

**Inaugural Conference on Cultural Political Economy**  
**1-2 September 2015, George Fox Building, Lancaster University**

**Abstracts**

**Danielle Guizzo Archela, Keynesianism as the Governmentality of the Golden Age of Capitalism**

This paper explores the possibility of conceiving Keynesianism as a form of governmentality that reigned between 1930 and 1973; particularly the discourse and policies inspired by British economist John Maynard Keynes. From 1945 until the mid-1970s, Keynesian macroeconomics dominated the discipline of economics. In this period, economic life was improving and Keynes's ideas were responsible for this, especially regarding unemployment, consumption, inflation and productivity issues, a specific period in history known as the Golden Age of Capitalism. However, economists have neglected the possible connections between Keynes and the effects of governmental practices. To accomplish that, this paper takes into account Michel Foucault's developments on the issue of governmentality, which analyses ways of governing through certain rules and goals, or government techniques. Indeed, Foucault never approached Keynes's possible contributions for a rethinking of the notion of governmentality, especially after the Great Depression and during the post-war period until the decade of 1970. I conclude that Keynes's reality about the role of state and the modes of governance actually represented an alternative to liberal and neoliberal forms of governmentality insofar as Keynesianism put the institution of Welfare State and legitimated modern macroeconomic analysis as apparatuses that helped in the government of population.

**Poonam Argade, The Undercurrents of Participatory Groundwater Governance in Maharashtra: a Cultural Political Economy Perspective**

This paper is a study of participatory groundwater governance in Maharashtra and uses a case study of a World Bank funded participatory groundwater governance project spanning over eight villages in Marathwada region for this purpose. It uses various data sources- official project documents, interviews and discussions, and uses selected concepts from the cultural political economy approach for analysis. It examines conceptualization of participatory governance for regulating groundwater over-exploitation towards sustainable management. The conceptualization includes economic imaginaries, which underlie an imagined community- groundwater relationship, a desired object for the governance project. The project discourse includes meaning-making in relation to the normative concerns of equity and sustainability, and other concepts like participation, technical knowledge and commoditization which are indicative of de-politicization and World Bank influence. It further studies how the micro technologies of governance are actualized, which suggest complex forms of social domination cutting across caste and class lines in the community. The analysis of the actual community- groundwater relationship sheds light on the construals and the social constructs related to the groundwater resource (regarding access, usage, perceptions and knowledge), and signals the domination of the local elite (Marathas) and legitimation for groundwater over-extraction. By analysing the undercurrents of governance starting from the World Bank, the state technocrats, the NGO, coming down to the local leaders and the community, I attempt to re-politicize governance by emphasizing on the significance of political context in participatory groundwater governance.

### **Candas Ayan, Cultural Political Economy of Turkish Denial of Armenian Genocide**

The 20th century was full of extreme massacres. The first one of all was the Armenian genocide committed by Ottoman Young Turks at the very beginning of the First World War in 1915. There is a specific question that should be asked in the centenary of the Armenian genocide: “why is there still hostility against the Armenians in Turkey, although no Armenians remain there”? The last striking example of this hostility was the murder of the famous Armenian journalist, Hrant Dink. The answer, I assume, can be discerned from the Turkish flag before which the murderer posed just after he was captured: it is banal nationalism. Based on this, my paper explores the political and economic foundations of “banal nationalism” and anti-Armenian sentiments in Turkey. I argue that hostility against Armenians serves to strengthen the authoritarian structure of the Turkish state. Hrant Dink’s murder was a major symptom of the authoritarian, nationalist police state of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) which showed itself in many other episodes: the Roboski slaughter, the Gezi Park protests and unidentified murders occurring during the Kobane protests. In explaining my argument, I focus on the direct relation between the increasing promotion of nationalist discourses by AKP and the growing political and economic contradictions and troubles in AKP regime.

### **Jana Bacevic, Beyond Resistance: Thinking about Human Agency Through Critical Cultural Political Economy**

This paper aims to contribute to the theorization of agency and the place of the individual subject in critical cultural political economy. It uses the case of public engagement in UK universities to think about the relationship between individual agency and the transformation of the conditions of knowledge production. The majority of scholarly accounts of the transformation of higher education and research start from the assumption that there is an ongoing shift in the structure and dynamics of knowledge production, reflected, among other things, in the changing relationship between universities and the state. The umbrella term increasingly used to describe this shift is neoliberalization, comprising the commoditization and privatization of knowledge, and a changing mode of governance of higher education and research. These combined processes are said to fundamentally influence how academics construct and perform their roles. Yet, individual agency is, in these accounts, most frequently limited either to compliance or to resistance; in other words, academics are framed as passively ‘suffering’ particular policies, (relatively) willingly complying with them, or alternatively, heroically ‘resisting’. Using Bourdieu’s theory of practice, Archer’s morphogenetic theory of society, and insights from work on intellectual positioning, this paper offers an interpretative framework that allows for a more nuanced and interactive dynamic between the concepts of structural conditions of knowledge production and individual agency. Bringing in examples from ethnographic research on cases of public engagement in Bristol, the paper argues for a culturally and economically founded concept of change that gives more space to individual actors.

### **Claes Belfrage, The Gentle Art of Retroduction: Critical Grounded Theory as a Method for Cultural Political Economy**

This paper argues for a distinct Critical Grounded Theory (CGT) suited to CPE research – which would provide the strengths of the analytical tools of grounded theory without bracketing the critical-theoretical insights of CPE. CGT, like CPE, is rooted in critical realism and aims at simultaneously

*understanding* the interpretive dimension of research objects and *explaining* underlying causal mechanisms. CGT research involves a retroductive movement between abstract and concrete, between theory and empiricism, in which the researcher's ethnographic immersion into the research constitutes a central moment. Rather than merely relying on discursive artefacts, as some CDA variants do, CGT invites the researcher to "go places" and "talk to people". Combining the inductive moment of working empirical data "up" into grounded theoretical concepts with the deductive moment of putting these into dialogue with existing theory is at the heart of retroduction. While the retroductive process is typically repeated later to trace the evolution of economic imaginaries, and indeed can be continued *ad infinitum*, it can also be stopped in order to assess the critical grounded theory that was constructed to interpret findings for emancipatory interests as well as establish the contribution made by CGT to the initial theory (CPE) by exploring it in the light of the four abovementioned contributions. While adapted here to fit Cultural Political Economy, we claim that CGT can also be applied in the operationalization of other critical political economy approaches.

### **Patrick Bigger, Laboratories of marketization? Assembling carbon trading in California**

Since 2006 regulators in California, along with their NGO, industrial, and academic interlocutors, have crafted the rules, norms, and regulations of a cap-and-trade programme designed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the Golden State. In the programme, polluters are allocated permits to release emissions. Polluters that emit more than their allocation must acquire additional permits from polluters that reduce their emissions, leaving them with a surplus. The creation of this programme largely flows from two desires on the part of state-level and peristatal actors. The first is to demonstrate leadership on climate change in the face of inaction by the national state – even though reductions in California will do little to slow climate change globally. The second desire is to introduce the perceived efficiencies of markets to a regulatory regime that has been characterized as inefficient and hostile to the needs of business. Students of cultural political economy will be unsurprised to learn of the deep involvement of the state in crafting pollution trading mechanisms that bear relation to conventional financial markets; however, the particular idiosyncrasies of the mandate to create financial products that represent greenhouse gases while reducing those emissions afford a window for understanding key contradictions in sub-national environmental regulation. I argue that, particularly in California, much contemporary environmental policy-making possesses the hallmarks of the neoliberal governance, yet falls short of any actually-existing commodification the atmosphere or polluting practices. This should prompt reevaluation of our understanding of the state-market-nature nexus which requires immediate transformation.

### **Stephanie Brown and Tore Bernt Sørensen, A Critique of the Use of Randomized Controlled Trials for UK Educational Policy**

In 2013 the UK Government's Department for Education announced that the use of randomized controlled trials (RCTs), to generate 'evidence-based' research, would 'raise the bar in education' (DfE, 2013). The outcome of an independent analytical review (DfE, 2013; Goldacre, 2013; Plant, 2013), this announcement provided the impetus for promoting RCTs as the gold standard for education research in the UK, with funding for RCTs being privileged by government funded research organizations such as the Education Endowment Foundation. This paper interprets the promotion of RCTs as events that can only be explained by identifying generative mechanisms in the

contemporary UK societal context that are characterized by variegated capitalism (Jessop, 2011) and quantification (Carr-Hill, 1985; Clegg, 2005; Espeland and Stevens, 2008; Morrison, 2001; Pawson, 2005; Porter 1996). To critique the practical argumentation (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012) used in promoting RCTs within educational research, based upon a critical realist meta-theory (Danermark *et al.* 2002), this paper draws upon critical cultural political economy (Sayer, 2001; Sum and Jessop, 2013, Robertson and Dale, 2015) and Searle's (1995, 2010) philosophy of language, mind, and society. Thus this paper analyses key policy documents (Goldacre, 2013; Haynes *et al.* 2012), focusing on: (1) the opportunities and limitations linked to induction as the main mode of inference driving RCTs, and (2) the discursive constructions of 'the student', 'the teacher', 'the researcher', and 'the politician' and their interrelations.

**Chris Büscher, The Financialization of Water and International Development in Mozambique: a Cultural Political Economy Perspective**

This paper explores the merits and limits of a Cultural Political Economy approach to studying the financialization of water governance and management. Financialization has become a popular research phenomenon in critical social science and has been examined from different perspectives, notably political economy and cultural economy. Whilst the former focuses on accumulation patterns and the production of inequality in a financialized economy, the latter places emphasis on cultural and discursive dimensions of financialization, influenced by post-structuralism. A Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach to financialization aims to capture insights from both political and cultural economy, thereby integrating materialist and discursive/ cultural dimensions of financialization, informed by a critical realist position to science. This paper first summarizes what a CPE approach to financialization entails and then explores what it might contribute to critical geographic research on contemporary, multi-level water supply governance and management arrangements. The last part looks at how the approach can be used to study the financialization of water in Mozambique and the role of international development in this process.

**Angus Cameron, Dani Tepe-Belfrage and Nikki Smith, The New Wastes**

The concept of 'waste' is both very ancient and has evolved significantly over the centuries. Once an allusion to vast wildness and emptiness, the meaning of waste has changed from describing something external to the (proto) state, to series of more specific and increasing pejorative exclusions from the emergent norms of state-centred political economies. This paper (which is really the start of a book project) explores emergent narratives of 'waste' in the context of ongoing austerity regimes in many parts of the world and specifically with respect to the construction of the 'normal household'.

**Mieke T.A. Lopes Cardozo and Ritesh Shah, Conceptualizing the Multiscalar Politics of Education for Sustainable Peacebuilding and Social Justice in Aceh, Indonesia**

A critical and more nuanced is starting to develop among academics and practitioners concerning the understanding of the multifaceted relationship between processes of peacebuilding and educational provision. In this paper we present a conceptual model that draws on an epistemological and ontological anchor of critical realism, and an interdisciplinary methodology

informed by: (1) cultural political economy analysis, (2) the strategic relational approach, and (3) a social justice framework. The model allows for an exploration of educational discourses, processes and outcomes, and illustrates how the 'many faces' of education in conflict-affected situations can be better theorized and conceptually represented. We link goals of peacebuilding to those of social justice, and reinvigorate the notion of education playing a transformative rather than a restorative role in conflict-affected situations. We illustrate how this model is contextualized and applied in the post-conflict and post-tsunami context of Aceh, Indonesia.

### **Indranil Chakraborty, The Underbelly of the Indian IT Sector: An Ethnographic Analysis**

This paper concerns the life and working conditions of the tech sector underclass: the janitors, security guards, fast food delivery service professionals and car pool drivers who work in and around global technology parks. It draws on my ethnography (110 interviews) of labouring experiences of support service workers in the \$118 billion Indian IT industry across five Indian cities. Thomas Friedman claims that in the flat world created by digital capitalism, a new digital labour force now enjoys greater freedom, more bargaining power and flexible work schedules. But how do the demographics and employment data stand up to the promises of the digital world – a world without barriers and hierarchy? And how do these labourers, who have usually arrived from rural and semi-rural areas negotiate the homogenization effect of globalization in an alien urban life space? Going beyond the hegemonic triad of freedom, flexibility and innovation of the digital society, the ethnography of tech sector workers suggests how each of these optimistic adjectives has a Janus faced existence, in particular, when it comes to these workers everyday struggle against contractors, corporations and various other hegemonic relations in an increasingly privatized urban space.

### **Colin Cremin, The End of Capitalism: A Cognitive Map of Society in an Age Haunted by Images of Total Annihilation**

Fredric Jameson argues that the 'incapacity to map socially is as crippling to political experience as the analogous incapacity to map spatially is for urban experience.' Cognitive mapping, he claims, is integral to a 'socialist political project.' The presentation underlines the importance of this argument in the context of the political and economic crisis in Europe and beyond. It stresses the role of critical theory in mapping the material, ideological and libidinal dimensions of current socio-economic and subjective configurations and the problems they pose for a progressive politics. Drawing on my recently published book, *Totalled: Salvaging the Future from the Wreckage of Capitalism*, the paper approaches this at three intersecting levels: first, a diagnosis of the concrete situation and how it is ideologically refracted; second, how energies are captured in different moments in the circuit of capital, particularly work and consumption, and the implications for subjectivity and society; third, in view of changes brought about by neoliberal governments, particularly in labour relations and the subject itself, the paper asks what kind of politics is today required.

### **Ernesto d'Albergo, How Can the CPE Approach Help to Explain the Political and Hegemonic Role of firms? The Role of the Smart City Paradigm in the Framing of the Italian Urban Agenda**

The aim of the paper is to test the usefulness of concepts developed within the Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach in theoretically and empirically explaining the political role of firms in the

contemporary stage of neo-liberalism. The case analysed concerns the launching of an urban policy agenda in Italy, considering one of its main ideational components: the Smart City paradigm. Even though this legitimates a specific line of action, it frames the overall agenda and specifies its general neo-liberal orientation. The paper will show that the Smart City agenda functions to win hegemony for enterprises by influencing how the State secures the conditions for short-term profits – in this case selling goods and services – and long-term accumulation by affirming values and beliefs based on common sense that also carry high emotional valence as a legitimating element for policy frames. This is achieved by firms taking on a more direct and proactive political role, based on their ideational capacity. Such a knowledge-based and discursive politicization makes the hegemonic role of firms even more crucial in the current context of a depoliticization of politics, “post-democracy” and “post-ideology”. Conceptual tools developed within the CPE approach, such as selected highly performative imaginaries and knowledge brands, actually help to provide evidence about the “how” of this hegemonic process. The Smart City as an imaginary and buzzword provides the cognitive and normative pillars on which a political project (the urban agenda) is based, and is rooted into (and resonates with) the common sense of rationality. Related knowledge brands are produced, spread and marketed worldwide by big ITC and consultancy firms, with the intermediation of inter- and trans-national organizations, such as the EU. These knowledge brands provide the wider imaginaries in which the Smart City is embedded, such as the competitiveness and entrepreneurship of cities, as well as their resilience, sustainable development, greenness, good governance and the like, with toolkits which, in addition to being saleable commodities, have framing and operational properties.

#### **Anisha Datta, Caste Subalterns and Resistance in Neo-Liberal India**

Caste is a form of social inequality that is widely prevalent in India. It is a hierarchical system based on Hindu religion, which goes against the grain of universal human rights. Diverse economic studies claim that liberalization of the Indian economy in the last two decades has coincided with a breaking down of caste-based historical barriers to generate socio-economic mobility for the low castes. For instance, the median wage premium between scheduled and non-scheduled castes has declined. But, could these numbers fathom the complex existence of caste based social inequality in a market driven globalized India? Does a rational competitive market dismantle the irrational structure of caste in search of efficiency? Or, does the hierarchical caste system co-opt market forces to reinforce social inequality? The paper attempts to answer these questions by first reviewing notable inter-disciplinary studies on caste-based social inequality in contemporary India. The paper then draws on the author’s ethnography on cremation workers, hailing from the untouchable Dom caste in Bengal, who are employed by the Kolkata Municipal Corporation. The study indicates that market forces by engendering an atmosphere of efficiency, competitiveness and insecurity drive the cremation workers to hold on to their stigmatized hereditary occupation, instead of gaining occupational and social mobility. The paper concludes that market liberalization does not close the social gap forged by caste based prejudice and discrimination. Market is not a sufficient vector that can overcome the historically entrenched deprivation and immobility among low castes in India.

#### **Jamie Doucette, Exporting the *Saemaul* spirit: South Korea's Knowledge Sharing Program and the 'Rendering Technical' of Korean Development**

This paper examines the South Korean government's Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) to illustrate

recent attempts to package Korea's development experience into a prescriptive model that can be transferred to developing economies. In particular, it analyses KSP documents concerning the New Village Movement (*Saemaul Undong*) of the 1970s, which was an agricultural modernization programme that has become integral to the brand of development assistance marketed by South Korea. On this basis, the paper argues that the KSP's primary emphasis on a spiritual or values-based representation of this programme serves to decontextualize the wider (geo)political economy of authoritarian, Cold War development in South Korea. Further, by extension, facilitates a relatively technical form of policy sharing that reduces highly contested and controversial development policies to simplified policy inputs and applications of expert knowledge. The paper concludes by noting the importance of such discursive approaches and, relatedly, Gramscian ideology-critique to the project of cultural political economy.

### **Matthew Eagleton-Pierce, Historicizing the Neoliberal Spirit of Capitalism**

Neoliberalism is often read as the latest revision or revival of the liberal tradition. Yet plotting what is new within neoliberalism, however precisely defined, is riven with analytical problems. Inspired by Boltanski and Chiapello (2007), this paper offers a particular framing of neoliberalism as the latest ideological 'spirit' in the history of capitalism. This spirit encompasses relatively stable schemas of justification, including patterns of thought that are grounded in lived experiences beyond the world of technical experts. The paper charts and clarifies this terrain in two ways. First, it discusses how many rationalities associated with neoliberalism can be tied to three master themes in the history of liberal thought: (1) individualism, whereby the individual is granted moral, ontological priority over the collective; (2) universalism, illustrated in expansionary tendencies towards a world market; and (3) meliorism, whereby humans allegedly have the potential to improve and remake themselves. While acknowledging that these themes have contemporary imprints on ideas and policies linked with neoliberalism, the second part of the paper urges caution with imputing that neoliberalism has some bounded, historical coherence. In doing so, the argument dissects how each of these themes can also feature contradictions between theory and practice. It will also be suggested that such practical tensions partly account for the regenerative capacity of contemporary neoliberalism to legitimise itself and contain rival critiques that may aim to undermine processes of accumulation.

### **Isabela Fairclough & Norman Fairclough, To Frack or not to Frack, that is the Question. The Decision against Exploratory Drilling in Lancashire as a Case of Deliberation in Institutional Contexts**

The UK is widely perceived as having a problem of 'energy security', given anticipated future needs for gas, declining indigenous supply and unreliable foreign sources. The government has declared its support for shale gas exploitation, representing it as 'bridge' to a low-carbon future. While central government issues licences for shale gas exploration, planning permission for exploratory drilling and commercial fracking rests with local authorities. This has led to long-drawn-out struggles over whether permission should be given for particular sites, culminating in the decision taken by the Lancashire County Council in June 2015 to refuse two applications by Cuadrilla. To explore such issues, we use the version of CDA presented in Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) to analyse LCC's deliberations and the way in which institutional constraints (in the form of which reasons may or may not count) have shaped the decision-making process. We argue that expert risk-management

discourse was used to neutralize most of the strongest public objections against fracking (unacceptable 'risks' to health and the environment), leaving councillors only 'impacts' (e.g. noise, visual and traffic impacts) as a few as yet non-overridable grounds for rejection. A rich public debate (including arguments from potential consequences, but also from rights and commitments) stood in contrast to an impoverished decision-making process, in which many rationally persuasive reasons were beyond the remit of the planning authority. We draw on Searle's (2010) theory of the creation of social institutional reality by speech acts of declaration, which includes a definition of political power in terms of the role that deontic reasons for action play in enabling and constraining practical reasoning and agency. We intend this paper as a contribution to an argumentative turn in CPE.

### **Romain Felli, The Language of Resilience in International Environmental Governance: a CPE Analysis**

Much critical work has already been undertaken on the discourse of resilience, and its neoliberal underpinning in contemporary governance. However, much of this work has been conceptual and genealogical in nature and has often paid less attention to the actual development of this idea in international organizations. In my paper, I will contribute to a more empirically informed CPE analysis of the language of resilience by focussing on a specific case study, that of the 2012 United Nations' report "Resilient Planet, Resilient People". Based on a dozen extensive interviews with key actors that have produced this report (panel members, advisors, external experts, etc.) I will analyse how the "strategic selectivity" of international institutions and the "strategic calculation" of specific actors have interacted to promote the language of resilience as an emerging norm in international environmental governance.

### **Markus Griesser and Stephan Pühringer, Economics Return to a Dismal Science? The Changing Role of Economic Thought in German Labour Market Reforms from the 1960s to the 2000s**

In his ambitious account on welfare state transformation, which accompanied the changes in political economy during the last thirty years, Bob Jessop introduced the hypothesis of the transition from a Keynesian Welfare National State to a Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National State. In the field of labour market policies this transition could be described as the change from an "active" to an "activating" labour market policy, as it was promoted (amongst others) by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). On the level of economic discourse and especially in economic policy advice, this policy change corresponds with a paradigm shift from Keynesian to neoclassical/ neoliberal economic thought. Whereas the former was characterized by active counter-cyclical demand-oriented economic management in the light of the "planning euphoria" of the 1960s, the latter strictly opposes active policy measures in favour of the image of a self-regulating market mechanism. Based on these economic, political and discursive trends the proposed paper intends to focus on central reforms regarding the labour market policies in Germany in the late 1960s and in the early 2000s, respectively. Therefore we will apply a Critical Discourse Analysis which combines analyses of the politico-economic media discourse, political debates during the process of agenda-setting as well as academic expert discourses about labour market policies. The aim of the paper is, on the one hand, to theoretically enhance the methodological foundations of Cultural Political Economy and, on the other hand, to empirically shed light



### **Eva Hartmann, Governmentality Studies and State-Effects of European Competition**

Foucault's governmentality studies have become very influential CPE and critical studies of the European Union. Yet only state-theoretical accounts fully recognize that Foucault's analysis predominantly draws on Ordo-liberalism rather than *laissez-faire* liberalism. My paper argues that only this reading of Foucault enables us to fully grasp the complex relationship between the state and competition indicated in his study. At the same time, Foucault fails to account for the social bonds that competition establishes. This shortcoming is even more important in the context of the EU where competition has become a core integration mechanism. In this light, my paper first aims to overcome this shortcoming by integrating insights of sociology of competition into governmentality studies. Such a perspective reveals the role of semiotics and imaginaries in enabling competition. It also highlights the close link between competition and de-personalization and will explore how this transformation of social bonds is acted out. Second, the paper will marry this perspective with a Poulantzasian/Gramscian account of hegemony with a view to exploring the role of competition mediated economic transactions in establishing hegemony. Third, empirically, the paper indicates the heuristic value of the proposed theoretical perspective by detailing the complexity of integration through competition, its enabling conditions as well as the contestation it meets.

### **Felix Hauf, Cultural Political Economy and Critical Grounded Theory: The Case of Organized Labour in Indonesia**

The Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach, while still in the making, has progressed a lot since its earliest formulations – moving from meta-theoretical reflections to empirical analyses, from abstract and simple to concrete and complex. Its further development as a post-disciplinary paradigm will partly depend on its ability to systematically inform more empirical studies that, in turn, are able to inform further theoretical reconstruction. Building on previous methodological work (Belfrage/Hauf 2015) and on qualitative fieldwork, my contribution employs a Critical Grounded Theory (CGT) perspective to analyse the practical relevance of economic imaginaries such as 'decent work' or 'solidarity economy' for the strategies and practices of organized labour in Indonesia. It will be argued that institutional discourses of 'decent work' play a central role in the enforced selection of moderate trade union strategies of social dialogue at the expense of more radical or traditional working class strategies of industrial action, although the latter have been more successful in fulfilling workers' demands for higher wages and better conditions. Decent work will be linked to the notion of 'new ethicalism' (Sum 2010) by identifying a hegemonic strategy to re-ethicalise neoliberal production processes in the ILO's Better Work Indonesia project and a sub-hegemonic strategy to the same effect in the multi-stakeholder Play Fair initiative. The contribution ends with an outlook on counter-hegemonic actors and their imaginaries, strategies and practices, which CPE needs to incorporate more systematically, exemplified by the newly established National Union Confederation and the larger Indonesian People's Movements

### **Mathis Heinrich, A New Imaginary for the European Central Bank: Towards a Cultural Political Economy of Central Banking**

In reaction to the continuing crisis of the Eurozone, the European Central Bank (ECB) has applied several unconventional measures to stabilise the European economy. It has not only moved towards

an active liquidity provision and interventionism into private markets, but also expanded its competencies into policy fields that go far beyond classical central banking. It now acts as a quasi-lender of last resort by supporting the solvency of big banks (Banking Union) and member states (Troika) in the Eurozone. While this clearly refers to a crisis-driven shift in ECB policies, it is still unclear how substantial this shift may be and what are the main driving forces behind it. My paper addresses those questions from a CPE perspective. So far, the academic literature mainly stresses functionalist (governance gap) and structuralist (superior interests) explanations for the transformation of the ECB, while an analysis of its particular role as an – institutionally, politically, and personally autonomous – actor embedded into specific networks of communication (e.g. the G20) is still missing. So, the paper develops a CPE framework that takes the agency and networks of the ECB seriously. It argues that its crisis-driven practices promote an imaginary shift towards Anglo-American priorities of central banking which, however, coincides with an internal expansion of the authority of the ECB in European governance structures. As such, the co-evolution of discursive and agential developments informs the new political role of the ECB which also contains new contradictions of democracy and sovereignty in European statehood.

### **Anthony Hesketh, Taking Value Beyond The Quantum Form: Accounting in Angustiis**

This paper explores how we can better understand and theorise how in 21<sup>st</sup> century capitalism we may better understand and deal with this statement from a leading S&P firm in the USA

#### **‘Disclosure regarding forward-looking statements**

‘This Annual Report on Form 10-K contains forward-looking statements within the meaning of Section 27A of the Securities Act of 1933 and Section 21E of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (the “Exchange Act”) relating to our operations, results of operations and other matters that are based on our current expectations, estimates, assumptions and projections. Words such as “may,” “will,” “should,” “likely,” “anticipates,” “expects,” “intends,” “plans,” “projects,” “believes,” “estimates,” “positioned,” “outlook” and similar expressions are used to identify these forward-looking statements. These statements are not guarantees of future performance and involve risks, uncertainties and assumptions that are difficult to predict. Forward-looking statements are based upon assumptions as to future events that may not prove to be accurate. Actual outcomes and results may differ materially from what is expressed or forecast in these forward-looking statements. Risks, uncertainties and other factors that might cause such differences, some of which could be material, include, but are not limited to, the factors discussed below under the section entitled “Risk Factors.” Our forward-looking statements speak only as of the date of this report or as of the date they are made, and we undertake no obligation to update them.’

(Accenture, 2014, Form 10-K: 1)

I could have chosen one of these “safe harbour” statements from a presentation, annual report or financial update from any public limited company across the globe. Such statements go right to the heart of how we understand financial value, its creation, and, most importantly of all its articulation and subsequent construal(s) into material forces. So we must inquire into the compossibility of the quantum and axiomatic-like form of the financial accounting behind the valuation of companies.

Answering this question requires an alternative line of inquiry both empirically and theoretically. The paper presents a *semiotic materialist* approach, which draws in large part from the cultural political economy of Jessop and Sum (Jessop, 2004; Sum, 2004; Sum & Jessop, 2013).

### **Marja Hirvi, The Politics of Urban Water Reform in Ghana: a Cultural Political Economy Perspective**

Through the case study of Ghana, this paper explores the merits of a Cultural Political Economy approach to studying water sector reforms and water sector performance in a developing country. Ghana underwent a water sector reform between mid-1990s and mid-2000s and had a private operator managing the water supply for all urban centres within the country for five years. The paper explores the ways in which a CPE perspective, with its Critical Realist basis, contributes to understanding water governance and its relation to the national economic imaginary in an emerging developing country. The paper argues that exploring the interplay between discursive, political, and material conditions in the political process leading up to the reform helps us understand how the underlying constellations of social relations and conditions influence the form and content of policy decisions in a country with challenging water supply conditions and close relationships to foreign donors. A CPE approach illuminates the interconnections, both historical and current, between the water sector and the wider political economy, and the influence that these interconnections have on water sector performance and reforms.

### **Bob Jessop, What Does it Mean to Make a Cultural Turn in Political Economy?**

CPE belongs in the camp of 'grand theories' that offer a preliminary set of basic and sensitizing concepts and positive guidelines that are relevant to historical description, hermeneutic interpretation, and causal explanation. It combines critical, historically sensitive, semiotic analyses with concepts from heterodox evolutionary and institutional political economy. It aims thereby to overcome the often compartmentalized analysis of semiosis/culture and structuration/institutions by integrating semiosis into political economy and applying evolutionary and institutional analyses to semiosis. My paper explores the implications of such a cultural (or semiotic) turn for the critique of political economy but concedes that a cultural turn often comes at the cost of neglecting the extra-discursive or "material" dimensions of the world market and its embedding in a world of states. It outlines the key features of a CPE that navigates between a constructivist Charybdis and structuralist Scylla to produce a coherent theoretical approach to the "semiotic" and "material" aspects of capitalist social formations. It then illustrates the approach from the North Atlantic Financial Crisis in a two-step analysis. First, it notes the roots of the NAFC in specific economic imaginaries and modes of calculation and considers the struggle to interpret the nature, causes, costs and consequences of the financial crisis. And, second, it shows how the form of the crisis, its dynamic, and its global repercussions are related to the specific features of finance in the period of neo-liberal finance-dominated capitalism. Finally, by combining specific concepts and analyses bearing on semiosis and structuration, CPE can also provide the basis for critiques of ideology and domination.

### **Bob Jessop, Neoliberalism Redux? Managing the Contradictions of Neoliberalism in Crisis**

This paper explores the discursive, structural, and strategic bases for the capacity of a variegated neoliberalism (or variegated neoliberalization) to "fail forward", that is, to exploit crisis-tendencies in

order to reinvent and extend the neoliberal project. It describes forms of neoliberalism and offers a periodization of changing strategic lines that indicates, *inter alia*, that, for the last 40 years, it is neoliberalism that increasingly structures the economic and political dynamic of world market. My analysis also relates neoliberalism to the expansion of finance-dominated accumulation regime, which has its own crisis-tendencies, reflected in the specificities of the North Atlantic Financial Crisis. While there was a brief period when the latter was interpreted as a crisis *of* neoliberalism, massive state intervention has since created conditions for a return to neoliberal 'business as usual' in the societies where neoliberal regime shifts occurred and, indeed, to move from a politics of austerity to an enduring state of austerity (one manifestation of neoliberalism *redux*). This illustrates the relevance of Karl Deutsch's dictum that power is the ability not to have to learn from one's mistakes and shows how the financial interests at the heart of neoliberalism have regained hegemony and/or dominance over the definition and resolution of the financial crisis in the heartlands of neoliberalism. I explore these issues from a CPE perspective, which emphasizes the significance of economic, political and social imaginaries and strategies in shaping the dynamics of capital accumulation and state strategies alongside key structural features of capitalist political economy.

### **Joo-Hyoung Ji, The Making of "Gangnam Style": A Cultural Political Economy of Compressed Urbanization in South Korea**

This paper interprets the process of urbanization through a broadly defined CPE approach. Urbanization is a multi-faceted process. It certainly intermingles politics, culture, and economy and involves various competing and emulating strategies. As a result, it undergoes various stages and periods in development as well as materializing into different, variegated urban regimes. To illustrate and build on this insight, this paper explores Gangnam (meaning 'south of the river', situated in the southeast of Seoul), the most affluent district in South Korea. First, it presents the origins of Gangnamization as urban political, cultural and economic project(s). Until the late 1960s, Gangnam was a typical rural area with little population, but for less than 20 years, it had grown into the centre of power, money and culture in South Korea. Such compressed urbanization could not only be explained by the rapid industrialization and economic development in general but also by the contingent process of state-led urban planning that reflected security concern, political fund raising, property speculation, class (re-)production through educational competition, asset-based welfare provision and so forth. Second, it will periodize the development of Gangnam as an urban regime from a state-led to a capital-led or neoliberal one that everybody aspires after. From the mid-1990s, Gangnam has transformed into a centre of ICT, finance, and knowledge service industries as well as a cutting-edge site of consumer culture. In addition, Gangnam's asset-based growth fueled an overall growth of property values and this provided ordinary people with a lesson that class mobility depends crucially on how early they could secure house ownership. In turn, this not only facilitated PF (project financing) in housing development in the 2000s. It also provided a conservative political lesson about class mobilization through asset-based growth. Indeed, it is not Seoul but Gangnam that is a dominantly working model for politics, economics, and culture in South Korea now. Finally, based on the case of Gangnam, this paper will thus present and critically reflect on the prospect of the South Korean model of urban cultural political economy through which urban politics, culture and economy are closely intertwined and reinforce one another.

### **Jerrold L. Kachur, Mode of Existence, Neo-Capitalist Education, and the Religious Challenge to Secularism**

Following CCPEE and the globalizing processes within the *ensemble* of higher education (Jessop 2014 Robertson and Dal, 2013), this paper elaborates the conception of Geopolitical Economy (Radhika Desai 2013) by drawing on Marx's ethnological writings regarding nationalism, ethnocultures, family ordering, non-Western societies, and pre-capitalist modes of production; revisits the state theory of Bob Jessop and the regulation theory of Kees van der Pijl to rethink the relationship between modes of production and modes of foreign relations in the rise of religious challenges to secularism and globalization of educational ensembles. Following Marx's contributions to the materialist critique of religion and theology (e.g. Roland Boer 2012 *Criticism of Earth*), the paper reconsiders the Postcolonial theoretical challenge to Western supremacy, Marxism, state-sponsored education and its complicity with the rise of militant religious anti-Western education (e.g. Nigeria: Boko Haram, Islamic State) and terrorist challenges to Western secularism (e.g. Charlie Hebdo). The paper argues that there is a creeping return of blasphemy law under the guise of increasing cultural respect and legal recognition for religious traditions as a new form of *deseccularization*. Those thinkers most close to the American-state model of passive secularism are least aware of the threat from religion to the secular state and its necessary defence of anti-blasphemy law and orientations.

### **Ismail Doga Karatepe, The State, Islamists, Bourgeoisie and Imaginaries: The Public Housing Production in Turkey**

Since the Islamist Justice and Development Party (hereafter by Turkish initials, the AKP) came to power in November 2002, the government's direct involvement into the construction industry has drastically expanded. A public agency, the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI) deserves special attention in this regard, especially as it has previously been neglected in academic research. The administration, which had been initially established to carry out social housing projects in the year 1984, became a significant actor in the construction industry. TOKI's share in housing provision has increased drastically in the recent years. Since AKP came to the power, TOKI has built more than 500,000 residential units. Accordingly, this paper explores one of the least studied areas of Turkey's contemporary political economy: the state involvement in the housing sector and seeks, in particular, to answer the following question: Why is there a drastic change in terms of public sectors' role in the housing sector through the activities of TOKI during AKP era? To answer this question, I employ the CPE approach, which introduces critical semiotic analysis into the evolutionary and institutional approaches to the political economy and thus allows me to go beyond the conventional boundaries of orthodox understanding of political economy. With this approach, the problem defined –the AKP governments' involvement in the industry – can be examined in the framework of the interconnections of the various discourses on the problems of the industry (more particularly housing) and the solutions thereof, and distinctive forms and dynamics of institutionalized economic and political settings in Turkey.

### **Nitasha Kaul, A Critique of Economic Logic**

This paper will trace the contours of 'dehumanization' in the contemporary neoliberal era, with a focus on how a particular understanding of rational 'economic logic' globally enables economic

violence and economic injustice. In my book 'Imagining Economics Otherwise: encounters with identity/difference' (Routledge, 2007), I argued for a juxtaposition of questions of identity with questions of the economic. There is a slippage between the notions of economy, economic, and economics which have significant implications for the way in which culture and economy have been understood as separate spheres, with the latter seemingly having a logic of its own. This is questionable since the translations between 'value' and 'values' are only fixed by maintaining as constant and invariant a universal metaphor as the standard which designates value. However, any such fixing of value (in metaphorical invariance of substance, formalism, social conventions and so on) is only achieved by isolating the economic logic from values which are seen to belong to the cultural sphere. What is needed is to deconstruct the economic itself as an a priori possibility. The economic is not something that draws upon a separate understanding of rationality. It is important to realise that within the dominant framework, there is no way of being irrational without also having been uneconomic. The monopoly of economic logic upon rationality per se is what often makes necessary humane and just acts of resistance (personal and collective) seem illogical and irrational.

### **Dominic Kelly, Nuclear Cultures: A Case Study of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant**

This paper examines the life cycle of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP) located near Carlsbad, New Mexico. WIPP is the only functioning deep geological repository for transuranic waste in the United States (US). As such, WIPP offers unique potential for the study of the origins, use, and legacy of nuclear power through the lens of cultural political economy. WIPP invites reflection upon both the social properties of the physical structures associated with the generation of nuclear power and the language and symbols deployed to signal the harmful effects of radiation. A case study of WIPP also contributes to our understanding of the potential and dangers associated with the disposal of nuclear and other wastes in long-term storage facilities planned or under construction in other parts of the world, including Onkalo in Finland and Cumbria in the United Kingdom. Theoretically, the paper deploys Gramscian concepts of hegemony and consent tied to Feenberg's critical theory of technology. Contextually, the paper examines the origins of nuclear power and the role it has played in US history, including strategic choices taken during the 1940s and socio-economic choices regarding the nature of, and possibilities for achieving, 'the good life' in the US taken during the Cold War. Against this background, the paper discusses the decision to locate a deep geological repository near Carlsbad; the accidents that have seen the repository shut down since early 2014; and the debate over how to mark the site as a place of danger for the next ten millennia.

### **Terri Kim, Global Academic Capitalism, International Mobile Academics, and Transnational Identity Capital**

Although academic mobility is coeval with the first European universities, it has become more common and systemic with academic capitalism (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Münch 2014). This is linked to intensified competition between HE institutions over funding for research projects and recruitment of top scholars and skilled academic labour. Individual academics also integrate mobility into their personal career development strategies. Yet it is unclear how internationally mobile academics move within networks and hierarchies of academic institutions. Accordingly, inspired by CPE, my paper analyses some transnational cultural dimensions of knowledge production and

academic mobility and their mutual entanglement. It highlights culture and 'difference' as potential competitive advantages as universities engage in reputational struggles and institutional rent-seeking and open opportunities for academics to cross boundaries, move within networks, and rise up academic hierarchies largely independently of their national origins or present citizenship. My paper explores how academic mobility is entwined with types of knowledge creation (Polanyi 1958; Collins 2010) considered as forms of 'capital' à la Bourdieu (1984, 1986), Kuhn's views about outsiders' role in scientific revolutions (1962), Zenner's 'middleman-minority' theories (1991), and Weber's concept of 'pariah capitalism' (1978). On this basis, I elaborate the concept of 'transnational identity capital' (Kim 2010) and show how mobile academics reflexively use this embodied asset in their geographical and institutional border-transcending and intellectual border-transgressing activities. This is illustrated from mobile academics' biographic narratives gathered through interviews. This shows that cultural and epistemic differences can be integrated into a transnational habitus enabling globally mobile academics to enhance their competitive advantages and create a 'Matthew effect' (Merton 1968) that benefits them individually as well as their institutions. This illustrates the interlocking relations between individual and institutional strategies and their role in the new academic capitalism and the development of knowledge-based economies and societies.

#### **Çağlar Köksal, The Political Economy of Urban Land Market in Istanbul**

This study presents results of ongoing research on the rationales and outcomes of contemporary urbanization in Istanbul as a consequence of political and economic restructuring in Turkey after the 2001 economic crisis, focusing on the role of large-scale urban development projects in Istanbul. The Turkish state, following the crisis in 2001 and the electoral victory of the Justice and Development party in 2002, has embarked on a developmentalist path within which the urban land developments emerged as the main instruments of growth, reproduction, and redistribution. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that rent-extraction-based accumulation strategies have become the key tactical tool employed by the state and local elites to create and distribute the produced land rent, and that the theory of rent is pivotal to examine the policy and political dynamics associated with it. Echoing Harvey's (2010) claim that there is an urgent need to renew rent theory, this study goes beyond the 'capital logic' by coupling urban political economy with urban assemblages of contesting narratives, of human and non-human actors, and of technologies and governmentalities of the neoliberal urbanization. I argue that (1) the messy urbanization in Istanbul is a manifestation of Turkey's unsustainable economy and calculated actions of political elites, (2) hegemonic mega projects emerge as the key areas around which new accumulation regimes and clientelist relations form, and (3) such projects offer important insights into the interplay of power, capital, and land in Turkey.

#### **Janja Komljenovic, Cultural political economy of Framing Markets in Higher Education: The Case of NAFSA Higher Education Conference and Expo**

This paper draws from a larger research project on marketization and market making in the nascent higher education sector. Its aim is to investigate how markets in higher education get imagined, structured, ordered, embedded, and maintained by combining (i) Çalışkan and Callon's theory of market framings with (ii) critical cultural political economy of education - CCPEE. Furthermore, it also aims to epistemologically investigate this particular approach and see how useful CCPEE is in the attempt to look for ontological depth in Çalışkan and Callon's market framings. Empirically it

analyses the case of NAFSA Annual conference and expo. 'NAFSA' stands for the 'Association of International Educators', a non-profit organization from the USA established in 1948 with the aim for US universities to share experience and practices of working with international students. Since its establishment NAFSA grew in size, scope, and diversity; and today it is well known among people who work in international higher education that NAFSA's annual conference and expo is a 'must-go-to' event of the year. This event has all the elements of trade fairs, which are important spatial and temporal formations in the processes of constituting and ordering markets. I will argue first that NAFSA event provides a rich and dynamic communicative ecology necessary for actors to act strategically in ongoing construction of global markets in higher education. In this respect it provides time and space for actors to frame markets as proposed by Çalışkan and Callon. Second, market-making dynamic is highly social set of processes and the economic, the political and the cultural are inseparable parts of it. In this respect ontological flatness of Çalışkan and Callon's theory can be remedied by incorporating CCPEE.

### **Theodore Koutsobinas, Economic Theory and Political Economy for Culture Change Management: What is the Relation and Why it Matters**

Modern behaviour is frequently explained in public policy-making in terms of behavioural culture change models typically involving public interventions in diverse areas such as community participation, consumption, environment, health, transport, tax evasion and education. While there is evidence that a few fundamental theoretical ideas are utilized, such as the notion of cultural capital framework, the present paper expands the analysis to identify and classify the most important foundations of economic theory and political economy, which are relevant for culture management and, especially, culture change policy. An interdisciplinary approach is conducted, which filters eclectic economic and mainly behavioural foundations through insights from other disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology to produce a valuable account of processes of cultural political economy of the modern real world. A key feature of this socioeconomic expansion is that it highlights the role of distribution among different social groups, which belong in different social classes, thus developing a connection of cutting-edge contemporary behavioural and evolutionary economic theory with the distributional foundations of classical political economy along the culturalization process of modern economy. This analysis concludes with the contribution of specific proposals for designing comprehensive and coherent policies for sustainable culture management and adopting suitable practices to improve social welfare in contemporary policy-making in a number of sectors including education, health, public management, social care and the creative sector.

### **David Kreps, Gramsci and Foucault: Hegemony in the Global Episteme**

Does Foucault's focus on the micropolitics in society that add up to and constitute (post-national) governmentality undermine and discount, or complement and mirror Gramsci's concentration on the hegemonic reach of centralized power into the minutiae of social relations? Considering the extant literature, three camps emerge: (1) Marxists for whom Foucault's conception of power ignores historical realities – such as 'the fundamental classes'; (2) poststructuralists for whom Foucault's nominalism precludes any totalizing theoretic such as Gramsci's – and for whom the 'fundamental classes' do not exist; and (3) those for whom these differences constitute the site of



complementarity between the two writers. The third camp does not seem to make any genuine attempt to combine the theories of the two as opposed to granting, in some shape or form, one or the other the upper hand in some fundamental respect. The finest meeting between the two seems to be Laclau and Mouffe's updating of Gramsci's thought into the poststructuralist mode, incorporating an acceptance of the decentring of the subject in poststructuralism, and an abandonment of scientific essentialism, allowing a re-conception of the notion of hegemony as a discursive phenomenon. The implications of this meeting for the philosophical foundations of CPE can be seen in the deployment of consumerism and financialization to legitimise the neoliberal project – a new hegemony that is transnational in the distributed sense that neo-Gramscians would describe, at the same time as determining subjectivities through a Foucauldian governmentality of the global episteme.

### **Wenhua Lai, Deconstructing Creative City Programs: a Taipei Perspectives in Urban Policy**

Since 1990, the Creative City theory has been considered as a theme of urban policy. Various projects, planning and activities have been devised to reach the goal of “urban regeneration” and to foster the creative industries. However, only a few empirical investigations have examined how policy transfer is socially and culturally embedded in localized practices of “creative city”. My paper aims to overcome this weakness by considering governance related to culture and creativity in Asian urban context. It first briefly reviews the socio-historical background of the urban redevelopment and governance in Taipei, Taiwan. Based on the political economic approach, Harvey's notion of “spatial fix” and Sharon Zukin's (1995) concept of “symbolic economy” were adopted to examine why and how the Taipei municipal government has deployed Creative City policies as neoliberal economic strategies to achieve both regional redevelopment and industries transformation. The analysis draws on archival and content analysis to unpack how creative city programs are transferred, including how “creativity” and cultural factors have been reproduced and performed as socially inclusive and culturally innovative models within the institutional, economic and political contexts that eventually contributed merely to the neighborhood revitalization and residential property values. The Taipei case reveals the limitations of Creative City theory and permits a critique of the practices in “culture-led regeneration”. This clearly showed that localized Creative City that emphasizes the symbolic economy and the reproduction of urban space might reconstruct a collective imaginary of creativity that reduces the potential of Taipei being a creative city.

### **Sanjay Lanka and Siddhartha Dabhi, Primitive Accumulation, Sustainable Development and the CDM: Evidence from India**

This paper questions the discourse on sustainable development which is one of the important pillars upon which the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) is based, and analyses the CDM in the wider context of new forms of primitive accumulation to support ‘green’ capitalism. We juxtapose two different case studies from two different Indian states to make sense of the dynamics in the implementation of CDM projects and their impacts on achieving a sustainable livelihood for the rural communities hosting these projects. The paper draws upon the field data collected from the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation's wind energy project in Kutch (Gujarat) and the Danone and Naandi foundation's Araku Valley Livelihood Project in Araku (Andhra Pradesh) using qualitative research methods and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools, and supplement this with technical reports,

project documents and other secondary literature. Through this paper we argue that the failure to achieve sustainable development through CDM projects is not merely due to functional problems in the mechanism, but is a result of deeper contradictions within the CDM which can be resolved through an emphasis on the sustainable livelihood of the people in the community. We make sense of these contradictions with the help of Harvey's notion of uneven development (Harvey, 2006) and De Angelis's continuous primitive accumulation (De Angelis, 2007) in the context of a sustainable livelihood framework (Scoones, 1998).

**Joel Lazarus, Special Session on Beyond Cultural Critique, Toward Cultural Expression: Exploring the Transformative Power of Art-Social Science Collaborations** (in co-operation with Erzsebet Strausz, Ben Cook and Tim Edkins)

This experimental session brings together political economists with artists in an attempt to articulate an embryonic theory and practice of collaborative art-social science. The initiative for an inaugural conference on cultural political economy already reflects the growing seriousness and sophistication with which political economists have critically engaged with the cultural realm. However, while critique is a necessary starting place, for critical scholars a commitment to a philosophy of praxis surely leads beyond critique (observation) towards actually producing culture aimed at social change (transformation).

While acknowledging the importance of academic scholarship, and recognizing academics' efforts to affect social change in their extra-academic activities, our focus here, instead, is on cultural expression specifically in its artistic forms. By means of a conversation between academics and art practitioners, we aim to explore the creative potential of art in the process of social transformation, and in relation to the conventions of social scientific inquiry. Since the power of art to engage the emotions and imaginations of those experiencing it is unparalleled, we must recognize the primary force of art and the position of the artist in the transformative process. What are the (possible) roles of art and social science, as well as of the artist and the social scientist, in the process of social transformation? What are the ways in which various forms of public engagement might give rise to emancipatory practices and emancipatory social theory? How can collaborations between artists and social sciences produce what Ernst Bloch called '*docta spes*' – 'educated hope'?

**Naoise McDonagh, Framing Finance during Crisis: Lessons from Ireland on How to Make the Possible 'Compossible'**

Grounded in cultural political economy (Sum and Jessop, 2013) this paper presents a discourse analysis of framings of finance in Ireland's two leading daily mass media during 2008/9 of the global financial crisis. This analysis highlights the relevance of the concept of 'compossibility' for effective political crisis management of public discourse. A crisis is an event that disrupts the established order of things and provides a moment when the 'dialectic of revolution-restoration' opens up to contestation and struggle (ibid, 2013: 398). Despite this moment of indeterminate plurality all possible responses to a crisis are not in fact 'compossible' in reality, since the latter refers to limitations on the former deriving from 'specific time-space structures and horizons of actions' (ibid, 2013: 4). During Ireland's financial crisis political actors aided by the mass media strategically responded to what was compossible when publicly framing (Entman, 2007) financial institutions as

economically “essential” to justify “bank bailouts”. For example small banks which had strong political connections were not compossible to frame as ‘Too big to fail’ (TBTF). Evidence suggests that in recognition of this fact political actors introduced a second frame of ‘systemic importance’ to Irish public media discourse which became dominant. As a method of public sense-making of Irish bailout policy this frame ‘recontextualized’ (Van Leeuwen, 2008) TBTF in a manner which simultaneously drew on its inherent economic essentialization of finance, providing clarity, while negating its institutional logic of size, creating strategically useful ambiguity. This finding reveals how ideological resources were mobilized effectively when taking into account institutional facts, highlighting culture’s ‘place’ (to borrow a phrase) *in* political economy.

### **Elisabetta Magnani, Firms’ Debt and Labour Adjustments During a Transition. The Experience of Central and Eastern European Economies**

The Global Financial Crisis is a lens through which processes of transformation of capitalist economies can be observed and questioned. A salient feature of this paper is that it investigates the impact of firms’ financial conditions just prior to the GFC on employment of workers differentiated by typology of contract, thus shedding new light on the evolution of capitalism in highly financialized regimes, where global production networks are key driving force for accumulation. I draw important lessons from the experience of Eastern European transitional economies. The fact that the GFC has had an impact on employment is no surprise. More enlightening to understand the current modality of articulation of the finance-labour nexus is that among firms that went through mass layoffs, is the fact that firms experiencing sharp changes in their ability to meet fixed assets investments with their internal funds laid off high human capital employees. These results contradict theoretical labor economics predictions that firms lay off workers in inverse order of the degree of human capital. Ultimately, these results question the traditional separation between precarious and non-precarious labour and hint at some fundamental transformation that the process of financialization has initiated in emerging economies. In a broader sense, this study engages with theories of value that attempt to understand the role of skill in contemporary capitalism and its evolution.

### **Jeroen Merk, Supply Chain Policing Versus Worker Discontent: Applying Concepts Developed by Jacques Rancière to Transnational Private Governance Mechanisms in Global Production Networks**

The last two decades have seen the emergence of various private governance instruments, such as codes of conduct, and social auditing and monitoring initiatives, that seek to implement, monitor and verify labour rights in spatially fragmented but functionally integrated production processes. Much of this ‘supply chain policing’, however, seeks to silence worker voices; prescribe social roles and naturalize hierarchical relationships and appearances. Applying concepts developed by the French philosopher Jacques Rancière that involve dissensus, subjectivation and the performative element of equality, this paper contrasts practices of supply chain policing with eruptions of worker discontent. It seeks to understand how worker struggles at suppliers resonate beyond the immediate site of production through the ‘boomerang model’ and challenge the objects, mechanisms and institutions of supply chain policing. These campaigns not only create a stage, a polemic, that render violations visible; they also seek to alter the perception of what is visible and auditable in global production. If corporate interests pursue closures of the sensible, one that would confine the conceivable and the possible; supply chain discontent constantly seeks to redraw the

'limits of the possible'. By discussing various instances of sociospatial contestation, the question is raised who is a subject of rights and which agent and bodies are sanctioned to be rights arbitrators.

### **Dirk Michel-Schertges, Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education and the Actuality of Critical Theory**

The relation between education and economy is much discussed. On the one hand, education is supposed to create sufficient educated labor to produce goods to satisfy (artificially) produced demands; on the other, economic progress and thus prosperity finance educational infrastructure that promises equal opportunities to share in society's wealth according to individual ability and performance. To overcome this simplistic understanding of social progress and reveal the far more complicated societal forces and power constellations in which education and economy are embedded this paper employs a Critical Cultural Political Economy of Education approach informed by Critical Theory. The aim is to show the dialectical internal relations in the education ensemble comprising culture, politics, and economy. Assuming that contemporary (Western) social formations are best described as "knowledge-based economies", the paper analyses their economic, cultural and political characteristics in relation to the role of knowledge and education in the project of modernity – enlightenment, emancipation and the fulfillment of the realm of freedom. The analysis aims to identify the mode of societal organization that enables both a continuous increase in the stock of knowledge and the paralysis of consciousness. In the field of education, state bureaucracy has been "freed" from its specific organization patterns and been altered into an administration regime dealing with accreditation, accountability and surveillance – which introduces the neo-liberal agenda into educational institutions and legitimates it. Interpreting culture and education from the viewpoint of the production process inevitably poses again the question about the role of culture and education in the process of human development and advance of social justice.

### **Peter Mollinga, Organiser of a Special Panel on CPE and critical Water Studies: An Exploration**

This panel brings together emerging work in the field of critical water studies that uses a CPE approach in its analysis of water use, management and governance. In these studies CPE is used either as a heuristic (a methodological tool for capturing the multidimensionality of water control), and/or a method to link structure and agency in water resources dynamics, and/or as a substantive theoretical approach for analysing the role of the (capitalist) state in water governance. The session explores features, strengths and limitations of the CPE perspective in critical water studies.

### **Peter Mollinga, Cultural Political Economy as an Organizing Perspective for Critical Water Studies: Strengths and Limitations**

The main attraction of taking a CPE perspective to analyse questions related to water use, management and governance seems to be threefold: (1) CPE is an effort to capture the multidimensionality of social dynamics by emphasizing the cultural dimension of political economy and investigate the internal relations of these different dimensions; (2) CPE addresses both the structure and agency dimensions of social reproduction and transformation, and proposes a particular (strategic-relational) way of studying the two in an interlinked manner. Both features link well with different theoretical strands in critical water studies, including increasing interest in

discourse/knowledge, while a CPE perspective could possibly provide way of combining the strengths of these different strands. (3) The object of (most) CPE analysis, the state, is also relevant to water studies, as the state is a, if not the, central actor in water governance. After reviewing different strands of critical water studies from a CPE perspective, the paper discusses two challenges that a CPE approach to water poses: how to address the 'public service provision' character of much water use, management and governance, and how to incorporate the materiality of hydrology, ecology, and technology into the analysis.

### **Phoebe V. Moore, A Cultural Ontology of Wearables and Well-Being**

This paper examines the cultural turn to 'well-being' as translated and adopted into corporate employee offerings in occupational health schemes. Both sense and meaning-making are part of this shift as wearable technologies are introduced into well-being schemes. I integrate methodologies of cultural political economy (CPE) as introduced by Sum (2004, 2005, 2010, 2013), Jessop (2004, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010) and comprehensively by Sum and Jessop (2013); and venture into monist thought through interrogating the 'new materialist' shift, associated with the work of May '68 philosophers Foucault, Irigaray, Deleuze and Guattari who draw on Spinoza, Bergson, Proust and Kafka. In the CPE tradition of post-disciplinarity, I align with these interventions to challenge cultural theorists' reliance on linguistic analysis. For example, a linguistic analysis of the word 'well-being' would not suffice to comprehend how real-time quantification of the self and body works to preserve a hegemonic conceptualization of a mind/body dualism that haunts contemporary cultural conditions. Looking at the use of self-archiving technologies in well-being and productivity schemes, I analyse the construction of a new employable self, or one who can manage herself with such quantifying devices under material conditions of contemporary capitalism.

### **Marie Moran, 'The Social Logic of Capitalism: A Cultural Materialist Approach'**

In this paper I develop the cultural materialist paradigm, associated with Raymond Williams, to explore the everyday power of capitalism, and how people are socialized into a capitalist way of life. I begin with a brief outline of cultural materialism, a variant of cultural Marxism that emphasizes the materiality and social embeddedness of cultural forms and practices. I then offer the notion of a 'social logic of capitalism', which I use formally to refer to how individuals or collectivities act in a way that manifests, embodies, rationalizes or normalizes the principle of capital accumulation. I argue that the 'social logic of capitalism' offers an alternative to the currently popular 'spirit of capitalism' approaches, by encouraging consideration of how certain ideas associated with a capitalist way of life are reproduced in ordinary routine practices, and may not derive from acquiescence to, or persuasion by, capitalist values. The 'social logic of capitalism' also enables us to take seriously the power of the 'cultural' aspects of capitalism – the ideas, values, narratives and beliefs associated with capitalism – without lapsing into idealism, by working from a cultural materialist perspective that appreciates how ideas are located in the practical, material conditions and circumstances by which they are also inevitably shaped. Finally, I make the case that this cultural materialist approach allows us to explore how certain practices and ideas may promote integration into a capitalist way of life, or alternatively, offer resistance to the social logic of capitalism.

### **Ben Neimark, Don't Believe the Biofuel Hype: Bioeconomy Imaginaries and Emerging Politics Surrounding Small-Scale Private Sector Development in Madagascar'**

Biofuels are just one of a host of 'bioeconomy' initiatives that promises to deliver 'inclusive sustainable development' through the development innovations in bio-based products and services in the global south. Yet to critics, biofuels are seen as prime drivers in a global 'land grab,' rainforest clearance, and the dispossession of farmers. Responding to these concerns, firms in Madagascar have shifted production away from commercial farms to small-scale production of the more 'environmentally-friendly' feedstock *Jatropha curcas*. Using a political ecology lens and building upon performance theory and discourse analysis, I provide perspectives of mid-level firm operators, plantation managers, local farmers, and government administrators on the material effects relations and emerging politics surrounding biofuels. I demonstrate that access to *jatropha* land and labour is dependent upon the 'inclusion' of Malagasy in rural development projects and promises of employment. However, rather than delivering on the promises of rural development biofuels have largely emerged as a failed development strategy. This paper examines the unaccounted for power that varied and diverse actors derive by promoting the inclusion of individuals/groups to share in *jatropha* development benefits and the material effects of private sector development.

### **Robert Ogman, Social Neoliberal" Hegemony Strategies in Response to the Crisis**

This presentation examines the "social neoliberal" hegemony strategies in the current crisis conjuncture. Applying a cultural political economy approach, it analyses the efforts to establish a "social investment market" in the U.S. and U.K. These involve a new wave of "public responsibility" initiatives that, rather than constraining market forces, modify, reproduce, and expand market modes of governance in response to new social, political, and economic challenges. The centrepiece of the presentation is an empirical study of the increasingly popular policy instrument known as Social Impact Bonds (SIB). These claim to address growing social needs in a time of fiscal crisis by "mobilizing private capital for public good". They are constructed as a way of addressing social crises exacerbated by austerity while avoiding a politics of redistribution, via the incentivization of private investment in performance-based social policy interventions. These new products claim to provide a win-win-win situation "blending fiscal and social benefits" that increase funding for service provision, provide financial returns to investors, and relieve over-stretched government purses. Conceiving these as part of a "social neoliberal" compromise, I illuminate the attempts to address weaknesses in the dominant austerity paradigm without however (re)turning to a politics of redistribution. It interrogates both the proposed and actual changes in the dynamic relations between state, market, and civil society in the investigated cases, as well as the "responsible capitalism" discourse that accompany these initiatives. Focusing in particular on the tension between their public and private goals, it looks at the opportunities, limitations and contradictions of Social Impact Bonds as a sustainable and transformative reform project.

### **Ebru Deniz Ozan, The Bourgeoisie and Corporate Social Responsibility as a Cultural-Political Strategy in Turkey**

The paper aims to analyse the corporate social responsibility projects in which prominent Turkish capitalist groups have been involved. Considering CSR activities as the tools of new governance,

which are useful in dealing with the problems of neoliberalism, the paper will reveal the role of CSR projects in restructuring capitalist hegemony, especially in terms of the remoralization of capitalism in Turkey. The study investigates whether there are differences among the different sections of the bourgeoisie (newly emerged small Anatolian/Islamic groups and İstanbul/secular big capitalist groups) in terms of their involvement in the projects related with education, environment, health, art and culture. Or can one talk of a common cultural-political strategy or practice of the bourgeoisie in construing and stabilizing capitalist formations and to produce and reproduce neoliberal nationalist-conservative ideology? The paper will also identify the cases in which these projects take the form of ‘social charity’ or ‘social assistance’, since ‘social assistance or charity’, which has become an important ideological tool of recent government and its dominant conservative ideology, seems to be an emergent cultural-political strategy to deal with the problems of neoliberalism.

### **Aykut Öztürk, Fantasy and the Real of “Development”: Ideological, Political and Economic Experiences of Turkey with ‘Development’ during the BRICS age**

This paper intends to explain the relationship between economic growth, political power, developmentalist promises and development itself at the context of Turkey. The first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century was a special period for most of the developing world: most of them experienced a combination of fast economic growth rates and increasing political power of the incumbent leaders. I argue that similar trends resulted in the construction of a particular ideological frame in Turkey: ‘development fantasy’. This ideological frame attempted to fix economic interests of Turkish people to the developmentalist promises of AKP government, and it legitimized increasingly authoritarian rule of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. ‘Development fantasy’ intended to re-activate developmentalist imaginaries already sedimented in Turkey for the benefit of Erdoğanists; yet, how ‘development’ is defined is over-determined by the accumulation relations upon which it is constructed. Finally, I argue that, the specific type of developmentalism in Turkey produced an economic regime unfavourable to economic development in Turkey.

### **Million Gebreyes Reis, Cultural Political Economy of Irrigation Management in North Eastern Ethiopia: The case of Kobi-Girana Valley Development Program**

This paper presents a case study from two villages in North Eastern Ethiopia on government sponsored farmers organization for ground water based irrigated farming. Using cultural political economy, I will show how the state imaginaries of climate risk management and economic growth sometimes overlaps and other times conflict with local communities imaginaries to form a dynamic irrigation water governance system. In line with critical realist perspectives, I will also show the interplay between the lifeworld of local communities and structural characteristics of the political system and the emerging market economy for agricultural products in the study areas and beyond. To enhance the depth of the cultural dimensions of the political economy of irrigation farming in the study areas, I will make a brief comparison between the highly regulated ground water irrigation schemes and only a moderately regulated river diversion irrigation scheme and traditionally managed flood diversion systems operating in the same study areas. This last comparison would also allow me to explain the impact of irrigation technology choice, namely farrow, drip and sprinkler, on the governance systems. The overall conclusion of the paper is that irrigation governance is a result

of relational interplay of politics, economy, technology and culture, as opposed to deterministic views on one or the other of these.

**Nadine Reis, Political Cultures of Water Management: Towards a Cultural Political Economy of Natural Resources**

The national state is the main arena of natural resources governance: the space where (formal and informal) decisions over rules and regulations to 'improve' the use of natural resources, and the distribution of the benefits of the access to them, are taken. Since the 1990s, state Natural Resources Management (NRM) increasingly exists in reference to globalized ideas on environmental governance. The paper starts from the assumption that the functioning and outcomes of policy practices in NRM cannot only be understood from a political economy perspective, since (even in authoritarian states) decisions on NRM are taken with reference to domestic ideas on political legitimacy. As Jessop (2008) pointed out, the forms in which legitimacy is institutionalized and expressed, is contingent. Departing from a critical realist perspective, this paper explores the usefulness of an analytical framing of varying forms of political legitimacy in NRM through the concept of political culture. Political culture is defined as a structure of meaning, consisting of a set of implicit or explicit cultural propositions conditioning practice. Drawing on political culture theory (Almond, 1989), it is suggested that there are three dimensions of political cultural systems potentially relevant in state NRM: system culture, process culture, and policy culture. The theoretical propositions are illustrated with examples from water management practices in Vietnam and Mexico. Future research could aim to investigate how political cultural systems are (re)produced in bureaucratic practices, and how they interrelate with the material dimension of NRM in different Cultural Political Economies.

**Bjarke Skærlund Risager, The Multiple Geographies of Protest in Times of Crisis and Austerity: The Blockupy Movement's "Resistance in the Heart of the European Crisis Regime"**

With the Blockupy mobilization against the opening of the new ECB headquarters in Frankfurt in March 2015, Europe saw one of the biggest anti-austerity protests since the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008. Inspired by the sociospatial TPSN framework (Jessop et al., 2008) and cultural political economy (e.g. Sum & Jessop, 2015), the paper explores the discursive, material and embodied construction of an alternative *sociospatial imaginary* by the subaltern actors involved. Drawing on various primary texts, participant observation and in-depth interviews with participants, the paper discusses (1) the construction of the transnational Blockupy *network*, (2) the juxtaposition of the *territory* of austerity Europe with that of an alternative Europe 'from below', and (3) the ECB premises as the *place* of protest – importantly, these sociospatial categories are not treated as separated but as intersecting. With its multidimensional approach, the paper contributes to the growing body of literature on the spatialities of social movements and to the emerging field of cultural political economy as it interrogates which role social movements might have in the latter.



### **John Michael Roberts, Manuel Castells, Cultural Technological Determinism, and Organizational Forms in Information Societies: A Bakhtinian-Marxist Critique**

Manuel Castells has justly won acclaim for his astute insights on the rise of the informational network society. However, one prominent criticism argues that Castells unnecessarily develops a technologically determinist narrative that reduces social relations to the development of information communication technologies. The paper broadly agrees with this criticism. Yet, it is also important to recognise that Castells is well aware of the dangers of technological determinism, which is why he pays careful attention to how networks and new technology operate through the contingencies of everyday cultural and organizational forms of life. To develop the critical response to Castells, it is therefore important to understand in detail how culture and technological determinism operate side-by-side in his discursive representation of organizational forms in so-called informational capitalism. The paper argues that Castells's theory of informational networks appears to employ something akin to what the Bakhtin Circle term as a 'heteroglossic' discourse analysis that takes seriously struggles around cultural resources and power relations in network societies. Nevertheless, Castells reinstates what the Bakhtin Circle term as a 'monological' discourse embedded in cultural technological determinism because, ultimately, he fails to recognise fully how the organizational form of culture and technology refract the contradictions of core and fundamental exploitative capitalist processes. For this reason, as the Bakhtin Circle observes, technological determinism is a contradictory discourse that can leave room for factors like cultural agency while disregarding other more important contradictions at play in social relations.

### **Susan L. Robertson & Roger Dale, Toward a 'Critical Cultural Political Economy' Account of the Globalizing of Education**

This paper outlines the basis of an alternative theoretical approach to the study of the globalization of 'education' - a Critical, Cultural Political Economy of Education (CCPEE) approach. Our purpose here is to bring this body of concepts – critical, cultural, political, economy— into our interrogation of globalizing projects and processes within what we will refer to as the 'education ensemble' as the topic of enquiry, whose authoritative, allocative, ideational and feeling structures, properties and practices, emerge from and play into global economic, political and cultural processes. In the first half of the paper we introduce and develop the concepts that will underpin our approach. In the second half of the paper we explore the explanatory potential and epistemic gain of a CCPEE approach by examining the different manifestations of the relationship between globalization as a political, cultural and economic project and an education ensemble. We conclude by reflecting on the possibilities this perspective offers.

### **Steve Rolf, Upgrading or Switching Crisis? State Strategy and Contested Economic Rebalancing in Dongguan, China**

My work attempts to operationalise Justin Rosenberg's work on uneven and combined development in order to conduct mixed methods research incorporating a macro political economic reading of state power in China, alongside a concretization of this analysis with reference to social-political developments and conflicts in the export metropolis of Dongguan, Guangdong. In Dongguan, efforts to upgrade industry are faltering (in comparison to moves up the value chain in the urban

landscapes of Shenzhen and Shanghai, for instance). A policy implementation gap, and a commitment to low wage export production amongst bureaucratic capital, are rubbing up against state rebalancing and upgrading policies and a semi-insurgent labour movement. Failure in switching towards a high value, innovative growth model, while wage and policy pressures are too great to remain fully committed to low value added exports, local state managers and capitals have converged on a limited program of 'robotization' - which seeks to very rapidly automate production. This process is highly problematic and represents a large capital investment, which risks the industrial future of the city. Much 'footloose' capital is voting with its feet and flooding away from manufacturing and into property-led development. I would like to draw out some of the semiotic aspects involved in the negotiation and implementation of recent local state strategies and look at how the balance of class forces is reflected in and altered by the messy developmental trajectory being induced.

### **Ellen Russell, The Semiotic Landscape of Worker Bargaining Power in Neoliberal Capitalism**

This presentation examines the shaping of contemporary labour markets by both semiotic and extra semiotic influences. Via an examination of labour market outcomes in Canada, this research considers how the interaction of discursive and public policy influences has contributed to wage stagnation and growing inequality. Borrowing from traditions within political economy, worker bargaining power is analysed in terms of threat effects (lock-outs, strikes, reputational damage etc.) and worker fall-back positions (their capacity to rely on state or community sources of support should workers be fired or face other adverse consequences). These attributes of workers' bargaining power are undoubtedly influenced by public policies (such as austerity policies that undermine social entitlements such as unemployment insurance) as well as many factors that are common in more economic analyses (such as the unemployment rate). Worker bargaining power is also influenced by economic and political imaginaries that shape worker (and employer) perceptions of entitlements, possibilities and desirabilities. These dimensions include conceptions of the relative contribution and merit of labour and capital, the purported social entailments of worker and capitalist militancy, and the feasibility of alternative economic outcomes. These many discursive factors shape workers' and employers' interpretations of what constitutes a reasonable, possible and desirable distribution of income. This presentation will consider ways that these discursive and public policy dynamics influence each other. The framing of discursive possibilities and necessities influence the architecture of public policies, while public policies shape the evolution of economic imaginaries. In turn, both of these analytic trajectories shape worker bargaining power.

### **Andrew Sayer, Critical Realism, Political Economy and Critique**

Has critique "retreated into the 'small world' of academe, where it enchants itself with itself without ever being in a position to really threaten anyone about anything." as Pierre Bourdieu claimed? Often it seems that it has, given its elitist character, marked by distance from necessity and everyday concerns, and its obsession with its founding scriptures. I will argue that it doesn't have to be like this. To revive critique we first need to overcome the aversion that both critical theory and cultural studies have to talk of human nature, and adopt a qualified naturalism based on people as sentient, social beings as part of wider nature. Here we can rediscover and expand the kinds of critique found in classical political economy and Marx in his early Aristotelian work, and address questions of well-

being, flourishing and suffering. Second, we need to challenge the assumption of both conservatives and radicals that objectivity and values are incompatible. Third, we need to combine 'engineering' critiques of political economic practices with ethical critiques, dealing with justice and well-being. Lastly, critique in social science needs to bring our relation to the environment and biosphere from the margins to the centre of our attention.

#### **Mikael Stigendal and Jonas Alwall, Proposing, Founding and Incorporating Knowledge Alliances**

Putting culture in its place in political economy also entails putting knowledge in its place in Cultural Political Economy (CPE). By seeing knowledge as a form of semiosis, CPE may help us understand how knowledge respond to needs of complexity reduction and expresses itself in more extensive networks of concepts, beliefs and symbols. But knowledge is also structuration and reduces complexity even in the other basic form of CPE. In both these senses, knowledge is practice and production. It is the production of meaning but also of ourselves as knowledge producers as well as consumers. This enables a wider definition of knowledge and the article will argue for the existence of four basic forms; empirical, theoretical, practical and tacit knowledge. The current distinction between excellence and relevance hinders such a wider view of knowledge as it associates excellence with only empirical and/or theoretical knowledge. For scientific knowledge to become excellent it has to be relevant and take all the four forms of knowledge seriously, for example by working together with stakeholders of different kinds. To conceptualise this, the paper will introduce the concept of knowledge alliance, favoured recently by the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö. The objectives of the paper are to introduce and define the concept of knowledge alliance, anchor it in the philosophy of critical realism and argue for its incorporation in CPE.

#### **Ngai-Ling Sum, Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Staging an Encounter between Marx, Gramsci and Foucault**

Cultural political economy is a broad theoretical current that integrates the 'cultural turn' (i.e., a concern with discourse and inter-subjective meaning-making) with critical political economy. It differs from the post-Marxist discourse analysis and constructivist approaches, which tend to focus one-sidedly on the constructive, performative role of ideas and discourses and to neglect the specific features and dynamic of the capitalist order. Whereas post-Marxist discourse analysis (e.g., Laclau and Mouffe 1985) follows de Saussure in highlighting the arbitrary, conventional relationship between signifier and signified, the CPE approach also explores actual or potential referents of signification in the real world. It argues that discourse involves more than an arbitrary play of signifiers confined to a linguistic or symbolic realm because the selection, retention, and institutionalization of discourses depends in part on structural, technological, and agential selectivities and the potential for social transformation in the 'extra-discursive' realm. This interest in the relation between the semiotic and extra-semiotic also distinguishes CPE from constructivist approaches (e.g., Blyth 2002). For, paraphrasing Orwell, while all construals are equal as significations, they are not equally performative. One way to explore the interface between the semiotic and extra-semiotic is to stage an encounter between Marx, Gramsci and Foucault. This paper will examine such encounter via our kinds of selectivities and seven moments.

**Ngai-Ling Sum, A Cultural Political Economy of Corporate Social Responsibility: The Languages of 'Stakeholders' and the Politics of New Ethicalism**

This entry presents a cultural political economy (CPE) approach to the discourses and practices of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the context of global neoliberal capitalism. It is divided into four parts. The first briefly explains the main features of a cultural political economy approach. The second examines the changing nature of global capitalism with special reference to the rise of global production-retail chains such as Wal-Mart. The term Wal-Martization is introduced to capture the changing social relations between retailers, suppliers and labour along the global chains. As these chains were extended into developing countries, there was mounting criticisms of their impact on local labour and environmental conditions. These criticisms are evident in the demand for greater corporate responsibility reflected in the rise of consumer activism, local protests and NGO name-and-shame activities. Part three examines corporate responses to such criticisms. In particular, it examines attempts to reinvent corporate relations with society by promoting a business case for corporate social responsibility. This is reflected in the institutionalization of codes of conducts and then the 'stakeholder engagement' discourses and practices. The fourth part investigates how 'stakeholders' are constructed as objects of governance and illustrates this from two cases. These show how stakeholder engagement discourses and practices are managerialized and technicalized through UN Global Compact and World Bank Stakeholder Analysis methodology. They indicate how CSR operates more in terms of 'new ethicalism' that is continuously resisted by civic activism. The paper ends with some theoretical and empirical remarks on the contribution of CPE to our understanding of language and politics.

**Nader Talebi, Maziar Samiee and Yashar Darolshafa, Toward a Cultural Political Economy of Justice in Pre- and Post-Revolutionary Iran**

This study draws on the (trans-)formations of the concept of "Justice" regarding the dominant economic and political imaginaries in Iran in three periods, before, during, and after the revolution. Drawing primarily on the CPE theoretical toolbox, our analysis studies different dimensions of Justice with regard to the spatio-temporal horizons of action of political forces and their relation to different economic and political imaginaries in Iran in three periods or waves of development promoted by the Iranian national state. The first wave (1925-1941) terminated with the occupation of the country by Allied forces. In contrast to the first one, the next two waves were based on comprehensive central planning. Thus, in the second wave (1963-1979), the development plans accounted for an average growth rate of 9.6 percent for almost 15 years that was more than the average of any other 'developing' countries. The disastrous consequence of this growth in terms of inequality and injustice prepared the ground for the 1979 revolution. In the third wave, despite its initiative 10 years rejection by Islamists as an American approach to the government, planning restarted from 1989 and formed the base of development in the next 16 years. The main material for this analysis is the "Development Plans" from 1963 to 2006. Addressing the quest for the lost glory and aiming to catch up with the 'west', planning the development has been a crucial part of governance since the formation of central modern state in Iran in the early 20th century. Of particular interest is how different articulations of "Justice" serve different (counter-) hegemonic projects and political agendas in Iran.

### **Oscar Valiente, The Role of Ideas and Agency in the Adoption of a Global Education Policy: the Case of Dual Vocational Education and Training in Mexico**

International political economy has proven to be a very powerful framework for the study of the influence of global processes, actors and ideologies on national education policies. It has unveiled the economic and political factors that underlay the emergence of a globally structured education agenda and the mechanisms used by global actors to promote and disseminate this agenda all over the world. More recently, political economists have also recognized the importance of cultural factors, and have been trying to incorporate them into the explanation of globalization in education. However, cultural political economy accounts of globalization are still mainly focused on the macro processes and factors that shape national education policymaking and pay less attention to the micro-dynamics that explain why national and local actors adopt global education policies and how they implement them in their own contexts. Doing research on the reasons behind the adoption of global education policies by policy-makers implies the recognition that ideas and national agency matter in the globalization of education policies, raising several questions about how to integrate the role of ideas in the dialectical explanation of policy decisions. The paper reviews current theoretical developments on policy adoption in education and apply them to the analysis of the reasons behind the adoption of the German model of dual VET by the federal government of Mexico. Results are based on intensive fieldwork that includes interviews with key stakeholders in different levels of government, development agencies, the business sector and civil society.

### **Gareth Walker, Revisiting Water Privatization and commoditization in England and Wales**

The English and Welsh private water sector is frequently enlisted as a centrepiece in privatization debates. Advocates point to increased environmental performance and increased investment. Critics note a significant retraction of the early free market aspirations and increasingly prescriptive regulation. However, market mechanisms and liberalization are once again being emphasized in policy, reigniting the debate surrounding the commoditization of water. This paper develops Karen Bakker's 'Uncooperative Commodity' approach to the reregulation of the industry in an attempt to accommodate these recent developments. To do so, the paper employs a Cultural Political Economy perspective, which places a strong emphasis socio-historical context and the co-evolution of material conditions and institutional arrangements with the semiotic construction of "economic imaginaries". The paper argues such an approach allows research into the commoditization of water to place a greater emphasis on socio-historical contingency when examining water's materiality.

### **Clare Walsh, Quality Assurance Networks as a Process of Educational Change in the Arab Gulf: Bringing Civil Society into a Moment in the Politics of Education**

In the context of the Arab world, analysis of education has to move away from cultural forms such as Western modernity and the tendency to reduce the cultural to policy discourse and move towards a framework that is underpinned ontologically and epistemologically allowing for an understanding of the causal powers of the cultural aspects of the ensemble and the particular conditions under which they are activated in relation to the political and economy of education. By examining a moment in the politics of education (Robertson & Dale, 2014) this paper considers if and how Arab civil society quality assurance networks impact on the regionalization of higher education across the Arab Gulf.

By analysing the education ensemble through the cultural and civilizational element of civil society, the aim is to identify if Arab quality assurance networks have a role in the regionalization of higher education, with what power and with what impact.

**Philip Woodhouse, Reform, Restitution and Restoration: Water Resource Allocation in Mpumalanga, South Africa**

The paper traces the implementation of reforms in water resource management since the National Water Act of 1998 in the Inkomati Catchment Management Area. It focusses on the water allocation discourse through which the predominant water user, white-owned commercial agriculture, has negotiated with emerging competing demands for water for forestry, for alternative types of agriculture, for ecological conservation and for water supply to growing urban areas. The paper argues that existing commercial agricultural interests have largely succeeded in maintaining their access to water. It analyses the cultural political economy of water and land re-allocation and institutional change through which this outcome has emerged and considers the role of competing systems of values for water in this process to date.

**Galip L. Yalman, Class, Crisis and Hegemony**

Nicos Poulantzas contended back in the 1970s that it is imperative to combine “the transformation of representative democracy with the development of forms of direct, rank-and-file democracy”. This contention gains saliency for the development of an alternative strategy of counter-hegemony given the contemporary dominance of neoliberalism as “passive revolution”. Indeed, Poulantzas explicitly underlined the need for “the continuous support of a mass movement founded on broad popular alliances” for avoiding the danger of a “passive revolution”. Yet also emphasized the role played by crises in “the reproduction of class domination” or, rather, “the restoration of unstable class hegemony”. These become pertinent issues and gain both theoretical and political saliency in the wake of the protracted crisis of global capitalism, given the different forms of resistance to neoliberalism in several countries in the periphery of the capitalist world. This paper will summarize the role played by the economic and political crises experienced in enhancing or debilitating the possibilities of combining what Poulantzas conceived as an imperative and/or developing a counter-hegemonic strategy with a focus on the recent experience in Turkey under AKP rule. In particular, it will ponder whether we are coming to the end of a protracted process in which crises functioned as driving forces of neoliberal transformation by putting the Turkish experience in a comparative framework with a special reference to the mounting challenges to neoliberal hegemony in the crisis prone countries of the Eurozone.