

IPEG 2016 Programme

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Friday PM

1 Friday 14th: 13.15-14.45: Panels and Roundtables

1.1 Roundtable: Class Struggle after Brexit

Roundtable, proposer: David Bailey

The Brexit debate has highlighted major divides within British politics and the politics of the left. The Labour Party divided roughly between luke warm support from the left and enthusiasm from the right. The trade union movement saw most unions - with the exception of the more militant RMT - support Remain. Some of the far left advocated Lexit in opposition to the neoliberal EU. And a significant proportion of the Labour Party's natural constituency voted Brexit, which has been interpreted by many as an anti-establishment vote as well as prompted by fears of falling wages resulting from heightened immigration. The fallout from Brexit also causes serious concerns for the working class: How to avoid any of the resulting economic harm falling on the shoulders of the least privileged? How to avoid an exacerbation of nationalism and the scapegoating of migrant workers? It also raises the question of what class struggle should look like in the context of deep political divisions and impending economic crisis. How should workers organise in the current context? How does the class struggle relate to the parliamentary process, the Labour Party and Corbyn? Who, anyway, is the working class in this Brexit context? How, if at all, can those of us that work in universities contribute to the Brexit-era working class struggle? This roundtable, sponsored by the journal *Capital and Class*, provides a forum in which to consider these questions, with a summary to be published in the journal's *Behind The News* section.

Confirmed speakers:

[David Bailey, Birmingham](#)

[Phoebe Moore, Middlesex](#)

[Owen Worth, Limerick](#)

Key words: Brexit, class struggle

[1.2 Panel: The Political Economy of Development](#)

[Dr Mark Langan, Leicester](#)

Brexit and the moral economy of UK trade with Anglophone Africa

The United Kingdom's decision to withdraw from the European Union (Brexit) will have major repercussions for trade and 'development' in Anglophone Africa. Many English speaking states such as Ghana, Kenya and Uganda remain disproportionately dependent upon export of primary agricultural commodities to the UK market. This owes to the legacies of the British Empire and failure to sufficiently diversify in terms of economic production patterns and trade partner destinations. Accordingly, this article examines the likely impact of Brexit upon Anglophone African trade and economic growth. In particular, it assesses the implications of the UK's necessary withdrawal from Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) currently being concluded between African countries and the European Commission. Applying a moral economy framework, it highlights official UK government and 'Brexiteer' discourse concerning the fair treatment of Commonwealth countries, including Anglophone Africa, with respect to trade and economic relations. From this moral economy vantage, it assesses likely trade scenarios to be considered by the UK Department for Trade and Industry, as well as African trade officials, as they move towards a post-Brexit partnership. It also examines the likely agency of UK and African Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in campaigning for 'pro-poor' trade arrangements between the UK and Commonwealth Africa. In this vein, the article draws critical attention to contestations of UK free trade doctrines in light of poverty reduction commitments.

Jorg Wiegratz, Leeds

Towards a cleaner capitalism? Anti-fraud measures in neoliberal Africa

Decades into the neoliberal transformation, a number of African economies are characterised by significant levels of economic trickery and crime. Notably, some governments - together with aid organisations and specialist anti-fraud companies - have recently undertaken a range of countermeasures in the name of fighting related practices and improving levels of transparency, propriety and product quality in their economies in order to boost consumer confidence, economic growth and development. The characteristics of these anti-fraud measures deserve analytical attention. This paper offers an analysis of selected anti-fraud initiatives in a range of African countries (especially Uganda); particular attention is given to respective political economy aspects.

Joanne Tomkinson, SOAS

Critiquing development pessimism in the age of neoliberalism: experiences from Ethiopia

This paper critiques the heterodox development literature's tendency toward pessimism about prospects for economic development under neoliberalism. Cumulatively the conditionalities and policy pressures of IFIs and donors, the rules of multilateral, regional and bilateral trade and investment agreements, and global market changes in the areas of production and finance, are often said to have so narrowed the scope for policies directed at structural transformation, that the 'policy space' for industrial policies (such as those used by East Asian developmental states) has all-but closed. This paper explores the problematic assumptions underlying such pessimism, and the developmental state literature upon which it is premised. It argues that such structural processes and pressures are all contested political, as well as economic processes, that do not have uniform effects on developing states. An analysis of the political economy of development and industrial policy in Ethiopia then shows how the uneven architecture of the global neoliberal order impacts, and is in turn resisted by, one of the world's poorest countries.

Elitsa Garnizova, LSE

Resisting change: role of agents and interactions in EU Trade policy

Trade policy can be shaped by evidence-based analysis and by the ideas agents hold on what constitutes a 'good trade policy' or about what policy works best. In the current trend beyond tariff liberalization, non-tariff measures raise numerous questions on what is appropriate, necessary and legitimate in trade. That is because the definition, choice and procedures to implement these measures are neither natural nor unproblematic. In addressing the broader question of how non-tariff measures are formulated, I explore the intersection between the domestic and European level in the broader context of what has been generally seen as a neoliberal shift in the international trading system. I trace the long-term trends in EU trade policy-making since the 1970s and argue that the European Commission in its interaction with member states has managed to resist a definitive shift to neoliberal ideas. Expanding on constructivist work in International Political Economy by among others Francesco Duina; Rawy Abdelal, Mark Blyth and Craig Parsons; Ferdi De Ville and Jan Orbie, I seek to understand ideational change and continuities, expanding the role of agents and interactions. This is studied through a case study of the developments of EU's public procurement policy towards third-countries as an aspect of trade policy making.

Key words: Trade, neoliberalism, public procurement

2 Friday 14th 15.00-16.30: Panels

2.1 Panel: Neo-Liberalism: the politics of resistance and reaction

Holly Snaith, Copenhagen

Theorising Brexit and European (dis)integration

Irrespective of the outcome of Britain's in-out EU referendum ('Brexit'), the very calling of the vote poses a challenge to theories of integration. With the realisation of the vote determined largely by internal rifts within Britain's Conservative party (as the victors at the previous election), the case of Brexit provides a challenge both as an example of EU *disintegration* and as a case where the causal factors are strongly localized within the UK. Drawing on earlier research (Jensen and Snaith 2016) this paper provides an account of the implications of the EU referendum's domestic politics for theorizing the EU. Liberal intergovernmentalism is examined as a model for the two-level game negotiation between Britain and the EU, but ultimately shown to be problematic as an account of the role of preference formation, particularly where interest groups are concerned. The article thus concludes by suggesting that post-functionalism could more meaningfully be used to account for Britain's peculiarly domestic problems. This has implications not only for how we theorise British political conditions, but also for the increasingly numerous examples of other member states chafing against European integration in an era of multiple crises.

Can Cemgil, Istanbul Bilgi

Political economy of recent developments in Turkey

Abstract tbc

Owen Worth, Limerick

How does IPE confront the Reactionary Right?

As recent debates within the discipline of IPE have shown us, whilst there are many have been many endeavours and many purposes behind the study of IPE, there remains a body of thought that believes IPE has a commitment towards emancipation and contestation. Whilst much has been written about the many forms of resistance and contestation to neoliberalism, the failure of the political left to build coherent strategies to reflect these criticisms has contributed to the growth of a reactionary right that has increasingly emerged into mainstream politics. Whilst, the growth of the far right was initially seen as a form of hegemonic response to neoliberalism, recent developments has seen a move towards a merger of economic market ideology with factors such as anti-multiculturalism, anti-immigrations and organic nationalism, that have long been associated with the far-right. The success of Donald Trump's campaign in the US has merely reflected this development. In light of such moves, this paper argues that it has been the failure of the left and of those generally associated within political economy to have confronted these moves and calls for a wider commitment to confront and counter the myths and narratives that have developed with the far right.

Matthew Eagleton-Pierce, Soas

On the Resilience of Neoliberal Capitalism

This paper seeks to contribute to current thinking on the so-called 'resilience' of ideas associated with the neoliberal period of capitalism. Within academic debates, neoliberal ideas have been increasingly depicted as open-ended, hybridized and malleable, with a capacity for diverse applications across institutional spaces. Despite apparent failures, doubts, and cynicism tied to neoliberal practices, the associated justificatory language has proved highly adaptable. The paper argues that our understanding of this apparent paradox has been hampered by two problematic tendencies: (1) forms of conceptual narrowing or essentialism, including too much explanatory weight given to a particular notion, intellectual figure, or discipline; and (2) a neglect for how ideologies tied to neoliberalism both discipline and inspire subjects, sometimes within the same moment. In response, the paper maps out a broader approach for studying sources of justification informing neoliberal ideational resources. Five sources are debated: (1) historical epistemic formations linked to earlier periods of capitalism; (2) management rationality; (3) specialist knowledge fields; (4) consumerism; and (5) alternative orders that are partially exploited by capitalism. In contrast to many accounts of neoliberalism that only focus on one of these dimensions, the paper tries to decipher the relations between such themes. Such analysis not only alerts researchers to why neoliberal ideas will likely remain potent, but also seeks to offer guidance on how to understand the relations between elite and everyday experiences of capitalist modernity.

2.2 Panel: Governance and crime

Don Crewe, Leeds Beckett

Crime, Responsibility and Justice: Towards a Post-Criminological Age

This paper makes the claim that criminology is, at heart, a modernist enterprise, with the attendant teleological functionalism that gives rise to arbitrary and tyrannical classification. The tyranny is that of the subjectification of the other. This other is cast as the 'subject of criminology', that is, she is cast in such a way as to serve the ends of the criminological enterprise. In this circumstance, criminology fails in one of its key tasks: to promote justice. This paper makes the claim that engagement with the ethics of Emanuel Levinas provides a foundation for a post-criminological age and a new opportunity for justice.

Paul White, Leeds Beckett

From Putney to Icann

This paper makes the case that the struggle for democracy against powerful vested interests, which in previous centuries found expression at the nation-state level, can today be extended into the emerging political sphere of public-private global governance institutions. In developing this argument, the paper draws on the case of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), an organisation that has experimented with a global electoral mechanism for its executive body in the past. Some lessons from this experiment are explored, and the possibilities for a revival of ICANN's electoral mechanism are discussed. In exploring these issues, comparisons are made between the situation in ICANN today, and the one that existed at national level in England in the pre-democratic era. It is argued that a revival of ICANN's democratic mechanisms would do much to legitimise the organisation and ensure its accountability to the global Internet-using public. It is further argued that a successful revival of some form of representative democracy in the case of ICANN could act as a useful demonstration of the

feasibility and desirability of democratisation in other global public-private policymaking bodies.

3 Friday 14th 17.00-18.45: Keynote Roundtable: The Political Economy of Brexit

Prof. Paul Cammack, Manchester

Prof. Stephen Gill, York University Canada

Third speaker tbc

Saturday AM

4 Saturday 15th 9.30-11.00: Panels

4.1 Panel: Post-communism and the 'international' a

This is the first of a pair of linked panels on this theme, proposed by Stuart Shields, Manchester.

This panel sets out to ask how has Eastern Central Europe's post-communist transition been configured by the mediation of the 'international'. Adopting an innovative set of contrasting approaches from International Political Economy the panel explores the role of the 'international' in Eastern Central Europe. Much analysis of the relationship between domestic and international changes in post-communism is informed by an Area Studies methodological nationalism that conflates society with state and national territory as the unit of analysis where post-communist development is often represented as a relatively straightforward division between internal /domestic factors and external/international factors; the latter especially driven by specific institutions. The panel challenges contributors to reverse this methodological nationalism and focus on the permissive role of the 'international' in configuring post-communism. The contributors to the panel tease out the relationship between the local, the national state, regional and international, exploring the articulations of new institutional and regulatory landscapes supported by emerging functional logics and political imperatives promulgated by readings of the 'international'.

Nicole Lindstrom, York

EU State Aid Policy in the Enlarged EU after the Crisis: What explains the disproportionate rise of state aid in New Member States since 2010?

Christina Plank, Vienna

Understanding the oligarchic state: The agrofuels project in post-Soviet Ukraine

Jokubas Salyga, Nottingham

Transition as Efficient Coordination? Beyond Institutional Varieties of Baltic Capitalisms

Daniel Šitera, Charles University, Prague/University of Leipzig

EU Cohesion Agenda and the East-Central European State: Fixing the Capitalist Development on Europe's Periphery.

4.2 Panel: The Political Economy of "Troubled Families"

Proposer: Daniella Tepe-Belfrage, Sheffield.

The Troubled Families Programme was one of the flagship programs of the previous coalition government and the current conservative government to change the lives of Britain's "problem" families, aimed at disciplining the lifestyles of families facing multiple problems, including children truanting or being involved in antisocial behavior due to the costs for the "public purse." The panel demonstrates the significance of the TFP in revealing a fundamental shift in the role of social policy from addressing the causes of poverty to managing (or governing) the effects of poverty. As such this panel will look locate the conservatives' flagship programme to tackle broken Britain, worklessness and poverty in general, in a wider context of 'disciplinary neoliberalism'.

Paper givers:

Dani Tepe-Belfrage, Liverpool

Joe Turner, Sheffield

Michael Lambert, Lancaster

Charlotte Hargreaves, Derby

4.3 Panel: Corporate Management and the role of the corporation

Hugo Radice, Leeds

The rise and fall of managerialism: from Veblen to shareholder value

The study of the politics of corporations embraces not only their relationship to the state, but the complex network of relations to their competitors and suppliers, to organised labour and to citizens/customers. The mix of cooperation and competition that characterises relations with these elements of the corporate environment clearly helps to constitute and shape the 'state politics' of corporations. However, equally important in this regard are the social relations *internal* to the corporate form of capitalism. In modern times, while the relation between owners and workers has always been more visibly problematic, that between the owners of the corporation and its executive management has been just as significant. Furthermore, for many schools of thought on corporations, the question of management has been seen as closely related to the class structure of the wider society. This paper looks at the history of managerialism as a distinct social force shaping the corporation and its wider politics.

Terry Hathaway, York

Liberal Idealism, Disciplinarity & Corporate Power

In recent years, corporate power has moved from being a vastly understudied topic, to having a small and developing literature. Yet, this literature gives mostly a truncated account of the corporation, understanding solely as an actor in the political arena. One of the primary reasons for this problem is that the nature of the corporation is obscured by transdisciplinary liberal ideas, particularly of there being a public, governmental, political realm and a separate private, market, economic realm. In response to this situation, this

paper works to, first, document the impact of liberal idealism on studies of corporate power and to, second, suggest an alternative to liberal idealist foundations.

Christopher May, Lancaster

Multinational Corporations in World Development - 40 years on

In light of the 2014 Ecuador-sponsored resolution at the UN Human Rights Council to examine the link between Transnational Corporations and Human Rights, in this paper I review the first major discussion at the United Nations of the role of multinational corporations. The report on Multinational Corporations in World Development (1973) for the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs launched the (then) new UN Centre on Transnational Corporations. I examine the report in some detail, compare and contrast this with the Ecuadorian resolution from 2014, and reflect on the continuities and changes in attempts to regulate the conduct of global corporations over the forty years between these two moments.

5 Saturday 15th 11.15-12.15: Keynote Lecture

Prof. Isabella Bakker, York University Canada

Macroeconomics and Social Reproduction: Growth, Governance and Global Political Economy.

6 Saturday 15th 12.15-13.15: Lunch and AGM

Saturday PM

7 Saturday 15th 13.15-14.45 Panels and Roundtables

7.1 Panel: Popular finance, credit and insecurity

Adrienne Roberts, Manchester

Financializing Social Reproduction through Debt-Driven Development

This paper seeks to expand the focus of most accounts of ‘financialization’ by drawing attention to some of the myriad ways in which global processes of financialization are shaped by, and in turn affect, the place-based relations of social reproduction. Using examples from the UK, which is an advanced capitalist economy, and Pakistan, a so-called ‘developing’ country, I argue that debt is one of the many ways in which social reproduction is being linked to global financial markets, albeit in contextually specific ways. I argue further that there is a fundamental contradiction between financialized capital accumulation and progressive and sustainable forms of social reproduction, which means that as they are increasingly articulated in relation to each other, they also risk undermining the well-being of some of the least well-off members of society.

John Morris, UCL

Indifference as a Derivative Security Logic: Accounting for the ‘Hyper –Reality’ of Loss in An Embodied Economy.

This article is concerned with a relationship between finance and security presented in critical security studies. The focus is, then, the purported security logic of the financial derivative. I attend to a critical security literature which has made the case that derivatives- by virtue of their ability to detach attributes from underlying assets- can chop up, re-bundle, reprice and redistribute risk, thereby operating through a security logic. The argument by authors such as Martin (2007) and Amoore (2011) is that risks traded can become 'indifferent' to the risk of holding an underlying asset. And, even though this logic of indifference seems integral to market participation, it is both under researched and under theorized. I contribute to this literature by reading indifference through the recent work of Maria Hynes (2015) in which humans are embedded in a world of indifferent forces and affects. The argument that I want to make here is that the everyday, lived and embodied experience of trading derivatives involves certain affective attachments and emotions that frustrate the security logic of indifference. In what follows, I draw on 8 elite interviews with former risk managers and derivatives traders who worked in investment banks between 1994 and 2013. My investigations speak to an abundance of emotions that are prevalent in finance, but also boredom and the mundane. More than this, indifference emerges through a trade vocabulary of arcane, abstract and technical language. And, while this in itself is interesting, I focus on a remarkable interview with a former credit default swap trader, who spoke about marking down, personal investment in trading choices and an encounter with hyper-reality. These are all instantiations of loss and I use these findings to speak to debates in postmodernism about crises of representation and to argue for a non-representational view which attends to the affective life of finance.

Chris Clarke, Warwick

The Digital Disruption of Finance: Monopoly, Power and Data in Marketplace Lending

Across diverse economic contexts, from the 'fringe' of excluded populations to the spaces of formal finance, private firms are harnessing the supposed value proposition of 'digital disruption'. Central to this trend has been online platforms producing consumer and small business debt markets through 'marketplace' and other forms of 'direct' peer-to-peer lending practices. This paper problematises the notion of digital disruption in finance ostensibly brought about by these online lending platforms. It draws on interview material, documentary analysis and participant observation to chart the development of the marketplace lending sector in the global economy. From its inception marketplace lending has been figured as both a financial and a technological innovation. The paper suggests that this particular confluence of financial and technological expertise has led the short history of these debt markets to evolve towards a particular conception of risk, especially regarding credit decisions, principally based on developments in data science. The paper argues that the politics and ethics of financial inclusion and exclusion are both reconfigured and intensified through the use and manipulation of new data sources. Such trends have significant implications for how we conceptualise internet monopoly, financial power, and 'market' dynamics in global finance and its governance.

Saori Shibata, Leiden

Re-packaging old policies? 'Abenomics' and the lack of an alternative growth model for Japan's political economy

Abenomics has continued to attract the attention of both the national and international media and a broad range of scholars. There are different and contested views over

Abenomics and its impact upon the Japanese economy. This article argues that those more Keynesian-style remedies that are included within Abenomics have not been able to address Japan's longer-term problem of weak demand, especially in terms of private consumption. This is in large part due to the liberalizing measures that also form part of Abenomics, and which are incapable with the Keynesian remedies. Whilst Abenomics has the potential (at least in the short-to-medium term) to improve the profitability of Japanese businesses, without witnessing a corresponding move to redistribute corporate wealth to labour, Abenomics also represents a hazard to future economic growth in Japan and therefore appears unable to cure its underlying longer-term problems.

7.2 Panel: Post-communism and the 'international' b

See (4.1) for Panel Abstract.

Ryan McCarrel, University College Dublin

Trans-Atlantic Militarism: NATO Expansion in the Balkans'

Stuart Shields, Manchester

When the exception becomes the rule: The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), crises, and neoliberal common sense in post-communist transition

Yuliya Yurchenko (Greenwich)

To market though war: IFIs, Ukraine's socio-economic crisis, and counter-hegemonic opportunities.

7.3 Panel: Capitalism at the 'Frontier' a

This is the first of two linked panels proposed by Alex Nunn, Leeds Beckett

Alex Nunn, Leeds Beckett

Class struggle at the Frontier

In the 1990s Neil Smith revived Turner's Famous 'Frontier' thesis to describe the process of gentrification in Manhattan. Smith formulated the 'Frontier' as a line of class conflict in which capital struggled to subordinate labour and the urban form. This usage can be applied more generally to the sites in which the hegemony of capital is contested and the continuous processes of dispossession and proletarianisation which mark the expanding social and spatial frontiers of capitalist social relations. The paper lays out the conceptual linkages between the 'frontier', continuous proletarianisation, and social reproduction.

David Robertshaw, Leeds Beckett

Restructuring the UK Labour Market through Disciplinary Employment Services

Abstract tbc.

Priyan Senevirithna, Leeds Beckett

International NGOs and Reshaping Capital-Labour Relations in Sri Lanka

Abstract tbc.

Zoe Young, De Montford

Care and Gender Equality: The Case of Shared Parental Leave in the UK

Feminist political economists have highlighted the crisis in social reproduction following the withdrawal of state social welfare provision, exacerbated by austerity policies implemented

following the global economic crisis of 2008-9 (Elson, 2009, 2012). Poorer households typically act as an invisible social safety net during times of economic crisis, drawing upon 'coping strategies' to deal with reductions in social provision. This can intensify gendered inequalities as well as in the long-term leading to depletion in the resources available for social reproduction (Rai et al, 2014). Despite radical changes in the social organisation of the global political economy and a significant increase in the number of women in the workforce, gendered inequalities persist and these have arguably been exacerbated under austerity. For example, in the UK women, low-income earners and ethnic minorities have been hit worst and social policy has increasingly taken a disciplinary and criminalising form (Tepe-Belfrage, *forthcoming*). Two areas of social policy that could potentially have a positive contribution to gender equality and that have recently appeared to have been extended in the UK are: childcare, with an increase in the provision of free childcare to three and four year olds as well as qualifying two year olds; and the introduction of shared parental leave. While there are certainly problems associated with the introduction and implementation of these policies, notably the lack of funding to cover the costs of the increased childcare provision, the soaring costs of childcare and the limited pay associated with shared parental leave, it is interesting to consider whether these policies are part of a broader shift in notions of parenthood, of fatherhood and motherhood, and the gendered division of labour in the household.

8 Saturday 15.00-16.30: Panels

8.1 Panel: Finance, power and insecurity

Katja Daniels, Aberystwyth

Civil Society and Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS): Towards a New Conceptual Framework

Civil society actors play an important role in the context of international investment law and arbitration. Academic researchers have recently turned their attention to this topic, but the focus has normally been on the involvement of civil society actors in investment treaty negotiations, or alternatively in arbitration proceedings as *amicus curiae*. It is often overlooked that civil society actors also play an important part in the emergence of investment disputes. Investment disputes often arise directly from civil society resistance to foreign investment projects, especially those in environmentally hazardous sectors such as natural resources. Yet academic research normally proceeds on the premise that Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) is simply about resolving disputes between investors and states, as indeed the term implies. As a result of a particular conception of the 'state', the academic literature tends to render invisible - or to actively misrepresent - the civil society actors that investment disputes often arise from. This paper develops a new conceptual framework for the study of international investment law, in order to draw attention to the ways in which ISDS is implicated in social struggles between transnational corporations and civil society actors around the world today.

Charlie Dannreuther, POLIS, University of Leeds

CMU and SMEs – structural power and the EU

For many the link between Capital Market Union and SME finance is a cynical ploy to sell financial markets to the citizens of the EU. In this paper we explore the relationship between SME finance and European integration to illustrate a central structural relationship

in the EU. Since the late 1960s significant volumes of capital controlled by the European institutions has been directed to SMEs through financial institutions. While this supported credit supply in peripheral economies it has also demonstrated the close relationship between financial institutions and the EU. In this context the CMU agenda describes a long standing relationship between finance and enterprise that now supersedes the capital labour relationships traditionally associated with European capitalisms. In this context CMU's focus on SME securitization, and its reintroduction of subprime, private placements, and the unfair advantage this offers large investors, and the predatory private equity industry that dominates venture capitalism is a terrifying insight into the future of capitalism in Europe. While it demonstrates the historical alliance between financial and petit bourgeois against labour it also reveals how the re-imagination of small business as SME has helped reproduce class relations around credit access, produced surplus value from a debt servicing rather than work and created new forms of public policy designed to regulate core social relations to confirm financial privilege as socially progressive.

Rolf Thuneberg Jørgensen, Copenhagen

Integrated Financial Markets in the EU

This paper examines the European Commission's role in reshaping the financial market reform agenda after the 2008 crisis. It first details the material and political threats the crisis posed for an integrated financial market with EU at its heart. It then explores how the cleavages and fragmentation in the regulatory responses ended up breeding further EU institutionalization and standardization, as Europe initially headed towards a coordinated regulatory regime rather than a centralized one. It tracks the EC's actions in shaping coalitions and reform proposals at the EU level, based on triangulation of interviews and archival data. The research suggests that the EC has been central in drawing together a patchwork of member states and interest groups lacking a coherent orientation, by reframing the crisis and the reform project itself. By gradually deemphasizing cross border financial market instability, a policy dilemma marred contradicting interests, and reframing banking reforms in terms of the monetary, fiscal and economic ails, the EC succeeded in reimagined the reform agenda to one where further EU integration could be a unifying solution. The paper ends by discussing the contribution to the ideational literature, and it reflects on the policy implications of neglecting lessons from the crisis that were incompatible with the integrative project.

Kavi Thakore, Oxford Brookes

'The Governance of Global Finance'

In the aftermath of the last financial crisis a powerful message prevails that an alternative path needs to be taken regarding financial governance. In this paper, I argue that current arrangements, which are entrenched in a neoliberal ideology, need to be offset by a transition towards a more cosmopolitan conceptualisation. This can be achieved, in part, if first an FTT can be applied at the EU level, with the view that this will eventually be extended globally. Although failing, at present, to gain much purchase at the global level, taxation of the financial sector has forcefully re-emerged on the EU political agenda, partly as a response to the crisis of the Eurozone. From a normative standpoint, a cosmopolitan approach towards financial governance conflates with the core aims of the EU FTT proposal. This includes ensuring that the financial sector is better regulated and that it makes a fair as well as substantial contribution to public revenues so as to reinforce (cosmopolitan) values

like equality, cooperation, democratic accountability and social welfare. Therefore, I further argue that the EU FTT presents itself as a model of cosmopolitanism in practice, a claim that needs to be verified empirically. To investigate this claim, my thesis is based on a qualitative methodology and pursued in the form of semi-structured interviews. Participants hail from all three sections of society: government, business and civil society. Questions revolve around the EU FTT, its cosmopolitan nature and how it relates to financial governance in general. The study is significant as it re-contextualises cosmopolitanism by testing the theory in a new setting and demonstrating its applicability to the realm of finance. Scrutinising the abstract cosmopolitan framework will demonstrate how it could work in reality, while also identifying any limitations it presents. By providing a well-founded critique of the existing theory, this makes an original contribution to theoretical debates and to the research community more broadly. Thus, the objectives of this paper are fourfold. First, the definition of cosmopolitanism that is pursued by my thesis is fully explicated. Next, the research validates why, at a normative level, the EU FTT should be viewed to be a model of cosmopolitanism. Third, the empirical aspect of my study, which investigates this claim, is put forward. Finally, the interviews that have been analysed so far and the preliminary findings that derive from these are presented.

8.2 Roundtable: The Quantification of Life at Work

Roundtable, Proposer:

Phoebe Moore

Creative forms of measure made possible by new technologies penetrate our daily movements, with implications for changing spatial and temporal recognition of how life happens. Personalisation of technology seems to give us more control in principle, but there are a range of consequences made possible as data and information we produce about ourselves is rapidly extracted by corporations and employers. By rejecting the qualitative despite such intimate measure, capitalism becomes a system of empty self and social reproduction, where data simply affirms the order it has already prefabricated. The system is circular and beset by a contradiction; functional, but lacks a functional goal, because it does not recognise the qualitative, or use-value, the unconscious, symbolic exchange. As mediation between person and machine becomes increasingly intimate, we often inadvertently produce a wealth of data about our movements, our interests, our dispositions and indeed: our quantified selves. This panel looks at the 'quantification of life at work', which can be understood in a number of ways. Companies provide self-tracking for wellness at work as well as monitoring of productivity in factories. Professional knowledge workers and educators find ourselves in positions where our activities are judged by metrics only imagined during Victorian 'payment by results'. Consumers' practices are turned into data that is used for profiling and marketing. Call centre workers' emotions and accents are monitored and reviewed. From self-tracking and the affective register, monitoring and possible surveillance, control and profiling, technology and the data produced is never a neutral process. This roundtable/panel will identify a range of ambivalent implications, from empowerment to selfhood, from privacy to co-creation, production to reproduction. The devices and related practices quantify experience and perpetuate neoliberal capitalist inequalities and are symptomatic of burgeoning, gendered, globalising precarity.

Participants:

Phoebe Moore, Middlesex.
Christopher Till, Chris Till
Martin Upchurch, Middlesex
Suneel Jethani, Melbourne
Penny Andrews, Sheffield

8.3 Panel: Capitalism at the 'Frontier' b

This is the second of two linked panels. See 7.3 also.

Sophia Price and Moses Okech, Leeds Beckett

Class, Gender and Micro-Finance in West and East Africa

Abstract tbc

Japhy Wilson, Manchester

Stark Utopia: The Reality of Dreams in the Ecuadorian Amazon

Much of the neo-Marxist and Foucauldian literature in human geography and development studies understands the capitalist production of space to be configured by brittle technocratic abstractions projected onto a complex and recalcitrant lived reality. In contrast to this literature, this paper sketches the outlines of a fantastical materialism, which seeks to grasp the constitutive role of dreams and fantasies in the territorialization of capitalist social relations. This approach is developed through an exploration of the recent history of the northern Ecuadorian Amazon. This region was almost entirely excluded from the national state and the global economy until the discovery of oil in 1967, when it became the site of a rapid process of capitalist urbanization. Rather than being socially engineered by the state, this process was woven from a weft of everyday utopias, enacted by oil workers, landless peasants, radical missionaries, and makeshift modernizers. The outcome, however, was the stark utopia of a de facto neoliberalism, dominated by the socially and ecologically catastrophic impacts of an unregulated oil industry, in which many of these dreams were brought to ruin. This process of disillusion gave rise to the violent imposition of a collective real utopia, in which equality was suddenly asserted and revealed as a concrete actuality.

Paul Cammack, Manchester

Gestational Surrogacy in a World Market Perspective

Production and social reproduction under capitalism are related aspects of a single 'social production complex', governed by expanding capitalist social relations. The incessant division of labour, uninterrupted technological revolution, and advancing processes of commodification continually expand the sphere of production, as may be evidenced over time in key areas of social reproduction such as education, housing, the production and preparation of food, and the care of infants/children and the elderly. The reproduction of the population itself - conception and childbirth - represents a limit case. In these circumstances, the rapid development of a commercial transnational industry of gestational surrogacy in the wake of the first case of IVF in 1978 is of particular empirical and theoretical interest, as it reflects a break between the physical process of carrying a child to term on the one hand, and motherhood, with whatever affective and other connotations it may be given, on the other. At the extreme, parenthood is the outcome of a series of market transactions, governed directly by contract law and the rights of private property. This paper examines the implications.

Tom Purcell, Leeds Beckett

Over-accumulation, dispossession and expanded reproduction: Ecuador and China

Purcell's research unpicks the dialectical relationship between the overaccumulation of capital, accumulation by dispossession, expanded reproduction and proletarianisation. Drawing on Ecuador's oil financed Chinese loan packages to construct new mega energy infrastructures, Purcell argues that the use of natural resource wealth in apparently post-neoliberal forms of development continues to tie Latin America to the uneven and exploitative vicissitudes of the global economy. Specifically, Purcell analyses the way in which China has been looking for outlets from its severe round of recent overaccumulation through spatio-temporal fixes in hitherto unexplored spaces of the world market, seen in its massive infrastructural investment in Latin America and Africa. The "spatio-temporal fix" manifests in conditions of uneven geographical development – around resource complexes, technological and labour market conditions – that is, nationally processed global class relations. If the fixing of overaccumulated capital can lead to future "expanded reproduction," through new processes of exploitation based upon the expansion of the labour process then it can plausibly be seen as proletarianisation. However, if the fix ends up being devalued in place (e.g. underutilized or privatized at a loss) and the loans and conditionality linked to the project end up in net transfers from territory in question then this is best seen through the lens of *the circuits of accumulation by dispossession*. Although, like proletarianisation, this an ongoing process, crucially, it is distinct in so far as it represents the extractions of rents rather than surplus value. This is not to be seen as simple imperial or colonial process of exploitation (one state dominates another), rather this is also embroiled in the contradictory class processes (national and international) and the networks of interest that benefit from short-run cycles of capital accumulation linked to large infrastructure investments.