific valuation paradigms in capital markets and the enduring neo-liberal ideology of shareholder value. Currently Dürer's melancholia characterises the central bank technocrats whose cognitive experiments in mapping financialisation as shadow banking and guiding financialisation with quantitative easing have not led to a scientific control of finance and economy. FinTech that promises socially progressive finance is vigilantly watched by melancholic money regulators and is also a necessary conjunctural asset class for money managers in the new financialised platform capitalism.

Michael Farrelly (Hull, UK)

Energy as an Object of Governance: the false promise of price reduction in the Parliamentary legitimisation of a privatised and 'competitive' industry

The promise of reduced household energy bills has been held out to the UK public by David Cameron (2012), Ed Miliband (2013) and Theresa May (2017). Indeed, bills and consumer prices have figured in the presentation to Parliament of every piece of energy legislation since 1985. There is, however, a significant gap in the academic literature on the role that the discursive representation of consumer prices has played in the constitution of energy as an object of governance.

My paper addresses this gap by using CDA, within a framework of CPE, to analyse the five parliamentary 'second reading' debates on energy legislation from 1985 to 2000. I juxtapose this analysis with official statistics which show a correlation between 'competition' and rising household bills as well as an increase in fuel poverty as 'competition' replaced price control in the governance of UK energy.

I argue that this analysis reveals an overly simple and damaging discursive fixation in parliamentary debate on competition as a mechanism for low consumer prices. This paper sheds new light on the constitution of energy as an object of governance and opens up a new research agenda on the position of Parliament as a site of a discursive selectivity and its legitimating role in the selection and retention of a damaging economic imaginary of private 'competition' as best governor of household energy.

Basil Germond (Lancaster, UK)

Mapping Approaches to the Sea: Place, Power, and Identity

The sea has traditionally been considered and represented as placeless. However, in parallel with the ongoing "scholarly turn to the ocean" noted by Connery (2006: 496), various scholars in human geography, other social sciences, and natural sciences have started to conceptualize the sea as placeful and to discuss the implications at various scales. The interrelations between space, place, power structures and identity building have been discussed in a variety of disciplines (notably in Critical/Cultural Geography – e.g. Steinberg, 2001). This paper has two main objectives: 1) We map the cross-disciplinary approaches to the sea as a place, so as to illustrate the way interpenetrations between disciplines have been key to the development of critical maritime studies. The origin of critical maritime studies (notably Steinberg, 2001) is to be found at the intersection between traditional critical political economy (e.g. various books by Marcus Rediker; Connery, 1995; 2006) and continental philosophy (e.g. Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Deleuze & Guatarri, 1988; Virilio, 1986). 2) The paper demonstrates the added value of post-disciplinary approaches to the understanding of the sea as a place of human, social and political interactions. The placeful sea is itself an entity produced or performed by the continuous interactions of actors, nature and ideas and is therefore continuously defined and redefined. We propose to further develop the concept of maritime relationalism, so as to account for the fact that those relations perform the sea as a place of social and political interactions.

Griebel, Tim (Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany)

Guardian of Neoliberalism: A Multimodal Critical Realist Discourse Analysis of Austerity in the UK

Starting from the meta-theoretical foundations of Critical Realism in general and Cultural Political Economy (CPE) in particular, this contribution develops a multimodal critical realist discourse analysis that will be used to study austerity in the United Kingdom. Although CPE is well equipped to study the interdependencies between semiotic systems and material social structures in general, it is usually used to analyze textual material. This is surprising as the central role of imaginaries already cries for a consideration of images. By transferring the idea of the semiotic triangle to visual materials, this presentation will highlight the role of referents for an explanatory critique of both texts *and* images that is missing in usual multimodal analyses and it will advance CPE in respect to the study of multi-modal artefacts. These theoretical goals will be accomplished in conversation with an empirical analysis of constructions of austerity in the *Guardian*. The analysis shows that a

neoliberal imaginary is dominant in the *Guardian* that intermixes with a Keynesian imaginary and that the traces of the latter cannot be understood as an alternative and emancipatory imaginary. That even a left-wing newspaper outlet functions as a guardian of neoliberalism is due to the dominant accumulation regime in the United Kingdom that corresponds to neoliberal ideas.

Hafiz, Abdul (Lancaster and Blackburn, UK)

Precarity as resistance and cultural solidarity: A critical pedagogy for exploitative flexibilisation

Precarity and the corresponding 'precariat' have been identified as a class in the making (Standing, 2011, 2014). Precarity, apparently opens up new avenues for resistance and solidarity across traditional ethno-cultural boundaries (e.g. women, migrants, refugees, youth, low-skilled workers). Precarity is a concept that can be located within the wider discourses of resistance to the "new economy". These discourses of resistance re-present precarity as a symbolic form (or expression – or symptom) of the exploitative relations that are an enduring feature of social formations. All of the above point towards the need to rework the praxis of critical pedagogy as a means of liberation resulting in subjectivities of active social action. This then requires a decoupling from embedded employability strategies as a magic bullet and towards a reframing of liberation as an active resistance to future exploitative flexibilisation facing graduates in the new economy.

Hall, Sarah Marie (Manchester)

The Personal is Political: Feminist Accounts of Everyday Austerity

Social scientists are beginning to more fully consider the ways in which austerity can be encountered at and across a range of scales, although as yet little is known of how austere politics play out in everyday spaces and relationships, or how austerity can serve to exacerbate social differences and inequalities. In this paper I contribute to these burgeoning discussions by considering the everyday gendered impacts of austerity in the UK, drawing upon, connecting and extending feminist ideas around the personal and political, care ethics, and social infrastructures. Using findings from two years of ethnographic research with community groups and families in Greater Manchester (2013-2015), I explore the significance of personal and gendered care responsibilities and social infrastructures in neoliberal economies; the value of listening to quieter, subtler, personal politics; and the (im)possibilities of fieldwork as care-work. These findings illuminate how managing the fall-out from austere policies, whether it be managing budgets, performing care-work, or providing emotional support, in families, communities and everyday encounters, remains a largely gendered responsibility, in ways not always fully or accurately acknowledged in extent literatures. To close, I discuss how the social sciences might engage further with burgeoning feminist theories around the personal and political, and why they are just as important as ever.

Hall, Stephanie M. (Maryland, USA) and William H. Rodick, III (George Mason University, USA)

Whose school is a *community school*? A CPE review of a US education reform

Under a changing federal policy climate in the US, *community schools* are put forth as a school improvement intervention which promises to be both holistic and collaborative in approach and to satisfy the need for “evidence-based” reform. Community schools are those which partner with community agencies and local governments to provide health and social services among other supports to children and adults. Advocates of community schools argue that persistently low-performing schools are mired in factors limiting the ability of students to learn, and that these schools will improve if the unique health and social needs of students and their families are addressed.

As a strategy, community schools are gaining momentum and popularity thanks to recent high-profile coverage by well-known educational researchers and their affiliated institutes. Legitimacy for the reform is advanced by claims of its ability to conform to new federal education requirements.

Using a CPE lens, this paper presents a review of community school scholarship. Through the CPE framework, we analyze the ways in which the community school is interpreted and explained as it has grown in prominence. We identify the evolution of these interpretations as they become more influential nationally. This paper questions whether the interpretation and explanation of the community school strategy represents a true transformation in US education reform. Is the idea of community schools a driver of political change? We hypothesize that it is, potentially, but that it may also be used to maintain a status quo.

Hanson, Steve (MMU and Salford) People and power circuits

This paper anticipates the near future of 2018 by revisiting a decade prior, 2008 and the market crash that was referred to as the 'credit crisis'. Specifically, the author will revisit his 2009 paper 'Occupational Health', published by *Social Alternatives*, which laid out an ethnographic account of working at The Halifax during the merger with Bank of Scotland to become HBOS. Not only did this merger precipitate the Anglo-American financial crash of 2008, as HBOS sacked their risk manager, later resulting in James Crosby being stripped of his Knighthood, but recent work also shows how it has contributed to a refigured relationship between England and Scotland. This paper will urge participants to move out of vague macro-theoretical explanations of 2008, and thus the present moment of 'austerity' in Britain, and to consider relocating their analysis in a limited milieu, and to redirect it at that clique. David Harvey's analysis, that our cancelled futures are the result of a 're-liquidation', rather than a crash, are correct, assets worth billions are being quietly sold for a fraction of their worth by the state to private interests. Nothing short of a paradigm shift in the public-private split is taking place, but here, people and power circuits will be considered. Specifically, the Foucauldian risk will be challenged, the idea that there is a spiderweb without a spider.

Hellman, Jacob (UC San Diego, USA)

'What problem are you solving?': Evaluating Early-Stage Startups in San Diego

This paper examines the emergence of the very distinction between conventional and (social) “impact” investing among “seed-stage” startups in Southern California. Here, non-professional “angel” investors deploy their own capital, lack fiduciary obligations, and assess based on the “gut.” As the vogue for *impact* investing trickles down from institutional funds, I show, these smaller-scale financial actors defy the trend toward quantifying social value through rating systems (Chiapello 2015; Barman 2016). And whereas mature corporations are valued through accounting formulas (Muniesa 2012), startups lack definite qualities required for such processes: neither revenue, nor customers, nor have they produced any social value to measure. Instead, ongoing fieldwork suggests that, first, investors bracket the startup’s mission and judge entrepreneurs’ self-presentation; and second, investors make (future) business acumen a proxy for (future) impact. Meanwhile, innovation discourse enjoins even conventional entrepreneurs to “find a pain point” and “solve a problem” — language evocative of social mission though often directed at elite consumers. This cultural legacy of Silicon Valley entrepreneurship as a progressive force (Turner 2006) now becomes difficult to disentangle from claims to explicit social impact, and by extension forewarns of the “greenwashing” of social finance. By yoking a CPE framework to the valuation studies heuristic (Muniesa and Helgesson 2013), I hope to clarify the semiotic work crucial to the *processes* which stamp something as (socially) valuable.

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Hesketh, Anthony (Lancaster, UK)

Intangible or Invisible? On the Compossibility of the Human Capital Asset

Companies comprising the UK’s FTSE 100 collectively spent £200bn on their people in 2013 (Hesketh, 2014). It is the first time this figure has been reported. Were analysts interested in calculating the same number for companies headquartered outside the European Union they would be disappointed: the expenditure on people by companies in the rest of the world is included in the accounting construct known as the *cost of goods sold* or COGS.

Drawing on over 100 interviews over a four year period (2013-17) with senior financial executives, industry regulators and senior figures in leading audit firms, this paper examines the discursive and calculative imaginaries underpinning the symbolic violence perpetrated by the accounting industry in ensuring the most important factor of production - labour - is excluded from the income statement, let

alone the balance sheet. It discusses how this not only precludes labour from forming accurate estimates as to the *economy of experience* on offer in the globe's leading corporations but also highlights important implications for the continuing problems relating to the secular stagnation of low productivity plaguing capitalism in its mature form.

Adopting a cultural political economy perspective enables us to examine the discursive practices dominating the regulation of accounting practices in modern capitalism. The starting point is Baruch Lev's recent *The End of Accounting?* in which Lev calculates 80 percent of the value of today's companies comprises intangible value, and how forty years ago, the reverse was true: the assets captured on the balance sheet could account for 80 per cent of a company's value. What are the factors driving this turnaround? Moreover, if accountants can only audit one dollar in every five, does this not make the accounting industry itself immaterial? If labour is so important, why is it described as 'water in the balance sheet,' hence refuted by leading accounting academics as a contender for asset status (Penman, 2009)? Why then has the accounting industry recently reviewed its definition of what constitutes an asset and why has the workforce been included as an example (IASB, 2013)?

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Hesketh, Anthony (Lancaster, UK)

Here today, gone tomorrow?

A cultural political economy of the Universities Superannuation Scheme

Figures recently released by the university sector's main pension scheme revealed it has the largest gap between assets and liabilities in the UK. Figures widely reported in the media relating to the latest annual report by the Universities Superannuation Scheme (USS), claim the deficit to have soared by £9bn in the last twelve months to £17.5bn (FT, 2017). This is a statistical nasty: the largest pension scheme deficit of any company in the UK, BT's, stands at a *total* of £9bn. It is also inaccurate: the actual figures released by the USS's Annual Report (USS, 2017) peg the deficit at just £12.6bn, representing an increase of £2.6bn on the previous year.

These are not reassuring numbers, despite significantly inflated reporting. Nor do the USS's figures stand up to closer scrutiny. This paper uses a cultural political economy-inspired analysis to build the case for a new and critical approach for a

post-quantum theory of value. Combining the theoretical schema of Jessop and Sum (??) and Barad (2003, 2007), the paper argues the USS's reported deficit constitutes no more than a financial imaginary inspired by the reconfigurations of financial projections which themselves are highly tendential, and, when subjected to closer analysis, constitute little more than *calculative tasseography*.

Nevertheless, as the paper argues, such reification has the deleterious affect of reconfiguring the financial exigencies of our universities' accounts (Lancaster University took a £10m "hit" in 2016, alone), curtailing continuing investment in higher education as well as leading to the erosion of what is a financially sound pension for UK university academics. The paper argues for a new critical, post-quantum theory of value. Such an approach utilizes a new form of *financial ethnography* in which the ultimate semiotic form - the number - is subject to closer scrutiny through a form of *financial ürtext*.

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Hopma, Justa (Sheffield, UK)

Food and power: The cultural reproduction of global capitalism in Jordan's charitable food

In this paper, I analyse the political dimension of food in the Arab region by showing how the management of food insecurity is integral to the reproduction of power in Jordan. The reproduction of a market-based system of 'food security' occurs through the mechanisms of civil society and serves to support globally dominant food system relations and actors. In Jordan, support for these relations are actively anchored within the social fabric through the mediation of charitable organisations, which in turn are supported by public donations that are often religiously motivated. In this way, the mitigation of food insecurity through country-wide food aid is made possible through the financial contributions from the population at large, which ensures that, as per neoliberal ideological doctrine, the state does not formally intervene in public welfare even though behind the scenes it promotes and facilitates this set-up. The paper uses Gramsci's notion of the integral state to make sense of the reproduction of power through food distribution and connects culturally significant practices - including the religiously motivated donations and forms religious slaughter that take place during Ramadan - to the reproduction of circuits of global capital. The findings reiterate the importance of state actors and situated cultural practices in reproducing global food system relations whilst simultaneously acknowledging the role of food business actors that operate across borders.

Ingram, Nicola (Lancaster) and Dr Kim Allen (Leeds)

'Talent-spotting' or 'social magic'? The denial and misrecognition of the working-class body in elite employment

This paper exposes the ways that graduate employers' constructions of the ideal and employable graduate reproduce inequalities in access to 'top jobs'. Graduate employability is an enduring imperative in Higher Education policy. It has also been central to national social mobility agendas and the current policy discourse of 'fair access to the professions'. High-status occupations are disproportionately composed of those from socially privileged backgrounds and inequalities within graduate transitions and earnings, related to social class, gender and ethnicity, remain stubbornly persistent. While much work on graduate transitions has focused on the subjective experiences of students and graduates themselves, or offers a quantitative picture of graduate destinations, this paper provides an original focus on top graduate employers' hiring practices through a discourse analysis of their recruitment material, including an analysis of the visual representation of 'employable bodies'. In line with a CPE approach, the paper argues that critical analyses of visual representations of graduate employees is central to understanding contemporary political and economic 'problems' of class inequality, low social mobility and, specifically the systematic exclusion of particular classed (as well as gendered and raced) bodies from elite professions. We demonstrate that, despite espousing values of meritocracy and inclusivity, recruitment and selection privilege a certain type of student: one who is able to mobilise particular valued forms of capital, who is aligned with particular universities and who has particular orientations to their future. Through these processes the working-class body is denied. Using Bourdieusian concept of 'Social Magic' (1992) we demonstrate how graduate recruitment and selection practices operate as mechanisms of cultural sorting and exclusion which mitigate against the achievement of more equitable higher education outcomes.

Jessen, Mathias Hein (Copenhagen Business School, Denmark)

The Separation between State, Market and Civil Society in Capitalism - A Cultural Political Economy Approach to Civil Society in (Neoliberal) Capitalism

Since the 1980s and increasingly throughout the 1990s and up till today, civil society has become a central notion in Western liberal-democratic societies. On the one hand, civil society plays a central role in the liberal-democratic imaginary as a normatively privileged site of communication, voluntarism, social cohesion and democratisation processes which must be protected from encroaching logics of state and market. On the other hand, civil society is increasingly seen as a resource of public governance which can alleviate the pressures of the welfare state by providing the social and welfare services the state either can or will no longer provide.

This paper seeks to develop a Cultural Political Economy approach to civil society in neoliberal capitalism by arguing that the separation between state, market and civil society is a constitutive feature of the liberal-democratic capitalist imaginary. By delineating civil society as a sphere with inherent (good) values, it becomes depoliticised and can at the same time legitimise the progressiveness of liberal-

democratic societies and is appropriated to alleviate the pressures on the welfare state and serve as a spatio-temporal fix of the crisis of the welfare state. The paper uses Denmark as an illustrative example of this development by showing how the discourse of civil society and voluntarism in government discourse since 1993, and especially since the 2008 financial crisis, serves a double function as both hailing values specific to Danish democracy and as a resource that can be used by the welfare state and as a prerequisite for austerity-measure.

Jessop, Bob (Lancaster, UK)

Variegated Capitalism in the shadow of neoliberalism

There has been much discussion of varieties of capitalism over successive periods of capitalist development and crisis as well as a strong tradition of research on the world market, global economy or world system. Both traditions have significant theoretical and empirical failings and the concept of variegated capitalism has been proposed as a third approach: it recognizes that varieties of capitalism exist but locates them within the constraints of an emerging world market with a contingent rather than necessary logic – such that not all varieties of capitalism can be instantiated in all economic spaces. It also argues that, to paraphrase George Orwell, all varieties of capitalism are equal but some are more equal than others. In the current period, this means that all varieties of capitalism are constrained to operate within the shadow of (financialized) neoliberalism. This contribution develops these arguments from a strategic-relational, cultural political economy perspective and illustrates the heuristic value of CPE in this regard.

Jessop, Bob (Lancaster, UK)

Spatio-Temporal Fixes: A Multi-spatial Meta-Governance Perspective

The importance of spatial fixes and temporal fixes has long been recognized in the critical political economy literature, dating back at least to Marx's critique of capital and its crisis-tendencies. More recently, spatio-temporal fixes have been explored through the work of Giovanni Arrighi and David Harvey, among others. The latter approach nonetheless has a limited understanding of sociospatiality (e.g., focusing on the space of flows and territorial logics to the neglect of other dimensions of sociospatiality) and of the complexities and potential disjunctions in temporal rhythms. The concept of multi-spatial metagovernance has been developed to address these issues and a full understanding of this complex, active process of governance and metagovernance requires attention to semiosis and structuration and to the interaction of semiotic, structural, technological, and agential selectivities in producing provisional, unstable, and temporary spatio-temporal fixes. This contribution introduces the key themes identified above and provides an example from the complexities of multi-spatial metagovernance in the European Union (extending to its insertion into the wider set of economic and inter-state spaces).

Jones, Paul (Liverpool, UK)

Architecture as Spatio-Temporal Fix: An Analysis of Liverpool One

Spatio-temporal fixes have a distinctly architectural character. Such fixes see spaces of previously 'successful', now 'failing', capitalist strategies become fertile experimental terrain on which new speculative forms of practice - designed to absorb and accumulate capital - play out. Architecture's status as fixed capital is key to understanding the embedding of such fixes. Liverpool One, a retail and residential development opened in 2008 and owned and controlled by a major landowner on a 250-year lease, illustrates these contentions aptly. Occupying 500,000 sq metres of central urban space (itself bordering a 'regenerated' dockland waterfront site crucial to the city's historic wealth), Liverpool One saw twenty-nine architectural firms working on the site and their designs provided a basis for sustaining elements of the developers' claims concerning this 'fix'. The decline of previous accumulation strategies associated with mercantilism - as well material projections of future accumulative models - imply the built environment in accumulation strategies associated with reconfigurations of temporality and urban use and scale. The overarching suggestion is that, as a speculative, entrepreneurial project in which past economic crises are offset, Liverpool One can in effect be understood as a site whose vast, contemporary [new] architectural form both i) owes much to the active construction of past crises and ii) bears all the hallmarks of a spatio-temporal fixes in response to such.

Joseph, Jonathan (Sheffield, UK)
A Cultural Political Economy of Resilience

This presentation sets out a way of understanding how resilience works as a form of governmentality with specific focus on international interventions. It argues that resilience governs through a critique of past forms of intervention and the construction and interpellation of resilient subjects. It builds on both failures to govern complex systems and past failures of intervention, in order to promote a new governance that further shifts responsibility on to the governed. The critique suggests that resilience, rather than being a radical new approach, fits with existing neoliberal discourse and practices, but offers something new in terms of its approach to knowledge, the social, and the human. The presentation looks at some discursive tensions and how new forms of knowledge and big data are changing our approach to complexity.

Karatepe, Ismail Doga (Kassel, Germany)
Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Labour Market: The State and Capital Perspective

The displacement of Syrians reached to an extent that there are more than 5 million registered Syrian refugees only in the neighbouring countries (Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Turkey) and 6.5 million people are displaced inside the country. Turkey hosts more than 3 million registered Syrian refugee. Less than ten percentage of Syrians are living in the camps, while others are geographically dispersed elsewhere around Turkey. The entrance of hundreds of thousands of Syrians into the Turkey's labour market has drastic impacts, given the fact that half of the Syrian refugees in Turkey are of working age and their hope to return Syria has already withered away. The massive influx of Syrian refugees into the labour market provides new settings for the business community. The migration crisis and its management have flourished new visions-cum-concrete projects concerning the integration of Syrian refugees to the labour market. To put it in a nutshell, the proposals of business associations generally comprise, language courses and vocational training provision and strong guiding regulation.

This paper is devised to deliver an analytical analysis on the limits of the attempts at integrating Syrians into the labour market. It raises the question of why the strategies offered by business community are de facto inapplicable. I claim that these policies and policy proposals cannot be fully implemented and predestined to fail in the case of Turkey, given the structural constraints and institutional capacity. My aim in this project is bringing the critical political economy, more specifically cultural political economy into the very centre of the analysis of the integration of Syrian refugee to the labour market.

The strategies of business community in question will be analysed by revealing relevant agency (A), structure (S), institutions (I) and discourses (D), or put in other words, ASID framework. The ASID model considers the developments of agency-, structure-, institution- and discourse-relevant factors in a specific spatio-temporal context. On the one hand, the model sheds lights on the capacities of the particular social forces (e.g., business communities) in shaping political and economic landscape. On the other, it highlights structural/conjectural constraints and institutional dynamics that ultimately limit the scope of these social forces' action.

This study draws on the primary and secondary data sources, including official bulletins, official gazette, newspaper reports and statistics. A number of expert interviews were conducted with the figures of government and civil society organisations not only to underpin the argumentation line, but also to reveal the meaning ascribed to the migration inflows in general, the articulation of Syrians into the labour market in particular.

**Kertudo, Félicie (Royal College of Art, London)
'New Museology': Behind the theory, the fact**

This paper aims to deconstruct the concept of 'new museology' and reveal its instrumentalisation, in the light of neo-liberalism, hyper-globalisation and rising populism throughout the world. By highlighting a key aspect of 'new museology', the researcher aims at emphasizing the ambiguous nature and role of cultural institutions in the current context, being torn between a higher financial pressure and the spread of the democratic ideal of museums and galleries. More and more institutions are becoming global and as a result, they are branding and selling their names. In this paper, the research explores the example of the Louvre Abu Dhabi and what it reveals to the reader, notably in term of relations of power between the Middle East and Western countries. More than a marketing tool and a race for economic sustainability, this practice of exporting cultural institutions could be a sign of neo-colonialism, and even proto-colonialism. The present paper is the first step towards a survey of the state of the so-called 'soft power' in 2017, and beyond. With cities like Abu Dhabi and Dubai wanting to increase their cultural capital, Western institutions are competing against each other for this new market. Can we talk about another 'cultural turn' or is it more a natural and organic change occurring within cultural institutions? Is it another consequence of the neoliberal turn of the 80's or a more complex process? This paper opens to several questions that could be explored throughout research, workshops and interdisciplinary collaborations.

Larsson, Oscar (Uppsala University, Sweden)

Moving beyond the Neoliberal Paradigm in Governmentality studies – Network Governance as an emerging rationality

Governmentality studies have been successful in exploring the underlying rationality of political rule beyond the sovereign instruments by considering how government relies on specific discourses, knowledge claims, subjectivities and how power relations is shaped by freedom rather than dominance. In this article, I make the claim that (network) governance has transformed itself from a perspective and analytical framework to a political practice that is promoted as a desired way to address complex political problems. This important shift encourages new encounters between governmentality studies and governance discourse. Previous theoretical debates are important but insufficient in order to understand the emergence of network governance and its specific rationality. Network governance is today often placed under the rubric and rationality of neoliberalism but I argue in this text that governance as a promoted practice needs to be analyzed according to its specific underlying ideas and knowledge claims. Understanding the competing rationality of (network) governance will serve as a complement to the neoliberal governmentality and provide a richer analysis of how freedom and autonomy serves as the foundation for governance while provoking new relations of power, resistance and challenges that are different from the critique against neoliberal governmentality.

Lee, Doris (City University of Hong Kong)

Cultural political economy of financial literacy programmes in Hong Kong

In order to understand the “how” of Hong Kong deepening financialization in both economic and social senses, I take a deeper look into one of the government’s strategies: Hong Kong’s rapidly unfolding financial literacy programmes.

Examining government and government agency-sponsored messages and educational outreach as well as industry advertising on financial investment and financial literacy, I discern the explicit as well as implicit concepts transmitted regarding individual vs. government responsibility, and entitlement vs. risk management.

I draw from Foucault and Rose (1999)’s discussions of governmentality, Sum and Jessop’s works on semiosis and the Gramscian concept of structuration, and Williams (2007) on self-responsibilization; these provide the framework for analyzing how government works through various sites and mechanisms to shape concepts of citizen or consumer responsibility.

I show how by shaping the government project of financial literacy aids in achieving several priorities for the government: maintaining its own political legitimacy amidst deep social inequalities; maintaining the legitimacy of the financial infrastructure and financial sector in the wake of the 2008 Lehman Minibonds scandal; and deflecting demands for greater socialization of welfare such as old age protection. At the same time, I place the findings from Hong Kong’s financial literacy programmes in the context of and comparison with earlier similar initiatives in the US, UK and Australia.

Maman, Daniel (Ben-Gurion University, Israel), Rosenhek, Zeev (Open University of Israel)

The Making of Homo Financius: Convention, Emotions and Morality in Financial Education

The individualization, privatization and marketization of risk management are defining features of current financialized capitalism. This neoliberal project of responsibilization implies the constitution of a subject exhibiting particular dispositions considered as necessary to participate in the financial sphere in a proper manner. Practices of financial education serve as an important instrument for delineating the constitutive dispositions of a financially proficient actor who is able to handle individualized risks through her participation in financial markets, hence conforming to the financialization of the political economy at the macro-institutional level.

In this paper we analyze programs of financial education currently conducted by state and non-state agencies in Israel, examining the ways in which they define and justify proper financial conduct. We show that these programs are far more than merely informative; they construe and mobilize conventions, emotions and moral imperatives. Common-sense conventions regarding the functioning of finance are intended to induce individuals to experience and navigate the financial sphere as if it was a site of knowable and manageable risks. Emotions around financial practices are construed and mobilized in order to shape individuals’ expectations and to prompt them to take particular financial actions. And notions of individual responsibility, prudence, and calculative behavior in financial matters are presented not merely as valued instrumental resources, but as key components of morally virtuous personhood. In this way, by connecting individuals’ subjectivities to the individualization and marketization of risk management, financial education contributes to the insertion and normalization of the ideational and institutional logics of financialization into everyday life.

**Markusson, Nils (Lancaster, UK), Mads Dahl Gjefsen (Wisconsin-Madison, USA),
Jennie C. Stephens (Vermont, USA) and David Tyfield (Lancaster, UK)**
**The political economy of technical fixes: The (mis)alignment of clean fossil
and political regimes**

This paper argues that existing critiques of technical fixes are unable to explain our simultaneous enamourment and distrust with technical fixes, and that to do so, we need a cultural political economy analysis. We develop a critical, theoretically grounded conceptualisation of technical fixes as imagined defensive spatio-temporal fixes of specific political economic regimes, and apply it to the case of geoengineering, or 'clean fossil', as an attempted technical fix of the climate change problem. We map the promises of clean fossil as a proposed solution to the problem of climate change in discrete episodes since the 1960s.

The paper shows that clean fossil promises have been surprisingly poorly aligned with the neoliberal regime, and explains how they have been moderately stable due to those misalignments. We also show that different liberal capitalisms could be supported by different clean fossil technologies, but also that illiberal or more egalitarian regimes remain possible alongside particular, perhaps radically re-envisioned, versions of clean fossil. Ambivalence towards clean fossil technical fix promises is intelligible, given the inherent instability of their co-evolution with neoliberalism and future political regimes.

Michovich, Daniela Leyton (University of Andina Simon Bolivar, Ecuador)
**Coworking and Start-Up Spaces in Ecuador and Bolivia: Alternatives to
Decolonization?**

Our presentation asks how coworking and start-up spaces of entrepreneurship and technology are constituted in the Plurinational States of Ecuador and Bolivia and to what extent these are a proposal of decolonization. As such it reflects on the relational complexity that connects the state, the economy and culture.

We argue that the emergence of coworking and startup spaces in the cases of Ecuador and Bolivia has a technological and business orientation. Their founders are in dialogue and exchange with other spaces in Brazil and Chile (CORFO case) and configure other territorialities of knowledge and the use of local knowledge. These spaces are also in dialogue and tension with processes of decolonization. We relate the economic models of Ecuador and Bolivia to these initiatives.

In this sense, our contribution recognizes that knowledge and its generation are not free of commitments and interests, whether these are ontological, class, gender, national, or others. As a result, the locality has a strong influence on the global (and vice versa). At the same time, how the understanding and use of technology or knowledge occur at the local level gives these spaces their particular importance.

This article discusses the Relational Strategic State Approach, Cultural Political Economy, coloniality of power and colonialism. We work with authors like Bob Jessop, Ngai-Ling Sum, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Chantal Mouffe, Silvia Ribera Cusicanqui, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, and Aníbal Quijan.

Mulderrig, Jane (Sheffield, UK)

The rise of psychological governance: a critical discourse analysis of 'nudge' tactics in UK health policy

This paper brings the Foucauldian concept of 'governmentality' into dialogue with multimodal critical discourse analysis to investigate the increasing use of behavioural economics (or 'nudge') in UK public policy. (Inter)textual analysis examines a case study from the 'Change4Life' anti-obesity social marketing campaign. Nudge can be understood as a response to pathologies in the current phase of consumer capitalism (financial crisis, climate change, population ageing, obesity). These are politically articulated as forms of risk against which individuals must take pre-emptive action. Under the ideological banner of 'libertarian paternalism' (Sunstein and Thaler 2003; Thaler and Sunstein 2003) nudge claims to offer a mechanism of governance that constructs new types of ideal citizen fitted to this risk environment. It does so through a range of semiotic and material interventions designed to penetrate individual psychologies and thereby secure voluntary behaviour changes amenable to wider policy goals. Nudge is thus viewed as a technique of governmentality in so far as it seeks to manage the population 'at a distance' by exhorting and enabling self-disciplinary control. Further, behaviour change policies routinely draw on a range of 'calculative devices' (Coleman 2016) like statistical modelling and market research techniques. Where these penetrate the everyday practices of the lifeworld (eating, drinking, exercising, parenting, ageing) I argue they are a form of 'biopolitics', bringing matters of everyday lifestyle 'into the realm of explicit calculations and [making] knowledge-power an agent of the transformation of human life' (Foucault 1976, 143).

Evidence is drawn from a long-running, pre-emptive health policy intervention targeted at children, which began under the previous Labour government. The analysis shows how the surrounding order of discourse provided the conditions for experimenting with soft paternalism and consumerist technologies of discourse likely to resonate with a generation increasingly oriented to such forms of relation and identification. I argue that the conceptual underpinnings of nudge, which echo Jeremy Bentham's 'axioms of mental pathology', are premised on a deeply problematic rationality-emotion dualism which gives licence to pathologise those sections of society who exhibit delinquent (irrational) behaviours. I show how the seemingly benign and colourful C4L adverts subtly construe their (northern) working class 'at risk' targets as excessive and out of control. At the same time cartoon visual metaphor adds illocutionary weight to an expert bioscientific discourse of disease risk by representing the body as a site of battle.

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Mulvad, Andreas Møller (Copenhagen Business School, Denmark)
Xiism as Hegemonic Project: Towards a Cultural Political Economy of China's Communist Party Strategy 2012-2017

This article offers a macro-sociological evaluation of the logic of development of the 'China Model' since 2012. It does so by focusing on the intertwining national discourses and policies developed by the current Communist leadership spearheaded by Xi Jinping. It is argued that an analytical focus on China's Communist Party is crucial since this organization is the key agent in driving forward the notion of a Chinese political-economic "sonderweg". The article fills a gap because scholars tend to specialize on discipline-specific aspects of Chinese policy, in glaring contrast to the holistic socio-economic approach preferred by China's Communist leadership itself. Drawing on the Cultural Political Economy framework developed by Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum, it is argued that Xiism should be viewed as an emergent hegemonic project, i.e. an attempt to articulate an geo-economic growth model (or accumulation strategy) with institutional reform programs (a state project), and an ideological vision. Building in part on an analysis of Xi Jinping's *The Governance of China*, a seminal yet largely neglected collection of speeches published in nine languages in 2014, the article posits that Xiism has three main elements: The New Silk Road infrastructure program, the campaign for Party discipline, and 'the China Dream' discourse respectively. Against the widespread but misleading notion that Xi models himself on Mao, the paper concludes that this Xiist vision remains thoroughly committed to Deng's embrace of capitalism. However, against Deng's cautious foreign policy approach, Xiism does entail a more self-confident and outwards-focused China preparing for great power status.

Muzaka, Valbona (King's College London, UK)
In Pursuit of Competitiveness: India and Brazil in the global knowledge economy

The aim of this paper is three-fold: firstly, it aims to locate the emergence of the knowledge economy as an imaginary that came to be embraced by the Indian and the Brazilian state from the late 1980s onwards in its proper international context, paying particular attention to the changes brought about by the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism in advanced economies, the rise of the competition state orientation, the debt crisis and the rise of the knowledge economy as one of the dominant way of conceptualising the economy and its future direction. Secondly, it aims to shed light in the manner in which the vision of becoming competitive knowledge economies was articulated and refracted locally, especially from the mid-1990s onwards, by key fragments of the Indian and Brazilian states. Thirdly, it seeks to tease out some of the main challenges these two countries face in becoming global knowledge powers by problematising the manner in which this task was adopted and has been carried out so far.

Overweijk, Jan (Amsterdam, the Netherlands)

Rethinking Governance and Hegemony through Critical Systems Theories

Critical theory and Niklas Luhmann's systems theory are usually seen as opposing and mutually exclusive persuasions in social philosophy. This paper, however, aims to contribute to the recent initiative to develop a *critical systems theory*. Systems theory's powerful image of a polycentric society consisting of incommensurable subsystems appears to be at odds with the political-emancipatory intent of the critical theory tradition in at least two respects. First, systems theory cannot account for a phenomenon central to critical theory: the dominance of economic rationality in society. Second, systems theory disallows for any normative claims regarding the social world because sociology as a science is concerned solely with the observation of truth/falsity rather than of any political categories. In this paper, I argue that Luhmann makes the same mistakes in both respects. In the first case, Luhmann wrongly infers from the formal equality and irreplaceability of function systems that none can be dominant; in the second, Luhmann likewise incorrectly infers from the formal equality of observations that none can be hegemonic and that, consequently, none can be critical. I suggest that a critical systems theory combines the idea of the ecological dominance of the economy with an idea of critical observation. This also has implications for how one studies governance. Such critical observation self-reflexively acknowledges the practical choice involved in contingent theoretical observation and practices sensitivity to the material effects of this observation on its environment, i.e. the observed. Such a critical systems theory is essentially pragmatist in that it recognises that the aim of observation is coping with the environment that is the social world.

Paschek, Fanny (Greenwich, UK)

Connecting CPE to the study of socio-technical innovation and the pursuit of sustainability transitions

Society faces pressing sustainability challenges. In the Global North, these are particularly evident in the transport sector, where increasing and increasingly frictionless mobility continues to be promoted as a key driver of economic growth and development. The pressure to address arising externalities through technological innovation is consequently large. Connectedly, literatures on socio-technical innovation emphasise that successful material-technological innovation necessitates parallel social and cultural change. More recently, sociotechnical innovation research, which has roots in innovation studies, science and technology studies and evolutionary economics, has focused its efforts on the study of so-called sustainability transitions as large-scale, long-term co-evolutionary socio-technical change processes from present unsustainable systems of production and consumption (the system of private automobility in the transport sector, for example) to more environmentally, socially and economically sustainable ones. To date, this research has retraced and theorised various successful transitions of the past (e.g. from sailing ships to steam ships). Nonetheless, it has offered limited instructive insight for the pursuit of aspired to, yet highly contested and normatively charged transitions to more sustainable systems of production and consumption. This research combines existing concepts and frameworks from the literatures on socio-technical innovation and sustainability transitions with those of cultural political

economy to investigate (1) dominant and stable, yet unsustainable socio-technical systems as grounded, localised, everyday expressions of cultural and political economic hegemonies and (2) socio-technical transitions towards sustainability as profound change processes necessitating not only an engagement with technological and social change, broadly defined, but also a specific focus on cultural and political economic change.

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Paterson, Keith (Aberdeen, UK)

Towards a Cultural Political Economy of Household Debt

Household debt remains at historically high levels and featured prominently in the financial crisis of 2007 whose aftermath continues to shape the economic landscape. This has prompted a flourishing of popular media and academic research on debt from the anthropological to the philosophical and theological via the sociological and the economic

This paper summarises one particular research project to describe the impact of household debt from the standpoint of working class families in some of the poorer parts of the City of Aberdeen.

Firstly, making use of the methods of institutional ethnography based on Dorothy Smith's sociology for people, it anchors its departure in the experience of real people in three working class areas of the City characterised by significant levels of deprivation and child poverty. The account of the effect of debt on ordinary people described here further draws on an extensive literature on the levels, forms and distribution of debt in quantitative terms and presents a more personal analysis of the impact of debt on financial, social, physical and mental wellbeing of families.

Secondly, and following the logic of institutional ethnography, it uncovers and then describes the hidden part of an iceberg of institutions, agents and intermediaries working on the management of debt from allocation to collection to the purchase and sale of debt. The multiple roles of the state from money manager to regulator and debt collector is highlighted and the multiple and often competing discourses in which debt is discussed are illustrated.

Thirdly the project seeks to establish a theoretical framework adequate to address this complexity. This is draws on the political economy concepts of financialization and social reproduction but argues that a transdisciplinary approach to cultural political economy is also required to connect the everyday experiences of the

household with the broader cultural, subjective, ideological and economic impacts of debt and ultimately link these to the global dynamics of capital. The presentation will conclude with some observations on the opportunities and challenges which arise from working at the intersection of disciplinary boundaries.

Paudyn, Bartholomew (LSE, UK)

The Performative Immunity that Risk Management Provides Financial Agents from the Consequences of their Actions: Post-Crisis Management of an Uncertain Political Economy of Creditworthiness

With evermore complex, quantitative risk calculus/modelling outstripping average professional acumen, the predictive positivism supposedly afforded to 'active' and 'passive' asset management is blamed for fuelling excessive risk-taking and repeated crises. Thus, it is odd that so much of the credit risk management responsible for the speculative finance that diminishes fiscal sovereignty, and thus the capacity for democratic self-determination, remains taken for granted and promoted post-crisis by markets and regulators alike. Although business as usual has repeatedly proven unsustainable, this paper argues how credit risk management helps shield subjects from serious contestation to institutionalise an inertia that heightens systemic disruption. Substantial reforms are hampered by the performativity of risk discourse; which creates the conditions and subjectivities that validate the utility and logics of distortive practices like credit ratings and their prescriptive neoliberal rationality. Masking contingent/uncertain liabilities, as it transforms a quantitative process into qualitative judgements, risk immunises discredited investors and rating agencies by depoliticising the political economy of creditworthiness. Especially visible in emerging debt markets, new assessments/articulations of creditworthiness reflecting the shift in politico-economic power from the 'Atlantic' to 'Pacific' Rim (BRICs) are being censured and marginalised by this dubious risk calculus. But as more endogenous forms of valuation and debt management are deterred, due diligence gets outsourced and regulatory passivity legitimised, and crisis looms ever closer

Pencheva, Denny (Bristol, UK) and Maronitis, Kostas (Leeds Trinity, UK)
Fetishising Sovereignty in the Remain and Leave campaigns

This paper focuses on the relationship between sovereignty, immigration and neoliberalism as illustrated in the debate around Britain's EU membership. By approaching the narratives of the Remain and Leave campaigns via the work of Foucault, Butler, and Brown we argue that state sovereignty has been framed through the prism of ontological anxiety and redefines its subject: *homo oeconomicus*. *Homo oeconomicus* is a function of neoliberalism and the anxieties and interdependencies that it produces. Therefore, much like sovereignty, which entails both inclusion and exclusion, this subject exists simultaneously as embedded and dependent upon the market, and as disembedded from it.

The paper applies framing as a method for the analysis of sovereignty in the Brexit debate. The Remain campaign colloquially referred to as 'project fear' relied on

framing Brexit as a leap into the unknown, unleashing economic stagnation and political turmoil. The Leave campaign operationalised anxiety, which proved to be the more successful strategy. The key difference between fear and anxiety is that the former is dependent upon its object, whereas the latter is freed from it. Thus, anxiety frames the neoliberal sovereign subject in relation to what is meaningful to it.

The paper argues that the framing and subsequent fetishisation of state sovereignty produces a new understanding of *homo oeconomicus*. Both campaigns demonstrate that *homo oeconomicus* is no longer a subject attached to power but a subject living in precarity epitomised by anxieties of mass immigration. Thus anxiety operationalises sovereignty as well as mobilising immigration and facilitating its racialisation.

Rieder, Maria (Limerick, Ireland) and Hendrik Theine (Vienna, Austria)
Socio-Economic Inequality and the Print Media: A Critical Inter-textual
Analysis of the Treatment of Economic Policy in Piketty's 'Capital in the 21st
Century'

The issue of socio-economic inequality has, after many decades of benign neglect in both the academy and journalism, become an increasingly important question. The economic crisis, beginning in 2008 followed by years of austerity has exasperated class and regional division. There have been numerous socio-economic and political outcomes from this, not least the Brexit vote in the UK, and the election of Donald Trump, both unimaginable a decade ago. Another sign of the heightened interest in socio economic inequality was the surprise popularity of Thomas Piketty's 'Capital in the 21st Century' (C21). The book reached the top of the bestseller lists and was described as a 'media sensation' and Piketty himself as a 'rock star economist'.

This paper, drawing from a major international and cross-disciplinary study, looks at the media treatment of C21. Using social semiotic and critical intertextual analysis (Thibault, 1991), we investigate the various discourses in print media in Britain, Ireland, Austria and Germany as a reaction to Piketty's economic policy proposals. We specifically focus on selected articles that are in disagreement with proposals such as the global wealth tax. We draw on Van Dijk's (1998) and Van Leeuwen's (2007) concept of *legitimation* as well as on *proximation* as the main tool of legitimisation (Kopytowska 2015) to analyse, compare and critique the routinisation and conversationalisation of hegemonic discourses in these articles, demonstrating how boundaries between information and persuasion as well as "objective" power relationships get blurred. The paper will conclude with remarks on aspects of the political economy of the media as influencing and shaping factors of these discourses.

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Robles, Te-Anne (Warwick, UK)

The Articulation of Economic Growth in East Asia: Reconsidering East vs. West Dynamics

The proposed paper analyses the discursive transformation of an ‘East Asian model’ of economic growth from the early 1990s till the present and how it relates to models advocated by the West. While the inclusion of the word ‘global’ in references to the 2007-2009 crisis has long been commonplace, this does not mean that it has gone uncontested as seen in calls to refer to the downturn as the ‘Western financial crisis’ instead. Such discussions tend to frame the debate in terms of clearly (and arguably incorrectly) defined dichotomies, which can also be seen in the discourse on the ‘Asian model’ of economic growth. This paper argues that it is important to not completely disregard East vs. West dichotomies, but to investigate why these cleavages persist and how East Asian countries use them to provide the economic and political rationale for their chosen path towards economic growth.

These issues drive different conceptions of how risks to economic growth are defined and approached. It is further argued that recent developments in financial and macroeconomic surveillance at the global (IMF) and regional (East Asian) levels need to be analysed against this context. While the congruence or divergence between global and regional surveillance may be depoliticised through the use of mathematical models, the political implications of not challenging these binaries should not be overlooked. Competing surveillance frameworks may also foster a sense of ‘organised irresponsibility’, letting the relevant institutions reject the existence of certain risks, obscure their causes, and deny liability and accountability

Roncevic, Borut (School of Advanced Social Studies, Slovenia)

Cultural Political Economy of East European Capitalisms: A preliminary Analysis

Three decades of development since the beginning of historic transformations in Eastern Europe resulted in quite distinct manifestations of East European capitalisms. Both the (geographical) scope and (temporal) perspective of these processes provides us with ample empirical evidence to study specific mechanisms and processes of their emergence and the ongoing continuous transformations. In this paper I employ the Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach, focusing on semiotic mechanisms of their constitution and material reproduction. With that in mind, I define an instance of (national) capitalism as a successful materialization of a specific economic imaginary, a semiotic order of specific discourses and the resulting set of social practices. After reviewing the main typologies of East European capitalisms I analyze the emergence of specific types of capitalisms by focusing on semiotic evolutionary mechanisms of variation, selection, retention, reinforcement, and selective recruitment, inculcation and retention. In this analysis I recognize, firstly, that for most East European countries past three decades are not a single period; in some cases we can identify a rapid succession of relatively distinct phases, shaped by both geopolitical challenges and

opportunities, and volatile internal processes. This implies, secondly, that the (trans)formations of East European capitalisms are not finished and will continue well into the future, with uncertain outcomes.

**Sarasola, Mikel Díez (University of the Basque Country, Spain)
Intellectual Commons as a Defense Response to the Enclosure of Knowledge**

Many see Intellectual Commons as a concept opposed to Intellectual Property. As Intellectual Property confers exclusive rights over knowledge to her owner, Intellectual Commons would be the knowledge which is publicly available to everybody. Notwithstanding this, it is possible to identify certain intellectual commons which have been created within the paradigm of commodification of knowledge and which are a reaction to the enclosure and privatization of knowledge. In this sense, it is important to remark that the concept of intellectual commons seems to be a reaction against the overwhelming expansion of Intellectual Property to fields of knowledge which were previously considered to be “uncommodifiable” and part of the public domain. The reaction against the privatization of certain commodified knowledge has been in many cases the creation of an intellectual commons which implies a collective property which intends to safeguard the collectively use-value of certain knowledge against its privatization. As result of a number bioprospecting projects some helpful compounds and extracts have been screened and shaped the subject matter of diverse patent applications. Many of these “appropriation” practices have been considered as activities of biopiracy against which local communities bring about some sort of intellectual commons. Open source software would be another example of a reactive response to private property. Those collective commons have in certain occasions their own rules for access. Unlike knowledge part of public domain, Intellectual Commons are not always accessible to everybody but they are accessible to those which are entitled to do so according to the Commons rules. This study intends to analyze the nature and characteristics of these “reactive” intellectual commons and their effectivity as an instrument to advance the common good.

**Schmidt-Wellenburg, Christian (Potsdam, Germany)
German economists' discourses on the European Crisis**

As in most other European national academic settings the crisis that struck in 2008 and has been prevailing since has been the object of vigorous debates. Controversy arose over what was at stake and who was to blame, what needed to be done to solve the problems detected and who was to do what. The discussions researched a first climax in June 2012, when the European Council decided to go ahead with building a European Banking Union, a decision strongly support by Angela Merkel and at the same time rejected by many well-known figures in German politico-economic discourse. The decision immediately triggered a first open letter signed by 274 economists opposing a European banking union and a second letter signed by 221 in favour of a European banking union. The research project on which the paper is based analysis these economists. In addition to most other investigations starting with such an event of self-selection guarantees a sample of individuals that at the same time are interested in these controversies and stem from a much broader range than the usual subjects that regularly engage in public politico-economic discourse.

The paper forwards the hypothesis that differences and similarities in the economists' discursive position-takings are best explained with reference to the economists' positions in the field of economists. The stances taken on the European Crisis are documented by a close interpretation of problems described, solutions offered, responsibilities ascribed, values referenced, subjectivities con-structed and governance forms implied in the different enunciations that can be found in texts produced by economists. These texts were coded using a grounded theory methodology. A comprehensive coding scheme was constructed that represents the underlying discursive regularities of this part of the politico-economic discourse and at the same time allows locating its producers – the economists – in relation to each other. At the same time, biographical information on the economists under investigation was collected from their CVs and other publicly accessible sources and a biographical dataset was built along the same methodological lines. This allows to reconstruct the main differences that structure the relationships between German economists: the degree of internationalisation and Europeanisation as opposed to the national anchoring of their careers, the degree of engagement with national political institutions and business as opposed to a stronger engagement in scientific research projects located on the autonomous pole of the field, and the opposition between high and low academic merits and prestige. The paper argues that these differences and similarities can be understood as objectifications of the everyday practice of economist and may hence be used to understand other forms of objectifications, such as the stances taken in the politico-economic discourse on how to govern Europe in times of crisis. This hypothesis is than further elaborated by a multiple correspondence analysis of the joint data set of properties of economists' discursive enunciations and professional positions.

**Schoppek, Dorothea (Technische Universität Darmstadt, Germany)
Neoliberalism versus degrowth: Counter-hegemony or passive revolution?**

Capitalism as a societal formation is often modernised and stabilised by its very critics. This paradox was already observed by Antonio Gramsci who called this process a "passive revolution". But what are the mechanisms by which critique becomes absorbed and appropriated for converse purposes? This question is explored using a Cultural Political Economy approach and analysing the discursive field of "degrowth" in Germany regarding its resistant potential against the neoliberal hegemony. Degrowth discourses are relevant as they are characterised by the assumption that a new form of economy without growth is needed to achieve the societal transformation that is necessary in ecological and social terms. They thus do not follow the neoliberal idea of green capitalism that already has absorbed a bulk of environmental critique. In this paper, I will point out the hegemonic character of neoliberalism and identify degrowth as an alternative economic imaginary that needs to be further differentiated to draw any conclusions about its counter-hegemonic potential. The main argument of the paper is the differentiation between a moralising

strand of the discourse, which contributes to stabilising neoliberalism in times of crisis and thus can be categorised as sub-hegemonic, and politicised strands of the discourse, which exhibits a counter-hegemonic potential. Politicisation hereby refers to the combination of a new form of capitalist critique with the willingness to self-transform to reach social transformation.

Sefat, Osamu Bar-el (Sefat Consulting Ltd.)

What's put in and who's putting out: a critical duo-autoethnographical approach to the capitalistic heteronormativity of economic methods

Breault (2016) proposed a new methodology called “duo-ethnography” - an exchange between two researchers that can mobilise their lived experiences to provide new insights, including into gender identities. We take this approach one step further. While ourselves falling into binary gender categories, in our conversations we have constructed an imaginary gender-fluid co-author, Osamette Tait-Shiva, who reifies and embodies an unruliness in our own minds. We can “ask” her questions, and, through this performative research approach, we open up spaces for new understandings, particularly of gender issues. We share our material experiences of performed transgressions while applying this research habitus to a topic that we deal with on a daily basis. Ontologically it is similar to Deleuze and Guatarri’s rhizomatic approach, but we have termed it the ‘trifolic approach’, due to its element of tertiary or threeness.

We mobilise this theoretical approach to expose the heteronormativity of economic methods. Building on Rumenes’ (2016) pathbreaking work which analyzed the always-already embedded heteronormativity in accounting frameworks, and Raymond’s (2003) crucial insights about how even objects such as computers can be inherently masculine, our trifolic method has helped us critically deconstruct and question the supposed gender neutrality of a specific economic accounting method, called “input-output (I-O) tables”. We re-imagine it as a tool of symbolic gender oppression.

I-O tables are widely used in outdated approaches to development, which rely on Westernized economic understandings of development as repressive top-down state action. Our deconstruction of I-O tables goes beyond the usual criticisms - that they do not take into account international and intra-sectoral linkages - to present a far more radical critique, exposing their underlying capitalistic heteronormativity.

In I-O tables, the user (almost always male) starts from an economic sector represented by a Y row and looks at how much it inputs into sectors presented on the X axis. The emphasis on *Y inputting* (putting in) into an X is telling. Additionally, the total value of Y is measured by how much it has *put-in* into the different Xs. Conversely, the value of an X sector is measured by how many inputs it has received from all the Ys. Its total value is then called its “output”. The link between “out-put” and the British “everyday” term “put out” is certainly not accidental, given that I-O tables were developed in the UK. The “output” has a double meaning - it both implies how much an X has been ‘putting out’ (producing and re-producing systemic sexualised symbolic violence against women who are craved for their bodies, but simultaneously shamed for ‘putting out’), while also seeing the final value of an X through its output (perpetuating imaginaries that women should be valued only for their procreative abilities). Finally, all values in I-O tables are expressed as capitalistic money values,

not in natural quantities, which would be more in accordance with subaltern, and authentic approaches to development, such as the *pachamama* movement in Latin America, which, not accidentally, also gives much more prominence to feminine and gender-fluid issues.

Standring, Adam (FSCH-UNL, Lisbon, Portugal)

Anti-politics of Austerity, Expertise and the (re)production of neoliberal austerity

A growing literature has sought to understand a recent wave of anti-politics, manifested by an increase in popular protest and the rise of populist politics, as resulting from the imposition of austerity policies in the wake of the global financial crisis. This paper argues that this analysis is flawed, both terms of its narrow temporal frame within which it examines austerity policies as well as in its inversion of the explanatory variable. Austerity, can more productively be understood as the long-term retrenchment of the state, the privitization/marketization of public services and the broad discursive construction of an individualized, entrepreneurial and competitive citizen-subject is reliant for its (re)production on an anti-political expertise at various scales and levels both within and outside the state.

The anti-political implications of expertise can be understood as having scalar and spatial consequences for the (re)production of neoliberal austerity and the 'disenchantment of the political'. Transnational (typically professional) expertise, characterised by the proliferation of economization, quantification and measurement of social phenomena, has been fundamental in the construction of neoliberal logics, providing political grounding for austerity measures. Local (often lay) expertise, in the form of social groups and community organizations, have found themselves complicit in the production of austerity through their role in implementing and/or mitigating austerity policies. Opposition to austerity must come from a broader, generative politics which may include some of the elements popularly referred to as 'anti-politics'.

Suesse, Nina (King's College London, UK)

Timing, Scarcity and Selection: How to get a day-care placement in Germany?

The division of labour in its temporal ordering of contemporary German society, between paid work and family, reproduces a separation of personal and public spheres. This social structure is reinforced through a range of formal policies, regulating the labour market, the family, and the education system, all with their weekly schedules, which in many instances remain unsynchronised, and therefore irreconcilable. I will argue that the degree of synchronisation enables or disables certain family-work life models, and interacts selectively with social agents.

Hierarchic identifications, as well as membership to various collectives, functions therein to direct and restrict parents' capabilities to juggle childcare and work.

On the central problem for most parents: “How to get a scarce place in public childcare?” I will illustrate how the institutionalisation of family and labour market affects local stakeholders’ capabilities to shape certain aspects of this situation. I will discuss different types of placement/selection techniques. Therein I address the power relations between parents and practitioners, and of both towards different federal levels of government.

Theoretically this work is based around Foucault’s concepts of power and Herndl & Licona’s emphasis on timing, which I develop into an account of structure, and Bourdieu’s theory of subject formation, the habitus. The SRA (Jessop) inspires to link agencies and structures in a mutually selective way. Furthermore, the importance of meaning-making is taken into account, employing discourse analysis (CDA, Bakhtin) as the general methodology. The data is based on in-depth interviews with local stakeholders and policy documents

Sum, Ngai-Ling (Lancaster, UK)

A Cultural Political Economy of China’s new spatial imaginaries of land corridors and maritime routes

This paper adopts a cultural political economy approach to interpret the production of spatiality. It seeks to go beyond the examination of space in relational terms and suggests that it is also important to focus on the production of these spatial relationships through a complex of calculation and representational techniques in given structural contexts. Deploying the case of China’s new spatial imaginary of ‘One Belt One Road’, this paper starts by examining the emergence of triple crises and decelerated growth in China since 2015. The fear of economic slowdown and overcapacity has given rise to a proliferation of policy discourses that range from ‘Likonomics’, ‘New Normal’, ‘China Dream’ to ‘One Belt One Road’. The latter constructs spatial connectivity and mutuality via a statecraft of maps, diplomatic talks, policy documents/websites, etc. that deploy geographical categories such as corridors and gateways and maritime routes that turn trans-regional territories into calculable spaces that can be used to remake policy subjectivities and exporting land-based practices such as chaining/zoning technologies of connectivity and growth. Such development has generated resistance especially from India engaging in alternative mappings.

Sum, Ngai-Ling (Lancaster, UK)

The Dialectics of a Geoeconomic/Geopolitical Spatial Fix: China’s One Belt One Road Initiative

This paper focuses on the development of China since 2013. With the emergence of a triple crises, over-accumulation problems and the deceleration of growth, the debates occurred on crisis management has ended with Xi’s ‘new normal’ discourse being selected as part of the official policy discourses. Building on the ‘Go West’ and ‘Go Out’ policies, Xi and his policy elites envisage and co-produce a new trans-regional geoeconomic scale of spatial organization that could offer a potential ‘spatial fix’ to stave off China’s over-accumulation crises. New cartographic representation and

geoeconomic/geopolitical metaphors were deployed to construct/negotiate OBOR's win-win identity. These discursive changes mediate the building of China-oriented infrastructural mode of accumulation in the fields of production, financial and security. As this absorbs ever more production and financial capital, it generates dialectical contradictions, conflicts and antagonisms in the geoeconomic/geopolitical fields. This paper concludes from this case about the heuristic and explanatory power of a cultural political economy in understanding the dialectics of spatial fix.

Tyler, Imogen (Lancaster)

The Stigma Machine of Welfare Reform

Stigma teaches children that accepting charity is a disgrace. Stigma makes people ask whether the help is really that essential. Stigma discourages dependence (Charles Murray, 2009)

In 2010, the charity Poverty Alliance Scotland launched a campaign called 'Stick your Labels' to 'challenge the stigma of poverty': actions have included a "Stick your Labels Pledge", the making of a series of films, the development of pedagogical materials, and workshops in schools 'to challenge the many popular myths and stereotypes about poverty'. Poverty Alliance is working in a sociologically informed tradition which seeks to evidence and trouble, the impact of welfare reform, by centring the often-marginalised voices of those living with the stigma of poverty. This paper contributes to these efforts but through a focus on the ways in which stigma is activated and crafted "from above". As Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward (1971) argued, historical systems of welfare relief are cyclical, expanding or contracting along an axis of liberalisation and penality. Their research on the history of welfare challenged arguments that 'modern welfare states' have made it a priority to provide support in a way that 'avoids the stigma associated with earlier forms of social assistance, such as private charity and 'poor law' provision.' Building on this research this paper develops historical perspectives on the relationship between stigma production and the neoliberal government of welfare. Focusing on practices of *badging the poor*, it examines how welfare stigma was dramatically (re)activated in order to implement and legitimate the 2012 Welfare Reform Act---the most draconian welfare reform legislation in Britain since the 1834 reforms of Elizabethan Poor Laws: A semiotics of badging which stretches from brands and cloth badges in early modern England to the genres of "poverty porn" journalism and television programming which emerged in the wake of the 2008/9 financial crisis (Jensen 2014).

Clare Walsh (Bristol, UK)

A Conceptual Framework to Analyse Culture within the Political Economy of Higher Education: Quality Assurance Networks in the Arab Region

Critical realism is a relatively new philosophical approach to ontological, epistemological and axiological issues within the field of educational research, particularly in relation to its ability to understand change mechanisms as they relate to educational systems as well as the need to adopt a critical approach to

understanding education. Drawing on critical realism and a methodology grounded in a critical cultural political economy of education (CCPEE) and civilisation analysis (CA), this paper illustrates how the cultural problematics of meaning as well as the mechanisms and processes in Arab higher education can be theorised and conceptualised. These conceptual tools provide a systematic attempt to address, in a contextualised and comprehensive way, questions related to if and how Arab society has a role to play in the mechanisms and processes of quality assurance networks in Arab higher education. They also allow questions of power to be addressed, looking beyond dependency, modernisation and rentier perspectives. Finally, the CCPEE and CA offer a means to consider the civilisational cultural scripts through which education is constructed and mediated. In making these ideas understood, an example of how such a conceptual framework can be engaged with is outlined. The overarching ambition of using critical cultural political economy of education and civilisational analysis is grounded in the aim of producing a more complete understanding of the characteristics and effects of Arab modernity, culture and society on higher education quality assurance networks in the Arab region.